DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF THE SLAVE TRADE TO AMERICA IN FOUR VOLUMES COMPLETE

DONNAN

1930

DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF THE SLAVE TRADE TO AMERICA

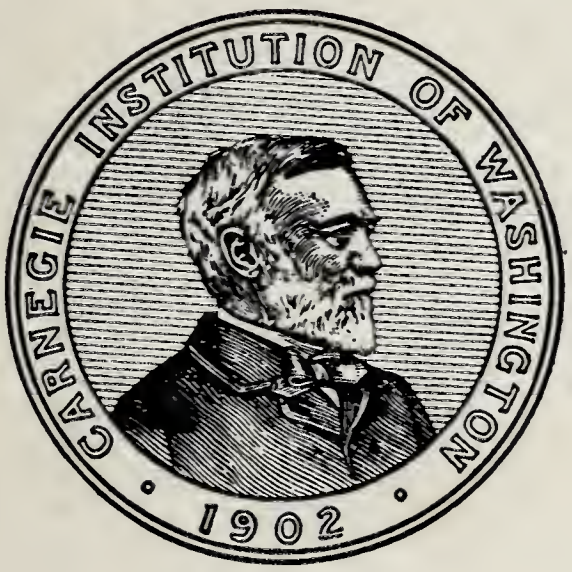
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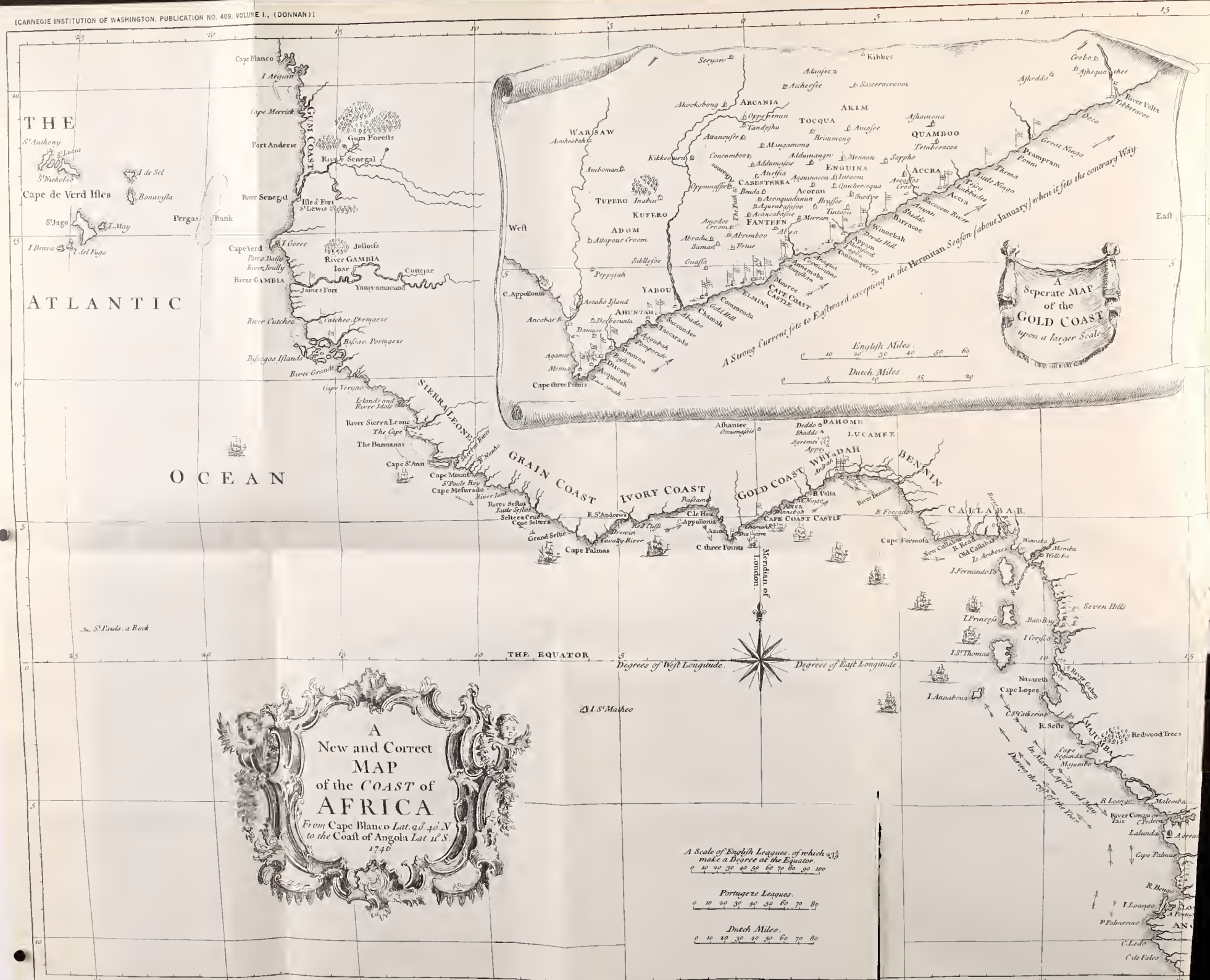
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[From "THE NATIONAL AND PRIVATE ADVANTAGES OF THE AFRICAN TRADE CONSIDERED," by Malachy Postlethwayt, Second Edition, London, 1722.]


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PREFACE

The importance of a documentation of the history of American slavery has been adequately set forth by Dr. J. F. Jameson in the preface to the first volume of Mrs. Catterall's *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery* and calls for no restatement at this time. The volume of documents here presented, and the two which are to follow, illustrate the history of the trade on which the institution rested. For more than one hundred and fifty years that trade not only brought to America a large part of her labor supply but also exerted a considerable influence on the relations between various European countries and on the dealings of Great Britain with her American plantations. When a collection which should illustrate this traffic was first under consideration the intention was to confine it to the trade to the Thirteen Colonies, but it soon developed that such an attempt would be unsatisfactory, perhaps absolutely misleading. The traffic to the Thirteen Colonies, to the West Indies, and to Spanish America was so closely interwoven that to a certain extent it seemed necessary to treat it as a whole. In volumes I. and II. this is attempted, though the emphasis has been placed upon the English trade to the British West Indies. The first volume deals with the traffic in slaves from the time it became a part of European commerce until the end of the seventeenth century; the second volume is to carry the account through the eighteenth century to the year 1807, when British and American legislation alike outlawed the trade; the third volume shifts the emphasis from the history of the trade to the connection of the Thirteen Colonies with that trade. The outstanding topics illustrated by the material in the first volume are the beginnings of African exploitation, the friction of European countries in Africa, the development of great commercial companies for the control of the traffic, the struggle for Spanish-American markets, the methods of trade, and its effect on English policy in the West Indies. As was to be expected, what emerges is the history of the trade as seen by the white man rather than as seen or suffered by the negro. The record is that of the trader concerned with method, with profits and losses, with the struggle for monopoly or for freedom of trade, rather than with the race or races which he was subjugating. To merchant, planter, agent of the African Company or British official, the oppor-

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tunity to study primitive peoples at first hand meant little, and was allowed to slip by unused. Our records of the slave trade shed little light upon the manner of people enslaved, their origins, and the differences among them, save when such points were translated into pounds sterling. This fact leaves us in ignorance of much which would today be of inestimable value in studying the African origins of the American negro population.

Both printed and manuscript sources have been utilized. The voluminous papers of the Royal African Company, the Colonial Office Papers, both in manuscript and as they appear in the *Calendar of State Papers,* the Spanish archives, narratives of African voyagers and traders, these have all been drawn upon. The amount of material relating to this subject is prodigious and all that such a volume can hope to do is to suggest possibilities for intensive study and to point the way to available material for such study.

Few liberties have been taken with the texts whether printed or manuscript, but occasional punctuation has been added to clarify the meaning, and abbreviations have been expanded for the same purpose. The capitalization of the originals has been preserved save in translations, where, in general, it has been made to conform to present usage. The spelling of the originals has also been retained but not the use of italics. In other respects the practice of earlier volumes of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution has been followed.

To name here the individuals who have lent frequent and kindly aid in the preparation of this work is impossible without extending the preface to undue length. A few obligations, however, stand out above all others. The debt to Dr. J. F. Jameson is immeasurable. Not only was his the original plan for such a collection of material as this, but his knowledge and wisdom have been called upon constantly as the work has progressed. The skilful and patient cooperation of Miss Ruth Anna Fisher in procuring for the editor the desired material from the Public Record Office also deserves mention.

ELIZABETH DONNAN

June 23, 1930

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DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF THE SLAVE TRADE TO AMERICA

PART I.: 1441-1600

INTRODUCTION

With the origins of the institution of slavery and of the traffic in slaves the documents here presented do not deal. Neither slavery nor the slave trade was new to mankind in 1441, the date of the first narrative here printed. For perhaps five centuries trade routes from central Africa, to east and north, had been kept open, and slaves had been carried through eastern ports to the rest of the world, some of them undoubtedly finding their way to the markets of western Europe. The modern traffic which is here presented, though it for a time made use of some of the facilities of the earlier trade, was not merely a continuation of the old, with a change in direction which turned the slave coffles from east to west. Nor was the fifteenth-century trade simply the result of a change in the method by which the slave was transported. The fact that after 1444 slaves were carried from the African coast by water rather than overland would scarcely justify one in regarding the fifteenth century as the beginning of a new commerce.[1] Yet one may, without doing violence to the facts, consider 1444 as the inauguration of an essentially new thing in the history of the Western world, that is, the modern traffic in negroes. It was then that the Europeans themselves first carried slaves from Africa to be sold in European markets.[2] Within a dozen years the traffic in negroes had become an accepted and profitable part of European commerce, the privilege of carrying them being eagerly sought. The conjunction in a single half-century of the discovery of an immense new labor supply and of a new and comparatively empty continent in which such a supply could be profitably utilized gave an importance and a permanence to this branch of trade which, had Europe alone been the vent, it could never have attained. To examine the origin of this modern slave trade one must turn first to the exploration and exploitation of the West African coast from which came the supply, and next to the introduction of the negro, there obtained, into Western

[1] José Antonio Saco, *Historia de la Esclavitud de la Raza Africana en el Nuevo Mundo* (Barcelona, 1879), p. 26.

[2] A few natives had been carried to Portugal from the Canaries in 1434, and, in 1441, Antam Gonçalvez, as will be seen from the text of Azurara here printed, carried captives home, but these were not for the purpose of trade, any more than was the native of Brazil whom William Hawkins carried to England a century later.

markets. Of the exploration of the African coast a brief statement will here suffice, since the tale has been many times told. Here again for beginnings one must turn to the ancients, but this story, as well as that of slavery, has not been one of continuous development, from the time of the Phoenicians, through the Middle Ages, to the modern era.[3] The voyages of Sataspes, of Eudoxus, and of Hanno, even if accepted as authentic, contributed nothing to the daring fifteenth-century progress of the Portuguese along the African coast, progress which was an essential prelude to the development of the modern slave trade.[4] For a time Portuguese exploits were largely owing to the vision and perseverance of one man, Prince Henry of Portugal, grandson of John of Gaunt of England.[5] In the first quarter of the fifteenth century the Canaries and the Madeira Islands had been opened to Portuguese settlement. Driven by the ardor of the Prince, Portuguese navigators pushed along the coast of Africa during the remainder of that century. In 1434 Cape Bojador, long the object of superstitious fears, was rounded; in 1436 the Rio d'Ouro was reached. Then Henry's interest turned elsewhere. In 1441 he reverted with fresh determination to the African explorations. The

[3] Most accounts of African exploration or of African geography begin with a review of the ancient voyages. For brief statements see C. Raymond Beazley and E. Prestage, introduction to Azurara, *Chronicle of the Conquest of Guinea,* II. xxxvi-xliii; W. W. Claridge, *A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti* (London, 1915), I. 11-29. Longer accounts may be found in Sir Edward Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography* (London, 1879), I. 262-335; James Rennell, *Geographical System of Herodotus* (London, 1830), II. 348-443. For Hanno's voyage down the coast see W. Schoff, *The Periplus of Hanno* (Philadelphia, 1913), esp. p. 5; Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas: his Pilgrimes* (Glasgow, 1905), I. 210-214. The literature of the Portuguese explorations is abundant and much of it excellent. See especially the work of C. R. Beazley, *Prince Henry the Navigator* (New York, 1895), "Prince Henry of Portugal and the African Crusade of the Fifteenth Century", *American Historical Review,* XVI. 11-23, and "Prince Henry of Portugal and his Political, Commercial, and Colonizing Work", *ibid.,* XVII. 252-267; also R. H. Major, *Prince Henry of Portugal* (London, 1868), and J. P. Oliveira Martins, *The Golden Age of Prince Henry* (London, 1914, translated). Oliveira Martins's *Les Explorations des Portugais antérieures à la Découverte de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1893, translated from the Spanish) contains a map tracing the Portuguese progress down the coast. One of the better brief accounts is that of Charles de Lannoy and Herman Vander Linden, *Histoire de l'Expansion Coloniale des Peuples Européens: Portugal et Espagne, jusqu'au Début du XIXe Siècle* (Brussels and Paris, 1907), pp. 40-50. The histories of Gambia and the Gold Coast usually devote a few pages to African exploration, as H. F. Reeve, *The Gambia, its History Ancient and Modern* (London, 1912), pp. 30-40; Claridge, *History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti,* I. 33-53; as do also the histories of slavery, see Saco, *op. cit.,* pp. 21-47.

[4] It is not necessary here to evaluate the claims of the French to priority of exploration, since, even if they were established at St. George del Mina in 1364, they did not begin a commerce in the natives at that time. The reader who is interested to pursue the subject of the French claim will find an excellent presentation of the evidence in C. R. Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography* (London, 1905-1906), III. 430-440, as well as in Azurara, *Chronicle,* II. lxiv-lxx.

[5] For an interesting examination of the importance of this English relationship, and of the influence of the English Queen Philippa on the history of Portugal during this century, see Beazley, *Prince Henry,* pp. 133-137. Lannoy and Vander Linden give a succinct account of Portugal's economic and political condition at the beginning of her maritime career. Contrasting views of the character and influence of Prince Henry may be found in the work of Beazley and of Oliveira Martins.

passages here printed from Azurara's account carry the story of exploration and of the exploitation of the natives forward to the year 1448, at which time the Portuguese had reached the Senegal.

Between 1448 and the death of Prince Henry in 1460 his captains had reached Sierra Leone. Of the voyages in the later years of his life the most important was that of the Venetian Cadamosto, who entered the service of the Prince in 1455, and made two journeys to the coast, in 1455 and 1456.[6] Though he had quite frankly been attracted to the service of the Prince by news of the great gain to be obtained from the Guinea trade,[7] he made no attempt to increase his profits by imitating the slave raids of the previous decade. Indeed, the meagre observations which he makes on that trade suggest that already wholesale slaughter and rapine had given way to an orderly traffic, with the Arabs acting as middlemen.

> Before this Trade was settled, the Portuguese Caravels, sometimes four, and sometimes more, used to come to the Gulph of Argin, well armed, and, landing by Night, surprised some Fishermen's Villages: they even entered into the Country, and carried off Arabs of both Sexes, which they sold in Portugal. . . . However, for some Time past, Peace and Commerce has been restored to them all; and the Infante suffers no farther Damage to be done to these People.[8]

The centre of this commerce was the island of Arguin, a settlement eight years old when Cadamosto visited it. Here, he says, for woollen and linen cloth, silver, tapestry, and grain, the Arabs gave slaves and gold. In his second voyage he travelled some distance up the Gambia and exchanged goods for gold and slaves with a Mandingo chief, but of this transaction he gives no details.

One more navigator should be included in the roll of Prince Henry's captains, Diego Gomez, who made two voyages, in 1457 or 1458 and 1460.[9] His account indicates the existence of friendly intercourse and trade with the natives. By this time some seven or eight hundred slaves were being carried to Portugal annually.[10]

In the year following the death of the Prince, 1461, King Alfonso sent out Piedro de Cintra, who in a single voyage gained some knowledge of Sierra Leone, and the Grain, Ivory, and Gold Coasts as far as the point later known as Elmina.[11] Ten years later the mouth of the Niger had been passed, and the islands of São Thomé, or St. Thomas, and Fernando Po added to the map by Santarem and Pedro

[6] The narrative, written in Italian, was first published in Venice in 1507. It is contained in Thomas Astley, *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels* (London, 1745), I. 572-596. J. S. Clark, *Progress of Maritime Discovery* (London, 1803), pp. 235-286, prints selections from it. Beazley summarizes Cadamosto's account in Azurara, *Chronicle,* II. xxii-xxv, and in *Prince Henry,* pp. 261-288.

[7] Azurara, *Chronicle,* II. xxii-xxiii.

[8] Astley, I. 577, 578.

[9] Azurara, *Chronicle,* II. xxvi-xxvii.

[10] Saco, *Historia de la Esclavitud,* p. 36.

[11] Azurara, *Chronicle,* II. xxviii-xxix.

de Escobar. At the end of another decade the equator was crossed, and the Congo coast traced. The sources of the slave supply were thus open to the white world.[12] The coast line now accessible extended for four thousand miles, from the Senegal River in the north to the southern limits of Angola beyond the equator. For three centuries white traders frequented the mouth of the Senegal or the Gambia, or voyaged to the south, along the coast of Sierra Leone, then bore eastward, and proceeded along the Grain Coast, the Ivory, the Gold, and the Slave coasts, perhaps to find their graves in the unwholesome region of the Bight of Benin. South from this point trading vessels visited the islands of São Thomé and Fernando Po, or pushed along the coasts of Congo and Angola, to their marts at Loango and Loando.

Not only had the Portuguese explored the coast and developed an African commerce, but they had planned for permanent occupation. In 1448 a fort was erected, or at least begun, upon the island of Arguin, which in 1461 was rebuilt or improved.[13] In 1458 a mission was sent out to Africa under the Abbot of Soto de Cassa, to convert the natives of the Gambia region.[14] The most ambitious undertaking of the Portuguese was the erection of Fort St. George at Elmina, begun with great ceremony, in 1481, by Diogo d'Azambuja, who remained there as governor. The spot was probably chosen for its proximity to gold rather than to negroes, though the Portuguese were said to have sent from there a cargo of negroes at once, and it was a centre of negro trade till the end of the eighteenth century. Four years after the establishment of this fort the king added to his titles that of Lord of Guinea.[15]

Obviously Portugal could not explore so vast a coast, annex its trade, and take possession of its shores without attracting the jealous attention of other European countries. The authority of the Church was early invoked to support the Portuguese claim against present and potential rivals. That such request should be granted was scarcely surprising, in the light of Prince Henry's missionary zeal. To him the navigation of the African coast was, in part at least, as genuine a crusade as were those of an earlier day. It was entirely reasonable for him to request absolution for those taking part in the Portuguese voyages, and for the pope to grant the request.[16] The next step followed naturally. If the Portuguese were carrying forward a "holy warfare" the lands which they discovered should manifestly be placed

[12] Major, *Prince Henry,* pp. 317-321; Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography* (1906), III. 567; Azurara, *Chronicle,* II. xxviii-xxxvi.

[13] *Ibid.,* II. xxii, xxviii. Major (*Prince Henry,* p. 317) says the fort at Arguin was not built until 1461.

[14] Azurara, *Chronicle,* p. xxvi.

[15] Beazley, *Prince Henry,* p. 315; Major, *Prince Henry,* pp. 323-326; Sir Arthur Helps, *The Spanish Conquest in America and its Relation to Slavery* (1900, ed. M. Oppenheim), I. 42-44.

[16] Dec. 19, 1442, bull *Illius que se* (Eugenius IV.); Beazley, "Prince Henry of Portugal and the African Crusade", *Am. Hist. Rev.,* XVI. 15.

under their jurisdiction. Thus the series of papal bulls by which the pope sanctioned the Portuguese claims seems but the logical outcome of Prince Henry's proselyting zeal. Positive papal decision as between rival claimants was not at first necessary. Eugenius IV. in 1443 had taken "neutral ground" as between Spain and Portugal, while Nicholas V. in 1452 had given to King Alfonso general powers to conquer and enslave pagans, but had not added exclusive control over the newly discovered territory. This neutral attitude could not, however, be long maintained as knowledge of the riches of the Guinea coast spread. In 1454 John II. of Castile, protesting at the seizure of a Spanish trading vessel bound from Guinea, was met by the response that Guinea belonged to Portugal, and not long after this the pope lent his authority to the declaration.[17]

Not only did Portugal attempt to shut out other nations from the profits of this new trade, but from the first she maintained an exclusive trade among her own subjects. By royal decree of September 15, 1448, the right to control the trade was granted to Prince Henry.[18] After his death, the Portuguese king gained from it a fixed and steady revenue by farming it, in 1469, to Fernando Gomez for five years, at 1000 ducats a year, and this method, or some variation of it, continued to be used by both Portugal and Spain.[19] Even at this time the monopoly was not accepted without protest. The Cortes of Coimbra in 1473, a year before the expiration of the grant to Gomez, asked that the Guinea trade be drawn by lot, that all might benefit.[20] It is not unlikely that the attempt to maintain an exclusive trade weakened the power of Portugal to protect her resources from foreign encroachment. Envious Portuguese, excluded from that part of the trade which seemed most lucrative, certainly were at times found assisting other nations in trade, in defiance of their own country. Portugal had undertaken two difficult tasks: to keep all save a privileged few of her own traders from sharing in the profits of the trade; and to keep all other nations from dividing the spoils with her. In the second she failed so lamentably that the first soon became of minor importance. This failure was not evident in the fifteenth century,

[17] For a brief but excellent statement of the relations between Spain and Portugal during this century see Frances G. Davenport, *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States* (Washington, 1917), I. 1-2, 33-35. See also Miss Davenport's discussion of the various bulls relating to the Portuguese position, as well as the bulls themselves (*ibid.,* pp. 1, 9, 24, 27, 34, 49). Miss Davenport calls attention to the fact that many modern historians, following a statement made by Barros, have placed this papal sanction of Portugal's rights at an earlier date. *Ibid.,* I. 12, n. 23.

[18] Beazley, *Prince Henry,* pp. 303-304. As a matter of fact, Prince Henry had controlled the African expeditions since 1443. Azurara, *Chronicle,* I. 54.

[19] *Ibid.,* II. xxix; Helps, *Spanish Conquest,* I. 42, n. 1, "500 cruzados" or 1000 ducats; Oliveira Martins, *Golden Age,* p. 218. Major (*Prince Henry,* p. 321) says this was about £40 a year. For a discussion of the system see Lannoy and Vander Linden, pp. 137-144.

[20] Oliveira Martins, *Golden Age,* p. 220.

however. Spain for the most part accepted her exclusion from the African coast. England, so far as we know, made in this century but one abortive effort to share the trade. In 1481 rumor reached Portugal that two Englishmen, William Fabian and John Tintam, were equipping an expedition for Guinea trade. John II. of Portugal promptly protested that this violated the terms of his papal privileges, and the voyage was stayed. About the same time Edward IV. of England asked the pope for permission to trade in Africa but nothing came of his request.[21]

Of the history of the Portuguese in West Africa during the sixteenth century singularly little is known. They had by this time become much more interested in their possessions in India, and most students of Portuguese expansion dwell upon India and Brazil rather than upon West Africa, which gradually became merely a source of slaves for Brazil. Elmina continued to be the centre of the Gold Coast trade of Portugal. Here she maintained a governor, a chief factor and a small garrison. At Axim, Accra, and Shama were small settlements and trading centres. At other trading posts a factor and a priest or two made up the Portuguese establishment. Though she claimed control of a long line of coast, her contact with the natives was largely through the priests, and she had worked out little machinery of administration. The greatest extension of her interest was in Angola and the Congo, which largely supplied the Portuguese sugar plantations of the neighboring island of São Thomé with laborers. Here the anonymous Portuguese pilot who visited the island about 1520 found some planters owning as many as 300 slaves.[22] From the Angola region also came negroes for Brazil, which proved a well-nigh inexhaustible market.

Despite the failure of Portugal to work out an adequate system of government or of trade, there can be no question that she continued to be the dominant influence on the West African coast throughout this century. A group of narratives collected by Hakluyt and Purchas are suggestive of the importance of her traffic, though they give little exact or satisfactory information. The first of these is a report on

[21] Richard Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (Glasgow, 1903-1905), VI. 122-124; Astley, *Voyages and Travels,* I. 138. J. M. Sarbah ("The Gold Coast when Edward IV. was King", *Journal of the African Society,* III. 194-197), quoting from what he described as an "original relation", asserts that this voyage was actually completed, that Englishmen defeated the Portuguese at Cape Three Points, and that they traded successfully for elephants' teeth and grain, but not for negroes. This is a complete contradiction of Hakluyt's statement and some other authority than that of an anonymous translation is needed before it is accepted. For the English request to the pope see *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian,* I. 142.

[22] "Voyage from Lisbon to the Island of St. Thome . . . by a Portuguese Pilot", Clarke, *Progress of Maritime Discovery,* pp. 298-310. While the strength of the Portuguese on the coast between the Senegal and Gambia rivers waned, they never wholly withdrew from the region. There is also some testimony to the presence on this coast of a few Spaniards. Hakluyt, VII. 95-96; Astley, I. 242-245.

the Kingdom of Congo by Edward Lopes, a Portuguese who visited that region in 1578: "Besides, there is also a greater Trafficke and Market for slaves, that are brought out of Angola, then in any place else. For there are yearely bought by the Portugais above five thousand head of Negroes, which afterwards they conveigh away with them, and so sell them into divers parts of the World." [23]

Purchas adds to this stray facts gathered from Master Thomas Turner, who, after visiting Angola and living in Brazil, reported,

> Out of Angola is said to bee yeerely shipped eight and twenty thousand slaves and there was a Rebellion of slaves against their Masters, tenne thousand making a head and barracadoing themselves, but by the Portugals and Indians chased, and one or two thousand reduced. One thousand belonged to one man, who is said to have tenne thousand slaves, Eighteene Ingenios, etc. his name is John de Paüs, exiled out of Portugall, and heere prospering to this incredibilitie of wealth.[24]

About 1610 Purchas obtained the story of the adventures of one Andrew Battell, who had left England in 1589, had been captured by the Portuguese not long after, and had been a prisoner in Angola from that time until his return to England in 1610. In 1600 or 1601 he had been sent to Benguella, on the south-central coast of Angola, to trade. Here he found an encampment of natives who travelled from Sierra Leone, and with whom he traded: "We laded our ship with slaves in seven days, and bought them so cheap that many did not cost one real, which were worth in the city of Loando twelve milreis." [25]

Not until well into the sixteenth century was Portugal forced into her losing struggle for control of her African discoveries. For a time her most dangerous rival was England. Whether or not the papal bulls had prevented an earlier appearance of the English on this coast, it is certain that with the waning influence of such decrees after the Reformation England's interest in maritime adventure grew rapidly.[26]

[23] "A Report of the Kingdome of Congo, a Region of Affrica: gathered by Phillippo Pigafetta, out of the Discourses of Master Edward Lopes . . . here abbreviatted", Purchas, *Pilgrimes,* VI. 444-445.

[24] "Relations of Master Thomas Turner", *ibid.,* XVI. 291. "This number may perhaps seeme incredible and justly: yet hee tells the report, which in some one yeere after some great battle, may also be probable: but the general report is of divers thousands shipped thence yeerly: the Portugals making their gaine by the Negroes foolish and spightfull wars upon each other."

[25] *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell of Leigh, in Angola and the adjoining Regions,* in Purchas, *Pilgrimes,* VI. 367-406, and reprinted in Hakluyt Society *Publications,* second ser., vol. VI.

[26] There are many general accounts of the English on the African coast in the sixteenth century, practically all of them based upon or reprinting Hakluyt's narratives: Astley, *Voyages and Travels,* I. 138-191; Robert Kerr, *Voyages and Travels,* VII. 211-350. W. R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish, and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720* (Cambridge, 1910), II. 1-14, and J. A. Williamson, *Sir John Hawkins* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 32-62, have supplemented Hakluyt by a study of the State Papers.

Her traders, familiar with the commerce of the Canaries by 1526,[27] had probably appeared on the Guinea coast by 1530, possibly earlier. With the single exception of John Hawkins's forays, they traded along the coast for nearly one hundred years before they turned to slaving upon it. During that era the narrative of English adventures is of less interest to students of the slave trade than to those concerned with the maritime expansion of Britain. It is an interesting though a bootless speculation to inquire whether, if the English had not entered upon the slave trade, they would have built up African colonial possessions. Anderson thinks not,[28] because of the limited number of Guinea commodities offering profitable trade. Among these the most important was gold, the lure which drew the earliest English venturers to the coast.

By 1530 there was in western England a small group of merchants trading to Brazil. Among these was William Hawkins, father of the famous John. To him alone, among the English traders, it seems to have occurred to touch at the northern Guinea coast on his outward voyage to Brazil, which he probably did in 1530, 1531, and 1532,[29] and possibly did in 1536. It may be surmised that these voyages were joint ventures, since that form of business promotion was certainly in use shortly after this. Bonnassieux refers to an English African company of 1536, probably meaning a syndicate with which William Hawkins was connected.[30] Hawkins may have had vessels on the coast in 1536; it is fairly certain that he had in 1539-1540.

Between 1540 and 1553 the industry of Hakluyt apparently discovered no English visits to Guinea; after that time they were, for a few years, frequent. English merchants experimented first with the Barbary trade. Captain Thomas Windham, in the employ of some of the same men who later sent him to the Guinea coast, made trips

[27] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations,* VI. 124-136; Astley, *Voyages and Travels,* I. 138. The Canary trade was never closed to England, and Anthony Hickman and Edward Castlyn, who appeared early in the Guinea trade, probably had English factors in the Canaries throughout Mary's reign. Williamson, *Sir John Hawkins,* p. 43.

[28] Adam Anderson, *Origins of Commerce* (Dublin, 1790), II. 128.

[29] The narrative of these voyages will be found in Hakluyt, XI. 23-24; see also Williamson, *Sir John Hawkins,* pp. 10-11. The best account of the life and the trading ventures of William Hawkins is to be found in Williamson, pp. 2-31. At this time the name Guinea was used for the stretch of West African coast from the Senegal River to the Bight of Biafra.

[30] Pierre Bonnassieux, *Les Grandes Compagnies de Commerce* (Paris, 1892), p. 89, n. 3. The letter of 1767, on which Bonnassieux rests his statement, he prints (pp. 96-98). Scott (*Joint-Stock Companies,* II. 3, n. 1) concludes that the reference is to William Hawkins, though without offering his evidence. Anderson (*Origins of Commerce,* II. 82) also places the arrival of the English on the Guinea coast at 1536.

to Barbary in 1551 and 1552.[31] In 1553 his promoters, growing bolder, commissioned him to visit Guinea and Benin, under the guidance of a "wise, discreet and sober", as well as expert, Portuguese, Anthonie Anes Pinteado. The English visited the River Sestos, where they might have taken a cargo of Guinea grain (pepper) had they not "thirsted" for gold. This they found in the neighborhood of Elmina. Then, against the advice of Pinteado, they visited Benin, which proved disastrous to the health of the men. Of the sevenscore that had left England scarce forty returned. Neither of the leaders lived to see England.[32]

In spite of this fearful mortality, they had returned with gold, ivory, and spice sufficient to induce another group of adventurers to try their fortunes. They were Sir George Barne, Sir John Yorke, Thomas Lok, Anthony Hickman, and Edward Castelin or Castlyn, who in October, 1554, sent out the *Trinity* and the *John Evangelist,* each of 140 tons, and the *Bartholomew,* 90 tons, under John Lok.[33] This venture was distinctly successful. The vessels not only returned with a gratifying cargo of gold and ivory, but they also brought "certaine blacke slaves whereof some were tall and strong men and could wel agree with our meates and drinkes. The colde and moyst aire doth somewhat offend them." [34] Extracts from the next two Guinea voyages, those of Towerson in 1555 and 1556, are printed on later pages (nos. 3, 4).

Up to this time the English had manifested no desire to fortify or settle the coast, though they had been invited by a friendly chief to build a fort within his territory.[35] In 1561 a group of venturers, most of whom had already traded in Africa, proposed to John Lok the task of selecting a site for a fort.[36] Lok, after two unsuccessful starts, declined the commission because of the lateness of the season. Though he rejected the notion that one need fear the Portuguese, he reported

[31] Sir Thomas Wroth, Francis Lambert, Sir John Yorke, Sir William Garrard, and Master Cole are those named as promoters of the second Barbary voyage (Hakluyt, VI. 136-140; Astley, *Voyages,* I. 140-141). Hakluyt reprints Eden's account and also his preface, Richard Eden, *Decades of the New World* (London, 1555), pp. 343-360. For evidence that these men also financed the first Guinea voyage see Williamson, p. 40. Windham had in 1545 been concerned with William Hawkins, and his interest in Guinea may have been aroused at that time.

[32] "A voyage made out of England unto Guinea and Benin in Affrike, at the charges of certaine marchants Adventurers of the Citie of London, in the yeere of our Lord 1553", Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations,* VI. 141-152; Astley, I. 141-144. Hakluyt's account is taken from that of Richard Eden.

[33] "The second voyage to Guinea set out by Sir George Barne, Sir John Yorke, Thomas Lok, Anthonie Hickman, and Edward Castlyn in the yere 1554. The Captaine whereof was M. John Lok", Hakluyt, VI. 154-177; Astley, I. 144-149.

[34] Hakluyt, VI. 176.

[35] *Ibid.,* p. 226.

[36] *Ibid.,* pp. 253-254. Those concerned were Sir William Chester, Garrard, Thomas Lodge, William Winter, Benjamin Gonson, Hickman, and Castlyn (*ibid.,* p. 253, and Williamson, p. 54). The queen allowed them four royal vessels and was to receive a share of the profits. *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1547-1580, p. 178.

to his principals that four "great ships" of Portugal, one of which was of 700 tons, were waiting his arrival on the coast.[37] The venturers persisted, and the vessels were on the coast in the spring of 1562. In spite of their early misadventures, the queen's third of the profits amounted to £1000.[38] The next season (1563) they sent out another fleet, which traded both at the River Sestos and on the Gold Coast. Throughout their trading they were obliged to keep up a desultory warfare with the Portuguese, and suffered from sickness which carried off half their men.[39] Undiscouraged, the same group, with the addition of Benjamin Gonson, sent out an expedition under David Carlet in 1564, the difficulties of which are related in the account of Hawkins's voyages.[40]

This was the extent of the recorded English trade to the Guinea coast when Hawkins conceived his buccaneering scheme, the account of which is here printed (nos. 5-18). English merchants had no forts or settlements, and had had up to this time no interest in the slave trade. They had made frequent use of the method of joint venture, which was to develop into that of the corporate company. The Guinea coast was known to English seamen, who had already demonstrated the weakness of the Portuguese control and their own ability to trade where they liked. The Portuguese monopoly was a fiction. It remained for Hawkins to prove that the Spanish monopoly of the American markets was likewise a fiction.

With the failure of Hawkins's third voyage, attempts at English trade on the Guinea coast seem to have languished. For a period of twenty years Hakluyt again has no narrative of African voyages, and though it is highly improbable that there were no such voyages, this is certainly an indication that they were not common.[41] In 1588, with Portugal under Spanish domination and England at war with Spain, Elizabeth granted a patent to merchants of London and Devonshire for exclusive trade on the northern Guinea coast for ten years. This change in the method of trade was probably an attempt to give greater government protection in time of war rather than for the purpose

[37] Dec. 11, 1561, "Lok to Marchants adventurers for Guinie", Hakluyt, VI. 256-257.

[38] Williamson, p. 56. Scott estimates the profits of this voyage as between 40 and 50 per cent. *Joint-Stock Companies,* II. 5-6; *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1547-1580, pp. 178, 183, 215; J. S. Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy,* I. 78-80.

[39] Hakluyt's brief account of this voyage (VI. 258-261) was written by William Rutter, a factor of Hickman. But five of the original seven were concerned in this enterprise.

[40] Hakluyt, VI. 262; Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies,* II. 6-8; Williamson, pp. 57-58. Winter seems to have dropped out of the group.

[41] In 1582 a voyage to Africa and São Thomé was suggested. *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1581-1590, p. 59.

of making the trade a privileged one.[42] Of the third of the three ventures attempted under this charter we have an account.[43] Its leaders were Richard Rainholds and Thomas Dassell. Contrary to the custom of the coast, they carried no Portuguese supercargo, a fact which won for them great favor with the natives but so roused the antagonism of the Portuguese that they barely escaped destruction at their hands. It is to be remembered that this patent concerned but a small part of the coast. At the same time that its holders were sending voyages to Senegal and Gambia two London merchants, John Bird and John Newton, sent out expeditions to Benin, but their narrator, James Welsh, makes no reference to traffic in negroes.[44] In 1592 the privilege of trade between the River Nunoe (Nunes) and the Magrabumbo River, on the coast of the Sierra Leone, was granted to five merchants of Taunton, chief among whom was Thomas Gregory. Beyond that fact we know little.[45] For complete lack of evidence to the contrary one must conclude that between 1569 and 1618 England's only connection with the slave trade came through casual captures of prizes carrying slaves.[46]

The Portuguese were not slow to respond to the challenge to their African monopoly offered by the English voyages. Angered by Windham's Barbary ventures, they circulated in England the rumor that all English found in Africa would be treated as enemies.[47] Learning of his Guinea expedition and fearful that it was directed toward Elmina, the heart of their African trade, they sent forth a galleon to check him. Apparently the Portuguese commander was reassured after encountering the English at Madeira, for Windham was allowed

[42] Patent Rolls, 30 Eliz., pt. ix; Hakluyt, VI. 443-450. The patentees were William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicolas Spicer, John Doricot of Exeter, John Young of Coliton, Richard Doderige of Barnstable, and Anthony Dassell and Nicolas Turner of London. It was stated in the patent that they had already sent vessels to Gambia. Their desire for African trade they ascribed to the "persuasion and earnest motion of certain Portugals resident within our Dominions". For brief accounts of the early English African companies see Cecil Carr, *Select Charters* (Selden Society, vol. XXVIII.), pp. xliii-xliv; W. R. Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies,* II. 10-17; Bonnassieux, *Les Grandes Compagnies de Commerce,* pp. 89-91; G. F. Zook, *The Company of Royal Adventurers trading into Africa,* pp. 5-7. Bonnassieux's assumption of the existence of a company in 1536 and the slightness of his evidence have already been noted.

[43] Hakluyt, VII. 90-98; Astley, *Voyages and Travels,* I. 244-245.

[44] Hakluyt, VI. 450-467; Astley, I. 199-205.

[45] *Ibid.,* I. 139; Carr, pp. xliii-xliv, from Patent Rolls, 34 Eliz., pt. vi. The Magrabumbo River was probably the Sierra Leone, known in the next century as the Malimbo.

[46] In 1598 the patent of 1588 was renewed for another ten years, to the Earl of Nottingham and Sir John Stanhope. After that we hear no more of it (*Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1598-1601, p. 16). In 1591 Capt. Christopher Newport, with three ships and a pinnace, took a Portuguese vessel bound from Lisbon to Cartagena with 300 negroes on board. Failing to sell the negroes at San Juan, Porto Rico, he landed them on the western end of Porto Rico, and sunk the vessel. The next year William King, with the *Salomon* and the *Jane Bonaventure,* on a voyage to Mexico, captured a vessel from Guinea with 270 negroes, all but 15 of whom he landed on the western end of Porto Rico. Hakluyt, X. 184-185, 191.

[47] Hakluyt, VI. 140.

to proceed unmolested.[48] In 1555 Lopez de Sousa was despatched to England to assert Portuguese control of Africa. De Sousa asked that Guinea voyages be in future prohibited, that renegade Portuguese who were aiding them be returned to Portugal, and that all gold already brought to England be given up. After some months of negotiation the Privy Council forbade the equipping of further Guinea ventures.[49]

That the prohibition against Guinea voyages was but half-heartedly enforced and offered small obstacle to acquaintance with the Guinea coast even under Queen Mary, Towerson's three voyages afford ample proof.[50] With Elizabeth's accession to the throne any attempt at checking African trade ceased, and from that time Portugal protested in vain. In 1561 Emanuel d'Aranjo arrived in England, his purpose being to protest against the English trade to Guinea, "if any is meant, which the King of Portugal mistrusts, because of the merchants rigging and preparing their ships that way".[51] The queen's reply was that her merchants did not trade at points under Portuguese control, to which the minister retorted that all the West African coast was under Portuguese control. Elizabeth ordered that Guinea expeditions be reported to the Lord Admiral; beyond that she would not go.[52] A year later Portugal tried again, but gained nothing further.[53]

In 1568 Portugal once more expostulated against the English trade on the coast, and Emanuel Alvarez was sent to London. After a conference with him, Guzman de Silva, Spanish minister to England, reported to his master that the Portuguese were prepared to sell negroes to the English in certain specified places.[54] This is interesting, since the only market which the English had was Spanish America, and, if true, it seems to imply that Portugal was looking toward an English alliance against Spain. Nothing came of the suggestion and

[48] Hakluyt, VI. 146.

[49] *Acts of the Privy Council,* vol. V., 1554-1556, pp. 162, 305, 315; Williamson, pp. 44-46. The partial success of the Portuguese mission Williamson attributes entirely to Philip's influence.

[50] Towerson sailed in September, while negotiations were still in progress. There had been issued an order in July "staying" all vessels bound for Guinea (*Acts of Privy Council,* V. 162). One Guinea venture was, however, checked by the Privy Council order, that of Edward Castlyn, Jeffery Allen, Rowland Fox, and Richard Stockbridge, which was in preparation in December (Williamson, p. 46). Nowhere are we told who financed Towerson's voyages, perhaps because his promoters were violating the Privy Council order. Williamson's surmise is that the promoters were Garrard, Lodge, Hickman, and Castlyn, since in the Canaries Towerson dealt with Edward Kingsmill, who was a factor of Hickman and Castlyn. Williamson, p. 49.

[51] *Cal. St. P. For.,* 1561-1562, pp. 54, 55, 72-73. As this was probably the year in which Elizabeth became a partner in the African trade, d'Aranjo's mission was hopeless. Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies,* II. 5-6.

[52] *Cal. St. P. For.,* 1561-1562, p. 90; Williamson, p. 59.

[53] *Cal. St. P. For.,* 1562, pp. 9, 41-42, 54; Williamson, pp. 60-62.

[54] *Cal. St. P. Span.,* 1568-1579, pp. 18, 22, nos. 13, 15; Williamson, p. 163.

we do not know that it was ever made to the English themselves. England refused to yield to Portugal's complaints, basing her contention on the weakness of Portugal's hold in Africa. Even at Elmina, her strongest post, she had not more than fifty or sixty men. Anderson records that in 1572 Portugal yielded to the fact and granted to England peaceful trade on the coast.[55]

It is not unusual to speak of the French as "following" the English upon the African coast, but there is excellent reason for thinking that they preceded rather than followed. John III. of Portugal had protested against French encroachment before the end of the fifteenth century.[56] The records of Rouen show a considerable trade to Brazil in the forties, and by 1541 French merchants were touching at Guinea on their passage to Brazil, as had William Hawkins ten years earlier. There were also voyages in 1541, 1543, 1546, and 1549 whose destination was the Guinea coast. When Windham appeared there in 1553 it must already have been familiar ground to French venturers. This is further confirmed by the fact that Garrard sent to Rouen that year, asking that Jean Hermyn go as surgeon on the *Prumerolle (Primrose)* in the contemplated voyage to Guinea. From this one may conclude not only that Hermyn knew the coast, but that the English were acquainted with that fact.[57] In the English narratives collected by Hakluyt there are frequent references to French trade. Windham, in his Barbary voyages, had found the French there. Towerson joined a French vessel and traded beside it for a time. He mentions the "great trade" of the French at Cape Verde. References to French voyages indicate that they continued to be frequent throughout the seventies. Their greatest success they found in the region of the Senegal and Gambia rivers, where they well-nigh displaced the Portuguese.[58] On the Gold Coast they were less successful. Voyages sent thither by Rouen merchants in 1581, 1582, 1583, and 1587 were total losses because of the active hostility of the Portuguese at Elmina.[59] In 1595 they lost an expedition at the hands of the English.[60] For the time their struggle for a hold on African trade

[55] *Cal. St. P. Dom., Addenda,* 1566-1579, p. 248; *Origins of Commerce,* II. 183.

[56] Lannoy and Vander Linden, p. 144; Pierre Cultru (*Histoire du Sénégal du XVe Siècle à 1870,* pp. 31-32) gives a brief statement of the French progress down the West Coast.

[57] E. Gosselin, *Documents Authentiques et Inédits pour servir à l'Histoire de la Marine Normande et du Commerce Rouennais pendant les XVIe et XVIIe Siècles* (Rouen, 1876), pp. 143-147, 151; *Bulletins de la Société de l'Histoire de Normandie,* 1887-1890 (Rouen, 1890), pp. 236, 255, 258, 263.

[58] Cultru, *Histoire du Sénégal,* pp. 34-35; Hakluyt, VI. 138, 213-214, 237, 241, 242. Astley (*Voyages,* I. 242) wrote that the French did not go into the Gambia River, however, because of the hostility of the Portuguese.

[59] Charles de La Roncière, *Histoire de la Marine Française,* IV. 95.

[60] Gosselin, p. 151.

seemed a failure, and during the next decade there is little evidence of French activity in these regions.[61]

During this century the French, like the English, had made no attempt at fort or settlement. Their trade had apparently been financed in much the same manner as that of the English, since there are records of groups of Rouen merchants who sent out one venture after another. They had taken no part in the slave trade. While England displayed no great objection to it when Hawkins attempted it, the French had expressed positive disapproval in a statement comparable with that of Justice Mansfield, nearly two centuries later.[62]

The market which Portugal and Spain could furnish for negroes must have been speedily saturated and the commerce in negroes have remained but a small part of European commerce, monopolized by the Portuguese, had not the New World discovered a need for labor which the native Indian could not meet. When or how the first negro came to the Western world we shall probably never know. Tradition has it that Columbus himself carried one or two, and this is not unlikely since they were numerous in Spain when he set forth on his first voyage. But for anything deserving to be called importation and resting upon historical evidence we must look to the sixteenth century. Ovando's instructions as governor of Hispaniola allowed him to carry negro slaves "born in the power of Christians", that is to say, born in Spain or Portugal. This, Scelle believes, implies a transportation of slaves already in progress, and he offers in confirmation of his interpretation the fact that but a few months later Ovando asked that the importation be suspended, since the negroes encouraged the Indians to rebellion. It is scarcely possible that in so short a time sufficient negroes could have been carried to Hispaniola to make trouble if importation had begun with the permission of 1502.[63] Acceding to his request, Queen Isabella ordered that no more slaves should be carried to the West Indies; but with her death the prohibition was removed and in 1505 seventeen were sent out, with a promise of more. This seems to have been in response to a request from Ovando, who had again changed his mind about the desirability of the negroes.[64] All this relates to Christian negroes carried from Spain. That somehow others had found their way to Hispaniola may be surmised from the fact that in 1506 Ovando was ordered to expel all Berber and pagan slaves from the island.[65]

[61] Astley, *Voyages,* II. 568-569.
[62] Williamson, pp. 73-76; La Roncière, IV. 80.
[63] Saco, *Historia de la Esclavitud,* pp. 61-62; Georges Scelle, *La Traite Négrière aux Indes de Castille: Contrats et Traités d'Assiento* (Paris, 1906), I. 122; Helps, *Spanish Conquest,* I. 127, 154.
[64] Saco, pp. 62-63; Scelle, I. 122-123; Helps, I. 154-155, n. 3.
[65] Saco, p. 63; Scelle, I. 124.

The first considerable response which Ferdinand made to the appeal for laborers seems to have been in 1510, when he ordered the Casa de Contratación to send out 250 negroes. This is the date which Scelle takes as the beginning of a traffic in negroes between the Old and the New World. These, it must be remembered, were Christian negroes, to be purchased in Lisbon.[66]

Not until 1513 did the sale of licenses to import negroes become a source of profit to the government. At that time Ferdinand charged two ducats a head for permission to import blacks.[67] A year later their number in the island had alarmed the officials and importation was again checked for a short time.[68] With the death of Ferdinand in 1516 there ensued a short period in which the carrying of slaves to the island was suspended by Cardinal Ximenes. For this various reasons have been offered: that he was opposed on principle to the slave trade, that he objected to the lax method by which licenses had been distributed, that he was afraid of a negro population. The suspension, no matter from what motive, was of little significance, since Charles V., the new ruler, at once granted a license to William of Croy (or Chièvres), who bought 600 blacks for America whom Charles insisted on having sent out.[69] Two sets of influences were operating to push the slave trade at this time. To courtiers at home it offered a source of rich profit which they would not willingly forego. To the colonists it offered a means of working the mines and also of developing the new sugar industry, which had begun to yield an exportable commodity. Much has been made of the fact that Las Casas requested that importation be encouraged, but he was but one of several petitioners. The Jeronimite Fathers also were requesting it, the difference being only that Las Casas asked for Spanish or Christian negroes, while the Jeronimites recommended that "bozal" negroes (or those direct from Africa) be used:

> Especially that leave be given to them to bring over heathen [*bozales*] negroes, of the kind of which we have already experience. Wherefore here it is agreed that Your Highness should command us to grant licences to send armed ships from this island to fetch them from the Cape Verde Islands, or Guinea, or that it may be done by some other persons to bring them here. Your Highness may believe that if this is permitted it will be very advantageous for the future

[66] Saco, p. 67; Scelle, II. 125-126; Helps, I. 173. Bourne states that Ferdinand was at this time trying to develop transportation of negroes directly from Africa. *Spain in America* (American Nation, vol. II.), p. 270. The Casa de Contratación, a board in charge of commerce, had been organized in 1503. R. B. Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New* (New York, 1918-1925), II. 225, n. 1; Helps, I. 149, n. 1.

[67] Scelle, I. 126-127. Requests for negroes came from Cuba as well as from Santo Domingo. Four were certainly carried to Cuba in 1513. After that the number increased rapidly. Scelle, I. 131-132, 158; Helps, III. 149.

[68] Don Pedro Suarez de Deza was given permission to carry women only. Scelle, I. 128, and n. 1.

[69] Scelle, I. 128-131; Helps, I. 349n.

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of the settlers of these islands, and for the royal revenue; as also for the Indians your vassals, who will be cared for and eased in their work, and can better cultivate their souls' welfare, and will increase in numbers.[70]

On August 18, 1518, Charles granted to his favorite Lorenzo de Gomenot, governor of Bresa, the right to ship 4000 negroes to Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto Rico (no. 2). Gomenot sold the privilege to Genoese[71] established in Seville, for 25,000 ducats. In some cases they themselves carried the negroes, in others they resold the privilege. Whoever held the license must resort to the Portuguese for the negroes. Under this grant complaints of scarcity and of high price in the Indies were frequent.[72] The license was at length modified but not revoked. Permission was given for 1500 to be delivered in Hispaniola, 300 to Cuba, 500 to Porto Rico, 300 to Jamaica, 500 to Castilla del Ora on the mainland.[73] Gomenot was to receive the duties on the 1500 delivered in Hispaniola. The privileges granted by the concession of 1518 continued until 1526. Indeed, as late as 1534 one still finds in use licenses sold by Gomenot.[74]

Between 1518 and 1526 many special licenses were granted, often to those who wished to carry domestic slaves to the West Indies but had no desire to traffic in slaves. These in themselves were no infringement of the monopoly, but throughout the period Charles V. seems to have assumed the right to issue further permissions if he chose, and though the Gomenot grant was intended in 1518 to establish a monopoly, by 1526 its monopolistic character had well-nigh disappeared.[75]

In 1536 contractors offered to carry 4000 slaves (one-third to be women) to the West Indies in four years. During this time no other license was to be granted for new discovery or conquest. For this they would pay 26,000 ducats. They were outbid by other contractors, and in the end neither offer was accepted.[76]

[70] Saco, pp. 89-92; Scelle, I. 132-134; Helps, I. 364, notes, II. 10-12, and notes; Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias,* IV. 380.

[71] Saco, p. 111; Scelle, I. 139-161; Bryan Edwards, *History Civil and Commercial of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (London, 1793-1794). Helps says that Las Casas, asked how many should be sent out, replied that he did not know, and that the Casa de Contratación determined the number (Helps, II. 12-13; Merriman, III. 657-658). Saco suggests as the reason why Gomenot did not sell the privilege to Portuguese merchants who could probably have sold the negroes for less, that the Spanish were fearful of Portuguese rivalry (Helps, II. 13, n. 3, quoting Saco, p. 113). Despite the fact that the Genoese were obliged to buy their negroes from the Portuguese, their profit was said to have been 300,000 ducats. Helps, II. 13, n. 1.

[72] Scelle, I. 152-154; Helps, II. 13, III. 149.

[73] Saco (p. 135) says that the license was revoked. This Scelle (I. 155) thinks a mistake.

[74] Scelle, I. 156-158. Scelle has here an excellent account of the abuses to which this system was subject.

[75] Scelle, I. 159.

[76] Helps, III. 151, n. 2. In 1531 the Bishop of Santo Domingo wrote that the perpetuity of Hispaniola, Porto Rico, and Cuba depended on negroes, and suggested that the colonies be allowed to import them without licenses. Helps, III. 149-150.

Later a contract was confirmed with Henry Eynger, or Ciguer, and William Sailler, Flemings, by which they were to carry 4000 blacks to the Indies in four years, during which no other concession was to be granted. For this privilege they were to pay 20,000 ducats, and for the negroes delivered they were not to charge more than 45 ducats a head. They depended on the Portuguese supply, and their Portuguese agents delivered such inferior negroes that the Council of the Indies annulled the contract.[77]

In 1552 a seven-year monopoly was granted to Fernando Ochoa, under which he was to deliver 23,000 slaves, paying a duty of 8 ducats on each. The contract was never fulfilled and was presently annulled.[78] The union of Spain and Portugal in 1580 made it natural that the privilege of importing slaves should fall to the Portuguese. In 1595 Gomez Reynal was given the most detailed grant that up to that time had been formulated. During nine years he was to deliver 38,250 slaves, at the rate of 4250 annually. Of these 3500 must be landed alive. For his concession he paid 900,000 ducats; for every negro short of the quota he forfeited 10 ducats. The negroes must be fresh from Africa, must include no mulattoes, mestizos, Turks, or Moors. In 1600 Reynal died and the contract was transferred to Juan Rodrigues Cutiño, and extended to 1609.[79]

The annual importation by 1540 had possibly reached 10,000, though all figures must be regarded as conjectural.[80] Bourne estimates the legal importation into Hispaniola in the middle of the century at 3000, the illegal entries as 500. Helps suggests an annual importation of 2000, two-thirds of which he believed were illicit.[81]

The prices about 1530 were from fifty to seventy pesos in the islands, and from one hundred to one hundred and fifty on the mainland. In 1556 they were fixed by royal cedula at one hundred ducats in the West Indies and one hundred and eighty in Chile.[82] This attempt to prevent the monopolists from exploiting the needs of the colonists only served to increase illicit importations and was abandoned early in the sixties. As long as Spain remained in control of the markets of the New World the incentive for England to enter the slave trade was not great and it is small wonder that, after Hawkins's attempts, the English left the traffic to Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch, until their own West India colonies invited it.

[77] Saco, pp. 146-147; Scelle, I. 169-173; Helps, III. 149, n. 3. This is the first concession to which Scelle is willing to apply the term "asiento". Saco gives the date of this contract as 1528, and is followed by Helps and Merriman, Scelle as 1538. It is possible that confusion results from the fact that before Ciguer and Sailler were given the "asiento" they had purchased a number of Gomenot's licenses.

[78] Saco, p. 210; Scelle, I. 205; Helps, III. 151-152, IV. 248.

[79] Scelle, I. 344-383; Saco, pp. 240-245, 247.

[80] Claridge, *History of the Gold Coast,* I. 80.

[81] Bourne, *Spain in America,* p. 275; Helps, III. 152.

[82] Saco, p. 212; Bourne, pp. 276-277.

DOCUMENTS

1. The Discovery and Conquest of Guinea, 1441-1448.[1]

Chapter XII. *How Antam Gonçalvez brought back the first captives.* . . .[2] "O how fair a thing it would be if we who have come to this land for a cargo of such petty merchandise, were to meet with the good luck to bring the first captives before the face of our Prince. And now I will tell you of my thoughts that I may receive your advice thereon. I would fain go myself this next night with nine men of you (those who are most ready for the business), and prove a part of this land along the river, to see if I find any inhabitants; for I think we of right ought to meet with some, since 'tis certain there are people here, who traffic with camels and other animals that bear their freights. Now the traffic of these men must chiefly be to the seaboard; and since they have as yet no knowledge of us their gathering cannot be too large for us to try their strength; and, if God grant us to encounter them, the very least part of our victory will be the capture of one of them, with the which the Infant will feel no small content, getting knowledge by that means of what kind are the other dwellers of this land. And as to our reward, you can estimate what it will be by the great expenses and toil he has undertaken in years past, only for this end." "See what you do,"

[1] [1] *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea,* by Gomes Eannes de Azurara, translated by C. Raymond Beazley and Edgar Prestage (London, Hakluyt Society, 1896, 1897). The writer of this narrative was royal librarian, chronicler, and keeper of the archives of Portugal. His account of the Portuguese voyages, which begins with 1433 and ends with 1448, was completed in February, 1453, was discovered in the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris, in 1837, by Señor Fernando Denis, and was published in Portuguese four years later. To be enjoyed to the utmost it should be read in its entirety, as any attempt to shorten it deprives it of much of its charm. Few narratives of the fifteenth century are more delightful. Not only was Azurara writing of events of his own time, but he took great care to obtain the accounts of eye-witnesses or of participants in what he describes. In addition to the value which his work derives from its conscientious accuracy, its simple but vivid style gives life to the story. He rendered due honor to those engaged in carrying out the wishes of the Prince by despoiling the natives of the African coast, yet chapter XXV. reflects a rare sympathy and understanding of the sufferings of the innocent Africans.

While it is undoubtedly true that Moorish slaves were occasionally carried from northern Africa to the Iberian Peninsula, there is no evidence of a regular commerce to Europe in slaves before this time. In the story of Azurara one finds the recognition of a new source of profit to Europeans. The apparent decline in the trade toward the end of the fifteenth century would seem to indicate that Portugal and Spain offered too limited a market for great development of the traffic. Only the appearance of the over-seas demand gave it new life. The passages which follow are intended to illustrate the opening of the trade in slaves along the West African coast, the effect upon the natives of the steady ravaging and pillage to which they were subjected between 1441 and 1448, and the ready sale which the captives obtained in Portugal. Most of the modern histories of Portuguese exploration between 1440 and 1448 are based upon Azurara's account. See Beazley, *Henry the Navigator,* pp. 168-178, 192-249; R. H. Major, *The Life of Prince Henry the Navigator,* pp. 172-225; Oliveira Martins, *The Golden Age of Prince Henry the Navigator,* pp. 205-218.

[2] Antam Gonçalvez, who is here exhorting his men to valor, was sent by Prince Henry down the West African coast for a cargo of skins and oils, but, because of his youth, he was charged with no other undertaking. His captives were taken not far south of Cape Bojador.

replied the others, "for since you are our captain we needs must obey your orders, not as Antam Gonçalvez but as our lord; for you must understand that we who are here, of the household of the Infant our lord, have both the will and desire to serve him, even to the laying down of our lives in the event of the last danger. But we think your purpose to be good, if only you will introduce no other novelty to increase the peril, which would be little to the service of our lord." And finally they determined to do his bidding, and follow him as far as they could make their way. And as soon as it was night Antam Gonçalvez chose nine men who seemed to him most fitted for the undertaking, and made his voyage with them as he had before determined. And when they were about a league distant from the sea they came on a path which they kept, thinking some man or woman might come by there whom they could capture; but it happened otherwise; so Antam Gonçalvez asked the others to consent to go forward and follow out his purpose; for, as they had already come so far, it would not do to return to the ship in vain like that. And the others being content they departed thence, and, journeying through that inner land for the space of three leagues, they found the footmarks of men and youths, the number of whom, according to their estimate, would be from forty to fifty, and these led to the opposite way from where our men were going (I. 40-42). . . .[3]

And, returning towards the sea, when they had gone a short part of the way, they saw a naked man following a camel, with two assegais in his hand, and as our men pursued him there was not one who felt aught of his great fatigue. But though he was only one, and saw the others that they were many; yet he had a mind to prove those arms of his right worthily and began to defend himself as best he could, shewing a bolder front than his strength warranted. But Affonso Goterres wounded him with a javelin, and this put the Moor in such fear that he threw down his arms like a beaten thing. And after they had captured him, to their no small delight, and had gone on further, they espied, on the top of a hill, the company whose tracks they were following, and their captive pertained to the number of these. And they failed not to reach them through any lack of will, but the sun was now low, and they wearied, so they determined to return to their ship considering that such enterprise might bring greater injury than profit. And, as they were going on their way, they saw a black Mooress come along (who was slave of those on the hill), and though some of our men were in favor of letting her pass to avoid a fresh skirmish, to which the enemy did not invite them—

[3] Because of the heat and the weariness of his men, Gonçalvez suggested at this point that they rejoin the caravel, hoping to capture some natives on the return, when they were off their guard.

for, since they were in sight and their number more than doubled ours, they could not be of such faint hearts as to allow a chattel of theirs to be thus carried off—despite this, Antam Gonçalvez bade them go at her; for if (he said) they scorned that encounter, it might make their foes pluck up courage against them. And now you see how the word of a captain prevaileth among men used to obey; for, following his will, they seized the Mooress. And those on the hill had a mind to come to the rescue, but when they perceived our people ready to receive them, they not only retreated to their former position, but departed elsewhere, turning their backs to their enemies (I. 42-43). . . .

Chapter XIII. *How Nuno Tristam reached the spot where Antam Gonçalvez was, and how he dubbed him knight.* . . .[4] "And although you are carrying off these two captives, and by their means the Infant may come to know something about this folk, yet that doth not prevent what is still better, namely, for us to carry off many more; for, besides the knowledge which the Lord Infant will gain by their means, profit will also accrue to him by their service or ransom. Wherefore, it seemeth to me that we should do well to act after this manner. That is to say, in this night now following, you should choose ten of your men and I another ten of mine—from the best which each of us may have—and let us then go together and seek those whom you have found. And since you say that, judging from the fighting you had with them, they were not more than twenty men fit for battle, and the rest women and boys, we ought to capture them all very quickly. And even if we do not meet with the very same that you encountered, nevertheless we shall surely find others, by means of whom we can make as good a booty, or perhaps even better" (I. 46). . . .

As soon as it was night, they set out according to the order that Nuno Tristam gave at first. And so it chanced that in the night they came to where the natives lay scattered in two encampments, either the same that Antam Gonçalvez had found before or other like it. The distance between the encampments was but small, and our men divided themselves into three parties, in order that they might the better hit upon them. For they had not yet any certain knowledge of the place where they lay, but only a perception of them; as you see the like things are perceived much more readily by night than by day. And when our men had come nigh to them, they attacked them very lustily, shouting at the top of their voices,

[4] On the next day after the capture of the two Moors, Nuno Tristam arrived, and urged them to continue the search for captives. Antam Gonçalvez offered excellent arguments against this course and it would have been given up had it not been for the enthusiasm of two squires, anxious to give proof of their valor.

"Portugal" and "Santiago"; the fright of which so abashed the enemy, that it threw them all into disorder. And so, all in confusion, they began to fly without any order or carefulness. Except indeed that the men made some show of defending themselves with their assegais (for they knew not the use of any other weapon), especially one of them, who fought face to face with Nuno Tristam, defending himself till he received his death. And besides this one, whom Nuno Tristam slew by himself, the others killed three and took ten prisoners, what of men, women, and boys. And it is not to be doubted that they would have slain and taken many more, if they had all fallen on together at the first onslaught. But among those who were taken there was one greater than the rest, who was called Adahu, and was said to be a noble; and he shewed in his countenance right well that he held the pre-eminence of nobility over the others (I. 47-48). . . .[5]

Then those captains returned to the ships and bade that Arab whom Nuno Tristam had brought with him, to speak with those Moors [6] but they were not able to understand him, because the language of these people was not Moorish, but Azaneguy of Sahara, for so they name that land. But the noble,[7] in that he was of better breeding than the other captives, so had he seen more things and better than they, and had been to other lands where he had learned the Moorish tongue; forasmuch as he understood that Arab and answered to whatever matter was asked of him by the same. And the further to try the people of the land and to have of them more certain knowledge, they put that Arab on shore, and one of the Moorish women whom they had taken captive, who were to say to the others, that if they wished to come and speak to them about the ransom of some of those whom they had taken prisoners, or about traffick in merchandise, they might do so (I. 49). . . .[8] Thereupon our men turned back to the ships where they made their partition of the captives, according to the lot of each, and the other Moors betook themselves to their encampments, taking the Arab with them. And Antam Gonçalvez, because he had now loaded his ship with cargo, as the Infant had commanded, returned to Portugal, and Nuno Tristam

[5] Antam Gonçalvez is made a knight.

[6] The Arab was a servant of Prince Henry, brought from Portugal to act as interpreter.

[7] Adahu. The language here referred to is that of the desert strip between Morocco and the Senegal. Cadamosto, twelve years later, thus described the Azaneguys: "The Azanaghi are tawney, or rather of a deep-brown Complexion, and live in some places on the Coast, beyond Cape Blanco. . . . The Portuguese carried many of them off; and they proved better Slaves than the Negros." Astley, *Voyages and Travels*, I. 577-578.

[8] This effort failed, and the Arab was not allowed to return to the Portuguese.

went on his way, to fulfill his orders, as we have said before that he had received commandment (I. 50). . . .[9]

Chapter XVI. *How Antam Gonçalvez went to make the first ransom.* . . . As you know that naturally every prisoner desireth to be free, which desire is all the stronger in a man of higher reason or nobility whom fortune has condemned to live in subjection to another; so that noble of whom we have already spoken, seeing himself held in captivity, although he was very gently treated, greatly desired to be free, and often asked Antam Gonçalvez to take him back to his country, where he declared he would give for himself five or six Black Moors; and also he said that there were among the other captives two youths for whom a like ransom would be given.

And here you must note that these blacks were Moors like the others, though their slaves, in accordance with ancient custom, which I believe to have been because of the curse which, after the Deluge, Noah laid upon his son Cain, cursing him in this way—that his race should be subject to all the other races of the world.

And from his race these blacks are descended, as wrote the Archbishop Don Roderic of Toledo, and Josephus in his book on the *Antiquities of the Jews,* and Walter, with other authors who have spoken of the generations of Noah, from the time of his going out of the Ark.

The will of Antam Gonçalvez to return to that land, for desire of the ransom and profit he would get, was not so great as his desire to serve the Infant his lord—and therefore he asked leave to go on this journey, saying, that (forasmuch as he perceived the great desire his Grace had to know part of that land) if that were not sufficient which he had ascertained from that Moor,[10] that he should give him license to go and ransom him and the other captive youths with him.

For as the Moor told him, the least they would give for them would be ten Moors, and it was better to save ten souls than three—for though they were black, yet had they souls like the others, and all the more as these blacks were not of the lineage of the Moors [11] but were Gentiles, and so the better to bring into the path of salvation.

Also he said that the blacks could give him news of land much further distant, and he promised that when he spoke about the traffic with the natives, he would find means to learn as much news as possible.

[9] He voyaged as far south as Cape Blanco. On the arrival in Portugal of the two captains, the regent, Dom Pedro, granted to Prince Henry not only one-fifth of all the booty brought back from these lands but also the exclusive right to license all those who wished to visit Africa. The chronicler relates that the Prince sent Fernam Lopez d'Azevedo to Pope Eugenius, who granted absolution to all who should enlist under the banner of the Prince against the Moors (Azurara, ch. XV.). For the various papal grants to the Portuguese see Davenport, *European Treaties,* I. 10-12, and the introduction of this work, pp. 4-5.

[10] Adahu.

[11] Mohammedans.

The Infant answered all this and said that he was obliged by his offer, and that he not only desired to have knowledge of that land, but also of the Indies, and of the land of Prester John, if he could.

Antam Gonçalvez made ready to go with his captives, and beginning his voyage, met with so great a tempest that he had to return again to Lisbon, whence he set out (I. 54-55). . . .

However they returned again to the voyage; and arriving at the boundaries of that land where the ransom had to be made, they resolved to put on shore that Moorish noble, that he might go and make ready his ransom at the place where he had agreed to meet Antam Gonçalvez again.

The Moor was very well clad in garments given him by the Infant, who considered that, for the excellence of his nobility that he had above the others, if he received benefits, he would be able to be of profit to his benefactors by encouraging his own people and bringing them to traffic. But as soon as he was free, he forgot very quickly all about his promises, on the security of which Antam Gonçalvez had trusted him, thinking that the nobility he displayed would be the chief hindrance of any breach of faith on his part; but his deceit thenceforth warned all our men not to trust one of that race except under the most certain security.

And now Antam Gonçalvez entering the Rio D'Ouro [12] with ship for a space of four leagues, dropped anchor, and waited for seven days without getting a message from any, or a glimpse of one single inhabitant of that land; but on the eighth day there arrived a Moor seated on a white camel, and another with him, who gave a message that they should await the others who would come and make the ransom, and that on the next day they would appear, as in fact they did.

And it was very clear that those youths [13] were in great honour among them, for a good hundred Moors, male and female, were joined in their ransom, and Antam Gonçalvez received for his two captives, ten blacks, male and female, from various countries—one Martin Fernandez, the Infant's Alfaqueque,[14] managing the business between the parties (I. 56-57). . . .

Chapter XVII. *How Nuno Tristam went to the island of Gete, and of the Moors that he took.* . . . And in the year of Christ, 1443, the Infant caused another caravel to be armed; and bade embark in it that noble knight, Nuno Tristam, with some other people, and principally those of his own household. And pursuing their voyage, they arrived at Cape Blanco.

[12] The River of Gold received its name because there the Portuguese first traded for gold.

[13] The captives.

[14] The official whose duty it was to ransom captives.

And trying to go further, they passed the said cape about twenty-five leagues, and saw a little island, the name of which they afterwards found to be Gete.[15] And from this island they now saw that twenty-five canoes, made of wood, had set out and in them a number of people, but all naked, not so much for the need of swimming in the water, as for their ancient custom.

And they journeyed in such wise that they had their bodies in the canoes and their legs in the water, and used these to help them in their rowing as if they had been oars, and in each boat there were three or four of the natives. And because this was a matter where our men had had so little experience, when they saw them from a distance, they thought they were birds that were moving so; and though they were rather different in size, yet they thought it might well be that they were birds, in a part of the world where other marvels greater than this were said to exist. But as soon as they perceived that they were men, then were their hearts clothed with a new joy; and most of all because they saw them so placed that they were well able to take them. But they were not able to make a large booty because of the smallness of their boat: for when they had hauled fourteen captives into it, with the seven men of the caravel who made up the crew, the boat was so loaded that it could hold no more.

And it booted not to return, for such terror had come upon our adversaries, and they were so quick in taking flight, that before they arrived at the island, some had perished,[16] and the others escaped. But in achieving this capture they experienced two contrary feelings: first of all the pleasure they had was very great to see themselves thus masters of their booty, of which they could make profit, and with so small a risk; but on the other side they had no little grief, in that their boat was so small that they were not able to take such a cargo as they desired. But yet they arrived at the island and captured fifteen other Moors (I. 58-59). . . .[17]

Chapter XVIII. *How Lançarote required license from the Infant to go with his ships to Guinea.* . . . But when they (the people) saw the first Moorish captives brought home, and the second cargo that followed these, they became already somewhat doubtful about

[15] The island of Arguin, which the Portuguese held as a trading centre from 1448 until its capture by the Dutch in 1638.

[16] *I. e.,* drowned.

[17] The first request for a license to trade which Prince Henry received came from Lagos, the port to which the returning captains had been bringing their booty. In 1444 Lançarote, receiver of customs in Lagos, undoubtedly animated more largely by a desire for vendible slaves than by zeal for discovery, obtained permission to visit the West Coast. With this expedition, the West African slave trade as a part of the commerce of Europe may be said to have begun. For a discussion of its relation to the advance of discovery, see Beazley, *Prince Henry,* pp. 207-212, who argues that but for the profit offered by the slave traffic African exploration could not have been pushed forward by the Prince.

the opinion they had at first expressed;[18] and altogether renounced it when they saw the third consignment that Nuno Tristam brought home, captured in so short a time, and with so little trouble, and constrained by necessity, they confessed their mistake, considering themselves foolish for not having known it before. And so they were forced to turn their blame into public praise; for they said it was plain the Infant was another Alexander; and their covetousness now began to wax greater. And, as they saw the houses of others full to overflowing of male and female slaves, and their property increasing, they thought about the whole matter, and began to talk among themselves.

And because that after coming back from Tangier, the Infant usually remained always in the kingdom of Algarve, by reason of his town, which he was then having built, and because the booty that his captains brought back was discharged at Lagos, therefore the people of that place were the first to move the Infant to give them license to go to that land whence came those Moorish captives (I. 61). . . .

Chapter XIX. *Who were the captains of the other caravels, and of the first booty that they made.* . . . All replied that his counsel was very good,[19] and that they would go forward at once. And when all this reasoning was done, they looked towards the settlement and saw that the Moors, with their women and children, were already coming as quickly as they could out of their dwellings, because they had caught sight of their enemies. But they, shouting out "St. James", "St. George", "Portugal", at once attacked them, killing and taking all they could.

Then might you see mothers forsaking their children, and husbands their wives, each striving to escape as best he could. Some drowned themselves in the water; others thought to escape by hiding under their huts; others stowed their children among the sea-weed, where our men found them afterwards, hoping they would thus escape notice.

And at last our Lord God, who giveth a reward for every good deed, willed that for the toil they had undergone in his service, they should that day obtain victory over their enemies, as well as a guerdon and a payment for all their labour and expense; for they took captive of those Moors, what with men, women, and children, 165, besides those that perished and were killed (I. 65-66). . . . And when

[18] "Besides what the vulgar said among themselves, people of more importance talked about it in a mocking manner, declaring that no profit would result from all this toil and expense" (p. 61).

[19] Lançarote and Gil Eannes arrived at the Isle of Herons in the Bay of Arguin and sent out an exploring party, which, holding a council, decided to attack the natives they had discovered without returning to the caravel for additional aid. The speaker whose council was accepted was Martin Vicente.

Lançarote, with those squires and brave men that were with him, had received the like news of the good success that God had granted to those few that went to the island; and saw that they had enterprised so great a deed; and that God had been pleased that they should bring it to such a pass; they were all very joyful, praising loudly the Lord God for that he had deigned to give such help to such a handful of his Christian people (I. 67). . . . After the Moorish prisoners had all been transferred from the boats to the caravels, some of our Christian folk were left to watch them and the rest landed, and went over the island, until they found the others under guard of the seven men of whom we have spoken before. And when they had collected all their prisoners together, it was already late, for in that land there is a difference in the length of days from ours; and the deed was all the greater, by reason of the distance of the caravels from the scene of action and of the great number of the Moors.

Then our men rested and enjoyed themselves as their share of the toil required. But Lançarote did not forget to learn from the Moorish prisoners what it was his duty to learn, about the place in which he was now staying and its opportunities; and he ascertained of them by his interpreter, that all about there were other inhabited islands, where they would be able to make large captures with little trouble.

And so, taking counsel about this, they determined to go and seek the said islands (I. 67-68). . . .[20]

Chapter XXIV.[21] *How the caravels arrived at Lagos, and of the account that Lançarote gave to the Infant.* The caravels arrived at Lagos, whence they had set out, having excellent weather for their voyage, for fortune was not less gracious to them in the serenity of the weather than it had been to them before in the capture of their booty.

And from Lagos the news reached the Infant, who happened to have arrived there a few hours before, from other parts where he had been for some days. And as you see that people are desirous of knowledge, some endeavoured to get near the shore; and others put themselves into the boats they found moored along the beach, and went to welcome their relations and friends; so that in a short time

[20] The next expedition, to the Isle of Tiger or Tider in the Bay of Arguin, was a failure, yielding but sixteen or seventeen natives.

[21] Ch. XXII. describes an attack on the island of Tider, in which a dozen Moors were captured, before the invading party of twenty (ten men had been left in the caravels) was attacked by 300 Moors. By the pleasure of God "who succoureth those who go in His service in their dangers and toils", and by the valor of the Portuguese, they escaped without injury. Ch. XXIII. tells of their landing at Cape Blanco, where they made captives of fourteen Moors. With these, and one more girl, whom they found sleeping in a deserted village, they professed themselves content, and sailed for Portugal, carrying 235 natives.

the news of their good fortune was well known, and all were much rejoiced at it. And for that day it sufficed for those who had led the enterprize to kiss the hand of the Infant their lord, and to give him a short account of their exploits: after which they took their rest, as men who had come to their fatherland and their own homes; and you may guess what would be their joy among their wives and children.

And next day Lançarote, as he who had taken the main charge of the expedition, said to the Infant: "My lord, your grace well knoweth that you have to receive the fifth of these Moors, and of all that we have gained in that land, whither you sent us for the service of God and of yourself.

"And now these Moors, because of the long time we have been at sea, as well as for the great sorrow that you must consider they have at heart, at seeing themselves away from the land of their birth, and placed in captivity, without having any understanding of what their end is to be—and moreover because they have not been accustomed to a life on shipboard—for all these reasons are poorly and out of condition; wherefore it seemeth to me that it would be well to order them to be taken out of the caravels at dawn, and to be placed in that field which lies outside the city gate, and there to be divided into five parts, according to custom, and that your Grace should come there and choose one of these parts, whichever you prefer."

The Infant said that he was well pleased, and on the next day very early, Lançarote bade the masters of the caravels that they should put out the captives, and take them to that field, where they were to make the divisions, as he had said already. But before they did anything else in that matter, they took as an offering the best of those Moors to the church of that place; and another little Moor, who afterwards became a friar of St. Francis, they sent to St. Vincent do Cabo, where he lived ever after as a Catholic Christian, without having understanding or perception of any other law than that true and holy law in which all we Christians hope for our salvation. And the Moors of that capture were in nmber 235 (I. 79-80).

Chapter XXV. *Wherein the author reasoneth somewhat concerning the pity inspired by the captives, and of how the division was made.* O, Thou heavenly Father—who with Thy powerful hand, without alteration of Thy divine essence, governest all the infinite company of Thy Holy City, and controllest all the revolutions of higher worlds, divided into nine spheres, making the duration of ages long or short according as it pleaseth Thee—I pray Thee that my tears may not wrong my conscience, for it is not their religion but their humanity that maketh mine to weep in pity for their sufferings.

And if the brute animals, with their bestial feelings, by a natural instinct understand the sufferings of their own kind, what wouldst Thou have my human nature to do on seeing before my eyes that miserable company, and remembering that they too are of the generation of the sons of Adam?

On the next day, which was the 8th of the month of August, very early in the morning, by reason of the heat, the seamen began to make ready their boats, and to take out those captives, and carry them on shore, as they were commanded. And these, placed all together in that field, were a marvellous sight, for amongst them were some white enough, fair to look upon, and well proportioned; others were less white like mulattoes; others again were as black as Ethiops, and so ugly, both in features and in body, as almost to appear (to those who saw them) the images of a lower hemisphere. But what heart could be so hard as not to be pierced with piteous feeling to see that company? For some kept their heads low and their faces bathed in tears, looking one upon another; others stood groaning very dolorously, looking up to the height of heaven, fixing their eyes upon it, crying out loudly, as if asking help of the Father of Nature; others struck their faces with the palms of their hands, throwing themselves at full length upon the ground; others made their lamentations in the manner of a dirge, after the custom of their country. And though we could not understand the words of their language, the sound of it right well accorded with the measure of their sadness. But to increase their sufferings still more, there now arrived those who had charge of the division of the captives, and who began to separate one from another, in order to make an equal partition of the fifths; and then was it needful to part fathers from sons, husbands from wives, brothers from brothers. No respect was shewn either to friends or relations, but each fell where his lot took him.

O powerful Fortune, that with thy wheels doest and undoest, compassing the matters of this world as pleaseth thee, do thou at least put before the eyes of that miserable race some understanding of matters to come, that they may receive some consolation in the midst of their great sorrow. And you who are so busy in making that division of the captives, look with pity upon so much misery; and see how they cling one to the other, so that you can hardly separate them.

And who could finish that partition without very great toil? for as often as they had placed them in one part the sons, seeing their fathers in another, rose with great energy and rushed over to them; the mothers clasped their other children in their arms, and threw themselves flat on the ground with them, receiving blows with little

pity for their own flesh, if only they might not be torn from them.

And so troublously they finished the partition, for besides the toil they had with the captives, the field was quite full of people, both from the town [22] and from the surrounding villages and districts, who for that day gave rest to their hands (in which lay their power to get their living) for the sole purpose of beholding this novelty. And with what they saw, while some were weeping and others separating the captives, they caused such a tumult as greatly to confuse those who directed the partition.

The Infant was there, mounted upon a powerful steed, and accompanied by his retinue, making distribution of his favours, as a man who sought to gain but small treasure from his share; for of the forty-six souls that fell to him as his fifth, he made a very speedy partition of these [among others], for his chief riches lay in [the accomplishment of] his purpose; for he reflected with great pleasure upon the salvation of those souls that before were lost.

And certainly his expectation was not in vain; for, as we said before, as soon as they understood our language they turned Christians with very little ado; and I who put together this history into this volume, saw in the town of Lagos boys and girls (the children and grandchildren of those first captives, born in this land) as good and true Christians as if they had directly descended, from the beginning of the dispensation of Christ, from those who were first baptised (I. 80-83).

Chapter XXVI. *How the Infant Don Henry made Lançarote a knight.* Although the sorrow of those captives was for the present very great, especially after the partition was finished and each one took his own share aside (while some sold their captives, the which they took to other districts); and although it chanced that among the prisoners the father often remained in Lagos, while the mother was taken to Lisbon, and the children to another part (in which partition their sorrow doubled the first grief)—yet this sorrow was less felt among those who happened to remain in company. For as saith the text, the wretched find a consolation in having comrades in misfortune. But from this time forth they began to acquire some knowledge of our country, in which they found great abundance, and our men began to treat them with great favour. For as our people did not find them hardened in the belief of the other Moors, and saw how they came in unto the law of Christ with a good will, they made no difference between them and their free servants, born in our own country. But those whom they took while still young, they caused to be instructed in mechanical arts, and those whom they saw fitted for manag-

[22] Lagos.

ing property, they set free and married to women who were natives of the land, making with them a division of their property, as if they had been bestowed on those who married them by the will of their own fathers, and for the merits of their service they were bound to act in a like manner. Yea, and some widows of good family who bought some of these female slaves, either adopted them or left them a portion of their estate by will, so that in the future they married right well, treating them as entirely free. Suffice it that I never saw one of these slaves put in irons like other captives, and scarcely any one who did not turn Christian and was not very gently treated.

And I have been asked by their lords to the baptisms and marriages of such, at which they, whose slaves they were before, made no less solemnity than if they had been their children or relations.

And so their lot was now quite the contrary of what it had been, since before they had lived in perdition of soul and body; of their souls, in that they were yet pagans, without the clearness and the light of the Holy Faith; and of their bodies, in that they lived like beasts, without any custom of reasonable beings—for they had no knowledge of bread or wine, and they were without the covering of clothes, or the lodgment of houses; and worse than all, through the great ignorance that was in them, in that they had no understanding of good, but only knew how to live in a bestial sloth.

But as soon as they began to come to this land, and men gave them prepared food and coverings for their bodies, their bellies began to swell, and for a time they were ill, until they were accustomed to the nature of the country, but some of them were so made that they were not able to endure it and died, but as Christians.

Now there were four things in these captives that were very different from the condition of the other Moors who were taken prisoners from this part. First, that after they had come to this land of Portugal, they never more tried to fly, but rather in time forgot all about their own country, as soon as they began to taste the good things of this one; secondly, that they were very loyal and obedient servants, without malice; thirdly, that they were not so inclined to lechery as the others; fourthly, that after they began to use clothing they were for the most part very fond of display, so that they took great delight in robes of showy colours, and such was their love of finery, that they picked up the rags that fell from the coats of the other people of the country and sewed them on to their garments, taking great pleasure in these, as though it were matter of some greater perfection. And what was still better, as I have already said, they turned themselves with a good will into the path of the true faith, in the which after they had entered, they received true belief, and in the same they died.

And now reflect what a guerdon should be that of the Infant in the presence of the Lord God, for thus bringing to true salvation, not only those, but many others, whom you will find in this history later on.

Now when the partition was thus accomplished, the captains of the other caravels came to the Infant, and with them some noblemen of his house, and said to him: "Sire, in that you know the great toil that Lançarote, your servant, hath undergone in this action just achieved, and with what diligence he effected it, by the which God hath given us so good a victory as you have seen; and also as he is a man of good lineage, who deserveth every good; we beg your grace that for his reward, you would be minded to knight him with your own hand. Since you see that for every reason he deserveth this honour, and even if he had not deserved it so well (said those captains of the caravels), we think it would be an injury to us (as he was our captain-general, and laboured so much before our eyes), if he did not receive for it some honour superior to that which he had before, being an upright man and your servant, as we have said."

The Infant answered that it pleased him greatly; and that besides he was much obliged for their having asked it of him, for by it they gave example to the others that might desire to act as captains of brave men, and toil for their honour.

And so forthwith he made Lançarote a knight, giving him a rich guerdon, according as his deserts and his excellence required. And to the other leaders also he gave increased advancement, so that besides their first profit they considered their labour right well bestowed (I. 83-86). . . .

Chapter XXXI.[23] *How Dinis Diaz went to the land of the Negroes, and of the captives that he took.* . . . And as they went further on,[24] they met with other boats, whose crews, seeing ours to be men, were alarmed at the novelty of the sight; and moved by fear they sought to flee, each and all; but because our men had a better opportunity than before, they captured four of them, and these were the first to be taken by Christians in their own land, and there is no chronicle or history that relateth aught to the contrary (I. 99). . . .

[23] Chs. XXVII. and XXVIII. tell of an unsuccessful voyage down the coast, in which the increasing hostility of the natives resulted in the death of the leader, Gonçallo de Sintra, and many of his men. Ch. XXIX. describes a voyage undertaken by Gonçalvez to the River of Gold; ch. XXX., a voyage of Nuno Tristam, in 1445, in which he saw the land of the negroes but was unable to land. This probably means that the Portuguese had reached Cape Palmas.

[24] Diaz had by this time voyaged past the desert coast-line and as far south as the mouth of the Senegal River. He continued along the coast until he reached "a great cape, to which they gave the name of Cape Verde" (p. 99).

Chapter XXXV.[25] *How Antam Gonçalvez went to make the ransom.* . . . And when the noble [26] concluded his bargaining, he received some things which pleased him most among those tendered to him by our men (though they were really small and of little value), and he gave us for the same nine negroes and a little gold dust (I. III). . . .

Chapter XXXVI. *How they took the Moors at Cape Branco.* "Let us return", said Antam Gonçalvez, "to Cape Branco, for I have heard say that on the side opposite the sunset there is a village, in which we could find some people of whom we could make booty, if we took it suddenly and by surprise." All said that this was good counsel, and that they should put it in action at once; and, for this thirty-eight men were set apart, who were most ready for the service, and they landed and went to the village straightway, at the beginning of the night, but found nothing in it. "Then said some of them, it would be well for us to return to our boats and row as far as we may along the land, till we see morning; and as soon as that shall happen, we will land and go towards those Moors to hold the passage of the Cape; because they needs must go along the said Cape before they can retreat into the upland. And as they have with them women and children, they will be forced to rest part of the night, and though they travel continually, they cannot go so fast as to prevent us from passing them." And in this counsel they were all agreed, and rowing all the night without taking any rest (because in such places and times slothfulness is the greatest cause of loss), the night came to its end. And when the clearness of the day was beginning, twenty-eight of them landed, for the others stayed to guard the boats. And those that were on land went on, till they arrived at a certain high place, from which they perceived they could keep a good watch over all the parts round them; and concealing themselves as well as they could on account of the rising of the sun, they saw Moors coming towards them, men and women, with their boys and girls, in all seventy or eighty, as they reckoned. And without any further speech or counsel, they rushed out among them, shouting out their accustomed cries, "St. George", "Portugal". And at their attack the Moors were so dismayed that most of them at once sought relief in flight, and only seven or eight stood on their defence, of whom there now fell dead at the first charge

[25] In 1446 Antam Gonçalvez set forth to bring back João Fernandez, who had been left at the River of Gold the year before in order that he might gather information about the land and the natives. Ch. XXXII. describes the beginning of this voyage; ch. XXXIII. recounts the capture of thirty-five Moors; ch. XXXIV., the finding of João Fernandez.

[26] Named Ahude Meymam. João Fernandez had made the acquaintance of this native chief and had learned that he had black slaves whom he wished to sell. This seems to be the first instance of purchase rather than capture on the part of the Portuguese.

three or four. And these being despatched, there was no more toil of fight, and only he who knew himself light of foot thought he had any remedy for his life; but our men did not stand idle, for if their enemies took care to run they did not for their part let themselves rest; for at such a time toil of the kind they underwent is true rest for the conquerors. And so they captured in all fifty-five, whom they took with them to the boats. Of their joy I will not speak, because reason will tell you what it must have been, both of those who took the captives and of the others on board the caravels, when they came with their prize. And after this capture they agreed to turn back to the kingdom [of Portugal]. . . .

Wherefore they guided their caravels towards Portugal, making straight for Lisbon, where they arrived quite content with their booty. But who would not take pleasure at seeing the multitude of people that ran out to see those caravels? for as soon as they had lowered their sails, the officers who collected the royal dues took boats from the shore to find out whence the ships came and what they brought; and as soon as they returned and the news passed from one to another, in a short time there was such a multitude in the caravels that they were nearly swamped. Nor were there less on the next day, when they took the captives out of the ships and wished to convey them to a palace of the Infant, a good way distant from the Ribeira. For from all the other parts of the city they flocked on to those streets by which they had to convey them. Of a surety, saith the author of this history, many of those I spoke of at first, who murmured over the commencement of this action, might well rebuke themselves now, for there was no one there who would be then counted as of that number. And the noise of the people was so great, praising the great virtues of the Infant (when they saw them take the captives in bonds along those streets), that if anyone had dared to speak in the contrary sense he would very soon have found it well to recant. But perchance it would have availed him little, for the populace (and most of all in a time of excitement) but rarely pardoneth him who contradicteth what it willeth to hold established. Nor doth it appear to me that there could be a man of such evil condition that he could speak against so manifest a good, from which followed such great profits.

The Infant was then in the district of Viseu, from which he sent to receive his fifth; and of those who remained, the captains made a sale in the city, from which all received great advantage (I. 113-116). . . .[27]

[27] Chs. XXXVII. to XLI. deal with an expedition to Arguin financed by Gonçalo Pacheco, of Lisbon, treasurer of Ceuta, Alvero Gil, assayer of the mint, and Mafaldo of Setubal. In the first village which they found they captured seven natives, one of whom led them to a larger village, where they made forty-six captives. In all, they captured one hundred and twenty natives and sailed as far south as Cape Verde.

Chapter XLII. *How Alvaro Vasquez took the thirty-five Moors.* . . . "Now," said Alvaro Vasquez, "our booty is before your eyes, but it is so clearly discovered that of necessity we shall be seen before we can arrive at it; and because it doth not appear to me to be so great a settlement as that it can hold a people with whom we cannot cope, still, in order that we may achieve some sort of success, let each one run as fast as he can, and so let us stoutly fall upon them, and if we are not able to make captives of the young men, yet let us seize upon the old men, the women, and the little children, and let us take such advisement that whosoever putteth himself on his defence shall be slain without pity; and as to the others, let us seize them as best we can." And before he had quite finished these reasons, many of them began to increase their pace, while others were running as fast as they could; and the Moors, like unwary people, little recking of such a danger, when their enemies came upon them, were all thrown into that confusion which the fortune of the case required. And when they saw men coming upon them so suddenly and so boldly, and armed with weapons quite strange to them, they were altogether amazed. Whereat our men took so much the greater boldness, seeing their timorous disorder, and at once began to seize upon as many of them as they could, and seeing that some sought to put themselves on their defence, they slew them without mercy. But the affair lasted not long at that time, for that the enemy soon began to fly. And there were many amongst them who then looked on their wives and children for the last time, and in a short space the booty would have been much larger if that arm of the sea had not been so near that many of them escaped into it, inasmuch as for the most part, not only the men but also the women and the children, all knew how to swim. And others who were bold and light-footed, trusting in their fleetness, escaped through all; though some were deceived in it, for they found others of our men who followed and captured them in spite of their lightness of foot, so that in all there were taken captive thirty-five, besides some that perished (II. 133-134). . . .

Chapter XLIV. *How they sailed to the land of the Negroes.* And so they hoisted their sails forthwith and pursued their voyage, and sailing on their course a space of 80 leagues they came near to the coast of Guinea, where they made them ready with their boats to land, but when the black men caught sight of them they ran down to the shore with their shields and assegais, as men who sought to make themselves ready for battle; but although they showed so fierce a countenance, yet our men would have gone on shore if the roughness of the sea had consented thereto; and, far as they were from the shore, our men did yet perceive that it was a land very green, peopled

by human folk and tame cattle, which the inhabitants of the land had with them for their use. And they would have gone further on still, but the storm increased upon them with much distemperature of the weather, so that they were forced to turn back without remedy (II. 136). . . .

Chapter LX.[28] *How those caravels arrived at the river of Nile, and of the Guineas that they took.* Now these caravels having passed by the land of Sahara, as hath been said, came in sight of the two palm trees [29] that Dinis Diaz had met with before, by which they understood that they were at the beginning of the land of the Negroes. And at this sight they were glad indeed, and would have landed at once, but they found the sea so rough upon that coast that by no manner of means could they accomplish their purpose. And some of those who were present said afterwards that it was clear from the smell that came off the land how good must be the fruits of that country, for it was so delicious that from the point they reached, though they were on the sea, it seemed to them that they stood in some gracious fruit garden ordained for the sole end of their delight. And if our men showed on their side a great desire of gaining the land, no less did the natives of it show their eagerness to receive them into it; but of the reception they offered I do not care to speak, for according to the signs they made to our men from the first, they did not intend to abandon the beach without very great loss to one side or the other. Now the people of this green land are wholly black, and hence this is called Land of the Negroes, or Land of Guinea.[30] Wherefore also the men and women thereof are called "Guineas", as if one were to say "Black Men". And when the men in the caravels saw the first palms and lofty trees as we have related, they understood right well that they were close to the river of Nile, at the point where it floweth into the western sea, the which river is there called the Senegal (II. 176-177). . . .[31]

And as all the eight were going in the boat, one of them, looking

[28] In 1445 a group in Lagos asked permission to equip an African voyage. This amounted to at least twenty-seven vessels, later increased to thirty by the addition of vessels belonging to Pacheco. The Portuguese made their first attack at Cape Blanco, where they found the village deserted. Later, in a battle with the Moors, they captured fifty-seven. Five caravels returned, one remained in the Bay of Arguin, six pressed southward (II. 146-176). Azurara's narrative follows the adventures of those who went south.

[29] Cape of Palms or Cape Palmas.

[30] Up to this time the Portuguese had encountered Moorish tribes or possibly some of the negroid peoples that represented a fusion of Moor and negro. Pure negroes were not to be met north of the Senegal River. Indeed, several of the tribes between the Senegal and the Gambia were Mohammedans with an intermixture of Arab or Moorish blood, though the Portuguese would probably have called them negroes. South of the Gambia pure negroes, untouched by the influence of the northern peoples, were, and are still, to be found.

[31] That one might find one's way up the River Nile from the West Coast was a tradition which survived for many years.

out towards the mouth of the river,[32] espied the door of a hut, and said to his companions: "I know not how the huts of this land are built, but judging by the fashion of those I have seen before, that should be a hut that I see before me, and I presume it belongs to fishing folk who have come to fish in this stream. And if you think well, it seemeth to me that we ought to go and land beyond that point, in such wise that we may not be discovered from the door of the hut; and let some land, and approach from behind those sand-banks, and if any natives are lying in the hut, it may be that they will take them before they are perceived." Now it appeared to the others that this was good advice, and so they began to put it into execution. And as soon as they reached the land, Stevam Affonso leapt out, and five others with him, and they proceeded in the manner that the others had suggested. And while they were going thus concealed even until they neared the hut, they saw come out of it a negro boy, stark naked, with a spear in his hand. Him they seized at once, and coming up close to the hut, they lighted upon a girl, his sister, who would be about eight years old. This boy the Infant afterwards caused to be taught to read and write, with all other knowledge that a Christian should have; and many Christians there be who have not this knowledge as perfectly as he had (II. 178-179). . . .

Chapter LXIII. *How the caravels set forth from the river, and of the voyage which they made.* . . . And in this wise Gomez Pirez lost the company of the other caravels, and following his course towards Portugal, after taking in water at the isle of Arguim, he came to the Rio do Ouro, and sailed as far up as the port where he had been the preceding year with Antam Gonçalvez and Diego Affonso, and there presently the Moors came, and in taking security of them he learnt there were no merchants there. But they sold him a black for the price of five doubloons, which he paid them by certain things he gave them in their stead. Also they brought him water on their camels, and gave him meat and made him a sufficiency of good reception; and above all they showed such confidence that without any hesitancy so many entered into the caravel, that he was not very well pleased, and would not consent that any more should enter; but at last, without causing them any injury, he had them put on land, making an agreement with them that next year, in the month of July, he would return there, when he would find blacks in abundance and gold, and merchandise by which he might gain much profit (II. 193-194). . . .

[32] The Senegal, which they entered as soon as they discovered its mouth.

Chapter LXIV. *Of how Lançarote and Alvaro de Freitas captured a dozen Moors.* . . . And as they went forward, not very far from there, while traversing a sandhill, they saw the Moors, who were journeying in a hollow. "Now", said those who there bore the office of captains, to these others, "you can show your good will by toiling in the pursuit of those foemen". And although our men were already somewhat wearied, it appeared to them as if they had only that moment issued from their ships, so great desire had they to come up with the enemy. And this desire they now put into practice very quickly, for the Moors were hardly able to issue forth before our men were up with them; and some, that endeavoured to offer a defence, in a brief space learnt the error of their sect, for without any pity our men killed them very speedily, in so much that there remained alive no more than twelve, whom they took back as their prisoners. And although the booty was not great in comparison of other spoil which had already been made in that land, yet were they all very glad of it; and this because the victory had been obtained by so few men rather than because of the share of gain that fell to the lot of each (II. 196).

Chapter LXV. *How Lançarote and Alvaro de Freitas and Vicente Diaz took fifty-seven Moors.* . . . And now [33] our men began to run forward, shouting out their accustomed cries, to wit, "St. James", "Portugal", "St. George"; but the sound of these was not very pleasant to the enemy, so that they had not leisure to place their pack-saddles upon their asses. And those who had the packs upon their necks freed themselves from these burdens, and what was more noteworthy, some who had their children upon their shoulders, seeing that they could not save them, let them fall upon the ground, with how great a crash you may imagine. And so in this anguish they began to fly, not all together, nor by one road, but each one by himself, quite leaving behind their women and children, without any hope of remedy. Yet true it is that some there were who, though they perceived the manifest discomfiture of their party, had the courage to show some defence, the which were very quickly despatched from life. And finally of all the people there were taken

[33] After the last exploit, Lançarote and Alvaro de Freitas sailed northward to Arguin, where they were joined by Vicente Diaz. In the council as to whether they should return at once to Portugal or seek further booty, the latter argued for a prompt return: "Your proposal would be good if the place were such that by toiling one might hope to receive some profit; but this land, as you know, is already turned upside down, and it hath been disturbed a thousand times, and the caravels go by it every day, so that there is not a Moor, however simple he may be, that dareth to set foot on all this land; but rather reason teacheth that they must have been terrified and fled from here as far as they could." This sensible counsel did not prevail; they returned to Tider, where they found no Moors, but they had better success on land near by, where the Moors were overtaken just on the point of departure.

fifty-seven; some others were killed and again others escaped. Oh, if only among those who fled there had been some little understanding of higher things. Of a surety I believe, that the same haste which they showed in flying, they would then have made in coming to where they might have saved their souls and restored their affairs in this life (II. 200-201). . . .[34]

Chapter LXXV. *Of how the caravel of John Gonçalvez Zarco arrived at the land of the Negroes.* . . . And when they were as near to the Cape [35] as it might be a third of a league, they cast anchor and rested as they had arranged; but they had not been there long when from the land there set out two boats, manned by ten Guineas, who straightway began to make their way direct to the ship, like men who came in peace. And when they were near, they made a signal asking security, which was granted them, and immediately without any other precaution, five of them went on board the caravel, where Alvaro Fernandez had them entertained as hospitably as he was able, giving orders to provide them with food and drink and all other good company that could be made them. And after this they departed, giving signs of great contentment, but it seemeth that they had come with something different conceived in their minds. And as soon as they reached the land they told the rest of their fellows all they had found, and from this it seemed to them that they could easily capture them [the Portuguese]. And with this design there put off six boats with thirty-five or forty of their company prepared like men who meant to fight; but when they were near, they felt a fear of coming up to the caravel, and so they stayed a little distance off without daring to make an attack. And when Alvaro Fernandez perceived that they dared not come to him, he commanded his boat to be lowered and in it he ordered eight men to place themselves, from among the readiest that he found for the duty; and he arranged that the boat should be on the further side of the caravel so that it might not be seen by the enemy, in the hope that they would approach nearer to the ship. And the Guineas lay some way off until one of their boats took courage to move more forward and issued forth from the others towards the caravel, and in it were five brave and stout Guineas, distinguished in this respect among the others of the company. And as soon as Alvaro Fernandez perceived that this boat was already in a position for him to be able to reach it before it could receive help from the others, he ordered his own to issue forth quickly and go against it. And by the great advantage of our men

[34] Chs. LXVI.-LXXIV. recount the adventures of various other leaders of this expedition, who made occasional captures, the most important of which were accomplished in the Canary Islands. Ch. LXXV. gives special praise to João Gonçalvez Zarco, as bent not upon profit for himself but upon doing service to the Prince.

[35] Cape Verde.

in their manner of rowing they were soon upon the enemy, who seeing themselves thus overtaken, and having no hope of defence, leapt into the water, while the other boats fled towards the land. But our men had very great toil in the capture of those who were swimming, for they dived like cormorants, so that they could not get a hold of them; yet they soon captured one, though not without some difficulty; but the capture of the second caused them to lose all the others. For he was so valiant that two men, very mighty as they were, could not drag him into the boat until they took a boathook and caught him above one eye, and the pain of this made him abate his courage and allow himself to be put inside the boat. And with these two captives they returned to the ship (II. 226-228). . . .

Chapter LXXVII. *Of the things that happened to João Fernandez.* . . .[36] And to their land come some Moors and they sell them of those Negroes whom they have kidnapped, or else they take them to Momdebarque, which is beyond the kingdom of Tunis, to sell to the Christian merchants who go there, and they give them these slaves in exchange for bread and some other things, just as they do now at the Rio do Ouro, as will be related further on. . . . And it is said that in the land of the Negroes there is another kingdom called Melli,[37] but this is not certain; for they bring the Negroes from that kingdom, and sell them like the others, whereas 'tis manifest that if they were Moors they would not sell them so (II. 233-234). . . .

Chapter LXXXVII. *Of how Alvaro Fernandez returned again to the land of the Negroes, and of the things he accomplished there.* . . . And when the ship had been provisioned, they made their voyage straight to Cape Verde, whereat in the past year they had captured the two Guineas of whom we have spoken in another place, and thence they passed on to the Cape of Masts (II. 258). . . .

And so journeying along the sea coast, in a few days they went on shore again, and came upon a village, and its inhabitants issued forth like men who showed they had a will to defend their houses, and among them came one armed with a good buckler and an assegai in his hand. And Alvaro Fernandez seeing him, and judging him to be the leader of the band, went stoutly at him, and gave him such a great wound with his lance that he fell down dead, and then he took from him his shield and assegai; and these he brought home to the Infant along with some other things, as will be related further on.

[36] It will be remembered that João Fernandez had spent seven months in the desert lands between the Barbary States and the land of the negroes. The author has here turned from the account of adventures on the coast, to relate what had been learned of the interior.

[37] This refers to the kingdom of the Mandingoes, who were the dominant tribe south of the Gambia.

Now the Guineas, perceiving that man to be dead, paused from their fighting, and it appeared to our men to be neither the time nor the place to withdraw them from that fear. But rather they returned to their ship and on the next day landed a little way distant from there, where they espied some of the wives of those Guineas walking. And it seemeth that they were going nigh to a creek collecting shell-fish, and they captured one of them, who would be as much as thirty years of age, with a son of hers who would be of about two, and also a young girl of fourteen years, who had well-formed limbs and also a favorable presence for a Guinea; but the strength of the woman was much to be marvelled at, for not one of the three men who came upon her but would have had a great labour in attempting to get her to the boat. And so one of our men, seeing the delay they were making, during which it might be that some of the dwellers of the land would come upon them, conceived it well to take her son from her and to carry him to the boat; and love of the child compelled the mother to follow after it, without great pressure on the part of the two who were bringing her. From this place they went on further for a certain distance until they lighted upon a river,[38] into the which they entered with the boat, and in some houses that they found they captured a woman, and after they had brought her to the caravel, they returned once more to the river, intending to journey higher up in order to try and make some good booty. And as they were pursuing their voyage thus, there came upon them four or five boats of Guineas prepared like men who would defend their land, and our men in the boat were not desirous to try a combat with them, seeing the great advantage their enemies had, and especially because they feared the great peril that lay in the poison with which they shot. And so they began to retreat to their ship as well as they could, but seeing how one of those boats was much in front of the others, they turned round upon it, but it retired towards its companions, and as our men were trying to reach it before it escaped (for it seemeth that it was already distant a good way from the company) their boat came so near that one of those Guineas made a shot at it and happened to hit Alvaro Fernandez with an arrow in the leg. But since he had already been warned of its poison, he drew out that arrow very quickly and had the wound washed with urine and olive oil, and then anointed it very well with theriack,[39] and it pleased God that it availed him, although his health was in very troublous case, for during certain days he was in the very act of passing away from life. The others on the caravel, although they saw their captain thus

[38] The Lagos.

[39] Theriaca Andromachi, or Venice treacle, a remedy said to contain sixty-one drugs, and to have been named by Nero's physician.

wounded, desisted not from voyaging forward along that coast until they arrived at a narrow strip of sand stretching in front of a great bay, and here they put out their boat and went inside to see what kind of land they would find; and when they were in sight of the beach they saw coming toward them full 120 Guineas, some with shields and assegais, others with bows. And as soon as they came near the water these began to play and dance like men far removed from any sorrow; but our men in the boat, wishful to escape from the invitation to that festival, returned to their ship. And this took place 110 leagues beyond Cape Verde,[40] and all that coast trendeth commonly to the south. And this caravel went further this year than all the others, wherefore with right good will a guerdon of 200 doubloons was granted unto it, that is to say 100 which the Infant Don Pedro, who was then Regent, ordered to be given, and another 100 which it obtained from the Infant Don Henry. And had it not been for the illness of Alvaro Fernandez, by which he was much disabled, the caravel would have gone further still, but it was obliged to return from that last place I have mentioned, and it came straight to the Isle of Arguim, and thence to the Cape of the Ransom, where they found that Ahude Meymam of whom we have already spoken at times in this history. And although they did not carry an interpreter, yet by making signs they obtained a negress, whom the Moors gave them in exchange for some cloths they brought with them, and had they not brought so little they could have obtained much more, judging by the desire that the Moors showed. And thence they made their voyage towards the Kingdom, where they received the doubloons as I have already said, together with many other guerdons from the Infant their lord, who was very joyful at their coming on account of the advance they had made in their expedition (II. 258-261). . . .[41]

2. Permission granted to the Governor of Bresa for Four Thousand Slaves.[1]

The King. Our officials who reside in the city of Seville in our House of Trade of the Indies; Know ye that I have given permis-

[40] They were probably in the neighborhood of Cape Roxo.

[41] In 1446 Gomez Pirez, remembering that he had promised the Moors at the Rio do Ouro to return for trade with them, set forth, after obtaining a license from Prince Henry. The effort at peaceful trading failed but slave raids resulted in 79 captives, thus justifying Gomez Pirez's speech to his men: "My friends, you well know how we are come to this part chiefly to do service to God, and then to the Lord Infant our master, and all this not without a profitable return for ourselves" (II. 269). The expedition is described in chs. LXXXIX.-XCII. Ch. XCIII. describes a voyage to Meça in Morocco, in which eighteen Moors were exchanged for fifty-one negroes. According to Azurara, there were carried to Portugal between the years 1441 and 1448, 927 captives, Moors and negroes (II. 288).

[2] [1] Scelle, *La Traite Négrière aux Indes de Castille,* I. 755. For an account of this grant, see introduction, p. 160.

sion, and by the present [instrument] do give it, to Lorenzo de Gorrevod, governor of Bresa, member of my Council, whereby he, or the person or persons who may have his authority therefor, may proceed to take to the Indies, the islands and the mainland of the ocean sea already discovered or to be discovered, four thousand negro slaves both male and female, provided they be Christians, in whatever proportions he may choose. Until these are all taken and transported no other slaves, male or female, may be transported, except those whom I have given permission [to take] up to the present date. Therefore, I order you to allow and consent to the governor of Bresa aforesaid or the person or persons aforesaid who may have his said authority to transport and take the four thousand slaves male and female, without molesting him in any way; and, if the said governor of Bresa or the persons aforesaid who may have his authority, should make any arrangements with traders or other persons to ship the said slaves, male or female, direct from the isles of Guinea and other regions from which they are wont to bring the said negroes to these realms and to Portugal, or from any other region they please, even though they do not bring them to register in that house, they may do so provided that you take sufficient security that they bring you proof of how many they have taken to each island and that the said negroes male and female, have become Christians on reaching each island, and how they have paid the customs duties there, in order that those taken be known and be not in excess of the aforesaid number. Notwithstanding any prohibition and order that may exist to the contrary, I require you and order you in regard to this not to collect any duty in that house [of trade] on the said slaves but rather you are to allow them to be taken freely and this my cedula shall be written down in the books of that house [of trade].

Done in Saragossa, the eighteenth day of August of the year 1518.

I THE KING,
By order of the King, FRANCISCO DE LOS COVOS.

3. THE VOYAGE OF WILLIAM TOWERSON TO GUINEA, 1555.[1]

The First Voyage made by Master William Towrson Marchant of London, to the Coast of Guinea, with two Ships, in the Yeere 1555.

[3] [1] Richard Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations,* VI. 177-211; Astley, *Voyages and Travels,* I. 150-161; Kerr, *Voyages and Travels,* VII. 246-273. The two ships, the *Hart* and the *Hinde,* were bound for the River Sestos in Guinea, and other havens thereabouts. They reached Cape Three Points in January, 1556, and traded along the coast, at some places finding the natives afraid to trade with them lest they incur the wrath of the Portuguese. Towerson's account certainly indicates that other English traders were on the African coast at this time. Apparently the order of the Privy Council against Guinea expeditions was not taken with great seriousness.

This fellowe [2] came aboord our shippe without feare, and as soone as he came, he demaunded, why we had not brought againe their men, which the last yeere we tooke away, and could tell us that there were five taken away by Englishmen: we made him answere, that they were in England well used, and were there kept till they could speake the language, and then they should be brought againe to be a helpe to Englishmen in this Countrey: and then he spake no more of that matter. . . . we saw many boates lying upon the shoare,[3] and divers came by us, but none of them would come neere us, being as we judged afraid of us: because that foure men were taken perforce the last yeere from this place, so that no man came to us. . . .

Then we went aboord to goe from this place, seeing the Negroes bent against us, because that the last yeere M. Gainsh did take away the Captaines sonne and three others from this place with their golde, and all that they had about them: which was the cause that they became friends with the Portugales, whom before they hated, as did appeare the last yeere by the courteous intertainement which the *Trinitie* had there, when the Captaine came aboord the shippe, and brought them to his towne, and offered them ground to build a Castle in, and there they had good sales (VI. 200, 205, 207). . . .[4]

4. The Second Voyage of William Towerson, 1556.[1]

The second voyage made by Maister William Towrson to the coast of Guinea, and the Castle of Mina, in the Yeere 1556, with the "Tiger" of London, a ship of 120 tunnes, the "Hart" of London of 60 tunnes, and a Pinnesse of sixteene tunnes.

. . . This place is called Bulle,[2] and here the Negros were very glad of our Negros, and shewed them all the friendship they could, when they had told them that they were the men that were taken away being now againe brought by us. . . .

[2] A young native who had been for a time at Elmina and was able to give the English information about the Portuguese garrison and trade. Towerson was trading at a village not far from Elmina, which was still the chief Portuguese settlement on the Gold Coast.

[3] They were now at a village east of Elmina. Both this settlement and that at which they had first traded the English called "towns of Don John", by which they probably meant that they were under Portuguese control.

[4] Robert Gainsh was captain of the *John Evangelist* on Lok's voyage (see Hakluyt, VI. 155). Lok's vessels in their trading along the Gold Coast had evidently carried off natives from a village between Cape Three Points and Elmina. Curiosity alone seems to have been the animating motive, as there is no evidence that these adventurers had any thought of entering upon the traffic in blacks. Indeed they made considerable effort to preserve friendly relations with the natives, as their only hope of maintaining themselves against the Portuguese lay in native support.

[4] [1] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations,* VI. 212-231; Astley, *Voyages and Travels,* I. 162-168.

[2] Bulle, which they reached Jan. 15, 1557, was not far from Cape Three Points. Claridge, who knows the coast, suggests that Bulle may have been Dixcove. *History of the Gold Coast,* I. 68.

The sixteenth day I went along the shore with two pinnasses of the Frenchmen, and found a Baie and a fresh river, and after that went to a towne called Hanta, twelve leagues beyond the Cape. At this towne our Negros were well knowen, and the men of the towne wept for joy when they saw them, and demanded of them where Anthonie and Binne had bene: and they told them that they had bene at London in England, and should bee brought home the next voyage. . . .[3]

Then wee departed and went to Shamma,[4] and went into the river with five boates well appointed with men and ordinance, and with our noises of trumpets and drummes, for we thought here to have found some Portugals but there were none: so wee sent our Negros on shore, and after them went divers of us, and were very well received, and the people were very glad of our Negros, specially one of their brothers wives, and one of their aunts, which received them with much joy, and so did all the rest of the people, as if they had bene their naturall brethren (VI. 217, 218-219). . . .[5]

5. The First Voyage of John Hawkins, 1562-1563.[1]

The first voyage of the right worshipfull and valiant knight sir John Hawkins, sometimes treasurer of her Majesties navie Roial, made to the West Indies 1562.

[3] The English had joined a French squadron and they were trading amicably together, united by common hostility to the Portuguese. Towerson was apparently returning negroes that he had in his earlier voyage carried away, though there is no mention of such action in the account of his former visit.

[4] Shama, or Chama, was not far from the mouth of the River Pra, between Cape Three Points and Cape Coast. The Portuguese used it as a supply station for wood and water for Elmina. Some years later it became the seat of a Dutch fort. "And here the Negros shewed us that there was an English ship at the Mina, which had brought one of the Negros againe, which Robert Gaynsh tooke away." Hakluyt, VI. 219.

[5] No extracts from the narrative of Towerson's third voyage, 1558, have here been printed. It may be found in Hakluyt, VI. 231-252; Astley, I. 169-176; Kerr, *Voyages and Travels,* VII. 283-290. On that voyage he had two vessels from the Royal Navy, one of which, the *Minion,* was later to share in Hawkins's third and disastrous voyage to the West Indies. The date of Towerson's third voyage, which appears in Hakluyt as 1577, should be 1558. It was printed correctly in the Hakluyt edition of 1589.

[5] [1] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations,* X. 7-8; Sir Clements R. Markham, *The Hawkins' Voyages,* pp. 5-7; Beazley, *English Garner: Voyages and Travels mainly in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (New York, 1903), I. 29-30; E. J. Payne, *Voyages of Elizabethan Seamen* (Oxford, 1893), first ser., pp. 6-8. This account, written by Hakluyt from information given him by Hawkins, is extremely meagre and could scarcely have satisfied the painstaking Hakluyt. Williamson suggests that its omissions are by no means the result of the effect of time on the memory of the narrator, but are deliberate suppressions of the facts of the expedition. Many popular accounts tell the story of Hawkins's three slaving voyages, some of them trying to rid him of the stigma of initiating the English slave trade by adducing the fact that Lok had, in 1554, carried negroes to England. While this is true, it has been pointed out that there is no reason to believe that Lok had any thought of trafficking in blacks. Hawkins's raids were not followed by similar expeditions on the part of his countrymen, and the organized English traffic in blacks can hardly be said to date from Hawkins's time. As a matter of fact, the exploits of Hawkins are of much greater significance in the history of the relations between England and Spain than they are in that of the English slave trade. The following narratives do however give an idea of conditions on the African

Master John Hawkins having made divers voyages to the Iles of the Canaries, and there by his good and upright dealing being growen in love and favour with the people, informed himselfe amongst them by diligent inquisition, of the state of the West India, whereof hee had received some knowledge by the instructions of his father,[2] but increased the same by the advertisements and reports of that people. And being amongst other particulars assured, that Negros were very good marchandise in Hispaniola, and that store of Negros might easily bee had upon the coast of Guinea, resolved with himselfe to make triall thereof, and communicated that devise with his worshipfull friendes of London: namely with Sir Lionell Ducket, sir Thomas Lodge, M. Gunson his father in law, sir William Winter, M. Bromfield, and others.[3] All which persons liked so well of his intention, that they became liberall contributors and adventurers in the action. For which purpose there were three good ships immediately provided: The one called the *Salomon* of the burthern of 120. tunne, wherein M. Hawkins himselfe went as Generall: The second the *Swallow* of 100. tunnes, wherein went for Captaine M. Thomas Hampton: and the third the *Jonas* a barke of 40. tunnes, wherein the Master supplied the Captaines roome: in which small fleete M. Hawkins tooke with him not above 100. men for feare of sicknesse and other inconveniences, whereunto men in long voyages are commonly subject.

With this companie he put off and departed from the coast of England in the moneth of October 1562. and in his course touched

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coast at this time and a little notion of the Spanish market. For studies of Hawkins and his times, see Sir Julian Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy* (London, 1899), I. 74-119, and Williamson, *Sir John Hawkins*. The latter account, which uses much new material, presents Hawkins in a more favorable light than have most historians.

[2] William Hawkins, father of John, was apparently the only one of the English merchants trading to Brazil who combined Guinea and Brazil trade. Of him Hakluyt says, he was "a man for his wisdome, valure, experience, and skill in sea causes much esteemed, and beloved of K. Henry the 8, and . . . one of the principall Sea-captaines in the West parts of England in his time" (Hakluyt, XI. 23). Between 1530 and 1533 he made three voyages to Brazil, on the outward voyage touching at the Guinea coast. In 1539 Hawkins brought to England a Brazilian native chief, leaving as hostage a Plymouth seaman, Martin Cockeram. Unhappily, the chief died on the homeward voyage, but such was the reputation of Hawkins that he seems to have had no difficulty in reclaiming his hostage. The narrative of William Hawkins's voyages is printed in Markham, *The Hawkins' Voyages,* pp. 3-4, and Hakluyt, XI. 23-24.

[3] Benjamin Gonson, or Gunson, the possessor of a fortune made in the Levant trade, was treasurer of the Royal Navy. Sir William Winter was master of ordnance of the navy, Sir Lionell Duckett was later lord mayor of London, Sir Thomas Lodge, one of the governors of the Muscovy Company, was lord mayor in 1563. The group here mentioned was already interested in the African trade, and had possibly been responsible in large part for the queen's interest in it. That Hawkins should turn to them for advice and support seems to indicate that Williamson is correct in his contention that there was no conflict of interests between Hawkins's project for slaving on the nearer Guinea coast (Gambia and Sierra Leone) and their voyages for gold and other African commodities on the Guinea coast proper. This takes issue with most writers on the subject, who contend that Hawkins by his violence alienated the support of the natives, which the English traders had been at great pains to cultivate, and therefore brought the English Guinea trade to an end for twenty years. See W. R. Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies,* II. 8-9.

first at Teneriffe, where hee received friendly intertainment. From thence he passed to Sierra Leona, upon the coast of Guinea, which place by the people of the countrey is called Tagarin, where he stayed some good time, and got into his possession, partly by the sworde, and partly by other meanes, to the number of 300. Negros at the least, besides other merchandises which that countrey yeeldeth.[4] With this praye hee sayled over the Ocean sea unto the Iland of Hispaniola, and arrived first at the port of Isabella: and there hee had reasonable utterance of his English commodities, as also of some part of his Negros,[5] trusting the Spaniards no further, then that by his owne strength he was able still to master them. From the port of Isabella he went to Puerto de Plata, where he made like sales, standing alwaies upon his guard: from thence also hee sayled to Monte Christi another port on the North side of Hispaniola, and the last place of his touching, where he had peaceable traffique, and made vent of the whole number of his Negros: for which he received in those 3. places by way of exchange such quantitie of merchandise, that hee did not onely lade his owne 3. shippes with hides, ginger, sugars, and some quantities of pearles, but he fraighted also two other hulkes with hides and the like commodities, which hee sent into Spaine.[6] And thus leaving the Iland, he returned and disemboqued,

[4] This meagre description of the method by which the slaves were obtained is supplemented by Williamson, from the complaints transmitted to England by the Portuguese government. According to the Portuguese account, Hawkins seized in the River Caces (Cacheo) a vessel containing 200 negroes and other goods to the value of 15,000 ducats; in the River Mitombi (also called the Sierra Leone River), in Sierra Leone, he captured three vessels with seventy negroes each, one with "many negroes", and one with ivory, wax, and 500 negroes. A Spanish document, recounting the sins of Hawkins, lists not less than thirteen prizes. This more than trebles the number of negroes that Hawkins says he carried to the West Indies. Williamson's surmise is that these negroes were obtained by forced trade with the Portuguese rather than by actual warfare, since nowhere do the Portuguese complain that any of them had been killed. *Sir John Hawkins,* pp. 80-86, from State Papers, Foreign, Eliz., vol. 99, and Archivo General de Indias, 47-3-51-81.

[5] By a royal cedula of 1556 the maximum price of a negro in the West Indies had been fixed at 100 ducats (£20-£30), and in Mexico at 120 ducats. Saco, p. 212.

[6] This act accords with Williamson's theory that Hawkins believed that he could serve the Spaniards in entirely friendly fashion by such a voyage as the one here described, though it is difficult to see how he could have entertained the idea. He was not only violating the regulations against trade to foreigners but, as Professor Pollard observes, was exercising a privilege not allowed to Spanish subjects themselves. Trade in negroes had been almost from the beginning a carefully guarded privilege, hardly because of the "humanitarian pleadings" of Las Casas, as Pollard suggests, but rather because it was recognized at once as a potential source of great profit. It is scarcely necessary to resort to a humanitarian explanation in addition to the financial one, in view of the prevailing commercial practice (A. F. Pollard, *History of England from the Accession of Edward VI. to the Death of Elizabeth,* pp. 312-313). For trade relations between Spain and England, see C. H. Haring, *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs,* p. 116. The two vessels sent by Hawkins to Spain were seized when they reached Seville, and Captain Hampton, who had charge of them, was obliged to flee from the country. Six months after his return to England, the English ambassador at Madrid wrote to Hawkins, advising him to promise one of the favorites of the king 4,000 to 5,000 ducats if he wished to see his goods again. This he did, but to no avail. Hawkins estimated the loss at £20,000. Dec. 8, 1563, *Cal. St. P. For.,* 1563, p. 612, July 5, 1564, *ibid.,* 1564-1565, p. 171.

passing out by the Ilands of the Caycos, without further entring into the bay of Mexico, in this his first voyage to the West India. And so with prosperous successe and much gaine to himselfe and the aforesayde adventurers, he came home, and arrived in the moneth of September 1563 (X. 7-8).

6. The Second Voyage of John Hawkins, 1564-1565.[1]

The voyage made by M. John Hawkins Esquire, and afterward knight, Captaine of the "Jesus" of Lubek, one of her Majesties shippes, and Generall of the "Salomon", and other two barkes going in his companie, to the coast of Guinea, and the Indies of Nova Hispania, begun in An. Dom. 1564.

Master John Hawkins with the *Jesus* of Lubek, a shippe of 700. and the *Salomon* a shippe of 140, the *Tiger* a barke of 50. and the *Swallow* of 30. tunnes, being all well furnished with men to the number of one hundreth three score and tenne, as also with ordinance and victuall requisite for such a voyage, departed out of Plymmouth the 18. day of October, in the yeere of our Lord 1564 (X. 9). . . .[2]

Here we stayed but one night, and part of the day: for the 7 of December wee came away, in that pretending to have taken Negros there perforce, the *Mynions* men gave them there to understand of our comming, and our pretence, wherefore they did avoyde the snares

[6] [1] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations,* X. 9-63; Markham, *The Hawkins' Voyages,* pp. 8-69. That portion of this narrative which relates to the *Minion* is also printed in Hakluyt, VI. 263-265. The account of the voyage is written by John Sparke, an officer on the *Jesus.* In addition to his narrative, there is the account sent by Diego Guzman de Silva, the Spanish ambassador, to Philip II., and two books of evidence from Portugal (Williamson, *Sir John Hawkins,* p. 102). A preliminary list of the adventurers, made up in March, 1564, included the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Robert Dudley, Lord Clinton, Sir William Cecil, Sir William Garrard, Sir William Chester, Benjamin Gonson, Edward Castlyn, John Hawkins, and William Winter (Williamson, p. 92, from Lansdowne MSS. 6, ff. 48-49). Cecil stated later that he had refused to give his countenance to the expedition. It is possible that the original plan put forward by Hawkins was to trade on the Guinea coast alone, and that when the queen consented to an extension of the voyage Cecil knew nothing of the change. That the queen, in spite of warning, did consent, seems probable. On June 18, 1564, Challoner had written her: "If hereafter she would avoid these troubles, their folks going to sea must be looked to, and specially that they enterprise no voyage to the Indies and the islands of this king's navigation" (*Cal. St. P. For.,* 1564-1565, pp. 159-160). On July 24 De Silva asked the queen what voyage Hawkins was planning, having heard that he was going to Guinea, and requested that he be obliged to give security that he would not plunder Spanish subjects, to which the queen had "replied graciously". July 31, 1564, De Silva to Philip II., *Cal. St. P. Span.,* 1558-1567, p. 370; Aug. 22, 1564, De Silva to the queen, *Cal. St. P. For.,* 1564-1565, p. 191; see Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy,* I. 83, 94-98; Williamson, pp. 92-100.

[2] The *Jesus,* at least twenty years old at this time, had already been condemned as not worth repairing, but had later been overhauled; the *Salomon* and the *Swallow* were Hawkins's own vessels. The crews of the four vessels were, 80, 35, 20, and 15, a total of 150. The cost of the expedition, aside from the capital value of the ships and the cost of cargo, was £4,990. For 500 negroes there was an allowance of 120 quarters of beans and peas, and of shirts and shoes. Williamson, pp. 94-95, from the Lansdowne MSS. 6, ff. 48-50.

we had layd for them. . . .[3] In this place[4] the two shippes riding, the two Barkes, with their boates, went into an Island of the Sapies, called La Formio, to see if they could take any of them, and there landed to the number of 80 in armour, and espying certaine made to them, but they fled in such order into the woods, that it booted them not to follow: so going on their way forward till they came to a river, which they could not passe over, they espied on the other-side two men, who with their bowes and arrowes shot terribly at them. Whereupon we discharged certaine harquebuzes to them againe, but the ignorant people wayed it not, because they knewe not the danger thereof: but used a marveilous crying in their flight with leaping and turning their tayles, that it was most strange to see, and gave us great pleasure to beholde them. At the last, one being hurt with a harquebuz upon the thigh, looked upon his wound and wist not howe it came, because hee could not see the pellet. Here Master Hawkins perceiving no good to be done amongst them, because we could not finde their townes, and also not knowing how to goe into Rio grande, for want of a Pilote, which was the very occasion of our comming thither: and finding so many sholes, feared with our great ships to goe in, and therefore departed on our pretended way to the Idols (X. 16-17). . . .[5]

In this Island[6] we stayed certaine daies, going every day on shore to take the Inhabitants, with burning and spoiling their townes, who before were Sapies, and were conquered by the Samboses, Inhabitants beyond Sierra Leona. . . . These inhabitants have diverse of the Sapies, which they tooke in the warres as their slaves, whome onely they kept to till the ground, in that they neither have the knowledge thereof, nor yet will worke themselves, of whome wee tooke many in that place, but of the Samboses none at all, for they fled into the

[3] They were at Cape Verde. Of the natives here Sparke wrote, they are "counted the goodliest men of all other, saving the Congoes, which do inhabite on this side the cape de Buena Esperança. . . . These men also are more civill then any other, because of their dayly trafficke with the Frenchmen, and are of nature very gentle and loving" (X. 15). On July 11, 1564, at a meeting at the house of Sir William Garrard, it had been arranged to send the *Minion,* the *John Baptist,* and the *Merlin* on a Guinea voyage (Hakluyt, VI. 262; introduction, p. 10). Hawkins's vessels had met the *Minion* and for some distance had been in touch with her. The *Merlin* was before long blown up and the *Minion's* captain and a dozen of her men were captured by the Portuguese (Hakluyt, VI. 264-265, X. 10, 35). The statement that the men from the *Minion* spoiled Hawkins's trade has been cited to show the antagonism between the traders in gold and other Guinea commodities and Hawkins's slaving. Williamson however refuses to accept this argument, and thinks it probable that the betrayal of Hawkins was the inadvertent gossip of some sailor. Williamson, pp. 57-58, 101.

[4] The islands of Alcatraz, not far from Cape Verde, at which they had anchored on Dec. 8.

[5] These islands were not far from the mouth of the Sierra Leone River. Originally known as Ilhas dos Idolos, the name was gradually corrupted into Isles de Los, and at last Isles Delos, by which name they frequently appear in the slave-trade literature of the late eighteenth century.

[6] The island is called by the narrator Sambula. Markham supposed it to be the modern Sherbro Island. *Hawkins' Voyages,* p. 18 n.

maine (X. 17). . . .[7] In this Island aforesayde wee sojourned unto the one and twentieth of December, where having taken certaine Negros, and asmuch of their fruites, rise, and mill, as we could well cary away, (whereof there was such store, that wee might have laden one of our Barkes therewith) wee departed (X. 20). . . .[8] The two and twentieth the Captaine went into the River, called Callowsa, with the two Barkes, and the *Johns* Pinnesse, and the *Salomons* boate, leaving at anker in the Rivers mouth the two shippes, the River being twenty leagues in, where the Portugals roade: hee came thither the five and twentieth, and dispatched his businesse, and so returned with two Caravels, loaden with Negros.[9] The 27. the Captaine was advertised by the Portugals [10] of a towne of the Negros called Bymba, being in the way as they returned, where was not onely great quantities of golde, but also that there were not above fortie men, and an hundred women and children in the Towne, so that if hee would give the adventure upon the same, hee might gette an hundredth slaves: with the which tydings hee being gladde, because the Portugals shoulde not thinke him to bee of so base a courage, but that hee durst give them that, and greater attempts: and being thereunto also the more provoked with the prosperous successe hee had in other Islands adjacent, where he had put them all to flight, and taken in one boate twentie together, determined to stay before the Towne three or foure houres, to see what hee could doe: and thereupon prepared his men in armour and weapon together, to the number of fortie men well appointed, having to their guides certaine Portugals, in a boat, who brought some of them to their death: wee landing boat after boat, and divers of our men scattering themselves, contrary to the Captaines will, by one or two in a company, for the hope that they had to finde golde in their houses, ransacking the same, in the meane time the Negros came upon them, and hurte many being thus scattered, whereas if five or sixe had bene together, they had bene able, as their companions did, to give the overthrow to 40 of them, and being

[7] According to Sparke, the Samboses had been here but three years but in that time had "so planted the ground, that they had great plentie of Mil, Rise, Rootes, Pompions, Pullin, goates, of small frye dried, every house full of the Countrey fruite planted by Gods providence, as Palmito trees, fruites planted like dates, and sundry other in no place in all that Countrey so aboundantly, whereby they lived more deliciously then other". An account of the customs of the Samboses and the Sapies follows.

[8] One of Hawkins's men was murdered by the natives before they left this place.

[9] That is, Hawkins apparently purchased negroes from the Portuguese. The Portuguese account of this sojourn says that Hawkins captured sixteen or seventeen Portuguese vessels and took from them 600 negroes. Some of the vessels were those belonging to the monopolists who supplied the Spaniards with slaves, and Williamson's conjecture that dissatisfied Portuguese, themselves shut out from the Spanish trade, aided Hawkins, is entirely plausible. Williamson, pp. 102-103.

[10] The aid frequently rendered to Hawkins by the Portuguese is worthy of note, in the light of the international situation.

driven downe to take their boates, were followed so hardly by a route of Negros, who by that tooke courage to pursue them to their boates, that not onely some of them, but others standing on shore, not looking for any such matter by meanes that the Negros did flee at the first, and our companie remained in the towne, were suddenly so set upon that some with great hurt recovered their boates; othersome not able to recover the same, tooke the water, and perished by meanes of the oaze. While this was doing, the Captaine who with a dosen men, went through the towne, returned, finding 200 Negros at the waters side, shooting at them in the boates, and cutting them in pieces which were drowned in the water, at whose coming, they ranne all away: so he entred his boates, and before he could put off from the shore, they returned againe, and shot very fiercely and hurt divers of them. Thus wee returned backe some what discomforted, although the Captaine in a singular wise maner caried himselfe, with countenance very cheerefull outwardly, as though hee did litle weigh the death of his men, nor yet the great hurt of the rest, although his heart inwardly was broken in pieces for it; done to this end, that the Portugals being with him, should not presume to resist against him, nor take occasion to put him to further displeasure or hinderance for the death of our men: having gotten by our going ten Negros, and lost seven of our best men, whereof M. Field Captaine of the *Salomon,* was one, and we had 27 of our men hurt (X. 20-23). . . .

The 28 they came to their ships, the *Jesus,* and the *Salomon,* and the 30 departed from thence to Taggarin[11] . . . sojourning at Taggarin, the *Swallow* went up the river about her trafficke, where they saw great townes of the Negros, and Canoas, that had threescore men in a piece: there they understood by the Portugals, of a great battell betweene them of Sierra Leona side, and them of Taggarin: they of Sierra Leona, had prepared three hundred Canoas to invade the other. The time was appointed not past sixe days after our departure from thence, which we would have seene, to the intent we might have taken some of them, had it not bene for the death and sickenesse of our men, which came by the contagiousnes of the place, which made us to make hast away.

The 18 of Januarie [1565] at night, wee departed from Taggarin, being bound for the West Indies, before which departure certaine of the *Salomons* men went on shore to fill water in the night, and as they came on shore with their boat being ready to leape on land, one of them espied an Negro in a white coate, standing upon a rocke, being ready to have received them when they came on shore, having in sight of his fellowes also eight or nine, some in one place

[11] Here the natives destroyed a number of their water casks, unwisely left on shore.

leaping out, and some in another, but they hid themselves streight againe: whereupon our men doubting they had bene a great companie, and sought to have taken them at more advantage, as God would, departed to their ships, not thinking there had bene such a mischiefe pretended toward them, as then was in deede. Which the next day we understood of a Portugal that came downe to us, who had trafficked with the Negros, by whom hee understood, that the king of Sierra Leona had made all the power hee could, to take some of us, partly for the desire he had to see what kinde of people we were, that had spoiled his people at the Idols, whereof he had newes before our comming, and as I judge also, upon other occasions provoked by the Tangomangos, but sure we were that the armie was come downe, by meanes that in the evening wee saw such a monstrous fire, made by the watring place, that before was not seene, which fire is the only marke for the Tangomangos to know where their armie is alwayes. If these men had come downe in the evening, they had done us great displeasure, for that wee were on shore filling water: but God, who worketh all things for the best, would not have it so, and by him we escaped without danger, his name be praysed for it.

The 29 of this same moneth we departed with all our shippes from Sierra Leona, towardes the West Indies, and for the space of eighteene dayes, we were becalmed, having nowe and then contrary windes, and some Ternados, amongst the same calme, which happened to us very ill, beeing but reasonably watered, for so great a companie of Negros,[12] and our selves, which pinched us all, and that which was worst, put us in such feare that many never thought to have reached to the Indies, without great death of Negros, and of themselves: but the Almightie God, who never suffereth his elect to perish, sent us the sixteenth of Februarie, the ordinary Brise, which is the Northwest winde, which never left us, till wee came to an Island of the Canybals, called Dominica, where wee arrived the ninth of March, upon a Saturday: and because it was the most desolate place in all the Island, we could see no Canybals, but some of their houses where they dwelled, and as it should seeme forsooke the place for want of fresh water, for wee could find none there but raine water, and such as fell from the hilles, and remained as a puddle in the dale, whereof wee filled for our Negros (X. 23-25). . . .[13]

The tenth day at night, we departed from thence, and the fifteenth had sight of nine Islands, called the Testigos: and the sixteenth of an Island, called Margarita, where wee were entertayned by the

[12] Hawkins by this time had about 400 negroes. Williamson, p. 104.
[13] The nature of the "Canybals" of this West India island is enlarged upon.

Alcalde, and had both Beeves and sheepe given us, for the refreshing of our men: but the Governour of the Island, would neither come to speake with our Captaine, neither yet give him any licence to trafficke: and to displease us the more, whereas wee had hired a Pilote to have gone with us, they would not onely not suffer him to goe with us, but also sent word by a Caravel out of hand, to Santo Domingo, to the Vice-roy, who doeth represent the kings person, of our arrivall in those partes, which had like to have turned us to great displeasure, by the meanes that the same Vice-roy did send word to Cape de la Vela, and to other places along the coast, commanding them that by the vertue of his authoritie, and by the obedience that they owe to their Prince, no man should trafficke with us, but should resist us with all the force they could. . . .

Here perceiving no trafficke to be had with them, nor yet water for the refreshing of our men, we were driven to depart the twentieth day, and the 2 and twentieth we came to a place in the maine called Cumana, whither the Captaine going in his Pinnisse, spake with certaine Spaniards, of whom he demanded trafficke, but they made him answere, they were but souldiers newely come thither, and were not able to by one Negro: whereupon hee asked for a watring place, and they pointed him a place two leagues off, called Santa Fè, where we found marveilous goodly watering, and commodious for the taking in thereof: for that the fresh water came into the Sea, and so our shippes had aboord the shore twentie fathome water (X. 26-27). . . .[14]

. . . wee kept our course along the coast, and came the third of April to a Towne called Burboroata,[15] where his ships came to an ancker, and hee himselfe went a shore to speake with the Spaniards, to whom hee declared himselfe to be an Englishman, and came thither to trade with them by the way of marchandize, and therefore required licence for the same. Unto whom they made answere, that they were forbidden by the king to trafique with any forren nation, upon penaltie to forfeit their goods, therfore they desired him not to molest them any further, but to depart as he came, for other comfort he might not looke for at their handes, because they were subjects and might not goe beyond the law. But hee replied that his necessitie was such, as he might not so do: for being in one of the Queens Armadas of England, and having many souldiours in them, hee had neede both of some refreshing for them, and of victuals, and of money also,

[14] Cumaná is on the north coast of Venezuela. Santa Fé was directly east of Cumaná. A peaceable tribe of Indians living near brought food to the ships. On the 28th they departed down the coast, mercifully escaping an attack by crafty Caribs who tried to entice them by offering to traffic with them (X. 27-30).

[15] Borburata, near the modern Port Cabello.

without the which hee coulde not depart, and with much other talke perswaded them not to feare any dishonest part of his behalfe towards them, for neither would hee commit any such thing to the dishonour of his prince, nor yet for his honest reputation and estimation, unlesse hee were too rigorously dealt withall, which hee hoped not to finde at their handes, in that it should as well redound to their profite as his owne, and also hee thought they might doe it without danger, because their princes were in amitie one with another, and for our parts wee had free trafique in Spain and Flanders, which are in his dominions, and therefore he knew no reason why he should not have the like in all his dominions. To the which the Spaniards made answere, that it lay not in them to give any licence, for that they had a governour to whom the government of those parts was committed, but if they would stay tenne dayes, they would send to their governour who was threescore leagues off, and would returne answere within the space appointed, of his minde.

In the meane time, they were contented hee should bring his ships into harbour, and there they would deliver him any victuals he would require. Whereupon the fourth day we went in, where being one day and receiving all things according to promise, the Captaine advised himselfe, that to remaine there tenne dayes idle, spending victuals and mens wages, and perhaps in the ende receive no good answere from the governour, it were meere follie, and therefore determined to make request to have licence for the sale of certaine leane and sicke Negros which hee had in his shippe like to die upon his hands if he kept them ten dayes, having little or no refreshing for them, whereas other men having them, they would bee recovered well ynough. And this request hee was forced to make, because he had not otherwise wherewith to pay for victuals and for necessaries which he should take: which request being put in writing and presented, the officers and towne-dwellers assembled together, and finding his request so reasonable, granted him licence for thirtie Negros, which afterwards they caused the officers to view, to the intent they should graunt to nothing but that were very reasonable, for feare of answering thereunto afterwards. This being past, our Captaine, according to their licence, thought to have made sale, but the day past and none came to buy, who before made shewe that they had great neede of them, and therefore wist not what to surmise of them, whether they went about to prolong the time of the Governour his answere because they would keepe themselves blamelesse, or for any other pollicie hee knew not, and for that purpose sent them worde, marveiling what the matter was that none came to buy them. They answered, because they had granted licence onely to the poore to buy

those Negros of small price, and their money was not so ready as other mens of more wealth. More then that, as soone as ever they sawe the shippes, they conveyed away their money by their wives that went into the mountaines for feare, and were not yet returned, and yet asked two dayes to seeke their wives and fetch their money. Notwithstanding, the next day divers of them came to cheapen, but could not agree of price, because they thought the price too high. Whereupon the Captaine perceiving they went about to bring downe the price, and meant to buy, and would not confesse if hee had licence, that he might sell at any reasonable rate, as they were worth in other places, did send for the principals of the Towne, and made a shewe hee would depart, declaring himselfe to be very sory that he had so much troubled them, and also that he had sent for the governour to come downe, seeing nowe his pretence was to depart, whereat they marveiled much, and asked him what cause mooved him thereunto, seeing by their working he was in possibilitie to have his licence.

To the which he replied, that it was not onely a licence that he sought, but profit, which he perceived was not there to bee had, and therefore would seeke further, and withall shewed him his writings what he payed for his Negros, declaring also the great charge he was at in his shipping, and mens wages, and therefore to countervaile his charges, hee must sell his Negros for a greater price then they offered. So they doubting his departure, put him in comfort to sell better there then in any other place. And if it fell out that he had no licence that he should not loose his labour in tarying, for they would buy without licence. Whereupon, the Captaine being put in comfort, promised them to stay, so that hee might make sale of his leane Negros, which they granted unto. And the next day did sell some of them, who having bought and payed for them, thinking to have had a discharge of the Customer, for the custome of the Negros, being the Kings duetie, they gave it away to the poore for Gods sake, and did refuse to give the discharge in writing, and the poore not trusting their wordes, for feare, least hereafter it might be demaunded of them, did refraine from buying any more, so that nothing else was done untill the Governours comming downe, which was the fourteenth day, and then the Captaine made petition, declaring that hee was come thither on a shippe of the Queenes Majesties of England, being bound to Guinie, and thither driven by winde and weather, so that being come thither, hee had neede of sundry necessaries for the reparation of the said Navie, and also great need of money for the paiment of his Souldiours, unto whom hee had promised paiment, and therefore although hee would, yet would not depart without it, and for that purpose he requested licence for the sale of certaine of his

Negros, declaring that although they were forbidden to traffique with strangers, yet for that there was a great amitie betweene their princes, and that the thing pertained to our Queenes highnesse, he thought hee might doe their prince great service, and that it would bee well taken at his hands, to doe it in this cause. The which allegations with divers others put in request, were presented unto the Governour, who sitting in counsell for that matter, granted unto his request for licence. But yet there fell out another thing which was the abating of the kings Custome, being upon every slave 30. duckets, which would not be granted unto.[16]

Whereupon the Captaine perceiving that they would neither come neere his price hee looked for by a great deale, nor yet would abate the Kings Custome of that they offered, so that either he must be a great looser by his wares, or els compell the officers to abate the same kings Custome which was too unreasonable, for to a higher price hee coulde not bring the buyers: Therefore the sixteenth of April hee prepared one hundred men well armed with bowes, arrowes, harquebuzes and pikes, with the which hee marched to the townewards, and being perceived by the Governour, he straight with all expedition sent messengers to knowe his request, desiring him to march no further forward untill he had answere againe, which incontinent he should have. So our Captaine declaring how unreasonable a thing the Kings Custome was, requested to have the same abated, and to pay seven and a halfe per centum, which is the ordinarie Custome for wares through his dominions there, and unto this if they would not graunt, hee would displease them. And this word being caried to the Governour, answere was returned that all things should bee to his content, and thereupon hee determined to depart, but the souldiers and Mariners finding so little credit in their promises, demanded gages for the performance of the premisses, or els they would not depart. And thus they being constrained to send gages, wee departed, beginning our traffique, and ending the same without disturbance.

Thus having made trafique in the harborough untill the 28. our Captaine with his ships intended to goe out of the roade, and purposed to make shew of his departure, because nowe the common sort having imployed their money, the rich men were come to towne, who made no shew that they were come to buy, so that they went about to bring downe the price, and by this pollicie the Captaine knew they would be made the more eager, for feare least we departed, and they should goe without any at all.

[16] Remembering that the maximum price which could legally be charged for slaves was 100 ducats, one does not wonder that Hawkins desired an abatement of the king's customs.

The nine and twentie wee being at ancker without the road, a French ship called the *Greene Dragon* of Newhaven,[17] whereof was Captaine one Bon Temps came in, who saluted us after the maner of the Sea, with certaine pieces of Ordinance, and we resaluted him with the like againe: with whom having communication, he declared that hee had bene at the Mine in Guinie, and was beaten off by the Portugals gallies, and inforced to come thither to make sale of such wares as he had: and further that the like was happened unto the *Minion*: besides the Captaine Davie Carlet and a Marchant, with a dozen Mariners betrayed by the Negros at their first arrivall thither, and remayning prisoners with the Portugals; and besides other misadventures of the losse of their men, happened through the great lacke of fresh water, with great doubts of bringing home the ships: which was most sorrowful for us to understand (pp. 30-35). . . . the 19. came thither;[18] where having talke with the kings treasurer of the Indies resident there, he declared his quiet trafique in Burboroata, and shewed a certificate of the same, made by the governour thereof, and therefore he desired to have the like there also: but the treasurer made answere that they were forbidden by the Viceroy and Councill of S. Domingo, who having intelligence of our being on the coast, did sende expresse commission to resist us, with all the force they could, insomuch that they durst not trafique with us in no case, alleaging that if they did, they should loose all that they did trafique for, besides their bodies at the magistrates commaundement. Our Captaine replied, that hee was in an Armada of the Queenes Majesties of England, and sent about other her affaires, but driven besides his pretended voyage, was inforced by contrary windes to come into those partes, where he hoped to finde such friendship as hee should doe in Spaine, to the contrary whereof hee knewe no reason, in that there was amitie betwixt their princes. But seeing they would contrary to all reason go about to withstand his trafique, he would it should not be said by him, that having the force he hath, to be driven from his trafique perforce, but he would rather put it in adventure to try whether he or they should have the better, and therefore willed them to determine either to give him licence to trade, or else to stand to their owne harmes: So upon this it was determined hee should have licence to trade, but they would give him such a price as was the one halfe lesse then he had sold for before, and thus they sent word they would do, and none otherwise, and if it liked him not, he might do what he would, for they were

[17] Havre de Grace, known to the English as Newhaven, had within the century become a port of some importance. Elizabeth had had it under her control for a brief time in 1562 but it was returned to the French in 1563.

[18] Hawkins, his trade completed, departed on May 4 for Rio de la Hacha, which he reached the 19th.

not determined to deale otherwise with him. Whereupon, the captaine waying their unconscionable request, wrote to them a letter, that they dealt too rigorously with him, to go about to cut his throte in the price of his commodities, which were so reasonably rated, as they could not by a great deale have the like at any other mans handes (X. 38). . . .[19]

After which departure from them,[20] with a good large winde the twentieth of September we came to Padstow in Cornewall, God be thanked, in safetie, with the losse of twentie persons in all the voyage, and with great profit to the venturers of the said voyage, as also to the whole realme, in bringing home both golde, silver, pearles and other jewels great store. His name therefore be praised for evermore. Amen.

The names of certaine Gentlemen that were in this voyage.

M. John Hawkins.
M. John Chester, sir William Chesters sonne.
M. Anthony Parkhurst.
M. Fitzwilliam.[21]
M. Thomas Woorley.
M. Edward Lacie; with divers others.

The Register and true accounts of all herein expressed hath beene approoved by me John Sparke the younger, who went upon the same voyage, and wrote the same (X. 63).

7. Guzman de Silva to Philip II.[1]

. . . I have used all diligence to obtain information about Haw-

[19] The next morning Hawkins landed one hundred men, a display of force sufficient to bring the authorities to his terms: "So upon this gages were sent, and we made our trafique quietly with them", concludes Sparke (p. 40). The remainder of the narrative deals with matters important to the history of Spanish-English relations in the New World, but of no significance to the development of the trade in slaves.

[20] Two French ships encountered four or five days after they left the Newfoundland Banks.

[21] Doubtless the Fitzwilliam who later acted as an agent for Hawkins in Spain. Markham, *Hawkins' Voyages,* pp. viii-x, 64, n. 2.

[7] [1] *Cal. St. P. Span.,* 1558-1567, pp. 502-504. See Williamson (p. 98) for a brief account of De Silva's character and his services in England. On Aug. 27, 1565, he had written to the king: "These people must be waxing fat on the spoils of the Indies. A ship belonging to Winter, of 80 tons burden, is leaving for Guinea." This letter is the first which displays any knowledge on the part of De Silva as to the activities of Hawkins on his second voyage (*Cal. St. P. Span.,* 1558-1567, p. 470). On Oct. 1 he wrote that Hawkins had arrived at Plymouth Sept. 25, with 50,000 ducats in gold and some commodities. The great danger he felt was lest others follow the example, "because the greed of these people is such that they might arrange to always undertake similar voyages". A week later he added that he could learn nothing fresh save that Hawkins had traded in Jamaica and Tierra Firme with Spanish licenses; on Oct. 20 he was assured by Hawkins that he had traded with permission of the Spanish governors, but this he found it difficult to believe. *Ibid.,* pp. 485-486, 488, 496.

After some comparison of the abridgments or paraphrases in the *Calendar of State Papers* with the originals, it was thought desirable in many cases to use the material of the *Calendar,* since it seemed possible to effect some saving of space with no sacrifice of essential accuracy. The same decision was made in regard to material in the *House of Lords MSS.* (Historical MSS. Commission), and that of the *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial.*

kins's voyage, and find that after he left Galicia, where he touched, he went to Guinea and traded with the Portuguese slavers. He obtained a number of negroes and sent men on shore to obtain more. He took some, but lost nine soldiers killed, amongst whom were some Portuguese. They say he must have had 400 blacks, but in the accounts he gives he says there were only 370, and with these and a good stock of goods, cloths, linens, and the like, he went straight to Dominica, and thence to Deseada, where he took water, fuel, and other necessaries for the voyage to the mainland. He then went to a place called Barrota, and on his arrival the governor came with troops to know who they were. He was told they were Englishmen who wished to trade, and replied that they could not trade there, as your Majesty had prohibited it on pain of death. The captain answered that he had a large number of men with him, and he was unable to restrain them from landing and doing damage if they were not allowed to traffic, and he thereupon entered into a private arrangement with the governor that he would send some men ashore next day who would make for the settlement and threaten damage, and the governor would then appear and give them leave to trade in order to prevent injury. This was done, and 200 troops, with some pieces of artillery, were landed, and firing was commenced, when the governor came out and a pretence of fighting was made, but soon ceased, and they were allowed to trade for the sake of peace, after some written demands and answers had passed between them, according to the arrangement. The people on shore bought a quantity of cloths, linens, and other things, and 140 slaves, and the expedition then sailed to another island, called Quiros Sall (Curaçao), where they say they only found two Spaniards, who had a large quantity of skins. They bought 1500 skins of them, and the meat they required for their use. They sailed thence to Rio de la Hacha, where the same took place with the governor as had passed at Barbarrota. There they sold the rest of the slaves and a large part of their merchandise. . . . The man who gives me this account, and who went the whole voyage, tells me that Hawkins got a Spanish pilot out of a Portuguese ship, by whose aid the voyage was made, and who still remains secretly in the ship.[2]

This Hawkins, as I wrote your Majesty, spoke to me in the palace, and I treated him courteously, although I had heard something of what I have mentioned, but wished to gain further particulars, and in order not to arouse his suspicions I asked him to dine with me, and he gave me a general account of the voyage, which corresponds with the information already given as regards the places he went to,

[2] Of this De Silva later wrote: "This was not the case, but he took one on his first voyage who piloted him so well that Hawkins became well acquainted with the navigation himself. The foundation for the statement that he had a Spaniard with him was that he captured a negro in Guinea who had been brought up in Portugal, and used him as an interpreter, bringing him to England with him." *Cal. St. P. Span.*, 1558-1567, p. 523.

but not as regards his mode of trading. On the contrary, he said he had traded greatly to the satisfaction of the Spaniards everywhere, and with license from the governors, which he would show me. He told me, amongst other things, that he had a bill from one of the governors for 600 dollars, which was to be paid to him in another island, where, however, he did not touch, on account of the bad weather. . . .

The owners who provided the capital for him are, I am informed, dissatisfied with him, and believe he has brought more gold than he confesses. He on his part does not appear contented with the sum they have paid him, and this may lead to the truth coming out. He is now rendering his accounts, and I learn from the person who has to receive them that he credits himself with 1600 dollars given to one of the governors for leave to trade, and also for the bill for 600 dollars from the other governor which was not presented for payment in accordance with an arrangement between them, so that it might appear that the governor had paid for what he had bought. This bill must be the one Hawkins told me he had from one of the governors.

The voyage has brought him 60 per cent profit. They tell me that this profit has encouraged some of the merchants here to undertake like voyages and even that Hawkins will return in May. This is important and needs decisive action. I could speak to the queen and tell her that the man confesses to have traded in places where your Majesty has forbidden commerce, and request her to have him punished; but I want to have the matter very clear first, and if any statement has been received by your Majesty from the parts visited by the expedition, confirming my information they would be very important in proceeding against him although he will not lack friends, as amongst those who took shares in his enterprise, besides the merchants, are Benedict Spinola and the Earl of Pembroke. Spinola tells me that when they took their shares they understood it was in a voyage to Guinea and the Mina and not the voyage taken by Hawkins. Secretary Cecil tells me that they offered to take him in like the rest when Hawkins left, but that he refused as he did not like such adventures. When I return to England I will see the licenses the captain says he has from the governors, and if there appears to be any ground the queen shall be addressed on the subject. If there is any way of getting him punished it will be expedient as an example to others, but if not, it will be best to dissemble in order the more easily to capture and castigate him there if he should repeat the voyage. If his suspicion is not aroused and he makes the voyage he will touch on the coast of Spain, and I will be on the alert to advise of his movements. . . .

ANTWERP, 5th November 1565.

8. Guzman de Silva to Philip II.[1]

. . . I wrote to your Majesty some days ago that I thought Captain Hawkins might be fitting out his ships (which he said were intended to be ready to serve your Majesty) really for the purpose of making another voyage like his last one to the Indies, and I am informed to-day that it is so arranged that there shall be no difficulty about finding people to trade with him in the places he visited last year. My information is not certain enough to enable me to frustrate the plan yet, and I will wait until it is more advanced, and I can with good grounds ask the queen to stop the voyage, but I think that the governors should be warned.[2]

London, 4th June 1566.

9. Guzman de Silva to Philip II.[1]

. . . In my last of the 5th instant I told your Majesty I had sent a person to discover about the ships that I was informed were being got ready to go to the Indies.[2] His statement goes herewith, and the intention appears to be to go to Guinea and capture negroes, and then to sell them in your Majesty's islands, to the best of their ability. I received the statement on the 10th instant, and on the same day went to the queen, and told her that she would recollect that when Captain Hawkins sailed two years ago she had assured me that he would not go to any place where your Majesty's subjects might be injured, or to any prohibited port. Notwithstanding this, and her orders to that effect, he had acted differently, and had traded

[8] [1] *Cal. St. P. Span.*, 1558-1567, p. 556. De Silva's uneasiness was growing and he sent lengthy reports of both facts and rumors to Philip. Early in February he made to Hawkins a proffer of service under the Spanish king: "They have again asked him to make another voyage like the last, but he says he will not do so without your Majesty's license, as it is a laborious and dangerous business. The trade of capturing negroes in Guinea and taking them to the Indies is considered very profitable, and may be undertaken by any man who understands the voyage. It seems advisable to get this man out of the country, so that he may not teach others, for they have good ships and are greedy folk with more freedom than is good for them. This Hawkins has now eight ships" (Feb. 4, 1566, *ibid.*, p. 522). At the next interview between Hawkins and the ambassador details of the Spanish service were considered, Hawkins stipulating that, "as a reward for his service, he would be content that as your Majesty has a hundred odd slaves, or the value thereof, left in Santo Domingo by him in the hands of your Majesty's ministers a certain sum of money should be handed over to him which will be derived from the proceeds of some hides that he sent to Seville" (Feb. 11, 1566, *ibid.*, p. 525).

Throughout March, April, and May the ambassador continued uncertain as to whether the vessels which Hawkins was fitting out were for the service of the Spanish king or for a third expedition to Guinea and the Indies. Mar. 23, 30, May 4, 18, *ibid.*, pp. 534, 538, 548, 551.

[2] Two months later De Silva was convinced by Hawkins that the suspicions here expressed were entirely unjust and that the vessels were for the services of Spain. Aug. 3, 1566, *ibid.*, p. 570.

[9] [1] *Cal. St. P. Span.*, 1558-1567, pp. 584-585.

[2] "Three ships are fitting out to go to the Mina. . . . I am also told that six or seven other ships are being fitted in certain ports, with the same object." *Ibid.*, p. 584.

in places where even your Majesty's subjects could not go without special license, and although I might have complained greatly of his action I had refrained from doing so, because certain members of her Council were interested in the enterprise. The news being published could not fail to reach your Majesty's ears, and as the business was an important one, upon which your Majesty laid great stress, you naturally would be annoyed. I understood that certain other vessels were now being prepared for a similar voyage, in accordance with the statement which I read to her, and I begged her to order these to refrain from offending by dealing or trading in any part prohibited by your Majesty, as apart from the fact that it is unjust to do so, your Majesty would have serious reason for complaint and resentment.

She replied that as to Hawkins' voyage she knew some of her Council had had an interest in it, but that they did not mean him to go to any place forbidden by your Majesty, nor had his intention been to do so, but he had been forced by winds, and had been driven to those places where he traded with the license and permission of the governors, of which he had brought evidence. Until she had been satisfied upon this point she had refused to see him. I said I knew very well what had happened in the matter, but had passed it over for the reasons I have stated. If, however, no remedy was found I could not avoid informing your Majesty. She said that it was necessary that her subjects should know which were the forbidden places, so that they might not go there, and also that the governors should be directed not to allow them to trade. I said that the places prohibited were very well known, and it was not right to expect your Majesty to build forts in your dominions, as a defense against your own friends, but that her subjects ought to know that they must not act in this way. She said that the French and other nations went there to trade. I said perhaps they did, sometimes, but it was against the wish of their kings, and without their knowledge, and they were only robbers and pirates who lived outside the law. She called Cecil, and told him to have these peoples summoned and examined as to where they were going, and then that such steps should be taken as were necessary. This afternoon the Council is to meet to discuss the matter. I quite believe that the measures they adopt will be good, and advice should also be sent to the places they may go to, since there will be plenty of time for it, as they are going to Guinea first. I inform the king of Portugal's agent in Antwerp that he may send advice of it to his king, and so wherever these people arrive they may find resistance and they may thus perhaps be prevented from

making this voyage as an ordinary thing. It is important to stop this from the beginning. . . .[3]

London, 12th October 1566.

10. Guzman de Silva to Philip II.[1]

[London, November 4, 1566.]

. . . I wrote to your Majesty that the queen had summoned Captain Hawkins, respecting the ships which he had ready to send to Guinea and the Indies. He came and was ordered, as also was the other man they call Tenar, not to go to the places prohibited by your Majesty under grave penalties, and the judge of the admiralty was directed to treat in the same way the others who might wish to make a similar voyage. There were different opinions in the Council about it, but the queen ordered it. It is very important, and if your Majesty thinks well it might be advisable to say a word to the queen's ambassador expressing thanks for her action in the matter. . . .[2]

[3] On the 19th De Silva wrote: "The step they have taken up to the present is to order the detention of George Tenar [Fenner ?], who was to take the three ships which were being fitted out in Portsmouth, and they have sent to summon Hawkins who was fitting out his in Plymouth. With regard to the latter, they have delayed longer than I like, notwithstanding that I have hurried them all I could, as I am afraid they have delayed advising him so that he might have time to despatch his ships before the order arrived, which is the sort of things they are in the habit of doing here" (*ibid.,* p. 588). In December, 1566, another Guinea expedition, to which De Silva may here refer, set sail from England, those interested being George and Edward Fenner, Thomas Valentine, John Worme, Francis Leigh, John Howard, William Bats, Nicholas Day, and John Thomson. Their vessels were the *Castle of Comfort,* the *May Flower,* the *George,* and a pinnace. Two of Fenner's men who went ashore to trade at Cape Verde were held captive by the natives, who asserted, "That there was in the foresayd roade, three weekes before wee came, an English shippe which had taken three of their people". Later in the voyage they encountered a Portuguese vessel, with which they traded five negroes that they had on board for sugar. Most of the account deals with their difficulties with the Portuguese. Hakluyt, VI. 266-284; Williamson, pp. 158-161.

[10] [1] *Cal. St. P. Span.,* 1558-1567, p. 593. Hawkins, on Oct. 31, gave bond for £500 that he would send no ship to the Spanish Indies. He returned to Plymouth in November and not long afterward the *Swallow,* the *Powel,* the *Salamon,* and the *Pasco,* laden by John Hawkins and under the command of John Lovell, sailed for Guinea. Williamson, pp. 122-123.

[2] On Dec. 20 the king responded, asking his minister to thank the queen for her action. This De Silva reported on Jan. 25 that he had done (*Cal. St. P. Span.,* 1558-1567, pp. 605, 613). Meanwhile Lovell had arrived at Cape Verde, where he took a Portuguese slaver. In February he seized another. In all, his prizes amounted to about 30,000 ducats. From Africa the vessels sailed with their booty to the Indies, where they touched at Margarita, Borburata, Curaçao, and Rio de la Hacha. Here the trading was bungled, and from a letter of Hawkins to the treasurer of Rio de la Hacha one learns that Hawkins apparently received nothing for the negroes delivered by Lovell, a fact which he found more tolerable "because the loss was scattered among divers venturers". Williamson, pp. 124-125.

11. Guzman de Silva to Philip II.[1]

. . . I have spoken to the queen about the six ships that are being fitted out for Hawkins. She says she has had the merchants in her presence and made them swear that they are not going to any place prohibited by your Majesty. I have requested her not to allow it, seeing the trouble that may result therefrom.

They give me to understand that the ships are being fitted out because the Portuguese sunk a ship of Vice-Admiral Winter's recently, and they are going in the direction of the Mina. Cecil also says they are not going to your Majesty's dominions but still I am doubtful, because what they seek in Guinea most are slaves to take to the West Indies. I will use all efforts to prevent their going, but the greed of these people is great and they are not only merchants who have shares in these adventures but secretly many of the queen's Council. . . .

London, 26th June 1567.

12. Guzman de Silva to Philip II.[1]

I hear that the ships that Hawkins is going to take out are being got ready rapidly, and I am now told that there are to be nine of them, four of the queen's, and five which Hawkins has in Plymouth, where they say the others are to join them. The four belonging to the queen are off Rochester. They are fine vessels, the principal of them being called the *Jesus de Lobic* of 800 tons, and another of 300, the other two being somewhat smaller. They are armed with fine bronze cannon. The five ships which are to join them consist of one of 130 tons, another of 100 tons and another of 80 tons, the rest being smaller, but all very well fitted. They have brought out from the Tower of London lately the artillery, corslets, cuirasses, pikes, bows and arrows, spears, and other necessary things for the expedition. They say that 800 picked men are to go, and the sailors to work the ships are engaged by order and permission of the queen, paid at the same rate as for her service. All this looks as if the object was different from that which they say, namely, to go to the Cape de

[11] [1] *Cal. St. P. Span.*, 1558-1567, pp. 651-652. The first news of this expedition De Silva communicated to Philip on May 31: "I am informed that they are going to fit out four fine ships and a pinnace at Rochester, two of them belonging to the queen. The matter is kept very secret and nothing has been done yet to the ships except to caulk them, but it is thought that John Hawkins will go with them. They will give out that they take merchandise belonging to two rich aldermen here called Ducket and Garret, but it is believed that some of the councillors will have shares. They will probably go to Guinea and afterwards whithersoever they please. I will endeavour to stop them from going to places prohibited by your Majesty, and have advised the King of Portugal by one of his subjects who left here by sea a week ago" (*ibid.*, p. 642). On the 14th the minister wrote that he should speak to the queen the next day. The squadron under Lovell had not yet returned and apparently De Silva had still to learn of its visit to the Spanish-American ports.

[12] [1] *Cal. St. P. Span.*, 1558-1567, pp. 656-657.

Verde Islands and Guinea to capture negroes, and thence to go and sell them for gold, silver, pearls, hides, and other merchandise in your Majesty's Indies. They are taking linens, cloths, merceries, and other things of small value to barter for the negroes. The admiral went yesterday with his officers to Rochester where the queen's ships are being fitted out; they say that they sail in ten days, and many sailors have come from the West Country to man them.

The queen, as I have written, assures me that they will not go to places prohibited by your Majesty, and the secretary has done the same. I returned to the subject again yesterday, and had Cecil informed on my behalf that the ships would certainly go to your Majesty's Indies, whereupon he sent word to me that I might believe his assurance that they would not. I have nevertheless asked for an audience of the queen to warn her again. . . .

London, 12th July 1567.

13. Guzman de Silva to Philip II.[1]

. . . Having been advised that the ships for Hawkins's journey were being got ready although the queen and Cecil had assured me that no harm should be done to your Majesty's subjects and the expedition would not go to the parts of the Indies your Majesty had prohibited without license, I still thought well to take fresh action in the presence of Cecil, and I asked the queen to summon him, and in his presence told her she would recollect that I had formerly asked her not to allow certain ships commanded by Hawkins and others under a certain Fenner to sail without steps being taken to obtain security that they should not go to your Majesty's Indies, nor do harm to your subjects elsewhere, and that she had ordered this to be done, both because it was just and to oblige your Majesty, for which step I had thanked her in your Majesty's name; and when I was informed of the active preparations being made by Hawkins I had asked her to act in the same way. She had told me that in her presence she had made them swear that they would not go to any part of the Indies where trade was prohibited, without your Majesty's license, and she had again commanded them not to do so, which statement was confirmed by her secretary. I had of course believed her, but had since been told that four of her own ships with artillery and munitions from the Tower were being fitted out for the expedition, and I thought well, in compliance with my promise, to again press the matter upon her. It was not only published that the ships were going to Guinea, but it was now asserted that they were to go from there to your Majesty's Indies to sell the negroes, and although

[13] [1] *Cal. St. P. Span.*, 1558-1567, pp. 659-661.

I ought in face of this to make a formal requisition I was nevertheless so confident in her word and that of Cecil that I confined myself to telling her verbally in Cecil's presence about it. My reason for this also was to make neighbors understand that where such love and kindness existed an official representation was unnecessary. The queen replied that it was true that two of her ships only, which she had lent to the merchants as usual, were going, and it was true also that they were well fitted, both on account of the French pirates that were about, and against the ill-treatment of the Portuguese, but I might be sure that what she told me was true, and that they would not go to any prohibited place or where trouble might be caused to you. The secretary in her presence with a great oath affirmed the same, and I have since been informed that the queen had previously told Hawkins to take care not to go to any place that would annoy your Majesty. Notwithstanding all this, however, I am assured that Hawkins and his company will go to New Spain after they have captured their negroes in Guinea, because beside the trifles they take to barter for the slaves, they are taking a large quantity of cloths and linens which are not goods fit for that country, and they also carry quantities of beans and other vegetables which are the food of the blacks, and the slaves are not usually taken anywhere but to New Spain and the islands.

Hawkins on these journeys first touches at the Canary Islands for water and other necessaries, and he is particularly friendly with a certain Pedro de Ponte who lives at Teneriffe and his son Nicolas de Ponte of Xaide. I have read original letters signed by these men for Hawkins and besides matters of commerce in them, I saw that Pedro de Ponte advised him to send information stating that certain women slaves, ornaments, and other things belonging to Hawkins which the authorities had sequestrated and deposited with Pedro de Ponte were not his property, but belonged to another, and so he could recover them. These men, I am informed, always supply Hawkins with victuals, and in the first voyage he made to Santo Domingo five years ago they gave him a pilot called Juan Martinez of Cadiz, who guided them on the journey and returned hither with him, and was hidden here for some time. I understand they are not only Englishmen who prompt these voyages but also some Spaniards who are in the various islands and with whom these people have a mutual arrangement with regard to the profits. If it were not for these Spaniards helping them to the islands these expeditions would never have commenced.

Four days since they brought from Rochester hither two great ships belonging to the queen, which are those that Hawkins is to

take. They are here to be armed and fitted, and they say they cannot sail so soon as I was told. It is now asserted that the expedition cannot meet until the 15th or 20th of next month. . . .[2]

London, 21st July 1567.

14. The Third Voyage of John Hawkins, related by Miles Philips and John Hawkins, 1567-1568.[1]

A discourse written by one Miles Philips, Englishman, one of the company put on shoare Northward of Panuco, in the West Indies by M. John Hawkins 1568, conteining many special things of that countrey and of the Spanish government, but specially of their cruelties used to our Englishmen, and amongst the rest to him selfe for the space of 15. or 16. yeres together, until by good and happy meanes he was delivered from their bloody hands, and returned into his owne Countrey. An. 1582.

Chap. I. *Wherein is shewed the day and time of our departure from the coast of England, with the number and names of the ships, their Captaines and Masters, and of our trafique and dealing upon the coast of Africa.* Upon munday the second of October 1567. the weather being reasonable faire, our Generall M. John Hawkins, having commanded all his Captaines and Masters to be in a readinesse to make saile with him, hee himselfe being imbarked in the *Jesus*, whereof was appointed for Master Robert Barret, hoised saile, and departed from Plimmouth upon his intended voyage for the parts of Africa, and America, being accompanied with five other

[2] "The principal merchandise is to barter for negroes; a sure sign that they are going to your Majesty's Indies as I previously advised, and as I am also told by a person who is going with them, who assures me that Hawkins has never made a voyage without Pedro de Ponte of Teneriffe being interested in it" (July 26, 1567, De Silva to the king, *Cal. St. P. Span.*, 1558-1567, p. 663). On Aug. 2 De Silva sent to the king a long account of the plan for opening new gold mines in Africa which three Portuguese had brought to the attention of the English and which Hawkins was said to be promoting (*ibid.*, p. 666; Williamson, pp. 126-132). By letters of Sept. 13, Oct. 4, 13, 14, 18, and Dec. 13 the ambassador kept the king informed of the preparations going forward, ostensibly for this new gold-mining project. By Oct. 13 he had learned that the three ships which went to Guinea the previous summer, which he describes as Hawkins's, had visited the forbidden places, a fact which did not tend to allay his suspicion of the expedition then in preparation. *Cal. St. P. Span.*, 1558-1567, pp., 675, 678, 679, 680, 682, 688. For the use made of foreign aid by the early English voyagers see G. B. Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages* (1928), p. 12.

[14] [1] Hakluyt, IX. 398-445; Beazley, *English Garner,* I. 173-218. Of Hawkins's third voyage there are six English accounts: those by Miles Philips, Job Hortop, David Ingram, Hawkins's own narrative, a brief relation in the Domestic State Papers, vol. 49, no. 40, and the Cotton MS. printed by Williamson, pp. 493-534. Hawkins's account is printed in Hakluyt, X. 64-74; Markham, *The Hawkins' Voyages,* pp. 70-81; Beazley, *English Garner,* I. 93-103; Payne, *Elizabethan Seamen,* I. 69-81. Philips's narrative is in *English Garner,* I. 173-218; Hortop's in Hakluyt, IX. 445-465, and in *English Garner,* I. 219-242; Ingram's in *English Garner,* I. 161-172. The disastrous outcome of the venture is related in a letter of William Hawkins, jr., printed in *English Garner,* I. 82-90. There are also the Portuguese book of complaints, an official Spanish report, and depositions in the Admiralty Papers. For an account of all these see Williamson, pp. 142-144.

saile of ships, as namely the *Mynion,* wherein went for Captaine M. John Hampton, and John Garret Master. The *William and John,* wherein was Captaine Thomas Bolton, and James Raunce Master. The *Judith,* in whom was Captaine M. Francis Drake afterward knight, and the *Angel,* whose Master, as also the Captaine and Master of the *Swallow* I now remember not. And so sayling in company together upon our voyage untill the tenth of the same moneth, an extreeme storme then tooke us neere unto Cape Finister, which dured for the space of foure dayes, and so separated our ships, that wee had lost one another, and our Generall finding the *Jesus* to bee but in ill case, was in minde to give over the voyage, and to returne home. Howbeit the eleventh of the same moneth the Seas waxing calme, and the winde comming faire hee altered his purpose, and held on the former entended voyage: And so comming to the iland of Gomera being one of the ilands of the Canaries, where according to an order before appointed, we met with all our ships which were before dispersed, wee then tooke in fresh water and departed from thence the fourth of November, and holding on our course, upon the eighte[e]nth day of the same moneth wee came to an ancker upon the coast of Africa, at Cape Verde in twelve fadome water; and here our Generall landed certaine of our men, to the number of 160, or thereabout, seeking to take some Negros. And they going up into the Countrey for the space of sixe miles, were encountred with a great number of Negros: who with their invenomed arrowes did hurt a great number of our men, so that they were inforced to retire to the ships, in which conflict they recovered but a fewe Negros, and of these our men which were hurt with their envenomed arrowes,[2] there died to the number of seven or eight in very strange maner, with their mouths shut, so that wee were forced to put stickes and other things into their mouths to keepe them open, and so afterward passing the time upon the coast of Guinea, untill the twelfth of January, wee obtained by that time the number of 150 Negros. And being ready to depart from the Sea coast, there was a Negro sent as an Ambassador to our Generall, from a King of the Negros, which was oppressed with other Kings his bordering neighbours, desiring our Generall to graunt him succour and ayde against those his enemies,[3] which our Generall granted unto, and went himselfe in person a lande, with the number of two hundreth of our men or thereabouts, and the said King which had requested our ayde, did joyne his force with ours, so that thereby our General assaulted, and

[2] Hawkins says that he suffered one of the wounds, "yet thankes be to God, escaped". Hakluyt, X. 64-65.

[3] Hawkins's account reads, "with promise that as many Negros as by these warres might be obtained, as well of his part as of ours, should be at our pleasure". *Ibid.,* X. 65.

set fire upon a Towne of the said King his enemies, in which there was at the least the number of eight or ten thousand Negros, and they perceiving that they were not able to make any resistance sought by flight to save themselves, in which their flight there were taken prisoners to the number of eight or nine hundreth, which our Generall ought to have had for his share: howbeit the Negro King which requested our ayde, falsifying his word and promise, secretly in the night conveyed himselfe away with as many prisoners as he had in his custodie: but our Generall notwithstanding finding himselfe to have nowe very neere the number of 500. Negros thought it best without longer abode to depart with them,[4] and such marchandize as hee had from the coast of Africa, towards the West Indies, and therefore commanded with all diligence to take in fresh water and fewel, and so with speed to prepare to depart. Howbeit before we departed from thence, in a storme that wee had, wee lost one of our ships, namely the *William and John,* of which ship and of her people, we heard no tidings during the time of our voyage (IX. 398-400). . . .

Now[5] had we obtained between foure and five hundred Negros, wherwith we thought it somewhat reasonable to seeke the coast of the West Indies, and there, four our Negros, and other our merchandize, we hoped to obtaine, whereof to countervaile our charges with some gaines, wherunto we proceeded with all diligence, furnished our watering, tooke fuell, and departed the coast of Guinea the third of Februarie, continuing at the sea with a passage more hard, then before hath bene accustomed till the 27 day of March, which day we had sight of an Iland, called Dominica, upon the coast of the West Indies, in fourteene degrees: from thence we coasted from place to place, making our traffike with the Spaniards as we might, somewhat hardly, because the king had straightly commanded all his Governors in those parts, by no meanes to suffer any trade to be made with us: notwithstanding we had reasonable trade, and courteous entertainment, from the Ile of Margarita unto Cartagena, without any thing greatly worth the noting, saving at Capo de la Vela, in a towne called Rio de la Hacha (from whence come all the pearles) the treasurer who had the charge there, would by no meanes agree to any trade, or suffer us to take water, he had fortified his towne with divers bulwarkes in all places where it might be entered, and furnished himselfe with an hundred Hargabuziers,

[4] According to Hawkins, the negroes took 600 prisoners, the English 250. This 250 which they themselves took was all the booty they obtained (Hakluyt, X. 65). The Cotton MS. contains a long account of difficulties with the Portuguese, who were trafficking for negro cargoes which were to go to the West Indies. Williamson, pp. 505-508.

[5] The remainder of the account here used is that by Hawkins himself. Hakluyt, X. 64-74.

so that he thought by famine to have inforced us to have put a land our Negros: of which purpose he had not greatly failed, unlesse we had by force entred the towne: which (after we could by no meanes obtaine his favour) we were enforced to doe, and so with two hundred men brake in upon their bulwarkes, and entred the towne with the losse onely of two men of our partes, and no hurt done to the Spaniards because after their voley of shot discharged, they all fled.

Thus having the town with some circumstance, as partly by the Spaniards desire of Negros, and partly by friendship of the Treasurer, we obtained a secret trade: whereupon the Spaniards resorted to us by night, and bought of us to the number of 200 Negros: in all other places where we traded the Spaniards inhabitants were glad of us and traded willingly (X. 66-67). . . .[6]

15. Deposition of William Clarke.[1]

Tuesday 19 Ap. 1569.

William Clarcke of the City of London, merchant-tailor.

To the schedule of articles annexed:

Ad octavum dicit That at suche time as this examinant lost the companye of the saide John Hawkins, and the other shippes of his flete, in the bay of Mexico, ther wer in the foure shippes articulated viz. the *Jesus,* the *Swallowe,* the *Grace of God* and the *Angell* xlv negros of goodlie stature, and fashion, and yonge of yeres, beinge the choise, and the principall of all the negros, whiche had bin purchased in this last voyadge at Gynney And as towchinge ther value, this Deponent judgethe, they might be worthe a pece at the haven of Vera Crux, which some call St. John de Lowe cccL pesos of goulde. *Reddens eam causam scientie sue Dicit,* That this Deponent havinge had experience of the trade of negros in the hether partes of the

[6] Hortop dismisses the sale of the negroes most summarily: "we drove the Spaniards up into the country above two leagues, whereby they were inforced to trade with our General, to whom he sold most part of his Negros" (Hakluyt, IX. 449). The only account of the selling of the negroes which gives any details is that of the Cotton MS. The first attempt at peaceful sale was made at Borburata. Here Hawkins sent a letter to the governor, asking that he be allowed to sell sixty negroes in order to pay his soldiers. "In this you shall not break the comaundement of your prince, but doe him good servyce and advoyed divers inconveniences which happen often tymes thorowghe being to precise in observing precepts withowt consideracion" (Williamson, pp. 169, 516). After sundry delays Hawkins gained a trade, though the author of this account fails to tell whether he sold the sixty negroes. For his dealings with the treasurer at Rio de la Hacha see Williamson, pp. 171-179, 519-528.

[15] [1] Public Record Office, High Court of Admiralty, Examinations, vol. 16, from the Court of Inquiry relative to the Proceedings of John Hawkins. The adventurers had, by their proceedings in the Admiralty Court, no idea of obtaining damages at the time, but wished only to get the facts on record. Of the depositions here printed Beazley says: "The Depositions were made to eleven Interrogatories, and to a Schedule of values consisting of twenty-seven Items. . . . The whole purpose of the Depositions was to get up the biggest possible bill against the King of Spain." *English Garner,* I. 104.

West Indias, one of those choise negros, woulde have ben commonlie soulde there for CL Pesos of goulde,[2] unto whiche places manye negros be brought by the frenche men, Portugalls, and Englishe men, and none brought by those nacions to the havon of Vera Crux, that ever he coulde here of, whiche haven of Vera Crux is aboute vi^{c} leages sailinge beyonde Rio de Hacho one of those hether places, in the west Indias. At whiche place called Rio de Hacho there was soulde this last voyadge, to the inhabitantes there, one negro for CL pesos of golde, and yet in this Deponentes judgement, that negroe was not so muche worthe as manye of the saide xlv negros were, wherefor he knowithe, that those chosen negros woulde have ben soulde this last yere one w'th an other at the saide Rio de Hacho for CL pesos of goulde the peso beinge of the value of xvi royalls of plate of the Spanishe Coyne *ut dicit*.

16. Deposition of John Hawkins, of the City of London, Gentleman.[1]

Saturday, 23 Ap. 1569.

Ad secund articulum dicit, That he this deponent w't the flete aforesaid, did arrive uppon the quoaste of Guiney in november Anno 1567, where this Deponent, and other merchantes appointed by the said Companie, for the assistance of trafficke, did purchase and buye a good quantitie of Negros. And from thence dep'ted w'th them unto the West Indias. In w'ch contrye, this Deponent and his William Clarke w'th other factors did trafficque withe the inhabitantes there, and did receyve, in trucke and exchange of wares, and commodities to the sayde companies use, and behowffe, so muche tresure and commodities as amounted to the sum of 29,743 Pesos of golde at the least, everye Peso of golde beinge of the value of xv rialls of plate spanishe money. . . .[2]

Ad octavum ar'lum Dicit That after the trafficke (by him deposed of before), the *Jesus,* the *Swallowe* the *Grace of God* and the *Angell* articulated departinge from Cartagena (as is aforesaid) brought in them from thence unto the porte of Vera Crux, xlv negros of goodlie stature, shape and personage, and yonge of yeres beinge the choise and principall of all the negros w'ch wer gotten and purchased in this last voyadge at Guiney. And moreover there were xii other negros carried then in the *Minnion* to Vera Crux. All w'ch xlv

[2] Roughly, the peso may be reckoned at nine shillings.

[16] [1] High Court of Admiralty, Examinations, vol. 16.

[2] Williamson (p. 180) reckons this total at about £73,500, of which he attributes £10,000 to returns from the 400 negroes sold. This can be but a guess, since one has no means of knowing the amount of English goods sold. The cost of outfitting the voyage was about £16,500. For another attempt to translate these sums into English terms of Hawkins's day and of our own times, see *English Garner,* I. 105-107, 115-126.

negros were of the saide companies goodes and adventure and eyther slayne in the fight at Vera Crux or then taken by the spaniardes from the possession of this said Deponent. And the other xii negros whiche were in the *Minnion* might have ben soulde at the sayde place of Vera Crux greatelie to the proffitt of the saide Sir William Garrard and companie if the saide Spaniardes had not used suche violence. By reason whereof, this Deponent was enforced to Departe from the said porte of Vera Crux soner then he thought to do. And this Deponent seythe that at suche time as he was at Vera Crux, being in September last as before, the said lvii negros, one w'th an other might have ben soulde at Vera Crux for iiii^{c} Pesos of Goulde everie negro (the peso of Goulde beinge worthe xv Rialls of plate as aforesaide). And for reason of his knowledge the better he saythe that this Deponent hathe soulde and seene others buye and sell negros at Rio de Hacho and other hether places of the West Indias bothe this last sommer, and ii other voyadges before. And by that experience knowethe that suche choise Negros ben commonlie soulde there for CL Pesos of goulde. And seythe that this last yere there was one choise Negro soulde at Rio de Hacho for CL Pesos of Golde, and yet, in this Deponents Judgement that negro was not worthe so muche money as mayney of the saide xlv negros were. For he seythe that the Englishmen frenchemen and portugalls doe bringe meny Negros to the saide hether places of the West Indias. but none that ever this Deponent coulde here of, to the haven of Vera Crux, beinge aboute vi^{c} leages sailinge beyonde these hether places, By reason whereof the Negros and all other wares must be derer bought and soulde there, then in the other saide hether and nere places.

17. Deposition of John Tommes.[1]

Monday 25 April 1569.

Ad octavum articulum Dicit That ther were in the foure shipps articulated whiche were taken by the Spaniardes as is aforesaid the number of xliiii or xlv negros or thereaboutes who were chosen negros and the best of the negros that were gotten in Gynney this last voyadge of the saide companye And besides ther were x or xii negros or thereaboutes in the aforesaid *Mynnyon* whereof she brought vii from the saide porte of la Vera Crux into England and the rest died by the way homewardes. . . .

[17] [1] High Court of Admiralty, Examinations, vol. 16.

18. Deposition of William Fowler of Ratcliffe, Merchant.[1]

Saturday 30 Ap 1569.

Ad octavum articulum Dicte schedule Dicit That by the experience of the trade w'ch he hathe had to and at the saide place called Vera Crux and other the cheiffe of the West Indias as is aforesaid this deponent knowethe that a Negro of a good stature and yonge of yeres is worthe and is commonlie bought and soulde there at Mexico and the maine lande of the West Indias for iiii^{c} v^{c} and vi^{c} pesos. For if a negro be a Bossale that is to say ignorant of the spanishe or Portugale tonge then he or she is commonlye soulde for iiii^{c} and iiii^{c} L [450] pesos. But if the Negro can speake anye of the foresaide languages any thinge indifferentlye (whiche is called Ladinos) then the same negro is commonlye soulde for v^{c} and vi^{c} pesos as the negro is of choise and yonge of yeres And this Deponent seythe that the best trade in those places is of Negros. The trade whereof he this Deponent hathe used and hathe soulde Negros at the saide places and seen other marchantes likewise sell ther Negros there, Divers tymes And thereby knowethe that the common price of negros is as before is Deposed Whiche Negros beinge caried into the Inner and farder partes of the mayne lande of Peru in the west Indias be commonlye sold there for viii^{c} and ix^{c} pesos. . . . The Peso being worthe (as he seythe) at la Vera Crux xiii Rialls of plate of the spanishe coyne beinge vi *s.* viii *d.* sterling, And in other places of Mexico, Peru, and mayne lande the saide Peso is worthe xiiii Rialls which is vii *s.* sterlinge.

[18][1] High Court of Admiralty, Examinations, vol. 17.

PART II.: THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

INTRODUCTION

The comparatively simple annals of the African trade of the sixteenth century gave way in the seventeenth to a far more confused series of events. The three nations which had already appeared upon the west coast of Africa were joined by Dutch, Dane, Swede, and Brandenburger, all struggling for a share of the spoils. For a time this coast was both the prize for which European nations contended and the battle-ground on which the struggle was carried on. The difficulties inherent in the close proximity of rival nations desirous of the same commodity were increased by the possibility of gaining native allies, and native African wars became a part of the story of European international relationships. Of international struggles, the most important one was that between English and Dutch, which finds frequent reflection in the documents printed in these volumes. The complete story belongs to diplomatic and naval history, but it cannot be ignored in any account of the slave trade, since the contest itself helped to determine the character of the traffic for which the nations competed.

Not only is it necessary during this century to follow the progress of international relations on the African coast, but one must bear in mind the affairs of the home governments. Each country was experimenting with methods of commercial development and seeking for the form of business organization best suited to distant commerce. The relation of the slave trade to the government, its sources of capital, its effect on home industries, and above all the form and the powers of the company which carried it on, all these and many more topics demanded attention in every country which ventured into the commerce.

Nor is this the whole story. The market, as well as the method and the source of supply, calls for attention. During this century Spain lost all claim to exclusive control of the West Indies. English, French, Dutch, and even Danes became possessed of territory in the Caribbean. Here the development of the sugar industry quickened the demand for slaves and gave to each colonizing country an additional reason for clinging to a foothold in Africa. To a lesser degree the industry of the continental American colonies also called for an enlarged labor supply. While the eighteenth century was the period of large demand on the continent, the last forty years of the seventeenth saw the tobacco colonies absorbing a steadily growing number of negro laborers. Many of these topics find ample illustration in the documents which follow, others are but hinted at.

Those facts of West Indian settlement essential to an understanding of the traffic in negroes during the seventeenth century can be briefly stated. Throughout the sixteenth century European nations had been, on the whole, content to leave possession and settlement to the Spaniards, concentrating their efforts on obtaining an entrance into Spanish markets. But soon after the opening of the seventeenth century Spain was obliged to share her lands in the New World with other nations, whose colonies were soon to rival hers in wealth and strength. The English and French settled St. Christopher in 1623.[1] Barbados was occupied by the English in 1625. After that they spread rapidly to the more important of the Leeward Islands. Nevis, Antigua, and Montserrat were by 1632 considered English islands.

The French were not far behind. The French Company of the Islands of America, created in 1626,[2] settled Guadeloupe and Martinique in 1635, and Marie Galante in 1648. St. Lucia and Grenada were added to the French possessions in the fifties.

The Dutch in the decade of the thirties settled Curaçao, St. Eustatius, and Tobago. The Danes, late arrivals, acquired the small island of St. Thomas in 1671.

In all the islands slave labor was used to some extent from the first, though the source of the early slaves is obscure. Some doubtless came from Dutch ships; some from the Spanish colonies.[3] In none of these islands did the slave trade assume importance until the introduction and development of sugar-planting, between 1640 and 1650. This not only created a demand for labor greater than the system of indenture could supply but also gave the planter a commodity with which to pay for the coveted negroes.

The traders first ready to meet this demand were the Hollanders. Despite the persistent intrusions of the French and English on the Guinea coast throughout the sixteenth century, it was the Dutch, arriving on this international battle-ground about 1592, that brought about the downfall of Portuguese power. Barbot ascribes their first visit to a disaster suffered by Bernard Ericks, or Erickson, who

[1] The English had established themselves in the Bermudas in 1609.

[2] In 1664 the planting company transferred its rights to Colbert's new company. Upon the dissolution of this company in 1674 the crown took over the control of the islands.

[3] In 1632, after an English settlement had been made on Tortuga, Pym suggested that Dutch ships carrying negroes to Spanish colonies were accustomed to pass sufficiently near to the island so that it might be possible to obtain the necessary negroes from them. In February of the next year it was learned that Capt. Anthony Hilton had already purchased forty negroes, and the Providence Company directed him to procure more from the Dutch, and if he should have too many to send the excess to Providence Island. In 1634 this company, in which Maurice Thompson, later a member of a Guinea company, was concerned, wrote to Capt. Nathaniel Butler that it was buying and using negroes. If he found that there were too many on the island he was to sell them to New England or Virginia. A. P. Newton, *Colonising Activities of the English Puritans,* pp. 111, 149; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, pp. 295, 296.

was captured by the Portuguese and held for some time on the island of Principe, not far from São Thomé.[4] Here he learned something of the profits arising from trade on the Gold Coast, and as soon as he was at liberty he offered his services to a group of Holland merchants for a Guinea voyage, which seems to have been sufficiently successful to prompt other ventures. Balthazar de Moucheron, appreciating the possibilities of the African trade, tried immediately after this to make some permanent settlement on the coast. With a small force he attacked Elmina but the audacious project failed. He then attempted to gain possession of Principe and São Thomé, but here also he was unsuccessful, and the effort to settle on the coast was for a time abandoned.[5]

Coming into a region already occupied and with no established trading posts, the Hollanders, if they established permanent trade, must first make friends with the natives, and at this they proved more adept than the French and English had shown themselves a few years earlier. Not long after Balthazar de Moucheron's futile attempt to capture Elmina the natives of Fetu, near Commenda, attracted by the goods of their new friends, which they thought better and cheaper than those of Portugal, and angered by the tyranny of the Portuguese, drove them from all parts of the Gold Coast save St. George del Mina and Axim.[6] This cleared the way for the Dutch, who soon established themselves at Mouri (or Mowree) on the Gold Coast, where, in 1611 or 1612, they built Fort Nassau.[7]

In the struggle which ensued between Dutch and Portuguese the Dutch pushed steadily forward. In 1617 they purchased from the natives the island of Goree, on which they built two small forts, and at Rufisque or Rio Fresco, not far away on the mainland, they established a factory.[8] These with Fort Nassau gave them access to two excellent regions for commerce, the Gambia River and the Gold Coast. In 1621 the Dutch West India Company was established, and to it was granted a monopoly of all African trade, as well as the right

[4] James Barbot, "Description of the Coast of North and South Guinea", Churchill, *Voyages and Travels,* V. 164; Astley, II. 569. "Troubles and warres in the Netherlands, constrained us to seek Traffique here also, and to undertake this voyage, by that meanes to put the Portugalls from it, which in the end we did", in "A Description and Historicall Declaration of the Golden Kingdome of Guinea, otherwise called the Golden Coast of Myna . . . written by one that hath oftentimes beene there" (Purchas, VI. 280-281). From this account Astley draws freely.

[5] Lannoy and Vander Linden, *L'Expansion Coloniale: Néerlande et Danemark,* pp. 48-50.

[6] Barbot, "Description of Guinea", Churchill, V. 164.

[7] Zook, *The Company of Royal Adventurers trading into Africa,* p. 1.

[8] Lannoy and Vander Linden, *Néerlande et Danemark,* p. 74; James Bandinel, *Some Account of the Trade in Slaves from Africa* (1842), pp. 40-41.

to develop the Dutch possessions in the New World.[9] The combination thus effected between control over the supply of negroes and control over the market for them was an extraordinarily advantageous arrangement and the company grew and prospered. In 1625 the Dutch, allying themselves with the natives, attacked Elmina. They were at this time repulsed, but, renewing the attempt in 1637, they succeeded in taking this, the first and strongest fortification which the Portuguese possessed on the entire African coast.[10] In 1642 Fort St. Anthony at Axim was taken from the Portuguese and their day on the Gold Coast was over. The Dutch had succeeded where both English and French in the preceding century had failed. In large part this success can be ascribed to the Dutch policy of establishing settlements. The natives were afraid to deal with the English and French, who traded and departed, leaving them to the wrath of the Portuguese. With the Dutch they saw protection and permanent trade. Also, Portugal was now absorbed in the Spanish monarchy, and since Spanish interest was in America rather than in Africa the Portuguese grip upon the West Coast had relaxed. Bosman's frequently quoted saying, "the Portuguese served for setting dogs to spring the game", has tended to minimize the length and the importance of Portuguese occupation. It must be remembered that Portugal held the Gold Coast for well-nigh two hundred years. Her domination left many traces still to be discerned, in place-names, in the language and religion of the tribes near the coast, and in the physical characteristics of the natives themselves, since there was much intermarriage.[11]

[9] A. J. F. van Laer, *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts* (1908), pp. 86-115. For an account of the inception of this company see J. F. Jameson, "Willem Usselinx", *Papers of the American Historical Association,* vol. II., no. 3, pp. 22-47. Pages 54-83 compare the charter as actually formulated with Usselinx's projected charter. The inclusion of the Guinea merchants was not part of the original plan (pp. 49-50). Mistakenly enough, the anonymous author of the *Case of the Royal African Company* (1729) intimates that the company resulted from Dutch observation of English measures for encouraging the African trade (p. 5). There was certainly little in the English patent of 1618 which could have served as a model for the far-reaching powers of the Dutch charter of 1621.

[10] Astley, *Voyages and Travels,* II. 569, 571-573, 592-593.

[11] William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea* (1721), p. 2. Because of the contrast between Portugal's earlier and later position on the coast the tendency has been to underestimate her activities in the seventeenth century. Early in this century the Portuguese settled four forts in the interior of Angola, forbidding foreign nations to visit that coast (Ravenstein, *History of Angola,* p. 157). They had by no means abandoned other parts of West Africa. Pierre van den Broeck found them buying slaves at Cape Verde in 1606 (no. 19), Jobson found them trading on the Gambia in 1622 (Astley, II. 248; Purchas, IX. 288). In 1641, the year the Dutch occupied Angola, the Portuguese built a fort at Cacheo (Lannoy, *Portugal et Espagne,* p. 76; Scelle, I. 552). Ten years later the Dutch gave up all claim to traffic between Guinea and Brazil, and the slave trade of Brazil henceforward was largely in Portuguese hands (Lannoy, p. 77). The most important of the Portuguese factories was that of Santiago at Cape Verde, which was the entrepôt for the other Portuguese factories on the coast. Scelle, I. 561.

With the capture of Elmina the Dutch at once made it their headquarters, supplementing it with Fort Conraadsburg, which they built on a hill overlooking the castle of Elmina. During the period of the English civil wars and the Commonwealth they had opportunity to strengthen their hold on the coast as well as to develop their market, and soon had a chain of forts that promised to give them complete supremacy. Their claim to control was however not yet accepted by other aspirants to the Gold Coast trade. The relative stability of Portugal's long dominance gave way to a rapid shifting of ownership among the rival nations now gathering on the Guinea coast.

Among their earlier and less important competitors was Sweden, whose activities were of short duration and can be dismissed with a few words. In 1647 a Swedish African Company was established under the guidance of Louis de Geer of Liége.[12] Though the company was Swedish in name, in reality it was largely made up of Dutch merchants excluded from the African trade by the monopoly of the Dutch West India Company and determined to enter into direct competition with that company. Henry Carloff,[13] a Dane, was sent out by the company and established settlements at Cabo Corso[14] (Carolusborg) between the Dutch strongholds of Elmina and Nassau, and at Takoradi, Anamabo, and Ursu, all on the Gold Coast. Both Dutch and English protested against this, but the English company of this time was in no condition to exert force and the Dutch were apparently not ready to do so.[15] Carloff, quarrelling with his superi-

[12] Lannoy, *L'Expansion Coloniale: Suède,* pp. 42-43.

[13] Carloff, whose name appears in many forms, Caeloff, Carloof, Karloff, Carolof, was a gentleman of fortune whose services were at the command of any nation willing to pay for them. If one assumes, as seems probable, that he is the Sir Henry Carloff employed by the French in 1670, his activities on the coast extended over twenty years and included service for three rival countries. The French could well say of him that he was "familiar with African trade".

[14] The accounts of the establishment and early history of European settlement at Cabo Corso, or Cape Coast Castle, as the English later called it, are so conflicting as to baffle attempts at reconciliation. The Danish governor, Eric Tylleman, who wrote at the end of the century, says that it was built by the Swedes in 1652, its first stone being laid by Gov. Isaac Melville of Basel. In 1658 it was surrendered to the Danes and the next year, by treachery, it passed to the Dutch, to be taken by the natives within a month, and soon after given back to the Swedes. In 1663 it was again seized by the natives and transferred to the Dutch (Sir Matthew Nathan, "The Gold Coast at the End of the Seventeenth Century under the Danes and Dutch", *Journal of the African Society,* IV. 17). This differs at several points from other accounts of the vicissitudes of Cabo Corso. Barbot at one place credits the Dutch with building it, at another he says they purchased it from Carloff, who had built it for the Danes.

On May 1, 1659, and May 22, 1661, the factory here was burned, presumably by the Dutch. The East India Company, as leaseholder of the factory, put in claims for reparations from Holland, £2500 for the first loss, £15,474. 12*s.* for the second (Ethel B. Sainsbury, *A Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company,* 1660-1663, Oxford, 1922, pp. 286-287). This would seem to indicate recognized English possession before the Restoration.

[15] Oct. 16, 1653, the Council of State, in response to a protest from the newly patented Guinea Company that the Swedes were encroaching on its factories, instructed the ambassador, Whitelocke, to take the matter up with the Swedes upon his arrival at their court. *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1547-1660, p. 409.

ors, left their service for that of the Danes. On the outbreak of war between Sweden and Denmark in 1657 he reappeared on the coast in command of a Danish war vessel, which seized the Swedish settlements at Takoradi, Anamabo, Ursu, and perhaps that at Carolusborg.[16] These soon passed from Danish hands to those of the Dutch and it was to the States General of the Netherlands that Sweden appealed for indemnity. The request was ignored, on the pretext that the company was actually Dutch not Swedish, and that therefore the Swedes had no ground for complaint.[17] A Swedish war vessel sent out in 1661 to retake these establishments was equally unsuccessful in the face of Dutch opposition. This ended the Swedish attempt to share in the African trade. Of the rivalry of Swedes and Danes the Dutch might have made short work, but their troubles were augmented by the reappearance of the English on the coast shortly after the Restoration, now supported by a powerful company and prepared to fight for an exclusive trade.

Despite the fact that England began her experiments in joint ventures early in the sixteenth century, she was much slower than the Dutch to realize the advantage of a powerful joint-stock company. The Dutch establishment of 1621 was hardly equalled by England before 1672, and not until a number of less substantial creations had attempted the African trade.

The first genuine incorporation for Guinea commerce was in 1618, when James I. created the Company of Adventurers of London trading into Parts of Africa, by granting to Sir Robert Rich, soon to become Earl of Warwick, and a group of more than thirty patentees, control over the trade on the explored coast south of Barbary.[18] There

[16] The Danes had appeared on the West Coast about 1642, in close connection with the Dutch. Though they remained there until 1850, they were at no time of any great importance. Under Christian IV. a Danish company was established with Glückstadt as its centre, and merchants were sent out to establish factories. They built a small lodge at Accra, with which they were content until Carloff's expedition, when they transformed Ursu Lodge into Fort Christiansborg, and built Fort Frederiksborg. Their most prosperous years were 1652-1658 (Waldemar Westergaard, *The Danish West Indies,* p. 21; Lannoy and Vander Linden, *L'Expansion Coloniale,* II. 413-414; *id., Suède,* p. 43). In 1679 one of the Danish employees murdered the governor at Christiansborg and sold the fortress to the natives and the Portuguese. The Danes, aided by the Dutch, with whom they were then on good terms, redeemed it in 1682, only to lose it to the natives again in 1692. After their second redemption of it, in 1694, they succeeded in holding it throughout the eighteenth century. Frederiksborg they sold to the English company in 1685 (Nathan, "The Gold Coast under Danes and Dutch", *Journal of the African Society,* IV. 23-24). Paul Erdman Isert, a Danish medical inspector on the coast in the eighteenth century, says that Christiansborg was purchased from the Portuguese in 1660 (*Voyages en Guinée et dans les Caraïbes en Amérique,* 1793, p. 15). Isert's treatise, compiled from letters written while he was medical inspector for the Danish possessions in Africa, was translated from the German. A Danish edition was published in 1917. For a modern account of the Gold Coast in the seventeenth century, see Claridge, *A History of the Gold Coast,* vol. I.

[17] Lannoy, *Suède,* p. 44.

[18] Pat. Rolls, 16 Jac. I., pt. vi; Carr, *Select Charters,* pp. xliv, 99-106; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, p. 20; Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies,* II. 11-14. Sir William St. John was governor of the company; Sir Allen Appesley, deputy governor.

is room for speculation as to whether Rich was cherishing some notion of procuring African laborers for the recently planted colony of Virginia, but if this were the case his plan was never carried out.[19] George Thompson, a Barbary merchant, was at once sent out by the patentees to explore the Gambia and report on its commercial possibilities. Losing his vessel to the Portuguese, he appealed for assistance, and Richard Jobson followed him up the Gambia in 1620, to learn that he had been murdered by one of his own men. From Jobson's account of his expedition we gain what knowledge we have of the early activities and plans of this company, as well as some information about the region.[20] Of the Mandingoes at the mouth of the river Jobson recorded that they were afraid of the shipping (presumably, of his vessel), "they having beene many times by severall nations surprized, taken and carried away". Jobson traded up the Gambia with a native merchant, called by him Buckor Sano, who in the course of the trade offered him slaves. His reply was that,

> We were a people, who did not deale in any such commodities, neither did wee buy or sell one another, or any that had our owne shapes; he seemed to marvell much at it, and told us it was the only marchandize they carried downe into the countrey, where they fetcht all their salt, and that they were sold there to white men who earnestly desired them . . . we answered, They were another kinde of people different from us . . .[21]

Not only did this company make an effort to explore the Gambia River, with the idea of developing its trade, but it also built the first English factory in West Africa.[22] Its trading voyages were disastrous failures and after three attempts, which incurred heavy losses, it gave up the effort and sent out no more expeditions.[23]

Theoretically these patentees still held the power to exclude all other adventurers from the African coast, or, if they chose, to admit them to trade by special license, after Portuguese and Spanish fashion. At least one group of merchants resented this. In 1624 Sir Richard Young, Sir Kenelm Digby, George Kirke, Humphrey Slaney, Nicholas Crisp, and William Clobery made complaint against the patent of the company, alleging that it had been obtained by "untrue suggestion", since it was granted to the patentees because of their dis-

[19] See this work, vol. III., Virginia.

[20] Richard Jobson, *The Golden Trade or a Discovery of the River Gambra, and the Golden Trade of the Aethiopians* (London, 1623); Astley (II. 174-189) and Purchas (VI. 234-247, and IX. 284) print abbreviated versions of Jobson's narrative.

[21] Jobson, *The Golden Trade,* pp. 28-29, 88-89; A. E. M. Gibson, in "Slavery in Western Africa" (*Journal of the African Society,* III. 24-25), says that Jobson and Stibbs formed a company which shipped a considerable number of slaves to the plantations of the New World. Concerning this statement it is necessary only to say that Bartholomew Stibbs's journey to the Gambia was about one hundred years later than that of Jobson.

[22] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, p. 339.

[23] *Ibid.,* p. 27. The loss on the three voyages was over £5000 (Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies,* II. 12-13). Anderson attributes the speedy defeat of this company to the activity of the separate traders. *Origins of Commerce,* II. 366-367.

covery of the trading ground, whereas the petitioners had been trading in those parts for years. They averred that they had raised stock, had built houses and factories, and had employed one thousand tons of shipping, all of which they had been obliged to give up when the patent of 1618 was granted. The patentees, on the other hand, had so little appreciated and used their privileges as to allow both Dutch and French to establish themselves in their territory.[24] Because of these complaints the patent was declared a "grievance", but Carr's statement that it was revoked is open to question. Various scraps of information relating to the next six years certainly indicate the existence of some sort of "Guinea Company". The most puzzling note is one directing that letters be written to the merchants of the Guinea Company, "Humph. Slaney, Capt. Crispe, Cloberry, and John Wood".[25] In 1626 George Digbie and others, "the Governor and Company of Guíney and Binney", ask for and receive the assurance of two ships to protect them from danger and "to pursue a hopeful discovery".[26] In 1627 letters of marque are issued to Sir Thomas Button and other adventurers trading to Guinea.[27] Not long after this an order is issued by the Council forbidding all trading with Guinea except on the part of the "patentees".[28] In 1629 Crisp, Slaney, Thomas Chamberlayne and Abraham Chamberlayne, sr. and jr., and Robert South petition for redress for the capture of the *Benediction* and the *James Bonaventure* while trading in the River Senegal.[29] Obviously, between 1624 and 1630 Guinea trading was recognized as legitimate and as entitled to the protection of the government, whether under the patent of 1618 or not.

In 1631 Charles I. granted to the group of separate traders, Sir Richard Young, Sir Kenelm Digby, George Kirke, Humphrey Slaney, Nicholas Crisp, and William Clobery, the right to the exclusive trade to "Guinea, Binney and Angola" for thirty-one years.[30] Nicholas Crisp, long an interloper, seems always to have been the leader

[24] *Commons Journals,* I. 710, 771, 793-794; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, p. 62; Carr, *Select Charters,* pp. xliv, 99, n. 2. The charter of this company is in Carr, pp. 99-106.

[25] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, p. 75. One would assume that the differences of 1624 had been adjusted by including the malcontents within the company were it not that, three years later, Crisp again appears as a trouble-making interloper.

[26] *Ibid.,* p. 82.

[27] *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1628-1629, p. 297.

[28] *Ibid.,* 1627-1628, p. 270.

[29] *Ibid.,* 1629-1631, pp. 45, 145.

[30] Carr, *Select Charters,* pp. xliv-xlv, from Patent Rolls, 7 Car. I., pt. xiv, and 8 Car. I., pt. xxi; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, p. 135; Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies,* II. 14-15. *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1631-1633, p. 186, gives the date of the patent as June 25, 1631. Carr, who gives the date as 1632, calls it a lease, not an incorporation. Its holders could make regulations and seize interlopers, but could not issue licenses, though they might take into the group new members. Latimer speaks of the proclamation of the grant in Bristol in 1631 as prohibiting local merchants from competing in the trade, as if they had heretofore done so (John Latimer, *Annals of Bristol: Seventeenth Century,* Bristol, 1900, p. 121). Scott (II. 14) gives its date as June 25, 1630.

of this group of merchants and by 1644 was said to own half of its possessions.[31] It required but one successful venture on the part of this company to bring the interloper into competition with it. In 1636 a vessel brought from Africa to England gold and other commodities to some £30,000,[32] and in the next two years holders of the patent were invoking the aid of the Admiralty to prevent the sailing of the *Talbot* and the *Star* of London to their territory.[33] That all was not well with the new company may be surmised from the fact that in 1636 the Privy Council considered complaints of its creditors.[34] Disappointingly little is known of its history for the next decade. The fact that in 1641 the House of Commons considered a petition for the establishment of a company for America and Africa probably means nothing as to the success or failure of this group of venturers, yet it suggests that something much more extensive than the existing company was contemplated, perhaps something on the lines of the Dutch West India Company, whose success on the West Coast must have been well known to the English at this time.[35] Possibly, too, the increased need for negroes in the English colonies in America prompted the desire for an elaborate and sub-

[31] Crisp had built a factory at Cormantine on the Gold Coast in 1624 (Zook, *Royal Adventurers,* p. 6). For an account of his varied activities see Zook, pp. 14-16; Wallace Notestein, ed., *Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes,* p. 312.

[32] Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies,* II. 15; Carr, *Select Charters,* p. xlv.

[33] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, pp. 259-260, 273; *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1637, p. 533.

[34] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, p. 241. For what is known of the finances of the company during these early years, see Scott, II. 14-15. Prince Rupert was at one time its governor. Hilary Jenkinson, "The Records of the English African Companies", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (third ser.), VI. 195.

[35] Stock, *Proceedings and Debates,* I. 121-122. At this same time the English came to an agreement with the Portuguese respecting African trade (Jan. 29, 1642): "And because the commerce and free coming of the subjects of the King of Great Britain to the coasts and parts of Africa, the island of St. Thomas and other islands comprehended under them, could not yet be agreed on by reason of the defect of the powers sent by the Most Renowned King of Portugal to his ambassadors, that by this debate this present treaty of peace and amity between both kings and their subjects be not delayed, it is on both parts concluded on, that in the lands, places, castles, posts, coasts of Africa, Guinea, Bine etc., the island of St. Thomas and other islands comprehended under them, wherein it shall appear that the subjects of Great Britain have dwelt for trade of merchandise, or have had trade or commerce there in the time of the Kings of Castile, or hitherto, there shall be no alteration or change, neither shall they have any trouble or injury done them by the Portugals for that cause. And if any customs be to be demanded from the subjects of the King of Great Britain, on any cause, in the castles, islands, and places aforesaid, they shall not be greater or more grievous than those which shall be demanded from other nations in league with the King of Portugal; and the subjects of the King of Portugal wanting foreign ships for their navigation and commerce to the coasts and islands aforesaid, may freely, at their own pleasure, hire the ships of the subjects of the King of Great Britain: and that commissioners and ambassadors shall be named by both kings, who shall treat and conclude concerning the commerce and free coming to the coasts, islands and places aforesaid, which hath been demanded by the commissioners of the King of Great Britain, for the subjects of their king: being persuaded out of the confidence of the ancient amity which hath been between the predecessors of the same kings, that the most renowned King of Portugal will grant to no nation more ample rights, immunities, and privileges, than he will grant unto the subjects of the King of Great Britain." Frances G. Davenport, *Treaties,* I. 337 n.

stantial foundation and one which should definitely unite the trade of Africa with that of the American plantations. Nothing came of this plan, nor are the names of those who fostered it known.

Crisp's difficulties presently involved the company and probably brought its trade to an end. In 1644 he was attacked in Parliament as a monopolist, and was charged with owing the state £16,000, for which his share of the property of the Guinea Company was sequestered.[36]

Despite these vicissitudes the patent of the company was still considered in operation when Cromwell's government was inaugurated, and the Puritan party soon called into question the monopoly which it granted. In 1649 and 1650 members of the group (unnamed) were brought before the Council of State to answer the charges made in the "Remonstrance" of Samuel Vassall and his company, that the grant had been obtained by "procurement of courtiers".[37] The defendants answered that, on the contrary, they had brought in to England £10,000, that they had settled a factory in 1632, had purchased Wiampa (Wyamba?) in 1633, had taught the son of the King of Aguna English, and would in future keep the Dutch from overrunning the coast if their patent were renewed.[38] On April 9, 1651, about a year and a half after the protest of Vassall, the Council of State, in accordance with the report of the Committee of Trade, renewed or regranted the patent, apparently to a new group altogether. The merchants who received and traded under the new order were Rowland Wilson, Thomas Walter, Thomas Chamberlain, John Woods, Maurice Thompson, John Frederick, and Samuel Vassall.[39]

The territory included in the patent was greatly reduced, being limited to twenty leagues "on each side of the two chief factories, or residences by the sea coast, the fort of Cormantin, and the river Cerberro [Sherbro], near Sierra Leone". Within these limits the patentees were directed to fortify and secure the trade for the Com-

[36] Carr, *Select Charters,* p. xlv. In 1709 his grandsons asserted that he had acquired all his partners' interest in the company and had in 1647 been given a twenty-year extension of the demise (*Commons Journals,* XI. 542, XV. 180; Carr, p. xlvi, n. 5). Bonnassieux states that Thomas Crisp, an agent of this company, purchased Cape Verde from a native king in 1649. *Les Grandes Compagnies de Commerce,* p. 90, n. 3.

[37] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, pp. 331, 338; Scott, pp. 15-16. The Guinea traders called to support the "Remonstrance" were: Samuel Vassall, Peter Andrews, Mr. Frith, and Samuel Wilson.

[38] *Ibid.,* pp. 339-340, 341, 342, 345; Carr, pp. xliv, xlv, n. 4. Their promise as to the Dutch indicates a degree of self-confidence by no means justified by their previous achievements.

[39] The men named in the grant of 1631 had by this time all resigned their interest to Crisp. The author of an account in Egerton MSS. 1162A, f. 173, states that the charter was confirmed to "Rowland Willson and others". The names of some of the others are learned from the letters of 1651-1652 printed hereafter. It is probable that these were not the only capitalists concerned in the company.

monwealth. South of these points the trade was to be open to all. The privileges given were for fourteen years.[40]

That the newly created patentees undertook trade promptly is shown by the documents hereafter printed (nos. 24-29). Their troubles began at once. Government patents were unavailing to protect them from foreign hostility and from the forces of the Stuarts. In 1652 the Guinea Company petitioned for redress because of the loss of the *Friendship* to Prince Rupert and the Portuguese, and asked for protection against the Dutch.[41] In 1653 the Swedes were the aggressors. The company was driven from its Accra factory and the minister to Sweden was instructed to enter complaint and demand remuneration for the losses sustained.[42] Altogether the losses on the African coast during the Interregnum were estimated at £300,000, and the company's efforts to develop the trade were soon abandoned.[43]

In 1657 the East India Company, having received a new charter and issued additional shares, expended a portion of the money thus available in leasing the property of the Guinea Company on the coast: Cormantine, Cape Coast, and Wyamba. The purpose of the lease was to unite the two regions by carrying the gold of Africa to India, thereby avoiding the mercantilist criticisms aimed at the company by its enemies.[44] This company attempted no exclusive control of trade on the coast but granted licenses to other vessels on the payment of a duty of ten per cent. on their cargoes. The experiment proved so satisfactory that at the time of the Restoration the company would gladly have continued it, and suggested that its new charter include the Guinea privileges. Two competitors stood in the way: Sir Nicholas Crisp, whose monopoly could be considered as legally continuing till June, 1662,[45] and the royal party led by Prince Rupert, professing anxiety to develop the gold mines of Africa. Even with the chartering of Prince Rupert's new company in 1660 the East India Company did not lose hope, and as late as the summer of 1662 it suggested to the Duke of York that the two trades could well be

[40] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, p. 355; Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies,* I. 248-250, II. 16. Though the statement of the region granted is perfectly clear, Scott and other writers following him have confused the location and extent of this grant.

[41] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, p. 383, 389, 405. At this time the company stated that it had adventured £70,000 upon the coast.

[42] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, p. 409.

[43] Carr, *Select Charters,* p. xlv; George Cawston and A. H. Keane, *Early Chartered Companies,* p. 230; Astley, *Voyages and Travels,* II. 159. Malachy Postlethwayt's *Importance of the African Expedition Considered* (1758, p. 27) makes the exaggerated claim of a loss of from £600,000 to £700,000; in his *Universal Dictionary of Trade* (1751, I. 724) he places the losses at from £700,000 to £800,000.

[44] Sir William Foster, *The English Factories in India,* 1655-1660, p 141, 1661-1664, pp. 41, 156.

[45] The East India Company, in the negotiations of 1662 with the Duke of York, speaks of its rights as resting on an "assignment from Sir Nicholas Crispe, which expires in December, 1664". Sainsbury, *Court Minutes of the East India Company,* 1660-1663, pp. 202-203. How the year 1664 was arrived at is not clear.

united. It next asked to retain its West African possessions until Christmas, 1664, and to share the trade with the Royal Adventurers. The offer was not accepted, and after some negotiation the East India Company paid the balance that it owed on the lease and concluded a formal agreement for withdrawing its goods and factors,[46] at least one of whom, and probably more, remained on the coast in the employ of the Royal Adventurers.[47]

How much these privileged groups or the independent traders who harassed them traded in slaves it is impossible to say. The earlier discussions in Parliament and the official records of various kinds make no references to the slave trade, yet there can be little question but that the English were becoming habituated to it. A stray list of names of 1623 is endorsed, "Adventurers in the slave trade taken out of the map", with no further explanation.[48] In 1629 and 1630 Crisp and his companions were asking for restitution for the *Benediction,* carrying 180 slaves, which with the *James Bonaventure* had been seized by the French while they carried on their "accustomed trade".[49] "Accustomed" here may imply the slave trade, or it may mean merely that the *Benediction* was trading in her usual place. The *Talbot,* restrained by order of the Privy Council from venturing into company regions, was fitted to "take nigers, and to carry them to foreign parts".[50] One looks in vain for any indication that this is unusual or surprising. In 1642 two British merchants, by name Burchett and Phillips, offered to supply the Spanish-American plantations with 2000 negroes a year from Angola, but no conclusion can be drawn from this as to the English trade since these men were acting as intermediaries for the Dutch.[51] The instructions sent by Warwick to Captain John Severn of the *Elias* suggest a source of supply of which the English may have made frequent use. He

[46] Sainsbury, pp. viii, xxxi-xxxii, 42, 88, 259-263, 264, 265-267, 337-341. Cawston and Keane state that it built two forts on the coast during its five years' occupancy (*Early Chartered Companies,* pp. 230-231). The value which this company attached to its African lease certainly suggests that the English possessions were not so reduced as was later stated.

[47] Gilbert Beavis. *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, p. 206.

[48] Feb. 1622/3, Hist. MSS. Comm., *Eighth Report,* pt. II., p. 38, b.

[49] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, p. 114; *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1629-1631, pp. 39, 133, 466; P. Cultru, *Histoire du Sénégal du XVe Siècle à 1870,* p. 41. The statement sometimes found, that the *Benediction* carried 900 negroes, is most improbable, as she was a vessel of but 300 tons.

[50] *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1637, p. 533; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, pp. 259-260, 273. John Crisp was the promoter of the *Talbot's* voyage; Maurice Thompson, Oliver Clobery, Oliver Read, George Lewine, and "others" were the venturers concerned in the Guinea voyage of the *Star* of London the next year. Thompson, as has been remarked, was one of the planters of Providence Island, which was at this time receiving negroes (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, pp. 295-296). Bonnassieux takes it for granted that the chief business of this company was carrying negroes to the American colonies. *Les Grandes Compagnies,* pp. 90-91.

[51] Scelle, *La Traite Négrière,* I. 487-488, n. 2.

writes: "Captured negroes [are] to be left at my island of Trinidad."[52]

The letters of 1651 printed in this volume make unquestionable the fact that the company of that year traded in slaves, but they do not offer evidence as to whether the project they describe was a customary form of traffic or a new venture.

In the list of depredations committed by the Dutch, which the English presented in 1664, seven vessels are enumerated as having been seized on the Guinea coast or bound for it, before 1660. Of these, three certainly carried negroes. The cargoes of the others are not specified.[53] There is no evidence that the East India Company, when it leased the Gold Coast factories, intended to purchase negroes beyond those needed as company servants.[54]

With the Restoration the potential wealth of Africa gained immediate attention. A patent was granted on December 18, 1660, but once the patentees attempted trade under it, the strength of the Dutch on the African coast was manifest, and their hostility forced a reorganization of the company. The first charter was replaced by a grant of larger powers, on January 10, 1663.[55] That the rights of the patentees of 1631 were not yet legally extinguished is suggested by the cautious wording of this charter, which makes the new grant, whose term is one thousand years, contingent upon the expiration, forfeiture, surrender, or other determination of the earlier privileges.[56] The list of patentees was an imposing one, most of them being cavaliers who had supported Charles II. during his exile. At

[52] June 7, 1643, *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1547-1660, p. 324.

[53] *Post,* no. 43, n. 6.

[54] A letter from the company in England to India, Sept. 12, 1660, stated that "ten lusty blacks, men and women", were to be transported from Guinea for the "intended settlement at Pulo Run"; in November of the next year the agent at Bantam was told: "By the *Berbadoes Merchant* wee sent you seven slaves, and doe now, by order from the Honourable Company, send more ten coffrees, men and women, that they appoynted to come from Guiney on the *Royall James and Henry,* to bee transported from hence to you for service in the isle of Pollaroone. And we have added more to them thirteen slaves of these natives, understanding you want such people for servile offices in the factoryes subordinate to your Agency." In August, 1661, fifteen blacks were to be provided to the company by the Guinea factors. Capt. Stephen Mitchell, in 1662, was directed to procure twenty blacks. Foster, *English Factories in India,* 1661-1664, pp. 43, 50-51, 157, 275.

[55] Patent Rolls, 12 Car. II., pts. xxi, xxvii; Carr, *Select Charters,* pp. 172-177, 177-181; Public Record Office, Treasury Papers 70: 1390, f. 3 (hereafter cited to as T 70); C. O. 1: 17, no. 2; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, pp. 120-122. For an account of the records of this company see Hilary Jenkinson, "Records of the English African Companies" (*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* third ser., VI. 198-201); for its history see Zook, *Company of Royal Adventurers.*

[56] The charter of 1631 would expire in June, 1662. The East India Company, in its negotiations with the Duke of York in 1662, speaks of its rights as resting on "an assignment from Sir Nicholas Crispe". By the time of the reorganization of 1663 the old grant had legally expired. The supersensitiveness displayed toward this long-unused patent was probably a result of the desire to ignore the government of the Interregnum and emphasize the continuity of the actions of the Stuarts.

their head was the Duke of York, and the king was one of the shareholders.[57]

The new company undertook as the first necessity the restoration of the ruined English forts on the West Coast [58] and the recovery of English property in the hands of the Dutch. This property, partly that of the independent traders, partly that of the older company, amounted to £300,000.

The expenses of the struggle with Holland which occupied much of the next decade, the unceasing conflict with the interloping trader, the volume of debts which the company was unable to collect, soon exhausted the resources of the Company of Adventurers and within ten years it gave way to a reorganized group, the Royal African Company, of 1672. All its claim to forts and factories on the West Coast was surrendered, in return for £34,000 in shares in the new venture.[59] The larger number of the documents which follow deal with the history of the new company, which retained an unrestricted monopoly until the Revolution of 1688, and by the act of 1698 gained, instead of complete monopoly, the right to exact a duty from other traders on the coast.

The development of the West India market for slaves, which accompanied the addition of Jamaica to British possessions and the increasing population of Barbados and the Leeward Islands, seems a plausible reason for enhanced interests in the Guinea traffic after 1660. Most writers on the subject have assumed without question that the purpose of the incorporation of 1660, as well as of the earlier grants, was to further the slave trade for the West Indies and perhaps for Spanish America.[60] Yet in the list of commodities to be traded in, enumerated in the patent, there is no mention of blacks. Dr. Zook's belief that the primary purpose of the establishment was the exploitation of African gold, in which Prince Rupert had become interested during the Interregnum, gains some support from the fact that Pepys first heard of the company from the Earl of Pembroke,

[57] "Only there was walking in the gallery some of the Barbary Company, and there we saw a draught of the arms of the Company, which the King is of, and so is called the Royall Company, which is, in a field argent an elephant proper, with a canton on which England and France is quartered supported by two Moors. The crest an anchor winged, I think it is, and the motto too tedious: 'Regio floret patrocinio commercium-commercioque Regnum'." Pepys, *Diary,* May 23, 1663.

[58] The *Case of the Royal African Company* (p. 5) stated that at the time of the Restoration Cormantine and a fort on the Gambia were the only English possessions of consequence in Africa.

[59] Of that sum Nicholas Crisp was to have received £20,000 for the castle of Cormantine and "other factories built by him", at an expense of £100,000, so his grandson stated in 1696 and 1709 (*Commons Journals,* XI. 542, XII. 166, XVI. 180). For an account of the trouble in adjusting the conflicting claims of Crisp and the old and new companies see Zook, pp. 14-16.

[60] Newton, *Colonising Activities,* p. 35; V. T. Harlow, *A History of Barbados, 1625-1685* (1926), p. 310.

one of the incorporators, as destined to develop African gold mines.[61] Clarendon's account of the inception of the company is annoyingly vague and raises questions rather than answering them.

"Some merchants and seamen made a proposition by Mr. William Coventry and some few others to the Duke of York 'for the erection of a company in which they desired his royal highness to preside' . . . The chief end of this trade was, besides the putting off great quantities of our own manufactures according as the trade should advance, to return with gold, which that coast produced in good quantity, and with slaves, blacks, which were readily sold to any plantation at great prices." Though this statement seems sufficiently explicit as to commerce in negroes, it is not clear whether Clarendon is speaking of the first or the second company, or whether he has fused the two companies in his account.[62]

The patent itself lends no aid to either interpretation of its purpose but offers the "recent interruption of orderly trade" as the reason for the establishment. This explanation was further emphasized in 1663, when the company stated that in 1660 the African traffic, carried on by individual traders, was a constant prey to the Dutch, who would have driven the English from the trade had a company not been established.[63] This is also the view of the author of the *Case of the Royal African Company,* who ignores any desire to establish a new trade but contends that, because of the abuses of the Dutch, England without a strong company would have lost her existing trade on the coast.[64] The "existing trade" was doubtless in part a trade in negroes but it cannot be assumed that every reference to African trade can be translated into "slave trade". England had long traded on the West Coast in other commodities before she traded extensively in slaves, and the terms African trade and slave trade were by no means synonymous in 1660. The failure not only of the patent itself, but also of much of the contemporary material to mention negroes, leaves one in great uncertainty as to the degree of importance which was attached to the slave trade in 1660.[65]

Whatever its purpose, there can be no question but that the company was expected to trade, and did trade, in negroes from its crea-

[61] Pepys, *Diary,* Oct. 3, 1660; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, p. 176; Zook, *Royal Adventurers,* p. 8.

[62] *Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon* (1759), II. 374-375. Clarendon was in this account concerned not with the origin of the company but with its relation to the Dutch war, which he had persistently opposed.

[63] G. L. Beer, *Old Colonial System* (1912), pt. I., vol. I., p. 325, n. 1; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, pp. 175-176.

[64] *Case of the Royal African Company,* pp. 6-7.

[65] Even as late as 1665 the African Company estimated its yearly returns from ivory, wax, hides, woods, and grain (pepper) at £100,000, that from negro slaves at £100,000, and that from gold at £200,000. 1665 (Jan.), "Brief narrative of the trade and present condition of the Royal African Company", *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, p. 266.

tion. James Earl of Marlborough, even before the actual issue of the charter, was endeavoring to induce the company to make Jamaica a base for the sale of negroes. Before the formal issue of the patent the company had ready five vessels bound for Gambia with stores and factors on board.[66] The next year, 1661, eight vessels were hired by the company for its African trade.[67] Eight of the vessels listed in the *Catalogue of Damages* submitted by the English in 1664 were trading on the Guinea coast during the period of this charter; two were unquestionably trading for negroes.[68] In April, 1662, Lord Windsor, governor of Jamaica, was notified that the company would within ten months deliver three hundred negroes to that island. Governor Willoughby was also informed that Barbados and the Caribbee Islands were to have three thousand annually at £17, and was asked to discover how many could be disposed of at that price.[69]

Of the intentions of those responsible for the reorganization of the African Company there is no doubt. In the two years that elapsed between the granting of the first charter and its revision it had become manifest that great profits were to be obtained from carrying laborers to the Sugar Colonies, and the revised charter of 1663 for the first time mentioned the trade in negroes as part of the recognized activities of a chartered African company.[70] Between August 11, 1663, and November 17, 1664, Dr. Zook estimates that the company had sent 3075 negroes to Barbados.[71] References to trade in the correspondence passing between the islands and England support the belief that the early years of the company were years of considerable activity. On March 20, 1664, Sir Thomas Modyford and Peter Colleton, the factors of the company in Barbados, wrote:

[66] Dec. 7, 1660, T 70: 1221. Pepys names one additional Guinea vessel, and records disasters to two of the vessels before they left England. *Diary,* Dec. 9, 10, 1660.

[67] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, p. 65; *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1661-1662, p. 209. In 1660 the company's vessels were: *Henrietta, Sophia, Amity, Griffin, Kingsdale, Assurance*; in 1661, *Victory, Dolphin, African,* frigate, *Faithful Advice, John, Martha, Charles, Blackamoor.*

[68] See no. 43, n. 6. It does not of course inevitably follow that a vessel trading on the coast was a company vessel. Some of these vessels had certainly gone out before the charter was issued, others may have been individual traders, not disposed to accept their exclusion from the trade. John Young and Company petition for the *Merchants Delight,* Arnold Brames and Company for the *Black Boy,* James Birkin for the *Charles,* all seized not far from Elmina (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, p. 65; 1669, p. 588). They may or may not have been leased to the company.

[69] *Ibid.,* 1661-1668, p. 88; Zook, *Royal Adventurers,* p. 74.

[70] "The whole, entire and only trade for the buying and selling bartering and exchanging of for or with any negroes, slaves, goods, wares and merchandises whatsoever to be vented or found at or within any of the Cities" on the west coast of Africa (Carr, *Select Charters,* pp. xlvii, 180). For the activities of the company between 1660 and 1663, see Zook, *Royal Adventurers,* pp. 10-13.

[71] Zook, p. 82. The items recorded by Zook total only 2261: 1051 men, 1018 women, 136 boys, 56 girls; those transcribed by Harlow, with the date of the cargoes, equal 2264. Harlow, *History of Barbados,* p. 312.

"The *Speedwell* arrived with 282 negroes, who have greatly lost in value owing to small-pox breaking out among them. The *Success* brought 193 blacks, and these, with Capt. Norbrook's have produced the best of any." Ten days later they wrote that they were sending 300 to Nevis and St. Kitts, and had on their hands 200 that nobody would buy. This did not imply that the island had been surfeited with negroes but resulted from the sickly character of the cargoes.[72] In August, 1664, twelve ships were being prepared for the coast. The company by this time reckoned its trade as worth from £200,000 to £300,000 annually.[73]

The activity in trade had been accompanied by a strengthening of the English establishments on the West Coast. In 1663 the factories and lodges were Cormantine, Commenda, Takoradi, Anto, Anashan, Ardra, and Wyamba.[74] By January, 1665, eighteen settlements were reported.[75] These constituted a threat to Dutch control which the Hollanders could ill brook. Two methods of attack on the English were possible. Their vessels on the sea could be seized, and the natives could be incited to oppose their trade along the coast. Both methods were used. A dozen or more English vessels were seized for venturing into waters over which the Dutch claimed control.[76]

In June, 1663, the Dutch regained Cabo Corso. With it in their possession, they felt themselves strong enough to put forth vigorous claims to exclusive trade on the coast. This they did not only by

[72] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, p. 194. "There has been a great mortality amongst them, which our chief physician, Dr. La Rouse, assures them is through a malignant distemper contracted, they think, through so many sick and decaying negroes being thronghed together, and perhaps furthered by the small-pox in Capt. Carteret's ship. Most men refused to receive any of them, and Philip Fusseire, a surgeon, to whom they sold 20 at a low rate, lost every one" (Mar. 31, 1664, Modyford and Colleton to the African Company, *ibid.,* p. 196). The letter of Mar. 20 referred to the arrival of the *Susan,* with 230 negroes, who could not be sold until the officers of the ship proved that they had not been within the limits of the company. So extensive was the territory granted to the company that it is difficult to see where else negroes were obtained unless from East Africa.

[73] Jan. 2, 1665, "Petition of the Company to the King", *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1664-1665, pp. 159-160, 666, 671-674; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, p. 266.

[74] Zook, p. 46.

[75] They report that they have settled "Poriadally, Goally, Trevisco, Gambia, Rio Nunes, Rio Grande, Sierra Leon, Cerborow, Cestos, . . . Anasham, Anta, Cantoucory, Cormantin, Cape Corso, Wyamba, Acra, Ardra, Benin". *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, p. 266.

[76] See no. 43, n. 6; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, pp. 65, 91, 113. A list of the earlier of these seizures was prepared and submitted to the Dutch by Sir George Downing in 1662. Downing's protest, concerned almost wholly with attacks on the African trade, brought from the company, on Sept. 25, 1663, an expression of its obligation to him (Beer, *Old Colonial System,* I. 332, n. 4). The commercial treaty between the two nations, agreed to in September of that year, essayed to settle African difficulties, but it scarcely accomplished a temporary cessation of hostilities. For details of the company's part in the Anglo-Dutch struggle see Zook, pp. 30-60.

paper representations but by a judicious use of the natives.[77] Letters from the company's agents on the coast describe this phase of Dutch activity as seen through English eyes:

June. The Dutch give daily great presents to the King of Futton and his "capeshiers" to exclude their Honours (the Royal African Company) from the trade, and to the King of Fantyn and his capeshires, to make war on the English castle of Cormantin, saying if they could but get that place never Englishman more should have trading upon that coast. Had not Capt. Stokes arrived, it's much to be feared the Flemish flag had been on Cormantin, as it is now on the castle at Cape Corso. The Dutch prevailed on the King of Aguina treacherously to lay hold on John Cabessa, who was a great defence to Cormantin, and on the 28th May to plunder the house at Wiamba. *Sept.* From Capt. Stokes at Annashan: The English got a treaty with them of Futton in spite of the Dutch, and four hostages that they should build a castle there, but the Dutch would not suffer them to land. From Capt. Stewart at Ardra: The Dutch told the King of Ardra that they had conquered the Portugals, the potentest nation that ever was in those countries, and turned out the Dane and Swede, and in a short time should do the same to the English, and by these discourses hindered the Company's factors from trade. From the Council of Factors at Cormantin: The Dutch have given bribes to the King of Cabessaland, who seized some goods going from hence, and killed the negroes that bought them. Have settled two Englishmen at Commenda, where the King sent two hostages, one his own son; but the Dutch have a great ship before the place, firing at all canoes that pass in or out. *Aug.* From Mr. Brett, factor at Commenda: Came to the place on the 21st, and the Dutch man-of-war told them they must not go ashore; in two days more the *Amsterdam* came from Castle de Myne, and sent two men on board to see if they belonged to the Royal Company, pretending if they had been interlopers that they (the Dutch) had power to take them. Next day the Dutch manned out three long boats, and continued firing at all canoes that would have traded with the English, and those canoes that were made fast to the English ship the Dutch cut from the ship's side, which one of the seamen endeavouring to prevent, a Dutchman cut him in the leg. So the English ship weighed anchor the long boat's men giving us such base language as was not to be endured.[78]

This was the situation on the coast when Captain Robert Holmes made his second African expedition, an expedition so successful that on his departure the Dutch held Elmina only. The retaliatory harrying of the coast by De Ruyter restored Dutch control at every point save Cape Coast Castle, and inflicted upon the Guinea Company

[77] 1663, June 1/11, "Protest of John Valckenburgh, Director-General of the North coast of Africa and the island of St. Thome, on behalf of the States General and their authorised West India Company, against Francis Selwyn, agent of the Royal English Company trading to Africa" (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, pp. 135-136). A second protest followed on Sept. 2/12 (*ibid.,* p. 158): "No person with a knowledge of the coast of Africa can be ignorant that the Portuguese, as the first discoverers, have maintained against all, the Gold Coast of Guinea; and the Dutch Company, who have obtained such conquests at the expense of much treasure and blood, ought to be left undisturbed." The English reply was a claim to the ownership of Cape Coast, which was rested on an agreement made with the natives in 1649.

[78] 1663, June to Sept., "Extracts of letters from Cormantin and other places in Africa", *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, pp. 146-147; see also pp. 91, 156; Hist. MSS. Comm., *Heathcote MSS.,* pp. 146, 149, 150.

damages which it estimated at some £50,000.[79] With such acts of open aggression committed by both nations war could no longer be avoided; but war did little to restore the failing fortunes of the African Company. The treaty of Breda, July 21, 1667, placed the Dutch again in command of those posts which they had held before these hostilities began.

Of trade few traces are to be found during the Dutch war.[80] At its close the impoverished company made some attempt to deliver laborers to the plantations and also sold licenses to others who wished to trade in Africa. The arrival of the *Barbadoes Merchant* in the West Indies with more than 300 negroes was reported in June, 1667, and also "Two ships of the Royal Company had arrived and two licensed ships from Guinea with 1000 negars".[81] It is difficult to accept the statement made by the company in the autumn of 1667, that it had sent 6000 slaves to the plantations annually.[82] Complaints of scarcity continued and it became evident by 1669 that the ruined company could never re-establish English prestige in Africa and supply the West India demand.

To the difficulties of the company the West Indies had made no small contribution. In its struggle with the Dutch, the company found little sympathy in the plantations, which from the first had looked with suspicion at the monopoly granted by the patents of 1660 and 1663, and had lost no opportunity to complain of their own exclusion from the trade and the scarcity and the high price of the company's negroes. The council and assembly of Barbados in 1662 petitioned the king for freedom of trade upon the African coast. If that were not allowed they asked that the island be furnished with negroes by the pending incorporation, at the same rate as that of the merchants who had formerly supplied them.[83] Resentment over the inadequate supply of negroes and the accompanying high prices continued to find frequent expression.[84]

In 1666, Francis Lord Willoughby wrote to the king that a standing guard might be supported without calling upon his Majesty's

[79] Holmes's first excursion down the West Coast was in December, 1660. For a brief account of these expeditions and the damage they wrought see Zook, pp. 10-11, 42-47, 61-64; Hist. MSS. Comm., *Fourth Report,* App., *Bath MSS.,* p. 230; and references in the *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668.

[80] Complaints of the need for negroes are frequent: Feb. 12, 1665, Lynch to Bennet, *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, p. 278; Sept. 29, 1666, governor and council of Barbados to the king, *ibid.,* p. 413; July (?), 1667, William Lord Willoughby to the king, *ibid.,* p. 487.

[81] *Ibid.,* pp. 468, 476.

[82] Nov. 22, 1667, "Answer of the Royal Company to the petition of merchants trading to Guinea", Stock, *Proceedings and Debates,* I. 348.

[83] Dec. 18, 1662, "Minutes of Council and Assembly of Barbadoes", *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, pp. 116-117.

[84] May 10, 1664, Modyford to Sir Henry Bennet, *ibid.,* pp. 208-209; Feb. 12, 1665, Thomas Lynch to Bennet, *Ibid.,* p. 278.

revenue, except the first year, "if his Majesty would allow them free trade, and also to Guinea for negroes".[85] In 1667 he stated his belief that unless two grievances of the Barbados were speedily remedied the plantations would be ruined. Of these grievances the more acute was the Guinea trade. "The island must be granted free trade to Guinea for negroes by which they may be as plentifully furnished as formerly, so excessive scarce and dear are they now that the poor planters will be forced to go to foreign plantations for a livelihood."[86] In September Barbados again petitioned for free trade to Guinea for negroes, "or else that the Royal Company be obliged to supply them at the price mentioned in their first printed declaration, though that too, like the canker of usury, will soon be the bane of a laborious planter".[87]

The company had agreed to supply Barbados at £17 per head or 2400 pounds of sugar, Jamaica at £18. In the representation of 1667 the petitioners maintained that negroes had sold in the island before the establishment of the company at from £12 to £16 each; while now, for the poorer ones, they were sometimes obliged to pay £30, the better sort going to the Spanish for £18, a statement the company was quick to deny.[88] Dr. Zook, from the material in the company's ledgers, estimated that the average price in 1663-1664 was about £16, the price for women and children bringing it below the £17 agreed on. While some negroes sold for as much as £20, an increasing number of refuse negroes which sold for very small prices lowered the average.[89] Complaints of scarcity the company met with an unanswerable retort; it had furnished more slaves than the planters could pay for. In 1668 it wrote,

> As to their metaphor of proving as usury, like a canker to the planters, it will prove a worse canker to the Company, if they never pay for the negroes they have, which hitherto has been their practice. And as it was testified they had so great a glut of negroes that they would hardly give them their victuals for their labour, and multitudes died upon the Company's hands, cannot omit to beseech his Majesty to write so effectually to the Governor of Barbadoes, that they may be assisted in recovering their debts, and that some method be pro-

[85] May 12, 1666, *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, pp. 382-383.

[86] *Ibid.,* p. 487.

[87] Sept. 5, 1667, petition of the "Representatives of Barbados to the King", *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, p. 495; Stock, *Proceedings and Debates,* I. 342-345. In this representation, signed by the speaker of the assembly, all the grievances of the plantation against the home government were presented.

[88] Stock, I. 345. The complaints of Barbados are set forth at length in this petition of Sir Paul Painter and others, with a paper of grievances attached, which was presented to the House of Commons Nov. 15, 1667. It is printed with the answer of the company (*ibid.,* pp. 342-350). On Nov. 28 Pepys wrote: "Each of us taking a copy of the Guiney Company's defence to a petition against them to the Parliament the other day." *Diary,* Nov. 28, 1667.

[89] Zook, p. 82; Harlow, *Barbados,* p. 312. In 1664 Modyford, in the letter to the company already cited, wrote: "The price of 12 *l.* to 15 *l.* for boys and girls shall be observed but it would have been well to have expressed their age." *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, p. 194.

posed that their negroes may be paid for, except (which would be better) Barbadoes will give security in London to pay at the rate agreed on for negroes, on notice of their delivery there, which is conceived the only way to secure the Company from being first not paid, and then loaded with complaints not founded on solidity of reason or truth of fact.[90]

At the same time the company proposed to deliver negroes at £17 per head, but asked that Barbados report the number desired and the time of year as well as give security for the payment. Undeterred by the company's charge that the island had more negroes than it could or did pay for, the planters asked again in 1668 and in 1669 for free trade in slaves, and were assured that they would be supplied, at reasonable rates, with negroes who were to be retained on the island and not sold to other nations.[91]

By 1669 the company, which was now granting licenses to others rather than carrying on its own trade, was still hopeful that additional capital might be obtained, provided the king paid the remainder of his subscription, but its affairs were in so desperate a state that there was no remedy but the drastic reorganization of 1672.[92]

With the affairs of the reorganized company, the Royal African Company, the papers which are hereafter printed largely deal, and little need be said here of its history, its trade, or its problems. A few questions however call for explanation. Throughout its existence the protection of its monopoly rights was to the company a matter of prime importance, and much of its energy was devoted to that end.

The maintenance of complete monopoly required that Dutch and French be excluded from the West Coast, that English and colonial vessels other than those sent out by the company be prevented from trading in slaves, and that no supply be drawn from parts of Africa outside the company's territory. While the slave trade from Madagascar never assumed large proportions, it appears from time to time as a vexation to the company, a constant, though a minor, threat against monopoly. Eastern Africa lay within the territorial limits of the East India Company and only by its co-operation could the African Company check the slave trade from this region. In 1663 two private merchants, Samuel Higginson and Truston Miner, applied to the East India Company for permission to trade to Madagascar for blacks. The petition, "along with the desire of the Royal Company", was referred for consideration to a committee which

[90] 1668, Jan. 23, "Answer of Sir Ellis Leighton to Petition of Representatives of Barbados", *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, pp. 542-543. For some discussion of the debt see no. 44, notes.

[91] Aug. 3, 1668, "Address of the Representatives of Barbados to the King", *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, pp. 541, 601; May 12, 1669, *Acts P. C. C.,* I. 518-520. The reference to sale refers to possible sale to the Spaniards.

[92] Aug. 25, 1669, *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1668-1669, p. 459.

reported that in its opinion it would not be to the company's interest "to allow others to trade within the limits of their charter".[93] All would-be traders did not ask for a license however. In the year 1677 the attention of the company was directed to the possible rivalry of Madagascar by news from the plantations that several colonial vessels had been sent thither, as well as by the fact that certain English vessels seemed to be equipped for such a voyage. In April two members of the African Company, Benjamin Skutt and Proby, were desired to propose to the East India Company that it prohibit vessels from Madagascar from watering at St. Helena.[94] In November Sir John Banks was instructed to represent to the East India Company "that this Compa. is credibly informed that the Ships *Greyhound* and *Governor* are bound to Madagascar to carry negroes from thence to the plantations, if they doe not restrain it, it will be of much damage to this Company". A week later he reported that upon his acquainting the company with this word two of its committees were instructed to meet with committees of the African Company. The company thereupon appointed the committees of shipping and correspondence to go on with the matter under the direction of John Bence.[95]

Later events suggest that the companies were not entirely successful in executing whatever plans they may have laid in these conferences. The factors in Barbados wrote that three ships from Madagascar had come in, bringing a total of 700 negroes.[96]

Robert Holden of Jamaica also reported the arrival of a vessel carrying Madagascar negroes.[97] In 1681 Governor Dutton stated vaguely that during the last seven years "many" slaves had been brought into Barbados from Madagascar.[98] The company's factors reverted to the subject from time to time, once expressing a fear that the trade to Madagascar might be prejudicial to the company, as 900 negroes had been brought in from Madagascar within two months.[99] In 1700 the *Fidelia,* owned by Charles Noden, had made an experimental voyage to Madagascar, with orders to return by way of the West Indies with negroes.[100] Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia had each received East African negroes. Governor Bradstreet of Massachusetts stated that about 1678 there had ar-

[93] *Court Minutes of the East India Company,* 1660-1663, p. 323.

[94] R. N. Toppan, *Edward Randolph: including his Letters and Official Papers* (Prince Society), II. 249; P. R. O., T 70:77. For an account of the papers in T 70 see no. 53, n. 1.

[95] Nov. 8, 15, 1677, T 70:77.

[96] Mar. 22, 1678/9, Stede and Gascoigne to the Royal African Company, T 70: 10.

[97] Beer, *Old Colonial System,* I. 374.

[98] June 11, 1681, report of Dutton, *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1681-1685, p. 71.

[99] Apr. 11, 1683, Apr. 9, 1684, Stede and Gascoigne to the Royal African Company, T 70:10; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1700, p. 119.

[100] Feb. 5, 1700, "Journ. of the Lords of Trade and Plantations", *ibid.,* p. 59.

rived in that colony a cargo of these negroes.[101] Bellomont reported that several vessels carried on a constant trade between New York and Madagascar.[102]

One powerful ally in discouraging this trade the company could count upon. While pirates were occasionally troublesome on the West Coast of Africa, the East Coast was constantly infested with them and few traders escaped their attentions for long. News of their raids was bound to deter all but the stout-hearted, or those allied with them, from venturing into this territory, and even the boldest masters were often not anxious to repeat the voyage.[103]

The rôle in the African trade played by the French during the seventeeth century was a minor one as compared with that of the English and of the Dutch. To them as well as to the English it was a period of experimentation, to find a form of business organization suitable alike to the conditions in Africa and to the needs of the West India plantations. The success of the various experiments was slight and bankruptcies and reorganizations were frequent. Until 1664 this commerce remained largely in the hands of the merchants of Normandy, either as private individuals or as small private associations. The first of these groups enduring enough to receive notice was that of Rouen merchants, formed in 1626 to exploit the region of the Senegal. In 1633 this group asked for the protection of the government, and with the formal issue of letters patent to it, March 7, 1634, the French organization of African trade may be said to have its beginning.[104] Shortly after this the trade of two other groups was given official sanction, the first to trade between Sierra Leone and Cape Lopez, the second from Cape Blanco to Sierra Leone, save at certain points reserved to the Norman traders.[105]

When Colbert, as part of his project for the aggrandizement of France, created the French Company of the West Indies, these smaller companies received 150,000 livres for their African property, all of which lay between Cape Blanco and the Gambia River. South of that the French had no foothold in Africa, though the new patent granted a monopoly to the entire West Coast from Cape Blanco to the Cape of Good Hope.[106] Colbert's hopes for his creation, un-

[101] This work, vol. III., Massachusetts and New York.

[102] Mar. 11, "Complaints against the Earl of Bellomont", *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1700, p. 119.

[103] May 7, 1700, "Owners of the *Beckford* galley to the Council of Trade and Plantations", *ibid.*, p. 236, see also pp. 351, 352. John Harris sailed on the *Beckford* in June, 1698, for slaves from the East Coast and Madagascar, to be carried to the West Indies. He was seized by the pirates under Ryder, Mar. 30, 1699. The danger to slave traders venturing into the waters about Madagascar, which were thickly infested with pirates, was great, yet they not infrequently traded together peacefully. See J. F. Jameson, *Privateering and Piracy*, pp. 180-187.

[104] P. Cultru, *Histoire du Sénégal du XVe Siècle à 1870*, pp. 37, 47.

[105] Lucien Peytraud, *L'Esclavage aux Antilles Françaises avant 1789* (1897), pp. 7-8.

[106] Cultru, *Histoire du Sénégal*, pp. 52-56; S. L. Mims, *Colbert's West India Policy*, pp. 68-82.

doubtedly modelled upon the Dutch West India Company, were never realized, and in 1672 the company was released from its obligation to carry on the African trade. Indeed, as an active organization, it was by that time at an end, though its formal dissolution did not take place until 1674. A second company, the Company of the Senegal, the leaders of which were Maurice Egrot, François François, and François Raguenet, was formed in 1673. To its predecessors in the trade it paid 78,000 livres and received the exclusive right to traffic as far south as the Gambia River.[107] In 1679, after a half-dozen successful years, this group was enlarged and given the more extended territory of the earlier patent.[108] It proved inadequately capitalized for its increased undertakings and by 1681 it was practically bankrupt.[109]

Again Colbert tried a royal company, the second Company of the Senegal, similar to the Company of the West Indies. The new company, composed not of merchants but of officials, who entered to gratify Colbert and the king, unwillingly assumed the debts of the earlier group. Before long it had completely demonstrated its inability to meet the demands made upon it. Its extended charter was revoked in 1684, and the Company of Guinea established, with a monopoly of that part of its territory south of the Gambia,[110] it retaining its right north of that river. In the West Indies the two companies shared the privilege of trade. The reduction of its territory failed to make permanent improvement in the condition of the Company of the Senegal. In addition to the difficulties created by its insufficient capital, it was involved in quarrels with the English on the coast, and in 1692 it confessed itself ruined, having expended over a million livres on its African property. Two years later it surrendered its privileges, for 300,000 livres, to the Sieur d'Apougny, one of the directors. Under him a new company was organized in 1696, the Royal Company of the Senegal, Cape Verde, and the Coast of Africa. With France restored to her earlier position on the African coast by the Peace of Ryswyk, the new company sent out to that coast Andre Brue to re-establish the damaged power and prestige of the French.[111] This Senegal Company, which existed until 1709, was in no way to interfere with the Guinea Company of

[107] Cultru, p. 58.

[108] Raguenet had died; his widow and Egrot had ceded their interests to René Bains, Louis le Brun, and others (Cultru, *Histoire du Sénégal,* p. 59n.; Peytraud, *L'Esclavage aux Antilles Françaises,* p. 41). The company's factories were on the island of St. Louis, at Arguin, Goree, Joal, Portudal, Rufisque, and Albreda on the north bank of the Gambia.

[109] Cultru, p. 60; Mims, *Colbert's West India Policy,* pp. 294-295.

[110] Bonnassieux, pp. 227-228; Moreau de Saint Méry, *Loix et Constitution des Colonies Françaises de l'Amérique sous le Vent* (1784-1790), I. 409.

[111] E. F. Berlioux, *Andre Brue ou l'Origine de la Colonie Française du Sénégal* (1874), p. 36; Peytraud, p. 49.

1685, which still possessed the right to the trade of the southern Guinea coast.

To estimate the accomplishments of these short-lived companies one must look both to Africa and to the West Indies. In the latter, the introduction of sugar cultivation, about 1643, made it at once evident that if this new industry were to yield its potential profits the labor supply must be rapidly increased. The obvious source of such increase was West Africa. The French market for slaves was therefore ready as soon as organization of the business in France and exploitation of the African coast could combine to utilize it.

The African activities of the Norman traders were concentrated in the region of the Senegal. At the mouth of this river Captain Thomas Lambert, who had been frequenting it since 1626, built the first French habitation in 1638, though there seems to have been no resident establishment for some years after that time. Lambert's expedition of 1637-1638,[112] narrated by Claude Jannequin de Rochefort, traded up the river to Terrier-Rouge on the northern shore and along the coast south of the river. To the natives the French offered iron bars, cottons, linens, brandy, beads, and silver trinkets, for which they received gum, gold, hides, and pepper.[113] Just when the French scruples against dealing in slaves were discarded is not clear, but by the time French planters called for negro labor for their growing sugar plantations French merchants were willing, though not always able, to provide such labor. The first recorded attempt of the French to meet the demand for negroes is that of 1643, when the Company of the Isles of America contracted with the Rouen merchant Rozer for sixty negroes, at 200 livres each, to be delivered at Guadeloupe.[114] Though this is the first evidence of French traffic in slaves which has come to light, the French colonists were at this time by no means unacquainted with negro labor. Belain d'Esnambuc, landing at St. Christopher in 1625, had found forty negroes or thereabouts already on that island, and in 1635 a Dutch trader had added to that number.[115]

[112] Cultru, pp. 40-43; Astley, II. 3; Claude Jannequin de Rochefort, "Voyage en Libye, particulièrement au Royaume de Sénégal sur le Fleuve Niger" (Paris, 1643), in C. A. Walcknaer, *Histoire Général des Voyages* (1826), II. 328. Astley gives an abstract of the narrative, II. 20-27. Two Capuchins of Rouen, who visited Cape Verde in 1635, have also left an account of the French Senegal. "Relation des RR. PP. Alexis de Saint Lô et Bernardin de Renouard", Walckenaer, II. 304.

[113] Astley, II. 23.

[114] Mims, *Colbert's West India Policy,* pp. 33-34, 283n. Rozer's negroes, who were to be delivered by a Captain Droualt, were to be paid for one-third at once, two-thirds on delivery; but in October Rozer asked for immediate payment, offering as his reason the fact that the negroes were costing more than he expected because of the great demands the Dutch were making on the coast. In 1648 Houel, governor of Guadeloupe, stated that he personally had paid for these negroes, and asked that he be granted the island Marie Galante and be allowed to take them there, since the company seemed unwilling to repay him for them.

[115] Mims, pp. 283-284; Peytraud, p. 5.

It would be strange if the Dutch had not more than once left blacks with the French planters, but the Dutch may not have been wholly responsible for the increasing black population of the French islands. The scanty records of the early companies, like those of the English, do not mention blacks, yet it is quite probable that the transaction with Rozer in 1642 was not the first of its kind between the French merchants and the French company.[116] The Dutch however were the main reliance of the planters for the next twenty years. In 1654 there were 600 or 700 negroes brought into Martinique, and by 1655 there were from 12,000 to 13,000 blacks in the French islands. In 1664 the Dutch brought to Martinique at least one cargo of 300. A decade earlier the negroes sold for 2000 pounds of sugar each; for this cargo they asked 3000 pounds per head. De Tracy, regarding this as exorbitant, arbitrarily reduced it to 2000 pounds, at which price the Dutch were apparently content to traffic.

The profit which they were deriving from this commerce, extravagantly estimated at 266 per cent. by De Tracy,[117] made it seem a most promising field for the company of 1664. On its establishment a force of sixty men was sent out to the island of St. Louis in the mouth of the Senegal, Sieur Villault de Bellefond was directed to make treaties with the black chiefs, and Sieur Jacquet was made director of the commerce on the coast.[118] The company was however not yet ready to undertake the negro trade directly, and instead, on February 8, 1665, it contracted with Carloff [119] to carry negroes to the French West Indies for six years. All his negroes were to go to the French possessions, where, after allowing the company to retain seven per cent. of them, he might sell the remainder at whatever price he could obtain. The sugar received in payment he must transport to France.[120] Carloff's privileges did not include the monopoly of the traffic, since Colbert was not yet ready to deprive the colonists of the Dutch supply. Throughout 1668 Dutch vessels bringing slaves were freely admitted to French ports.

What use Carloff made of his grant we do not know. Apparently he traded on the coast, and if so he may have delivered negroes to the islands, but no record of such delivery before 1669 has come to light. In that year he seems to have been co-operating with officials of the company rather than fulfilling an independent contract. The company by that date was ready to undertake its own trade.[121] Two

[116] See Peytraud, pp. 5, 36-37.

[117] Mims, pp. 45, 284-285.

[118] Villault de Bellefond's *Relation des Costes d'Afrique appelées Guinée* (1669) is a result of his voyage to the coast in 1666 and 1667. See Astley, II. 374-387; Mims, p. 117.

[119] See *ante,* n. 13.

[120] Mims, pp. 117-118.

[121] De Baas, governor general of the French West Indies, was explicitly instructed in 1668 to admit Dutch vessels bringing slaves.

vessels, *Justice* commanded by the Sieur d'Elbee and *Concorde* under Carloff, carried from Ardra to Martinique 997 negroes, 753 of whom were safely delivered.[122] So satisfactory was this expedition that for a short time Colbert cherished dreams not only of supplying the French planters, but also of depriving the Dutch of their lucrative Spanish trade. In 1672 Carloff delivered 350 to Guadeloupe, and the *St. Francis,* Captain Mallet, brought in 200 on the company's account.

This seems to have been the end of the company's short-lived attempt to provide the islands with laborers.[123] With the entrance of the company into the slave trade Colbert had ordered the exclusion of the Dutch.[124] Having successfully driven them from the French islands, he now found that the company was unable to meet the demands of the planters, and tried in vain to induce private traders to enter upon the trade in slaves. The special tax which had rested on private trade had been removed in 1670. In 1672 the bounty of thirteen livres a head for each slave imported by the company was extended to private traders.[125] At a time when English monopolists were engaged in a losing struggle to maintain themselves against the competition of the interloper, few independent French merchants could be induced to enter the trade even by a bounty, and the French planter's prosperity was seriously threatened.[126] Du Clerc, secretary to de Baas, reported to Colbert in 1675 that no one was bringing negroes to the islands. This condition the Company of the Senegal of 1673 was apparently not expected to remedy immediately. It was given a few years in which to establish itself on the coast before it was called upon to supply the islands with slaves. At least, the fact that on October 16, 1675, the liquidators of the West India Company bargained with Jean Oudiette to supply the French islands with 800 negroes a year lends itself to this interpretation. This contract Oudiette failed to carry out, and after nearly four years of

[122] "Journal du Voyage du Sieur Delbée, Commissaire général de la Marine, aux Isles, dans la Coste de Guynée, pour l'établissement du commerce en ces pays, en l'Année 1669", in Jean Clodoré, *Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans les Isles et Terre Ferme de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1671), II. 347-494. D'Elbee gives an account of his negotiations with the Prince of Ardra for permission to establish a lodge at Offra and an excellent description of the process of trade with the natives, though it is not especially limited to trade in blacks.

[123] Mims, pp. 118, 165-171.

[124] Colbert's resolve to exclude the Dutch was apparently reached in the summer of 1669, when he sent out a French patrol to capture Dutch intruders. Mims, pp. 184-197.

[125] Mims, pp. 225-226, 286.

[126] Mims, p. 287. This of course should not be interpreted to mean that no private traders engaged in the trade. From incidental records we know that French trade did not entirely cease after 1672. For example, in June, 1673, the French complained to the English government that, though the countries were at peace, one of the agents of the African Company had fired upon the *St. Etienne* while she traded for slaves. *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1669-1674, pp. 502-503.

unfulfilled promises it was annulled and the government turned to the company for negroes.[127]

Meanwhile, the company, despite troubles with its neighbors on the coast of Africa, had prospered. Goree and Arguin had been taken from the Dutch.[128] Du Casse, sent out to protect these possessions, which remained in French hands by the terms of the Peace of Nymwegen, had made treaties with native chiefs at Rufisque, Joal, and Portudal.[129] The trade of the company had increased and in 1677 it had sent eighty negroes to Martinique. In 1679, as it was preparing to offer negroes to the Dutch and Spanish, it was asked to supply 2000 annually for eight years to the French islands, and also those required for the royal galleys. For the negroes sent to the West Indies, where they were to be sold at any price which the company could obtain, a bounty of thirteen livres per head was to be paid. In addition to this favor the company was freed from all duties on goods imported from France to Africa or the West Indies, and from half the duty on goods sent from the West Indies to France.[130] All other French subjects were excluded from the trade for twenty-five years. Sixteen ships were soon engaged to carry negroes: four to Marseilles with slaves for the galleys, four to Spain, and eight to the West Indies. With this enlargement of its activities the success of the company's earlier years deserted it. Vessels were wrecked, many blacks died in the Middle Passage,[131] planters failed to pay. At the end of the first year the debt of the company was 1,200,000 livres.[132] Twice the king postponed action by its creditors. May 26, 1680, an agreement was reached between the entrepreneurs and the creditors, but the company was unable to carry out its terms. It was declared bankrupt and came to an end July 2, 1681.

[127] Mims, pp. 290-291; Bonnassieux, p. 226; Peytraud, p. 41.

[128] Comte d'Estrées had taken Goree in 1677, du Casse, Arguin in 1678. Du Casse was not so successful on the Gold Coast. The natives, probably at the instigation of the Dutch, drove the French from Commenda. Astley, II. 3-4; Berlioux, pp. 30-31; Mims, pp. 288-298.

[129] Astley, II. 17-18.

[130] Mims, pp. 291-292; Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions des Colonies Françaises de l'Amérique,* I. 314-317, 325-326; Bonnassieux, p. 226.

[131] The figure quoted by Mims, 2000, is not credible. Though the number may have been large, it can hardly have been three times as large as the number of negroes delivered, which is what this figure means. Two hundred one might accept, though that involves a heavier mortality rate than is shown by most figures for the period. Mims, p. 294.

[132] The conflicting figures relating to the brief history of this company are perplexing and refuse to be reduced to consistency. Mims has shown the impossibility of accepting the bounties paid as any clue to the number of importations. De Blenac, in July, 1680, said that in the preceding sixteen months, the period during which the company had possessed the monopoly, but six or seven hundred had been brought into the islands. If this is accepted, it is evident that the eight vessels preparing for the island trade never made the voyage and also that a very small part of the difficulties of the company could be attributed to the debts of the planters. Mims, pp. 296-297.

The organization which immediately replaced this one, Colbert's second Company of the Senegal, perhaps because it was not made up of merchants, displayed more interest in exploration and less in commercial matters than had its predecessor. Records of exploration and accounts of the visit of members of the Academy are left to us, but we have little information about its trade.[133] It was not inactive however. By 1684 it had four vessels ready to carry negroes and had already delivered 290 to Santo Domingo. Labat states that this company in the brief period of its active life carried 4561 negroes to America. An anonymous writer of the time, explaining why the company had failed to carry the 2000 contracted for annually, maintained that 1200 was all the islands could pay for and that they were already in debt more than 5,000,000 pounds of sugar. The islands maintained that they needed from 2500 to 3000 negroes annually, but Peytraud's calculations indicate that had they actually received this number a large part of their sugar production would have been absorbed in paying for them.[134]

Despite the arguments of the company that it was supplying as many negroes as the islands could profitably use and pay for, it was deprived of its exclusive privilege and, as has been stated, a supplementary Company of Guinea was established in 1685.[135] Even with the two companies, complaints that the supply was inadequate were frequently heard.[136] This new company was to furnish 1000 negroes annually, receiving the usual bounty and exclusive rights in territory south of the Gambia for twenty years. At this time Louis XIV. questioned whether the sugar planters needed 2000 annually, since if 6000 pounds of sugar were paid for a negro *pieza d' India,* such an importation would require 12,000,000 pounds of sugar a year. The maximum production of the islands being 20,000,000 pounds, but 8,000,000 pounds would remain to satisfy all other needs. The response was that 2000 were none too many, that indeed they needed more than this to provide for the expansion of the islands. At this point the king suggested that he send a vessel to Cape Verde for negroes and sell them in the islands on his own account. Having no mind to lose on the venture, even though it was wholly for the good of the planters, he wished to be assured that the cargo would all be sold and paid for.[137] The colonists suggested that they supply their needs by buying negroes from neighboring lands, belonging to the competing powers, this serving two purposes: they would be strength-

[133] An account of Dancourt's voyage is contained in *Les Voyages du Sr. le Maire aux Iles Canaries, Cap Verd, Sénégal et Gambia.* A voyage to Goree, made in 1682, carried three members of the Academy of Science. Berlioux, *Brue,* pp. 32-33; Mims, p. 301.

[134] Mims, pp. 303-306; Peytraud, pp. 45-46.

[135] Cultru, pp. 62-63.

[136] Peytraud, pp. 45-48.

[137] *Ibid.,* pp. 46-47.

ened, their neighbors weakened. For this project the king expressed no enthusiasm, though he admitted that it might possibly be employed in Cayenne and Surinam. In this correspondence the king took occasion to warn the colonists that they must avoid allowing the price of blacks to fall. Since past companies had suffered heavy losses in this business, the present organizations could hardly be expected to maintain the trade in the face of falling prices.[138]

War made increasingly difficult the transportation of negroes to the islands, and by the nineties the fact that the companies could not be relied upon for a sufficient labor supply was tacitly accepted. On August 27, 1692, du Casse, governor of Santo Domingo, was told that the planters might obtain negroes wherever they could get them.[139]

When the Sieur d'Apougny came into control of the company in 1694 its trade was at a low ebb and its resources dissipated by conflicts on the coast, the English having taken both Goree and St. Louis. Taking the aggressive at once, the company sent Comte de Gennes to Africa in 1695. With but little difficulty, on July 22, he captured James Fort, which the French retained until 1697, when it was restored to the English by the treaty of Ryswyk.[140] During the two years that the Gambia was under French control the French strengthened themselves at Albreda, on the mainland, and established a factory up Vitang Creek, a southern tributary of the Gambia. The Sieur Brue came to the coast possessing a larger grant of authority than had hitherto been allowed to French officials. His work belongs to the eighteenth century, but the beginning of it was accomplished in the last years of the seventeenth. He established factories, made treaties with native chiefs, traded for slaves, explored the country, carried on friendly negotiations with the English. All in all, he was one of the ablest directors that the French ever maintained upon the African coast.[141]

[138] Sugar had fallen in price and negroes would naturally be expected to follow. Peytraud, p. 47.

[139] *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

[140] Berlioux maintains that it was not the war but the character of its organization which ruined the company (pp. 35-37). François Froger, in *A Relation of a Voyage made in the Years 1695, 1696, 1697 on the Coasts of Africa* (London, 1698), describes the expedition of de Gennes. Berlioux sums up the French position on the coast at this time by saying that they possessed two poor forts, their trade had been without profit, and their war without glory (p. 37). James Booker, governor of Gambia, had taken Goree and St. Louis from the French in 1692.

[141] Cultru, pp. 64-65. There are few accounts in English of the French in West Africa. That of Astley, to which reference has here been made, rests heavily upon that of Jean Baptiste Labat, *Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale* (1728), which in turn is compiled from the narratives of La Courbe, "Premier Voyage du Sieur La Courbe au Sénégal en 1685", Froger's *Relation,* and Brue's papers. Berlioux, in his *André Brue ou l'Origine de la Colonie Française du Sénégal,* accepting in good faith Labat's statement that he wrote from Brue's own memoirs, devoted his effort to untangling Labat's confused and perplexing chronology. Pierre Cultru, by an analysis of contemporary material, has shown that not only the chronology but also the integrity of Labat's work is to be questioned, since he attributes to Brue the work of La Courbe, and in the very words of La Courbe's own narrative. See Cultru, *Histoire du Sénégal,* pp. 6-14, and throughout chapters I.-V.

The West Indies were slow to see improvement however. Soon after the company was established the complaint was made that the scarcity of negroes was such that the price had gone to 12,000 and 15,000 pounds of sugar per head. Two thousand blacks, the number the company was to send, would be purchased in eight days by Martinique alone, so great was the need.[142] Perhaps because of pressure from the plantations, the king granted certain other privileges of trade in blacks which seem to have violated the company's monopoly, but since the grant was made in May, 1698, and revoked in February, 1699, the injury to the company's trade could not have been serious.[143] The company about this time bargained to deliver to Santo Domingo one thousand negroes whom it attempted to procure from the plundered Spanish colony of Cartagena. This enterprise failed. It delivered but 438 negroes, and was directed to recompense the inhabitants of Santo Domingo for its failure to complete the contract.[144] On the whole, France can scarcely be said to have solved, by the close of the seventeenth century, the problem of supplying the laborers necessary to her colonies.

As might be expected from its location and history, Brandenburg's interest in Africa was roused much later than that of other European states. As part of the Great Elector's plans for the aggrandizement of his country he cherished the idea of developing its maritime power. In 1676 Benjamin Raulé proposed an expedition to the West Coast of Africa, which he himself was willing to finance. Three years later he suggested the formation of a Guinea company.[145] Brandenburg in the meantime was negotiating with France for permission to carry slaves to the French West India islands.[146] Raulé's plans were in part realized in 1680, when an expedition set forth under Captain Joris Bartelsen, who was to take negroes from Guinea and Angola and dispose of them at Lisbon or Cadiz.[147] The company received letters patent in 1682 or 1683, two settlements were made on the Gold Coast, and an expedition was promptly sent out to take 600 negroes.[148] The African settlements were Great Friedrichsburg, three

[142] Peytraud, p. 49.
[143] *Ibid.*, p. 50.
[144] *Ibid.*, p. 51. In 1698 had been created the Royal Company of Santo Domingo, which was to send out within the next five years 1500 white settlers and 2500 blacks, and after that 150 white and 200 black inhabitants annually. Here again, the policy of the government was a vacillating one; they first ruled that these negroes might be purchased anywhere, then expressed disapproval of purchases from the Dutch. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.
[145] Richard Schück, *Brandenburg-Preussens Kolonial-Politik unter dem Grossen Kurfürsten* (Leipzig, 1889), I. 137, II. 89-92. Volume II. is a collection of documents, many of which relate to the African expansion of this period. This collection contains copies of a number of treaties made with the natives.
[146] *Ibid.*, I. 135.
[147] July 7/17, 1680, "Instructions for Capt. Joris Bartelsen", *ibid.*, II. 95-96.
[148] *Ibid.*, I. 158, II. 120-133, 136-142.

miles east of the Dutch fort at Axim, and Fort Dorothea at Akwidah. There was also a lodge at Takoradi. Because of the fact that the headquarters of this company were at Emden, it is frequently referred to as the Emden Company.

Coupled with the desire of the Great Elector to enter into world commerce by way of the African coast was his desire to obtain possessions in the West Indies, but here as well as in Africa he was hampered by the tardiness of his attempt. The Brandenburgers tried first for Tobago, which was excellently situated for the slave trade. Here they met the opposition of the Dutch, and plans for obtaining it were not pushed.[149] Owning no West India base, the company used St. Eustatius [150] and the Danish island of St. Thomas. In 1698 the English Commissioners for Trade and Plantations wrote to the king that the African Company of Emden had quarrelled with the Danes and was about to buy from a Rotterdam merchant the island of Tortola, which it would use as an entrepôt for European goods. In 1685 the Brandenburgers, taking advantage of the fact that the French had abandoned Arguin, established themselves there. Though the French Senegal Company protested, the Peace of Ryswyk left the Prussians in possession. Here they were a thorn in the side of the French company, not because of their great strength, but because of the contraband trade originating there.[151] After the death of the Great Elector interest in the company waned, and in 1717 the principal fort, Great Friedrichsburg, was sold to the Dutch.

The insatiable desire of Spanish America for negroes continued throughout the seventeenth century to provide Spain with a troublesome domestic problem, as well as to affect her relations with other countries. More than any other one factor, the need for negroes eventually ended Spanish control of her own markets. Fear of this eventuality, while it affected Spanish policy, could not prevent the outcome. Reference has already been made to the death of Pedro Gomez Reynal in 1600, with the term for which he held his assiento uncompleted. On his death the Consulado transferred the contract, for the three years that remained, to a Portuguese, João Rodriguez Coutinho, who had been for many years a factor in Angola.[152] Coutinho did not live to complete the term of his contract, which soon made a bankrupt of the brother who took it over. For some half-dozen years the government retained to itself the privilege of selling licenses, during which time few were sold, and many negroes were in-

[149] Schück, I. 207, 231-235.

[150] Bonnassieux, p. 464. The Dutch, jealous of this rival, created many difficulties for it.

[151] July 9, 1698, Council of Trade and Plantation to the king, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1697-1698, p. 328; Berlioux, p. 4.

[152] Saco, *Historia de la Esclavitud,* p. 247.

troduced illicitly. Recognizing the failure of this method, the Spaniards turned again to their natural purveyors, the Portuguese. Antonio Rodriguez Delvas, a rich Portuguese merchant, in 1615 paid 115,000 ducats a year for the privilege of importing from 3500 to 5000 negroes annually into Spanish colonies, held it until 1623, and yielded it to Manoel Rodriguez Lamego, also a Portuguese, and the first holder of the contract who made it a financial success.[153] Lamego was followed in 1631 by Melchior Gomez Angel and Christoval Mendez de Sossa, whose operation of it was uneventful.[154]

Up to this time, whatever the contraband trade may have been, the official supplying of negroes for Spanish-American markets had been a domestic affair. Spain, through the Contratación,[155] had dealt only with Spanish subjects or Spanish dependents, who alone had been admitted to Spanish ports. But with 1640 a change in policy seemed inevitable. At that time Portugal broke away from Spanish dominance, and Spain, aggrieved, refused to grant the favor of her trade to citizens of the rebellious country. Turning from Portugal, she might have found the Dutch able and willing to supply her needs, but of Holland she had similar reason for resentment and greater fear: once allow traders from Curaçao the right of entry into ports of the Spanish main, and it would be difficult, if not impossible, to confine their entries to negroes. The result of the dilemma was that for fifteen years Spain made no negro contract. Complaints of this neglect of the interests of Spanish America were at first frequent and bitter, but they presently diminished, as the colonists found methods by which they could supply themselves without the help of the home government.[156]

To check the volume of illicit trade which threatened the very foundations of Spanish commercial policy, as well as to restore to the Spanish treasury the revenue from the assiento, Spain was at length driven to re-establish the contract system. A bargain with two wealthy Genoese, Domingo Grillo and Ambrosio Lomelin, was completed July 5, 1662, to go into operation May 1, 1663.[157] By this

[153] *Ibid.,* pp. 250, 256, 268; Georges Scelle, "The Slave-Trade in the Spanish Colonies of America: the Assiento", *American Journal of International Law,* IV. 622-625. This article (pp. 612-661) in a measure summarizes the greatly elaborated history of the assiento by Scelle, *La Traite Négrière aux Indes de Castille.*

[154] Scelle, I. 437-458.

[155] The Casa de Contratación, established in 1503, centralized the administration of American affairs, even hearing civil cases relating to America.

[156] Scelle, *La Traite Négrière,* I. 482-487. The English were not to be considered as aspirants for the assiento, not only because they had little foothold in the trade, but also because of their heretical faith, a handicap which the Dutch also suffered. *Ibid.,* I. 487-489.

[157] An account of this contract will be found in Scelle, I. 497-523. Zook (*The Company of Royal Adventurers trading into Africa,* pp. 93-95) describes it briefly. The latter account is drawn from the Colonial Office Papers in the British Public Record Office, the former from the papers in the Spanish archives.

contract the Italians were to deliver in Vera Cruz, Porto Bello, and Cartagena twenty-four thousand *piezas d'India* within the next seven years, on which they were to pay a duty of 300,000 pesos. If at the end of that time they had not yet completed the number they were to have two years of grace, while if they had delivered more they were to pay duty on the excess.[158] For their negroes the assientists were to contract only with countries at peace with Spain. Because of the Anglo-Dutch War, which worked havoc with Spanish-American trade as well as with that of the participants in the struggle, the assientists were unable to meet their engagements and their transactions fell into great confusion.

In 1668 Lomelin, who had gone to the Indies to set in order the affairs of the assiento, died before he had accomplished this purpose.[159] Grillo offered a revised plan for the assiento, which was accepted, but the enemies of his monopoly in Spain and America prevented him from carrying it out. Though his contract was declared terminated in May, 1671, he was, as late as 1674, hopefully bargaining with the Dutch company for three thousand negroes to be delivered within six months.[160]

Despite Spanish fears and Spanish opposition it had, during the term of this contract, become a recognized fact that blacks for the Spanish market must be drawn from Curaçao and the English islands, rather than from Africa. The intercourse which Spain most feared was steadily increasing, despite all her precautions. Antonio Garcia, the next holder of the assiento, though a Portuguese, purchased his cargoes in large part from Curaçao,[161] drawing upon capital advanced by the Amsterdam house of Coymans. The failure of the Spanish banking house which acted as his security brought his purchases to an end, and left him imprisoned for debt.[162] The Spanish government declared his contract forfeited, and for a brief time the body of Seville merchants, the Consulado, undertook to obtain negroes in Africa and deliver them in Spanish America,[163] hoping to put an end to the smuggling trade. Their method was by the sale of licenses, the purchasers of which were forbidden to go to Curaçao for their blacks. Inex-

[158] Scelle, I. 505. The term *pieza d'India* was not synonymous with negro. While a black of unusual quality might be considered a *pieza,* it usually required two and sometimes three negroes to constitute one. Age, height, and details of physical condition were considered and careful instructions given as to the circumstances under which three negroes constituted two *piezas d'India,* or two, one. Indeed, in 1699 Heathcote, agent for Barbados, wrote with exasperation that the English merchants were forced to stand by and see eleven negroes counted as a single *pieza.*

[159] Scelle, I. 528-529, 533.

[160] *Ibid.,* pp. 545-546.

[161] *Ibid.,* pp. 565-578, 599. The use of Curaçao as a base for negroes for the Spanish-American market, as the Spanish government had foreseen, greatly increased the clandestine entry of negroes.

[162] Garcia was, in five years' time, to deliver 20,000 *piezas de India.* Scelle, I. 567.

[163] Their contract was made in February, 1676, to go into effect in four months.

perienced in the trade themselves, unable to find experienced middlemen who could aid them, and with the Portuguese and Dutch factories in Africa closed against them, they were obliged before long to turn to the Dutch company, and take their negroes from Curaçao.

Throughout the period of Garcia's imprisonment and the exclusion of the Dutch the Dutch West India Company had been endeavoring to obtain from the Spanish government redress for its losses and to dispose of the negroes which it had gathered together at Curaçao for Garcia. This it failed to do, the government contending, and rightly, that the Dutch contract with Garcia was a matter of private business with which the government had nothing to do.[164] In 1679 the Consulado resigned its undertaking to Genoese merchants, Don Juan Barroso and his son-in-law, Nicolas Porcio, with full knowledge that 1800 of the negroes were to be obtained from the Dutch West India Company.[165] In other words, the Spanish government had accepted the fact that its laborers must be obtained from foreigners and heretics. The disaster that overtook this bargain and its transfer to the hands of Balthazar Coymans is described in the documents hereafter printed.[166] The opposition of the Inquisition was powerful enough to make Coyman's possession of the privilege short-lived. With the passing of years Spanish bitterness toward Portugal had lessened and in 1694, through the agency of Bernardo Marin de Guzman, a merchant of Carácas, the assiento was entrusted to the Portuguese. Though they were the first to carry slaves from West Africa, they had been the last of the European nations to place the trade in the control of a joint-stock company. With the Portuguese Company of Cacheo, organized in 1692, Guzman contracted for negroes, and from this company Spain was drawing her licit labor supply at the end of the seventeenth century.[167]

In these official contracts with the Spanish government England had no part, but it by no means follows that she had no concern in Spanish trade. Her interest in it must be traced along two distinct and often opposing lines. The African Company, with its monopoly of home markets, was naturally desirous of engrossing Spanish markets as well. The plantations saw possibilities of gain in Spanish trade, provided the company did not dominate it. The governors are

[164] Scelle, I. 599, 620. To the protest of the Dutch ambassador that negroes had been collected at Curaçao for Garcia for which the Dutch company ought to receive recompense, Spain retorted with acuteness that they had by that time probably all been fraudulently introduced into Spanish possessions. The diplomatic interchange between Holland and Spain, in which Holland aimed at official recognition of Curaçao trade and Spain requested that the Dutch open to her the trade of her African factories (especially Ardra), brought about no great results at this time, but it paved the way for the entrance of France and England into Spanish trade in the eighteenth century. Scelle, I. 607-625.

[165] *Ibid.*, pp. 621-632; the contract is printed *ibid.*, pp. 831-836.

[166] Nos. 123 ff.; see I. A. Wright, "The Coymans Asiento (1685-1689)", *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde,* reeks VI., deel I., aflevering 1-2.

[167] Saco, pp. 288-290; Scelle, II. 3-68.

sometimes found forwarding the interests of the company, sometimes trying to foster independent trade.[168] The date of Grillo's contract with Spain coincided with England's entry into the trade on a large scale. Here there seemed a chance for England to share in the profits of this branch of the commerce. While Spain herself would not traffic directly with English heretics, the Genoese were troubled by no such scruples. At the time the Company of Royal Adventurers was chartered (Jan. 10, 1663) the Italian contractors had made two bargains for negroes, one with Carlos Hisbert for four hundred, and one with the Dutch West India Company for fourteen hundred.[169] These were to be brought to Curaçao, at which place the Spaniards would call for them. Grillo was prepared to make a third agreement with the Guinea Adventurers, who, along with the rest of the world, regarded the Spaniards as possessed of unlimited buying power, and as a veritable gold mine to all comers. The negroes for the Spanish market they hoped to obtain from Old and New Calabar, regions whose negroes were not in high favor with the English. Thirty-five hundred negroes sold annually to Spain would, they reckoned, bring into England £86,000 of the eagerly desired Spanish silver. To complete the details of the bargain, Grillo's agent, one Richard White, came from Madrid to London, authorized to bargain with any nation in Europe, Africa, or the Indies, save Portugal.[170] By the terms of the subcontract arrived at, the company was to deliver 3500 negroes annually, at Jamaica and Barbados, where the Spaniards were to come for them.[171]

The obscurity which surrounds the making of this contract is rendered greater by the contradictory nature of the records of it which are available. Rightly or wrongly, Grillo maintained that it would have been dangerous for him to allow the Spanish court to know that he was buying his negroes from the English company. To avoid this

[168] One of the great difficulties encountered in attempting to reduce to order the meagre record of the commerce between the English islands and Spanish America results from the fact that both England and her colonies were often acting in ignorance of what had been done by the other. The result was a confusion of orders and requests, and explains many apparent discrepancies in the records.

[169] 1663, Feb., *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, p. 211; Scelle, I. 524.

[170] T 70:75, pp. 11, 15, 20, 47, 48. See also Scelle, I. 523-524; Zook, p. 93. White had evidently none too good a reputation in England. Before he ventured to London he obtained, or so he thought, the assurance of the Duke of York that he would be unmolested while transacting the business of the assiento. Nevertheless he was arrested shortly after his arrival and spent some time in prison, in spite of his protest to Secretary Bennet that he had come "to do the King great service by the importation of vast sums of bullion not by the business of the blacks alone" (*Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1663-1664, pp. 144, 152, 168-169, 196, 211, 215-216, 225; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, p. 158). Alexander Bence, the member of the African Company delegated to conduct the negotiations with him, seems also to have fallen under suspicion, for a warrant was issued to search his house for seditious papers. *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1663-1664, p. 144.

[171] This according to Zook (p. 93), who cites a statement made by the company to this effect (C. O. 1: 19, ff. 7, 8). Scelle gives the number as 5000 (*La Traite Négrière,* I. 524). Payment was to be made to Sir Martin Noell.

difficulty he resorted to a covert bargain, which was in part explained three years later. Alexander Bence and John Reid hired in England two vessels which carried the negroes. The freight for these vessels was to be paid to a Spaniard, who in turn assigned it to George Wallis, an Englishman living in Cadiz. From his hands it apparently was to be transferred to Bence and Reid. Payment was to be made every four months, but on May 14, 1667, one John Allen wrote to Arlington that the English vessels had been in use two and a half years, with no payments. He asked that the aid of the English ambassador at Madrid be enlisted, and that, in the event of his failure to obtain the money from Grillo, the truth of the matter be carried to the Queen Regent of Spain.[172] From this one would certainly infer that the English supposed the Spanish government to be ignorant of the source of Grillo's negroes. Scelle however states that Spain at first ordered Grillo to annul the contract with England, and specifically forbade him to treat with countries which had not freedom of trade with Spain. Upon further consideration however the government's opposition was withdrawn, and the assientists were told that they might complete the English bargain.[173] The Duke of York was asked to obtain permission for Grillo's agents to live in Jamaica and Barbados,[174] on the same terms as English subjects, and the company made its first sale to Grillo and Lomelin,[175] receiving from the king safe conduct for the vessels carrying the negroes.

To understand the further course of events it is necessary to review the relations between the English and the Spanish colonies.

During the fifteen or more years in which there had been no contract for negroes for Spanish America the Spanish planters had developed a considerable illicit importation. While this was chiefly from Curaçao, they were not oblivious to the desirability of trade

[172] May 14, 1667, "John Allen to Sec. Lord Arlington", *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, pp. 466-467, 471; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1667, pp. 98, 133; Scelle, I. 525-526. The English experience with this assientist was throughout the entire history of the contract unfortunate. On Jan. 14, 1676, Alexander Bence complained to the king that he had hired two vessels in which Grillo was to transport the negroes that he purchased from the company in the West Indies. These vessels were never returned and the petitioner was obliged to pay the owners £8000, for which he received no recompense. *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 647.

[173] Scelle, I. 527. This suggests sufficient knowledge on the part of Spain to make the elaborate machinery for concealment entirely unnecessary. In the light of the Spanish reluctance to allow even a subcontract for negroes to be made with the English, the directions sent to Sir Richard Fanshaw, early in 1664, to demand an assiento which would "insure to the Royal African Company a monopoly of the profitable slave trade to the Spanish colonies", were, to say the least, over optimistic ("News letter from Williamson to Fanshaw, Feb.-Mch., 1664", Hist. MSS. Comm., *Heathcote MSS.*, p. 146; Violet Barbour, *Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington,* p. 74). Fanshaw was a shareholder in the Company of Royal Adventurers.

[174] 1663, "Memorial of Sir Ellis Leighton to the Duke of York", *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, p. 158; see also pp. 174, 466-467, 471.

[175] 1663, "King's Warrant to the Governors of Barbadoes and Jamaica", *ibid.*, pp. 174-175.

with the English islands. Here the obstacles to free trade were great. Both Spanish and English legislation forbade it, and the objectives of those who desired it were too conflicting for them to co-operate harmoniously in evading the laws. What the Spaniards desired was access to English markets in the islands; what the English chiefly desired was access to Spanish markets. The English company looked toward a monopoly of the Spanish trade, while the planters wished an opportunity to develop their own commerce with the Spanish colonies. On the whole, the planters, finding, after some attempts at trade, that they were to be shut out from it, obstructed rather than promoted its development. In general the English governors favored the development of trade, even after the planters had come to oppose it.

In Barbados the Spanish merchants took the initiative in the effort to establish a traffic in negroes. Spanish merchants visited the island in March, 1662, and proposed to Walrond, president of the council, that they buy negroes for Peru, where the market price was then 1000 pieces of eight. On all goods brought to the island in payment for the negroes they offered to pay ten per cent, and assured Barbados of at least five million pieces of eight yearly.[176] The Spaniards professed to be ready to expend £100,000 at once. Though the council hesitated to agree to a transaction which obviously violated the navigation laws, Walrond was unwilling to close the door on so promising a trade, and allowed the Spaniards to purchase 400 negroes, at from 125 to 140 pieces of eight per head. Modyford, speaker of the assembly, while not supporting Walrond, could not but see the advantage of a sale which "filled the island with money", and urged that permission be granted to the Spaniards to buy negroes in the island. Such a transaction would aid Barbados and have the added advantage of driving the Dutch from the trade.[177]

In Jamaica the situation was reversed and the English took the first steps looking to trade. In 1661, when Lord Windsor was sent out as governor, he was instructed to obtain for Jamaica free trade with Spain, by force if necessary. His effort to open a trade peacefully was met by a refusal on the part of the Spanish governors to whom he made proffers of traffic, and, following the suggestion of his instruction, the Jamaica council in 1662 resolved upon a trade by force. The Spaniards were not to be won in such fashion. In 1663, when the deputy governor, Sir Charles Lyttelton, wrote that he hoped to establish Spanish trade, he had given up forcing the way into

[176] Harlow, *History of Barbados,* p. 141; Beer, *Old Colonial System,* I. 329-331.
[177] Thomas Modyford recounted these events to his brother: 1662, Mar. 30-Sept. 13, "Extracts of letters from Thomas Modyford", *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, pp. 123-124.

Spanish ports but hoped to induce the Spanish merchants to come to Jamaica as they had to Barbados.[178]

Owing to past enmity between Spanish and English, this proved difficult. In May, 1664, Thomas Lynch wrote to Secretary Bennet that the Spaniards were drawing their supply of negroes from the Genoese, who had contracted to supply them with 24,500 in seven years, to be drawn from the Dutch at Curaçao, on which "cursed little barren island they have now 1500 or 2000". In complete ignorance, apparently, of the fact that the English company had already made a bargain with the Italians, he went on to suggest that the company sell negroes to the Genoese in order to divert the trade from the Flemings and exclude them from Africa.[179]

The home government was not only willing to accede to the wishes of the colonial governors, but it had already made an effort to facilitate the coveted trade. The governors of Barbados and Jamaica had been instructed to allow Spanish subjects to purchase negroes in the islands on the payment of a ten per cent. duty. From this export duty negroes of the Company of Royal Adventurers were exempt. Any trade with the Spaniards, whether that of the company or that which had its origin in the West Indies, since it violated the navigation acts, must be conducted by special license, and in January, 1663, the new company, with the prospect of the assiento contract before it, requested that such licenses be confined to it alone. This the various orders sent to the West Indies failed to do.

The action of the government pleased neither the West Indies nor the company. The latter resented the fact that trade was not confined to its vessels, the former that the exemption from duty granted to the company served as a subsidy to the company at the same time that it deprived the islands of a source of revenue. The planters, seeing themselves deprived of all possible advantages from the Spanish trade in negroes, soon became conscious of its disadvantages. From it they not only gained no income but they saw transferred to the Spaniards large numbers of negroes that, had they remained in the English plantations, might have lowered the prevailing prices. The petition of Sir Paul Painter and others against the monopoly of the company charged it with having "contracted with forreiners for the supply of the Spanish plantations with negroes, which do leave the English plantations in America, which produce the same commodities with the Spanish, either ill supplied, and at excessive prices, or not all supplied; by reason whereof . . . all his Majesties plantations

[178] *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 106. The assumption underlying trade by force was, of course, that Spanish merchants were eager to trade but were prevented by government officials, against whom the force was to be used.

[179] May 25, 1664, Thomas Lynch to Sir Henry Bennet, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, p. 211.

in America are at present much decayed".[180] To this the company replied that by the Spanish trade it had prevented the Spaniards from bargaining with the Dutch (the expression of a hope rather than a consummation) and had brought ready money into the West Indies. Also, it had delivered but 1200 negroes to the Spaniards, and was obliged to deliver no more, as the contractors had broken their contract. The company further stated that the trade had not prevented it from supplying the colonists with a bountiful supply of labor, and that it could hardly be true that the trade with the Spaniards was injurious to the islands since the colonists themselves indulged in it. Nor was it true that the negroes were used by the Spaniards to raise the same commodities which the English raised. The Spaniards used them as domestic servants and in their silver mines.[181]

Though the company thus defended the Spanish trade, it was hardly less unhappy over it than were the planters. The imminence of war made it probable that the bargain with the Genoese could not be met and as early as in 1664 the English were casting about for ways of inducing Grillo to lighten it.[182] In 1665, upon countering Grillo's complaint that the company was not fulfilling its contract, it obtained permission from the king to buy negroes in the plantations and ship them to the assientists' agents without duty.[183] In their turn the assientists were unable to meet their engagements. The closing years of Grillo's activity were also the years of the dissolution of the Company of Royal Adventurers and the formation of the Royal African Company. The treaty of Madrid, signed July 18, 1670, by checking the perpetual warfare between England and Spain in the Caribbean, had made illegal trade easier and also had roused hopes that legal trade might now be established,[184] but the nearly defunct company was in no condition to make use of any advantage offered by the treaty. All it could do was to attempt to forestall a development of Spanish-American trade on the part of the islands, by petitioning the king to confine such trade, if it was to be permitted, to the company alone.[185]

During the next few years the greatest interest in this commerce

[180] Stock, *Proceedings and Debates,* I. 342, 344.

[181] 1667, Nov. 15, Stock, I. 347-348. The complaint of 1667 against the Spanish trade was by no means the first which the island had expressed. In January, 1665, Barbados charged that the scarcity of negroes and the prevailing high prices were to be attributed, not to the Dutch war, but to the trade with Spain. January, 1665, "Brief Narrative of the Trade and present Condition of the Royal African Company", *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, p. 266.

[182] Zook, p. 94.

[183] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, p. 215. Letters directing that this be allowed were sent to the governors of Barbados and Jamaica.

[184] The author of the *Importance of the British Plantations* (p. 41) regarded the signing of this treaty as the beginning of trade between Jamaica and the Spanish colonies.

[185] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1669-1674, p. 57.

was displayed by the colonial governors, who, in general disposed to support the company's desires, were not averse to developing a direct trade with the assientists if it were possible.[186] Sir Thomas Lynch, avid for any gain to be derived from this alluring Eldorado, was willing to lend all possible assistance to the company in establishing the trade. His correspondence shows his equal willingness to dip into the profits of Spanish commerce by any other method. "I gave Major Beeston and Mr. Read (who was Factr to the Royall Company) ord'r to treat with the Assientistas Factor to come hither for Negros, thinking it might have help'd to Reestablish the Royall Company, But Hee was soe Hated and the Gent. soe Watched that nothing cd. bee Done", Lynch wrote to Arlington in 1671.[187] Some months later he recounts the prices paid by the Spaniards: "The Men of War have sold Spanish sixty or eighty at 150 to 200 pieces of eight which makes a great noise and will draw abundance of negroes here", but adds, "there is no possibility of doing anything, the Governors [Spanish] are so fearful and the Grillos factors so careful".[188] His desire to share in the traffic had already led him to offer his services as Jamaica factor to the new company which was being organized, and about this time he essayed an independent venture in the trade, sending a ketch loaded with negroes to Cartagena. This the Spaniards captured and destroyed, inflicting on him a loss of some £1500, enough to check his zeal for independent action.[189]

Before this catastrophe Lynch had approached the trade by still another route. Since his overtures to the company and his letters to Arlington failed to bring results, he wrote directly to Sir William Godolphin, English minister at Madrid. This move he himself described to Arlington:

> His chief hope was to have stolen into a little commerce with the Spaniard, but finds this Peace makes them cautious and that it is difficult, so has considered doing it more overtly by way of the Asientistas at Madrid. His Lordship will see by enclosed how he proposes it to Sir W. G(odolphin) and if he can effect anything like this Sir Thomas will provide the negroes and take on him the charge and care of managing all, and his Lordship shall have one third of the whole profit, only paying proportionably when loss happens. Cannot foresee that anything can be done but this way: has sent three times to Cartagena, yet could never buy so much as an emerald, but others have sold some few straggling negroes for it is only for that the Spaniards will venture.[190]

[186] The Council at one time shared the belief that the sale of negroes to Spanish America would benefit the island. Council Minutes, Nov. 28, 1671, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1669-1674, p. 276.

[187] Aug. 20, 1671, C. O. 1:27, no. 22; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1669-1674, p. 247.

[188] Jan. 13, 1672, Lynch to Secretary Joseph Williamson, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1669-1674, pp. 316-317. Grillo's contract had already been terminated but his agents probably continued to hope that it would be re-established.

[189] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1669-1674, pp. 316-317; Sept. 28, 1672, Richard Browne to Williamson, *ibid.*, 415.

[190] Mar. 2, 1672, Lynch to Arlington, *ibid.*, p. 335.

One more effort Lynch made to turn the attention of English officials to the benefits of this trade. On April 4, 1673, he wrote to the Council for Plantations: "They say the contract with the Grillos for negros expires in eight months, and the cities of Carthegena, Mexico, etc., are offering a yearly payment to the King of as much as he got by that assiento for permission to buy negroes where they can best." Should this be so, he believed Jamaica could be serviceable to the Royal African Company.[191]

While Lynch was giving persistent attention to the establishment of Spanish trade for negroes, the planters themselves seem for the most part to have either ignored or opposed his efforts. One exception to this is to be noted. On November 28, 1671, the council of Jamaica considered the sale of negroes to the Spaniards at 80 pieces of eight or fifty doubloons each, "which will bring money to the island to buy better of our own merchants".[192] This argument, however, did not prevail with the planters. Lord Vaughan, who succeeded Lynch, wrote to the Council for Foreign Plantations:

I heare, My Lords, That the Contract with the Grillôs is not like to be renewed, and that the Spanish Gov'rs here have Some of them received Licenses from Spaine, to buy a certain Number of Negroes, where they can procure them, if it bee soe, it were a good opportunity for our R. Compa. to endeavor the making of a Contract with them, which would exceedingly contribute to the Interest of England and of this Island.[193]

That there would be difficulties was recognized. One of the greatest lay in the tradition of hostility between Spaniards and English:

The next thing to be wished for in that world is a trade with the Spaniards, but will find so many obstructions from their jealousies and interests in the beginning, that will require a more than ordinary care in conducting it and some assistance here at home by making it practicable. It is not to be thought that the Spaniards can quickly forget all the mischiefs continued upon them by us in those parts . . . it is not unlikely that we, instead of the Flemings, had been the convoys and shares in their rich flotas, if we had given them no frequenter cause of enmity to us in those parts than the Dutch had done. But, my lord, to gain a trade with them, I cannot but think the likeliest way would be, first, to make some new contract with the undertakers at Madrid for supplying the Spanish West Indies with negroes, and this would be easy to be done, if your lordship would induce his royal highness and the African company to endeavour it; since I once tried the matter and found, by advice from Spain, that they were very ready to treat with us, and to break with the Hollanders, who supply them at present from Curaçoa.[194]

[191] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1669-1674, p. 478. Jamaica apparently did not yet know the actual conditions of Grillo's contract.

[192] *Ibid.,* p. 276.

[193] Jan. 25, 1675/6, Vaughan to "Lords of the Councill for forrain Plantacions", Recd. 17 May 1676, Library of Congress, Br. trans., Egerton MSS. 2395, f. 523; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1675-1676, p. 342.

[194] Letter from Mr. Nevil to the Earl of Carlisle, on the "Present State of Jamaica", *Interesting Tracts relating to the Island of Jamaica,* p. 107; also in Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica* (1774), I. 598-599, App.

The feasibility of trade was to be put to the test with Barbados, not Jamaica. A vessel left Spain for Barbados in 1677. In order to avoid any display of hostility, which might frustrate its plan or prevent future trade, the good offices of the Duke of York or the Council of Trade were solicited:

> Memorial of some persons concerned in a Spanish ship, the *Santo Domingo,* Captain Pedor de Lagos, lately left Spain for Barbadoes to purchase negroes and transport them to the Spanish West Indies. That the Royal African Company will procure letters from His Royal Highness or the Council of Trade and to the Governors of Barbadoes that said ship may receive all encouragement, and continue a further trade from the Spanish West Indies to Barbadoes for buying and transporting blacks without exacting more duties or other impositions than the law appoints.

Orders were sent to Vaughan and to Sir Jonathan Atkins of Barbados, directing them to

> take special care that such ships or persons be civilly treated, and receive all fitting countenance in their design, provided they do nothing contrary to the Acts of Navigation or the laws of the island, and that said persons have free admission, bringing in either money or goods of said countries and that no other duties or impositions be demanded than the law appoints.[195]

For once the home government and the determined and outspoken governor of Barbados were in agreement. At about the same time that these orders were issued Atkins was writing to the Lords of Trade of the arrival of a Spanish vessel, and pointing out the advantages it promised:

> Arrival of a Spanish ship from Cadiz desirous to trade for negroes. Finds they at once obtained a trade but lost it again by the petulancy of the then Lieutenant Governor, but are resolved to come again by the persuasions of the Guinea Company, being a new society of merchants who have contracted with the Crown of Spain to furnish them with negroes. Advantageous to the Guinea society and the island, which will also be rid at good rates of refractory, dangerous, and bad negroes, and there will be always a stock ready upon the island for the Spanish to come and buy within ten or twelve days sail of Hispaniola, where they carry them all.[196]

On July 24, 1677, the *Concord,* returning from Barbados, reported that the Spaniards were trading there for refuse negroes, and that one vessel had carried away upwards of three hundred at £25.[197] In November "by beat of drum it was proclaimed, that trade with the Spaniards for negroes or any other goods was free and open for everyone".[198]

[195] 1677, May 12, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, p. 84. In October, 1677, Vaughan wrote that he "had received the order and two Spanish ships, which he treated with friendliness". *Ibid.,* p. 169.

[196] 1677, May 13/23, Gov. Atkins to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, "Read 17 July, *ibid.,* p. 85.

[197] *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1677-1688, p. 263.

[198] Nov. 13, 1677, "Journal of Col. William Beeston", *Interesting Tracts relating to Jamaica,* pp. 271-300.

In England the Council of Trade and Plantations consulted with the African Company over the course suggested by Governor Atkins. The company, as was to be expected, expressed its entire agreement with his faith in the advantages which would accrue to the residents of the island from Spanish purchases of blacks,[199] and appointed a committee to come to an agreement with Spain over the details of carrying the negroes.[200] Curiously enough, it seems not to have occurred to the Lords of Trade up to this time to ascertain the legal status of the trade in question. They now addressed a query to the Solicitor General, which brought from him a positive statement. Since negroes were undoubtedly commodities, it was therefore forbidden to have traffic in them with the Spaniards.[201] There seemed nothing for the Lords of Trade to do but to report, early in 1678, that trade in negroes with Spain was forbidden.[202]

This is the period of the assiento of Barroso and Porcio, when Spain had become much more lax as to the source of the negroes furnished by the assientists. In 1680 John Crocker appeared in Jamaica, bearing license from the King of Spain to trade with English, French, or Dutch in America, for negroes for the Spanish colonies. Lieutenant Governor Morgan wrote: "it is confidently reported that we shall shortly have free trade with Spain. . . . This will speedily make this Island very considerable, for all the current cash that we now have is brought here by private trade with them."[203] But to trade in negroes, it was necessary to have the negroes and these Jamaica could not supply.[204] Crocker was still waiting for negroes in January, 1681, with hopes that vessels of the company were soon to arrive.[205]

To the scarcity of negroes the planters now added another obstacle to the trade. In 1681 the Jamaica assembly laid upon the negroes exported from the island a duty of £5. According to Morgan's apologetic letter explaining his acceptance of the measure, it was occasioned "by the merchants supplying the Spaniard with great numbers of negroes rather than the planters whose necessities pressed them much for a good supply". Morgan goes on to say:

I wanted not reason enough to refuse the Bill, but two Madeira ships were just arrived whose duties amounted to about 800 *l.*, and were in hazard to be

[199] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1677-1680, pp. 134-135.

[200] T 70: 77.

[201] C. O. 268: 1, pp. 74-75; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1677-1680, pp. 84-85, 118, 120.

[202] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1677-1680, pp. 120, 209-210. Beer believes that this information was never transmitted to the colonies. *Old Colonial System,* I. 362.

[203] Nov. 12, 1680, Sir Henry Morgan to Lord Sunderland, *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1677-1680, p. 630; Jan. 27, 1681, Morgan to Lords of Trade and Plantations, *ibid.,* 1681-1685, p. 5.

[204] Sept. 3, 1680, "A Spaniard for negroes, in a streite how to supply him", T 70: 10.

[205] Jan. 27, 1681, Morgan to the Lords of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1681-1685, p. 5.

lost, and moreover abundance of interloping negroes were on the Island, purposely reserved for the Spanish trade. I was anxious also myself to avoid anything that might make them uneasy on the first entrance into business, so by the advice of the Council (one only excepted) I gave this bill the Royal Assent, but with a caution to the Speaker and Assembly that they should not make it a precedent for any such bill in the future.[206]

Lynch, again governor of Jamaica in 1682, never ceased to be interested in the possibilities of the trade and to record his hopes and disappointments concerning it. In April the scarcity of negroes discourages the Spaniards;[207] in July the governor of Panama sends for negroes;[208] in September the interruption of the assiento because of Porcio's difficulties discourages him, but he feels that trade is certain to come to Jamaica if they can but obtain negroes;[209] in November he concludes that the assiento must be ended, since the Spaniards have not called for 2000 negroes held at Curaçao for them, while ships from Havana and Panama are trying to buy from Jamaica.[210] In February, 1683, the agents of the African Company and Lynch both report that Spanish buyers after waiting four months have purchased from an interloper.[211]

In the autumn Lynch reported the purchases of Gill, who wished to carry away three hundred to four hundred negroes and would gladly do business at Jamaica.[212] That Barbados had at least a desultory share in the trade may be inferred from the fact that Governor Dutton was charged with accepting six dollars a head for allowing 1000 negroes to be sold to Spain. Dutton readily admitted this, saying that it was a customary payment.[213] By the next year, 1684, the involved affairs of Porcio had drawn Jamaica into their circle, and Lynch's letters were filled with details of the quarrels between rival factions (no. 119). Porcio's agents, who were endeavoring to safeguard the trade of their principal until he could obtain justice in Spain, seemed to Lynch to be interfering with an embryonic trade of considerable promise. The home government gave its consent to the trade;[214] the Royal African Company was supplying negroes in sufficient quantities and the Spaniards were thought ready to buy were it not for the obstructions put in their way.[215]

[206] May 18, 1681, Sir Henry Morgan to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 55.
[207] T 70: 10.
[208] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 302.
[209] Sept. 29, 1682, Lynch to the Lords of Trade, *ibid.*
[210] Nov. 6, 1682, Lynch to Jenkins, *ibid.*, pp. 319-320; Nov. 16, 1681, T 70: 10.
[211] Feb. 20, 1683, Molesworth and Penhallow to the Royal African Company, T 70: 10; Feb. 22, 1683, Lynch to William Blathwayt, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 393.
[212] Nov. 2, 1683, Lynch to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, *ibid.*, p. 535.
[213] *Ibid.*, pp. 553, 561.
[214] Apr. 29, 1685, *Acts P. C. C.*, II. 81.
[215] May 9, 14, 1684, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 629, 633, 636; Nov. 30 1684, *ibid.*, p. 739; Beer, *Old Colonial System*, I. 362-363, n. 4.

During the time that Coymans held the assiento the trade was by no means confined to the Dutch. In June, 1685, Diego Maget arrived in Jamaica, with permission to buy negroes. He requested that he might have the privileges of trade granted to Englishmen and be allowed to carry the fruits of the Spanish colonies to Jamaica in payment. The Lords of Trade to whom he petitioned referred the subject to the Commissioners of Customs, who replied that of the assiento they knew nothing. As to that, they suggested consultation with the Royal African Company; as for the introduction of Spanish products into Jamaica, that was clearly forbidden.[216] Ignoring the unfavorable nature of the report of the commissioners, and probably ignorant of it, the agent of the new assiento took 300 negroes and left instructions with a resident factor to carry on the business.[217] The home government seemed equally blind to the objections of the commissioners. When Sir Philip Howard went to Jamaica as governor he carried instructions directing him to encourage the Spanish trade.[218] The vigorous assistance lent to the business of the assiento by Hender Molesworth during his service as acting governor of Jamaica, though strongly opposed by the Jamaica planters, gained the commendation of the Lords of Trade.[219]

By 1688, after four years of wrangling and uncertainty, Porcio was re-established in the assiento; but Jamaica, at last determined to protect what she regarded as her own best interest, had forbidden Spanish trade.[220] In 1689 the council and assembly of Jamaica made vigorous protest that while thousands of negroes had been imported by the company during the last years, but few had fallen to the planters, the factors grasping all. The negroes were picked to suit the Spaniards, the factors reaping the benefit. The planters received the refuse at £22 each. Their ready money was often refused because it was not pieces of eight. Though Jamaica had an act providing that two planters should always be joined with two merchants in "lotting" the negroes, this was disregarded.[221]

[216] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1685-1688, pp. 54, 55, 64.

[217] Aug. 29, 1685, Molesworth to Blathwayt, *ibid.,* p. 84. Hender Molesworth, one of the African Company's factors, was acting governor from 1684 to 1687.

[218] Nov. 25, 1685, *ibid.,* p. 122.

[219] May 10, 1686, Lords of Trade to Hender Molesworth, *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1685-1688, p. 185; Beer, *op. cit.,* I. 365-366. No sooner had Molesworth gained governmental consent on both sides than he encountered a fresh vexation. The shipments of negroes were interfered with by the pirate crews infesting the Caribbean (Nov. 5, 1686, Molesworth to the Lords of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1685-1688, pp. 277-278). At times trade must have gone forward without the obstacles which, from the interchange of letters between the governors of the islands and the officials at home, appear continuous. On Aug. 4, 1687, Molesworth wrote to the Lords of the Treasury that he had made something while the assiento trade was in Spanish hands and he was a factor of the Royal African Company. *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1685-1688, pp. 406-407.

[220] Scelle, I. 672; July 19, 1688, the Royal African Company to the Lords of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1685-1688, p. 573.

[221] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1689-1692, pp. 106-107.

The protest of the colony had no apparent effect on the action of the company and little on the policy of the government, which continued to support and encourage Spanish trade in negroes. Lecky, along with numerous other historians of England, states that in 1689 England and Spain completed a convention whereby England was to supply the Spanish West Indies with negroes.[222] This is far from having been the case. The assiento had been granted by the Spanish government to Porcio, and whatever agreement was reached must be between him and the Royal African Company, not between the two governments. The English government was, however, ready to give whatever protection the traffic needed. Porcio's agent, Santiago Castillo, arrived in England shortly before the end of June, 1689,[223] and began negotiation with the Royal African Company for negroes.[224] Meanwhile, before either party to the negotiation could bargain with confidence, the interpretation of the navigation laws must be determined. On August 22 the law officers reported that while unloading to careen was lawful, negroes were merchandize, and under the act could be exported only on the same terms that other goods were.[225] From the law officers the question was transferred to the Commissioners of Customs, who saw no objection to the presence of Spanish factors in Jamaica if the prohibition of alien ships trading in British countries were dispensed with by law.[226] Again, on November 11, the "Judges" ruled that negroes were merchandize and their report was laid before the king.[227] Those concerned in the assiento contract were growing impatient at the protracted consideration of the legality of the trade and the Spanish ambassador requested that the purchase of negroes in Jamaica be permitted while those in authority reached a conclusion. Such purchase had, he said, been allowed for twenty years.[228]

On February 5, 1690, an Order in Council granted freedom to Barbados and Jamaica to trade in negroes with Spain. The governors were directed to grant protection to Spaniards coming to the islands for negroes.[229] On April 17 Castillo and Captain Thomas Hewetson

[222] Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century* (1878), II. 12. The statement is made by Anderson, *Origins of Commerce* (1790), III. 120, and frequently quoted on his authority. Bryan Edwards, *History of the West Indies* (1819), vol. II., ch. 2, p. 55; Saco, p. 288.

[223] *Acts P. C. C.,* II. 134.

[224] The African Company, by the Revolution of 1688, had lost its charter privileges, and, though the company did not admit it, the trade was legally open to anyone. Scelle (I. 686-687) says Castillo also bargained with a group of private merchants of England who were planning to enter the trade, as well as with the Dutch.

[225] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1689-1692, pp. 132, 133.

[226] *Ibid.,* p. 155.

[227] *Ibid.,* pp. 171-172, 173.

[228] *Ibid.,* p. 186.

[229] *Acts P. C. C.,* II. 153; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1689-1692, p. 217. How great the trade between the Spanish and British plantations was cannot be known, but the minutes of the Jamaica council July 29, 1692, ask for a king's ship to remove from Porto Bello £40,000, the remains of the Jamaica merchants' estates there. *Ibid.,* p. 678.

completed an agreement for negroes.[230] The troubles of the assientists were not over. Though England had consented to the Spanish trade, Jamaica was by no means reconciled to it and the Jamaica assembly reimposed a duty on the exportation of negroes, which roused the governor's indignant protest.[231]

The amount of the trade in 1690 was probably small. The *Swan* convoyed one small ship from Jamaica to Cartagena.[232] In 1692 John Bird, John Pargiter, and others, owners of the *Mary,* petitioned for arrangements to protect their purchase in Jamaica and transportation for 200 negroes, who were to be sold in Havana for £28 each.[233]

When Colonel Beeston, lieutenant governor of Jamaica, in doubt as to the apportionment of negroes among Spanish contractors, asked for instructions and the African Company was called before the Lords of Trade to arrange details,[234] the company said that it had no contract with the assientists and had ordered all negroes in Jamaica to be sold by inch of candle, that is, by auction.[235] Two months later instructions to Beeston directed him to encourage the trade of the assientists.[236] Soon after his arrival in Jamaica he wrote that Castillo, with £300,000 to expend, had been there for negroes, but, unable to procure them, had departed to Danish St. Thomas. Meanwhile 700 had arrived in Jamaica and more were expected.[237] In the conflict of interests between the island and the merchants at home Beeston leaned toward the side of the planters, so far as to defend the export duty of 20 *s.*, as aiding an empty treasury and doing no harm to the assientists.[238] At the close of 1695 Kast repeated to the king the old complaint, that the factors sold the best slaves to the Spaniards and gave to the planters nothing but refuse.[239] Then the trade languished and Beeston wrote: "the Assiento and all other trade being gone, the merchants have little money."[240] This period corresponded with that in which Guzman and the Portuguese company were coming to terms and organizing the new assiento. Whether or not this company hoped at the outset to supply the required number from its own African factories, it soon gave up such hope and turned to the English for assistance. The Portuguese were prepared

[230] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1689-1692, p. 247.
[231] Aug. 12, 1691, Inchiquin to the Lords of Trade, *ibid.,* p. 523; July 20, 1691, Inchiquin to the assembly, *Interesting Tracts relating to Jamaica,* p. 236.
[232] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1689-1692, p. 296.
[233] Mar. 17, 1692, *Acts P. C. C.,* II. 169.
[234] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1689-1692, p. 667.
[235] *Ibid.,* p. 677.
[236] *Ibid.,* p. 710.
[237] June 10, 1693, Beeston to Nottingham, *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1693-1696, p. 114.
[238] Oct. 9, 1693, *ibid.,* pp. 187-188.
[239] Dec. 26, 1695, Kast to the king, *ibid.,* pp. 633-634.
[240] July 22, 1696, Beeston to the Lords of Trade, *ibid.,* 1696-1697, p. 43.

to make Jamaica an entrepôt for blacks, and asked to establish Castillo there as their agent. They had also contracted with a group of London merchants, Sir Stephen Evance, Jeffrey Jeffreys, John Stafford, and William Richardson, to carry their negroes to Cartagena.[241] In accordance with English restrictions, all English ships which contracted to deliver negroes for the Portuguese assiento were obliged to unload their cargoes in one of the English plantations. This, in addition to being an inconvenience and expense, increased the mortality of the voyage. For these reasons English memorialists asked to be delivered from the regulations.[242]

The merchants also found cause for grievance in their treatment in Spanish-American ports. Heathcote wrote to the Board of Trade that the English had been ill used in Cartagena, and would doubtless be in Vera Cruz, to which two vessels were now bound.[243] To facilitate the efforts of the Portuguese, the London merchants asked that once again the colonial governors be directed to give assistance. Customs commissioners and admirals received the same directions.[244]

In this mass of details, in the letters putting forth the grievances of the colonists or the avarice of the colonial governors, the legal hesitancies of law officers, the old and recurring hostility of English and Spanish, the envy of the Dutch, the quarrels of rival factions, one thing stands forth unmistakably. Slowly the rigidity of trade restriction was breaking down. The Spanish desire for negroes and the English desire to sell were contriving to destroy an outworn commercial system and England was moving steadily nearer to the agreement with Spain which in 1663 could not be given to heretics.

[241] June 6, 1698, Beeston to the Board of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1697-1698, pp. 100, 115, 265-267. The petition of Sir Stephen Evance and his companions to receive the assistance of the governors of Barbados and Jamaica in fulfilling their contract with the Portuguese company of the assiento was reported upon favorably by the Board of Trade as something beneficial to the islands, but the assiento passed to France before anything came of the bargain. *Acts P. C. C.,* II. 340; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1699, pp. 291, 324, 329-330, 344, 366, 420.

[242] Oct. 12, 1698, *Cal. Treasury Papers,* 1697-1702, p. 224.

[243] Mar. 4, 1699, Heathcote to the Board of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1699, pp. 55-56; also, depositions of John Chapman and John Neill, *ibid.,* p. 88.

[244] June 21, 1699, *ibid.,* pp. 291, 324; *Acts P. C. C.,* II. 340.

19. Voyage of Pierre van den Broeck to Cape Verde, 1606.[1]

Pendant-que nous faisions de l'eau à la même isle du Cap Vert, où nous avions terri, il y vint une chaloupe Angloise de Juvale,[2] pour nous donner avis que les Anglois savoient oú il y avoit un vaisseau chargé de riches marchandises et d'esclaves, ofrant de nous y conduire, si pour leur part du butin, nous voulions leur donner les esclaves Noirs de l'un et de l'autre sèxe. Nous acceptâmes le parti, et aïant trouvé le vaisseau ancré à Juvale, il se rendit à nous.

Il étoit de Lubec, du port de 240 tonneaux, chargé de sucre de S. Thomas,[3] de dents d'éléfant, de coton, d'une partie de réales de huit, de quelques chaînes d'or, de 90 esclaves des deux sèxes, de 4 Portugais, et de 11 hommes de Lubec qui étoient malades. Le Maître étoit mort, et ils alloient terrir à Lisbonne.

Nous emmenâmes la prise au Cap Vert, pour y mettre de nos gens, et pourvoir à ce qui pouvoit lui manquer. Nous laissâmes les esclaves entre les mains des Anglois; puis nous remîmes à la voile le 16 de Juillet 1606, et prîmes la route de Hollande, étant trois vaisseaux de compagnie. Nous entrâmes dans la Meuse le 5 d'Octobre suivant. . . .

La plupart des Portugais qui résident dans ces pais-là sont de vrais bandits. Il en demeure une partie à Portodale[4] et a Juvale, où ils trafiquent avec les Anglois, et avec nous. Ils rassemblent dans ces deux places autant d'esclaves qu'ils peuvent, et les mènent à S. Domingo, ou à Catsiao,[5] d'où ils les envoient au Bresil, et ils les y

[19] [1] R. A. C. de Renneville, ed., *Recueil des Voiages qui ont servi à l'Établissement et aux Progrès de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales* (Amsterdam, 1703-1710), IV. 306-473. Astley published an English translation of an extract from Van den Broeck's narrative, made from a French version published in Amsterdam in 1725 (Astley, *Voyages and Travels,* II. 247-248). This voyage was the first of several made by the author, who sailed from Holland Nov. 10, 1605, as supercargo. The vessel anchored at the island of Goree, opposite Cape Verde, on Jan. 15, 1606. Here were found two Dutch, three French, and five English vessels. Van den Broeck was sent to Portudal on the mainland, where for four months he traded with the natives. He then rejoined the vessel, which was preparing to return to Holland. At that point the incident here narrated took place.

[2] Joal, on the mainland, south of Goree. In 1591 Richard Rainolds named it one of the chief places of trade between the Senegal and the Gambia rivers. Astley, *Voyages,* I. 242.

[3] São Thomé or St. Thomas, an island not far north of the equator, was the seat of many Portuguese sugar plantations. Save for a brief interval after 1648, when it was in the hands of the Dutch, the Portuguese held it throughout the century. Frequent references to it are found in the accounts of the slave trade, as it was a convenient place at which to obtain wood, water, and provisions, before the long voyage to the West Indies.

[4] Portudal, north of Joal, also named by Rainolds as an established trading place, later became one of the centres of conflict between French and Dutch, and French and English.

[5] On some eighteenth-century maps Santo Domingo appears as an alternative name for the River Cacheo. There may have been two settlements on opposite banks of the river, bearing the two names. Cacheo continued to be a trading centre for the Portuguese throughout the seventeenth century.

vendent bien cher. Il y en a qui aiant amassé de grosses sommes à ce négoce rache tent leur ban, obtiennent remission de leurs crimes, et s'en retournent en Portugal (pp. 308-309). . . .[6]

20. Brother Luis Brandaon to Father Sandoval.[1]

[March 12, 1610.]

Your Reverence writes me that you would like to know whether the negroes who are sent to your parts have been legally captured. To this I reply that I think your Reverence should have no scruples on this point, because this is a matter which has been questioned by the Board of Conscience in Lisbon, and all its members are learned and conscientious men. Nor did the bishops who were in São Thomé, Cape Verde, and here in Loando—all learned and virtuous men—find fault with it. We have been here ourselves for forty years and there have been [among us] very learned Fathers; in the Province of Brazil as well, where there have always been Fathers of our order eminent in letters, never did they consider this trade as illicit. Therefore we and the fathers of Brazil buy these slaves for our service without any scruple. Furthermore, I declare that if any one could be excused from having scruples it is the inhabitants of those regions, for since the traders who bring those negroes bring them in good faith, those inhabitants can very well buy from such traders without any scruple, and the latter on their part can sell them, for it is a generally accepted opinion that the owner who owns anything in good faith can sell it and that it can be bought. Padre Sánchez thus expresses this point in his Book of Marriage, thus solving this doubt of your Reverence. Therefore, we here are the ones who could have greater scruple, for we buy these negroes from other negroes and from people who perhaps have stolen them; but the traders who take them away from here do not know of this fact, and so buy those negroes with a clear conscience and sell them out there with a clear conscience. Besides I found it true indeed that no negro will ever say he has been captured legally. Therefore your Reverence should not ask them whether they have been legally captured or not, because

[6] A few years before this venture, on Nov. 1, 1600, Pieter de Marees set forth from Holland with two vessels, returning in March, 1602. The second part of his account of his voyage (*Beschryvinge ende Historische Verhael vant Gout Koninckrijck von Gunea,* 1602, 1912) describes the Guinea coast, the third, the coast of Benin and Gaboon. After its first appearance it was translated into German (1603), Latin (1604), and French (1605).

[20] [1] Saco, *Historia de la Esclavitud,* pp. 253-254. Father Sandoval, considerably in advance of his age, was greatly troubled by scruples regarding the legality of the slave trade. To quiet his doubts, he had questioned Brother Luis Brandaon, rector of the College of the Society of Jesus at St. Paul de Loando, in Angola, from which place many of the negroes for the Portuguese colonies were taken. Saco prints the above answer to his questions.

they will always say that they were stolen and captured illegally, in the hope that they will be given their liberty. I declare, moreover, that in the fairs where these negroes are bought there are always a few who have been captured illegally because they were stolen or because the rulers of the land order them to be sold for offenses so slight that they do not deserve captivity, but these are few in number and to seek among ten or twelve thousand who leave this port every year for a few who have been illegally captured is an impossibility, however careful investigation may be made. And to lose so many souls as sail from here—out of whom many are saved—because some, impossible to recognize, have been captured illegally does not seem to be doing much service to God, for these are few and those who find salvation are many and legally captured.

21. Announcement of a Contract for Negroes, 1614.[1]

Know ye all that his Majesty commands that a contract should be made as to the hiring and general trading of negro slaves for the West Indies, on the following conditions:

First: that said contract should be made with the Portuguese for eight years; that the number of negroes to be shipped be 3500 effectives annually, allowing twenty per cent. for those who might die; that the pilots and seamen of the vessels in which they are shipped be old Portuguese Christians (avoiding the use of others who might be used but who are not Christians); that the negroes be shipped by the most direct route, without coming to Seville, as many as possible being taken from Cape Verde; that they be landed in the harbors of Cartagena and New Vera Cruz, to be thence distributed to other places where they might be needed in accordance with the orders of the Royal Council of the Indies (thus avoiding under severe penalties sailing for and landing at other ports); that no negroes should be brought into Buenos Ayres and Rio de la Plata; and that the ships making these voyages should clear under the orders and registry of the House of Trade in Seville or in Cadiz, but of no other place, giving the necessary guaranty for their return. Whoever desires to bid for this contract can come to Licenciate García Páez de Araciel, his Majesty's fiscal, in his Council of the Indies, in the city of Madrid. On the 13th day of the month of October, 1614, before me, the present scribe, being in the port of Guadalajara where the meetings of the people of this region take place, the preceding announcement relating to the shipping of negro slaves to the Indies was made by voice of Francisco Hernández, town crier of the said port, exactly in accordance with its contents and the condition therein set forth,

[21] [1] Scelle, *La Traite Négrière,* I. 828-829.

and in loud and distinguishable manner, in the presence of many people. All the foregoing I attest, and offer my signature herewith.

Before me, JUAN DE RETUERTA.

22. THE VOYAGE OF RICHARD JOBSON TO THE GAMBIA RIVER, 1620.[1]

They [the Portuguese and mulattoes] doe generally imploy themselves in buying such commodities the countrey affords, wherein especially they covet the country people, who are sold unto them, when they commit offences . . . all which things they are ready to vent, unto such as come into the river, but the blacke people are bought away by their owne nation, and by them either carried or sold unto the Spaniard, for him to carry into the West Indies, to remaine as slaves, either in their Mines, or in any other servile uses, they in those countries put them to.

23. GEORGE DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.[1]

August 26, 1645.

If you go to Barbados, you shal see a flourishing Iland, many able men. I beleive they have bought this year no lesse than a thousand Negroes, and the more they buie, the better able they are to buye, for in a yeare and halfe they will earne (with God's blessing) as much as they cost. . . .[2]

A man that will settle ther must looke to procure servants, which if you could gett out of England, for 6, or 8, or 9 yeares time, onely paying their passages, or at the most but som smale above, it would do very well, for so therby you shall be able to doe something upon a plantation, and in short tim be able, with good husbandry, to pro-

[22] [1] Richard Jobson, *The Golden Trade or a Discovery of the River Gambra, and the Golden Trade of the Aethiopians* (London, 1623), pp. 28-29, in ed. of 1904, pp. 35-36.

[23] [1] *Winthrop Papers,* in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society,* fourth ser., VI. 537, 539. The celebrated George Downing, cousin of the younger Winthrop, at the age of twenty-two visited Barbados, Nevis, and St. Christopher, in the capacity of ship's chaplain. For the opinions of Downing's father as to the value of negroes, see this work, vol. III., Massachusetts, 1645.

[2] John Scott's "Description of Barbados" gives the number of negro slaves in Barbados at this time as 5680 (Beer, *The Old Colonial System,* I. 320n.). On their source there is a note in the Harley Papers, Welbeck Abbey MSS.: "The Earle of Carlisle sent a Governor to Barbadoes who did dispossesse the Governor for the Earle of Pembrooke, and he granted Land as others did before to severall personns, heitherto the Collonies did not thrive, but were like to bee extinguish [ed] for want of provision untill it happen'd that the Duch loosing Brasille, many Duch and Jews repairing to Barbadoes began the planting and making of sugar, which caused the Duch with shipping often to releive them and Credit when they were ready to perish. Likewise the Duch being ingaged on the coast of Giney in Affrick for negros slaves having lost Brasille not knowing where to vent them they trusted them to Barbadoes, this was the first rise of the plantacion that made it able to subsiste and trafficke." From a paper endorsed, "toucheing Barbados", the endorsement in the handwriting of Sir Robert Harley, who was appointed keeper of the seals of Barbados in 1663.

cure Negroes (the life of this place) out of the encrease of your owne plantation.

24. The Guinea Company to James Pope.[1]

London, the 17 September, 1651.

Mr. James Pope.

Loving Freind, Wee desire you in the first place to performe your duty unto Allmighty God that so wee may expect a blessing from him upon your endeavors, w'ch God graunt. You are to imbarque your selfe upon the shipp *Freindship* Captaine John Blake Comaunder, and being dispatch't from Gravesend you are to desire the said Captaine Blake to hasten into the Dowens, and from thence with the first opportunity of winde and weather that God shall send to saile directly for the river of Gambra [2] in Guinney, taking in your Compa the *James* bound for Siera Leon and any other good ships that you shall there finde, and when it pleaseth God you arrive in the river of Gambra, in the first place you are to sett upp your two Barges, with the two Pinaces, and having man'd, victualled, and fitted the Barges, you are imediately to send them away up the River, w'th one or both of the small boats, as you shall see occasion, to finde out Mr. Langley w'th our Letter directed unto him, leaving one Factor at Baraconda [3] by the way.

Upon this shipp wee have laden a Cargo of goods and provisions as per Invoice and bill of Lading amounting unto £ Consigned unto you, or your assignes, which wee desire may be put off to our most advantage, for hides, wax, and teeth, gold, Ambergreez, or any other merchantable Comodity you shall meete withall, disposing of our Factors at severall places as you shall see occasion *vizt.* Mr. Benjamin Clark, whome wee conceave wilbee fitting to bee our Accomptant for the receaving in or delyvering out of the *Freindship* any goods, Richard Swan, who hath had experience for many years of the trade with Negers and Portugals at Siera Leon, him you may imploy at any of our Factories, as you shall see convenient, Richard Dobb, and Nicholas Bowles, all w'ch Factors you are to settle there, except Mr. Clark, who is to retorne for England upon the *Freindship.*

[24] [1] The letters of 1651 and 1652 here printed are from the Portland MSS. at Welbeck Abbey, and were obtained through the kindness of Richard W. Goulding, Esq., Librarian of the Duke of Portland. They are calendared in Hist. MSS. Comm., *Thirteenth Report,* App., pt. 2, *Portland MSS.,* II. 28-29. The first letter is endorsed, "Commission for Mr. James Pope the 17 of 7'ber 1651".

[2] Gambia. The forms Gambra and Gambo continued to be used until the second half of the seventeeth century. The term Guinea still applied in 1651 to the northern as well as to the southern section of the West Coast.

[3] The distances recorded by the early explorers lend little aid in locating the villages on the Gambia. According to Jobson's account, Barracunda was between three and four hundred miles up the Gambia; it was about two hundred and fifty miles from the location of the present Bathurst.

Captaine Blake hath promised to give you his best asistance in your Trade, so in your absence you may desire him to manage your Trade aboard the ship with the helpe of Mr. Benjamin Clark, desiring you, and all the subordinate Factors to have a speciall respect unto Captaine Blake, and that you live in love and freindship together.

At your arrivall upon the Coast you may stop at Refisco [4] to give those people notice that you are coming upon the Coast to trade, and bound for Gambra, that if they will provide any goods, you will deale with them, the like word you may send from thence to Porto Dally and Joally,[5] giving them notice of your arrivall. The french Aquavitae, and most part of the Christall is not yet come, you may expect it by the Pinace *John,* w'ch wee stay here to carry it after you, by whome wee will write you, and send you the Invoice and bill of Lading. For your Trade in the river for wax, hides, and Eleph'ts teeth, wee desire you to cut the price at as low rate as you can, and to ease us what you may of the Also's[?], desiring you to procure as many hides, teeth, and wax, as you can, that the ship may bee full Laden, whereby to countervaile our great charge of fraight, victuall, and wages, having a speciall regard that the hides bee well cured, and that they be well dried and beaten, before you lade them aboard.

The two Barges etc. wee desire may bee dispatch't with all expedition up to Mr. Langley as aforesaid, fitted and vitled with all things necessary, w'ch arriving with him, they are to bee at his order and direction, and when it pleaseth God that Mr. Langley shall retorne in the *Freindship,* wee desire that hee may have all due accomodation and respect from Captaine Blake and your self, taking a particuler accompt of what Gold hee retorneth, and to bee safe put up in the Iron chest, w'ch he hath with him, and if hee bring downe any minerall Ore, sand, or earth in Barrells, that they bee also safely stowed in the ship, untill their arrivall here, Consigned here in London by bill of Lading to us that signe your Comission, for the use of our selves, and the rest of the Adventurers in this new Discovery, and in like manner for the hides, teeth, and wax etc. that you shall lade aboard the *Freindship.* When God shall send Mr. Langley aboard the *Freindship,* and bring us a Comfortable retorne, our order is, that you doe with all expedition dispatch away the Pinace *John* for London with large advice, that wee may prepare against the next yeare timely, both for the discovery and Trade, and if any thing be omitted in this our Comission, w'ch you thinke may bee for the good and benefit of our voyage, wee leave it to your discretion to doe therein, as you shall see cause.

[4] Rufisque or Rio Fresco.

[5] Portudal and Joal. These directions indicate that the English had settled factors both up the river and at the trading posts on the coast.

Wee desire you to settle a Factory for us at the most convenient place to have the Comaund of that river. For what debts wee have owing in the river of the last voyage by Francisco Vaz de franca and Andreas Perdegon etc., wee desire may be recovered in,[6] and that you trust as little of our goods for the future as you can, and for the goods left with Mr. Langley, desire an Accompt for them, wee have left it to Mr. Langley's Choice, either to stay in the Countrey or to retorne home upon the *Freindship,* either way wee desire you, hee may be accomodated to his Content. And Mr. Shalcrosse, whom wee have enterteyned to goe Master of the Barge up the river, wee pray you give him so much of those instructions which Mr. Langley left with you, as may direct him to finde the said Mr. Langley up in the river, and in Case Mr. Langley should miscarry (w'ch God forbid) Our order is, that Mr. John Wall proceed to performe the said designe, who is acquainted with all Mr. Langley's intentions.

Wee pray you prohibite all private Trade of the Seamen or others what you can, forbidding all men the buying of hides, for wee will have none laden aboard the *Freindship* but what is for our accompt. Wee pray you buy for us 15 or 20 young lusty Negers of about 15 yeares of age, bring them home with you for London, laying in that Countrey provisions for them, as you shall see needfull. Also bring a Certificat home with you that the 4 Butts of wine laden the last voyage in the *Dolphin* and the 3 pipes of wine nowe laden in the *Freindship,* were all sold to Portugall Merchants and others in the River of Gambra, putting your owne name and some other of your men there unto the said Certificat, w'ch wee pray you faile not to doe. The keyes of all the Cargasoon Chests are herewith delivered you as also the 2 keyes for Mr. Langley's 2 cases of strong waters and 1 key for a box of quick silver for Mr. Langlie. Wee have not further to inlarge only praying the Almightie to bless you with life and health for a prosperous success upon our affaires we rest.[7]

Your loving freinds

ROW: WILSON
MAURICE THOMSON
JOHN WOODS.

[6] The Order in Council approving the grant of the Guinea trade to the group whose names are here affixed was not issued until Apr. 9, 1651. Apparently these merchants had been trading in the Gambia before the deliberations of the Council of State over the African trade were completed, and probably had been trading without a patent. *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1651, p. 107.

[7] The last paragraph of a similar letter of the same date but containing no reference to negroes, sent to Capt. John Blake, reads, "Wee doubt not of your care and vigilancy to prevent any surprisalls by the French in regard you know of the

25. The Guinea Company to Bartholomew Haward.[1]

London, the 9 of December, 1651.

Mr. Bartholomewe Haward, First we pray you performe your dayly dutie unto Almightie God, that so we may expect a blessing upon your endeavours.

You are to hasten with your ship to Gravesend, and being cleered there into the Downes, and from thence with the first faire winde and weather, in Compa. with such ships as you shall finde, to saile directlie for the River Gambra in Guinny, where you shall finde the ship *Freindship* Capt. Jno. Blake Comaunder, upon w'ch ship Mr. James Pope is our cheif factor, to whome you are to deliver our Letter, and such Cargo as we have laden in you (excepting the cases of suger chest boards belonging unto Mr. John Wood) unto whome we have written to buy and put aboard you so many negers as yo'r ship can cary, and for what shalbe wanting to supply with Cattel, as also to furnish you with victualls and provisions for the said negers and Cattel, as also with such Caske as Capt. Blake can spare, to be filled with water, all w'ch we have desired Mr. Pope to effect in as short a time as may be, and when he shall have laden your Cargo of negers or Cattel aboard, you are to signe bills of ladeing for what you shall receive desireing his letter to Mr. Francis Soane Mercht at Barbados[2] unto whome we have written effectually for

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differences wee have with them". On Oct. 6, 1651, Captain Blake in a letter "To the wor'll Guiny Compa. thes present In London At the Guiny Cort to Mr. Jo'n Balloe In Bushipgaite stret" reported that he had anchored in the Downs the day before and would sail with the first favorable wind. On Oct. 10 instructions were sent to the master of the pinnace *John,* signed by Wilson, Woods, and Samuel Vassall.

The three merchants who signed the letter here printed were among those to whom the charter for African trade had recently been granted, after an investigation by the Council of Trade. Rowland Wilson may have been the elder bearer of that name, a wealthy London merchant, who died in 1654, but probably he was the younger, who was a member of the Council of State in 1649 and 1650. Maurice Thompson had been interested in trade and colonial development for twenty-five years. In 1626 he equipped three ships, which carried Warner and 60 negroes to St. Christopher. (The source of these negroes remains a matter of conjecture. Williamson's surmise that the vessels took them from the African coast on the voyage to the West Indies is at least possible. J. A. Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands under Proprietary Patents,* p. 31.) He was a trader to Virginia and an owner of sugar plantations in Barbados. Stock, *Proceedings and Debates,* I. 195, 197.

[25] [1] The "Commission of Rowland Wilson, John Woods and Samuel Vassall to Mr. Thomas Bluck, 10 October 1651", is not here printed. Bluck, master of the pinnace *John,* was to accompany the *Friendship.* In this commission there is no mention of negroes. Samuel Vassall, whose name here appears, had in 1650 remonstrated against the monopoly privilege on the coast, and had been charged by the company with burning its establishment at Wyamba. He was a London merchant with extensive interests in New England, Virginia, the West Indies, and Guinea. Whether his earlier African trade included negroes is still an unanswered question. *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, pp. 331, 339.

[2] Barbados had become, in the preceding fifteen years, an important source of

the sale of your negers, and ladeing your ship for London, whose order and directions you are to followe untill he shall give you your dispatch for London. Wee desire you to be veary carefull in the well stoweing of your ship and that none of the goods you shall take aboard be abused, and being dispatched from thence we pray you hasten for London, and when you come int[o] our Chanell be veary vigilant and carefull for feare of surprysalls, not trusting any. And our ord'r is that all the while you lye in the River Gambra untill your Cargo be provided that you followe the directions of Mr. James Pope and from all places where you shall touch send us advice of your proceedings. There is put aboard your Pinck *Supply* 30 paire of shackles and boults for such of your negers as are rebellious and we pray you be veary carefull to keepe them under and let them have their food in due season that they ryse not against you, as they have done in other ships.

When you shall come into the Downes you are to send unto Mr. Thomas Waad at Dover for a case of Cristall beads w'ch he will put aboard you there w'ch you are to cary with you for Gambra and deliver with the rest of the Cargo unto Mr. James Pope. So Comitting you to God's protection we rest Your loving freinds.

ROW: WILSON
THOMAS WALTER
THO: CHAMBRELAN
JOHN WOODS
MAURICE THOMSON.[3]

26. THE GUINEA COMPANY TO JAMES POPE.[1]

LONDON, the 9 of December, 1651.

Mr. James Pope.

Loveing freind, Upon receipt of your letter out of the Downes bearing date the 7th of October we dispatched away the Pinnace *Jno.*: Thomas Bluck master, without the French Spirrets, depending upon

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sugar, and therefore an excellent market for slaves. The estimates of the negro population about this time vary from 20,000 to 30,000, both of which, it is safe to say, were considerably exaggerated. Most of these negroes were brought by the Dutch, about whose trade at this period little information has come to light. The white population shows a decrease during the decade 1645-1655. For the sources of population figures, see V. T. Harlow, *History of Barbados,* p. 338; Beer, *Old Colonial System,* I. 320 n.

[3] Endorsed, "Comission for Mr. Bartholomewe Haward M'r of the Frigot *Supply* the 9 December 1651".

[26] [1] Addressed: "To Mr. James Pope Merchant aboard the Ship *Freindship* in the River Gambra by the Frigot *Supply* whome God preserve."

it that you had taken aboard those of Mr. Delavalls, w'ch we wrote him to lade aboard, but the winde comeing faire you set saile before our letter came to hand. So nowe to furnish you with those spirrets etc. we have brought this Pinck named the *Supplye,* by whome you shall receive those Spirrets and other goods mencioned in the Invoice and bill of Ladeing here inclosed, w'ch you are to receive and dispose of to our most advantage, wherewith or any other goods you caryed out we pray you buy as many good lusty negers as shee can well cary and so dispatch her for the Barbados, with Invoice and bill of Ladeing Consigned unto Mr. Francis Soane and in case you cannot procure negers enough to lade her then you are to supply what shalbe wanting in Cattel, that shee may not goe emptie, putting in water and provisions for them, to w'ch effect we have writt Capt. Blake to let him have what Caske he can well spare, out of the *Freindship.*

Wee pray you let this Vessell be dispatched with all the convenyent speed that may be, and in the meane time you may imploy her in trade there in such places as you shall thinke fitting for the furtherance of your Voyage.

Wee have an intent against the next yeare to buy 200 Negers in that River. So we desire you to contrive howe wee may procure them, that our ship stay not long upon it, and if it may be to make a certaine agreem't for them because we desire to be at a certainety before we send a ship, Also we desire you to inform yourself what quantity of negers have beene bought there this yeare, and whither shipped and upon what ships by name ether English Duch or French and the masters names. . . .

We also desire you to assist Mr. Haward M'r of this pinck *supply* in the fitting of his ship for the better accomodacion for his negers or Cattle and advise us by the *Jno.* what you have laden aboard her and when she departed, and furnish him the said Mr. Haward, with victualls for himself and ships Compa., so long as he shall stay there, and for the Negers passage to Barbados that he may not spend of his ships provisions, and for what elce is needfull for our trade and factorie in Gambra we referr you to the instructions given you at your goeing out in the *Freindship.* So praying for your health we Comit you to god resting Your loveing freinds

Row: Wilson
John Frederick
John Woods
Thomas Walter
Tho: Chambrelan
Maurice Thomson.

[P.S.] We pray you inquire for some of that Country Marybucks bookes [2] of the Mahomitants religion and send us them if cheape.

Wee have delivered to Mr. Haward in a black box our Guinny Patent [3] and have obtained the broad seale of the Comonwealth to be affixed thereunto whereof Capt. Blake and yourself may serve yourselves as you see occasion. Also we have delivered unto Mr. Haward 6 strings of East India Cristall beads 2 of a round small sort, 2 of a great round sort, and 2 of squre cristall, they goe for a sample at the request of a good freind, you may sell them to the most advantage and enquire what quantitie will there vend

Your Loving Frend

JOHN BALLOWE

for the Guinny Compa.

27. THE GUINEA COMPANY TO FRANCIS SOANE.[1]

LONDON, the 9th of December, 1651.

Mr Francis Sone.

Loveing Freind, This Serveth only to Accompany the bearer heereof Mr. Bartholomew Haward Master of the Frigot *Supply,* whome we have consigned unto Mr. James Pope in the River Gambra to lade aboard her as many Negors as shee can carry, and in default Thereof to fill her up with Cattle, and to consigne them unto you in the Barbados as by Bill of Lading for our accompt. All w'ch negors or cattle we desire you to take into your custody, and make Sale of them for present payment in Suger lading it upon this our Frigot, and for what Shee Shall want of her lading to supply it at fraight at the rate accustomed. We doe not inlarge further at present in regard we Shall wright you from hence directly by the first Ship after we heare of the peace of the Island [2] only we pray you dispatch our Ship home for London with as little loss of tyme as may be.

Wee have agreed with Mr. John Wood that such negers as shall come from the River Gambra in our said Frigot *Supply* that you take them upon his plantation makeing sale of them so soone as you can for our most advantage for ready payment, not trusting any, and in

[2] Meaning, books of the marabouts of that country. The word marabout, which is found in half a dozen forms, comes from the Arabic word for a hermit or holy man of the Mohammedans. These men were common among the Moors and Berbers of North Africa.

[3] See *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, p. 355.

[27] [1] Addressed: "To Mr. Francis Sone, Merchant In the Island of Barbados, by the Frigot *Supply* whome God preserve." The company also sent a letter to Captain Blake, asking for his co-operation in loading and caring for the negroes.

[2] The royalist party, under Francis Lord Willoughby, on Jan. 11, 1652, made peace with the parliamentary expedition sent out to take Barbados.

the Interim before you shall have solde them you may make use of their Labour in Lieu of their dyet, we doe this to prevent the makeing of debts upon the Island and in case any of the said negers should be sick and not able to work you may charge their victuals to our Companyes acco. untill such time as they are recovered. So praying for your health etc. we comit you to God, resting

Your Loveing freinds

ROW: WILSON
JOHN WOODS
THO: CHAMBRELAN
JOHN FREDERICK
THOMAS WALTER
MAURICE THOMSON.

28. THE GUINEA COMPANY TO BARTHOLOMEW HAWARD.[1]

LONDON the 11th of Decemb. 1651.

Mr. Bartholmew Hayward.

Loving frend, Conserning the procecution of your voyadg refer yow to the compa. Comition given yow, this only sarving to desire yow that when god shall send yow to arrive in the Barbados in safty that yow delliver those Eaighteene casses with suger Chests bords unto my Kinsman francis Sone and in the time thay remaine abord your ship that thay bee Carfully looked unto that thay bee not broken, but if the Iland should not bee reduced wherby yow cannot come to land your negros: then I desire yow at the port or ports, wher the Compa. shall order yow to goe that there yow make sale of them to my best advantaig for redy paym't in Indico or sugar, and bring the proceed of them home w'th yow and for care and paines therin I shall requitt. ther is in the Casses bords for 90 Chests: that is 5 Chest in eatch casse redy fitted with heads, ther wants nothing but to putt them together. soe not elce at present but to desire god to prosper your voyage and send yow to retorne in safety.

Your Loving frend

JOHN WOODS.

[28] [1] Addressed: "A Remembranc for Bartholmew Haward m'r of the frigott *Suply* deliverd him by John Woods."

29. Captain John Blake to the Guinea Company.[1]

Vintan River In the River Gambae this
15th off February [1651/2].[2]

Wo'll Rouland Willson, Samuell Vasall, Morese Thomson and the Rest of the Compa.

After my Servese presentend I having this opportunity Could doe noe lesse then present you with thes Lines Conserning the passages In thes parts Sence our Arivall w'ch are Sad. The 14th of 9'ber wee Cam Into this River and arived at Gillifre[3] whear wee Set up our Barges and being Set up thay departed from us; the 25th dito wee Set Saill with them for this place, at our arivall In the river wee had the sad newes of Mr. Langlyes deth and all the rest of theme but three w'ch remain'd alive w'ch Sence wee find too trwe. Mr. Boules one of your factores went up In one of the Barges with a Cargo to Baracundie and after himself and goods was landed being taking of a pipe of Tobaco In one of the negroes pipes went to your gould Chist w'ch was left the last yeare with Mr. Langly, and having the pipe in his mouth having opened the Chist many times before and knowing what was In the Chist being powder with other Small thinges the powder tucke fire and blwe up part of the house and the other part burnt with many other howsen In the town with all the goods and the prosed therof w'ch was left of the last yeare as Teth and other goodes allso the Cargoe w'ch hee had with hime, noe mane hurt but hime Sellfe and he was very much Burnt So that our men of the barges Sent him downe abord In the wheary w'ch was left with Mr. Langly and the three men that was left alive as I sort [said] befor w'ch to of them weare very weake and one dead Senc[e] hee Cam abord; allso Mr. Boules lived too dayes after that he Cam abord but dyd a most misirabell Creatuer being allmost Eaten up with magates thay being So long Coming doune; our barges departed from Baracundae the 8th of Desember. Sence our Coming Into this River It hath pleased the Lord aflickt us with much Sicknes that wee have bured three and twenty men. My Chefe and my Second maites and botswaine are three of them; both my Guneres maites and botswaines mait, three more, Mr. Dobes one of your factores

[29] [1] Addressed: "To the wor'll Rouland Willson and Compa. Adventreres to Guiny these In London".

[2] Vintang or Bintam River is the largest southern tributary of the Gambia, entering it about twenty-five miles from Bathurst.

[3] Gillifree or Jillifree was a small settlement on the north bank of Gambia opposite James Island. The later reference to an island probably means that close to the settlement was an island which bore the same name. Later in the century the Royal African Company established a factory here, opposite its fort on James Island. Francis Moore described it in the next century as a large town inhabited by Portuguese, Mandingoes, and Mahommedans. *Travels in Africa,* p. 67.

foure, the rest of them the lustiest men wee had In our Shipe, my Sellf having bine very Sicke being taken Sick one of the first So that noe man that see mee that did ever thincke that I should a recoverd, but It hath pleased the Lord to raise and restore mee and many more of us to our health againe, I hope to his glory and our Comfortes; most part of all our men hath bine sicke and are Sicke at present, but all upon the mending hand but vere weake and febell. Wee have noe more well mene at present then will man our long boat w'ch Is sum tenne; my Sellfe at present very well and lusty and I hope with In a short tyme to see all the rest up againe and lusty. God sending the pines [pinnace] *Jo'n* from Jualg,[4] as wee Expeckt hir every day, then wee doe Intend to get our hides abord and goe out of this river for It Is a very unhoulsom place that wee are burnt up for want of Are and breses, here Is noe but what Comes from the shore and thay are so hot that thay doe allmost Stifell us that It weare beter to have non at all. Conserning our Traid wee have about Sume nyne thouson hydes ashore and abord not a Tune of teth, and les waxe, but I hope wee Shall have more; heare Is Too Traders more In the River besides our Sellves, a Fleming that was here the last yeare, allso A Deaine [5] whoe hath bult a Castell upon the litell Iland of Gillifre. I thincke hee maye bee likened to the man that bult his howse upon the Sand, for when the raines Comes I belfe It will wash all away. Mr. Pope Is within thes too dayes at farthest going up In one of the pinases To Baracundae to see after the barges and when hee returnes then we are to depart the river w'ch I beleve will be the medell of maye or longer as hee Concludes. I becech you If our Companyes wifes Comes to Inquire for newes to put them In as go[o]d Comfort as you may, becase they may not discomfort my wyfe. I dout not but by gods asitance wee shall doe well enoufe, for thancks bee to the Lord allmity that his hand Is Stayd amongst us for I never See men dye So soudainely In my Life, Concluding It to be Sum straing deses as you may gese, for wee have beuried all thes men In a months tyme, Sum tymes three and four In a day; thus having not Ellse at present desire you not to bee dishartened at the newes. I hope by gods asistance that wee Shall have good newe[s] by our barges of a hopfull voige ther and I shall doe my Indever here to acte what I cane and I becech god to give his blesing and I hope all will bee to

[4] Possibly one of the many ways in which Joal was written.

[5] The Danish foothold on the Gambia was slight and has been entirely ignored by most writers. This factory was probably built by the Danish Company created under Christian IV., which established itself on the Gold Coast about 1642, though it is conceivable that it belonged to an independent trader with no company behind him.

his glory and our Comfortes, and unto his protectione I commite you and so take leave and rest.

[P. S.] This Letter Cometh by the Daine. I pray bee pleased to Send the Inclosed to my wyfe.[6]

30. Vice-Director Beck to the Amsterdam Directors of the West India Company.[1]

[Curaçao, June 11, 1657.]

Honorable, Respected, Wise, Prudent and most Discreet Gentlemen, . . . and further [the Biscayan] made a proposal and even wrote a letter to me with his own hand, the original whereof I am sending herewith to your Honors, tending to trade the company's negroes, that is, all that are here at present for sale, on the following conditions, to wit; That the company shall have a ship with their own crew here ready for the negroes to embark in, and when resolved to accept his offer, to let him know at the place designated by him, and where our people have recently visited him, when he will without loss of time repair in person to this harbor, and enter into an agreement and contract for what articles and at what price the negroes shall be delivered at the place where he hopes to take them in safety and without danger; and that he will not receive any negroes before payment for them shall be made on board the ship, and he or his partner shall remain on board the ship, with the negroes, until the

[6] The letter to his wife adds details concerning the health of the men and comments on their habits, but does not increase our knowledge of their trade. Obviously Captain Blake had not yet received the instructions to load with negroes and sail for Barbados. The *Friendship* was destined never to carry out these directions. On Mar. 2, 1652, she, the *Supply,* and the *John* were still trading in the Gambia when Prince Rupert's squadron entered the river. At this time the Duke of Courland was building a small fort near the mouth of the Gambia and a seaman from one of his vessels gave to Prince Rupert's men news of where the English ships were to be found. Warburton's *Memoirs of Prince Rupert* (III. 357-358) refers to the capture of the *John* but makes no mention of the *Friendship.* There were apparently other English vessels not far away, for William Coxon, mate on the *Supply,* said later that he might have caused all the English ships belonging to the company to be seized, as he knew where they were. As reparation for the loss of these three vessels the Guinea Company, in June, 1652, asked for £10,000. *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1574-1660, p. 383.

[30] [1] Albany, State Archives, New York Colonial MSS., 17: 27; *Voyages of the Slavers St. John and Arms of Amsterdam, 1659, 1663* (New York Colonial Tracts, no. 3), pp. 113, 118-123. The translations which follow have been revised by Mr. A. J. F. van Laer and will be found to differ somewhat from those printed in the *Voyage of the St. John.* Beck was the vice-director of the Dutch West India Company stationed at Curaçao. By the directors at Amsterdam is meant the directors of the Amsterdam chamber of the West India Company, which was organized into five divisions or chambers, the Amsterdam chamber representing four-ninths of the whole. The plan outlined by Beck for surreptitious trade with the Spaniards was one which had been recently laid before him by an unnamed Biscayan with whom the Dutch had been secretly trading in commodities other than negroes. The relations between Curaçao and New Netherland at this time were close and the material on the trade of New Netherland in vol. III. of this work should be read in connection with this correspondence between Beck and the company.

conditions and agreement which will be made here shall be fully carried out.[2]

He reports that the place to which he says he will convey them is on the north side of Cuba, where their [Spanish] nation has no fortress nor means to prevent the project or to disturb them; also that he will leave his own cousin, who is likewise closely related to the friends to whom he will convey the negroes, here at Curaçao as a hostage and security, until it be manifest that he shall have performed in good faith all he has promised; as more fully appears by the annexed relation and report of Cornet Balthazar van Ess and Johan Rombouts on the subject. He has requested an answer to this, for his information. I therefore wish your honors' early instructions hereupon, as to what I shall do or omit in this matter, and that in the meanwhile I may receive a supply of provisions sufficient for the negroes to enable me to wait for him. . . .

I have received the agreement and contract which your honors have concluded with Mr. Henrico Matthias, merchant of Amsterdam, respecting the negroes. On looking and reading it over, I find it very favorable for the said Mr. Henrico Matthias, but can readily understand that your honors have done it to begin and introduce the trade here. I shall not be wanting, God willing, in obeying and executing your honors' orders and instructions in this regard faithfully and to my best ability. Meanwhile, should it happen that Mr. Henrico Matthias's expected ship did not arrive here, as it has not yet done, I shall expect your further order and answer whether we shall dare to proceed or not with the negroes on the aforesaid Biscayan's presented proposals set forth as above. In the strong hope and expectation that we shall be able to open a trade with our nearest neighbors, I shall purchase on your honors' account a small cargo from Skipper Simon Cornelissen Gilde, so that they may at least find something on coming here; and our vessels in going to Bonayre[3] may advise the Biscayan and the other inhabitant mentioned above

[2] The natural source of the supply of negroes for Spanish America, since Spain herself had no access to the African coast, was the Portuguese factories; but when Portugal freed herself from Spanish domination in 1640 such was the resentment of Spain that she cancelled her contract with Portugal and refused to accept Portuguese offers for a new one. Toward the Dutch, at this time the most powerful people upon the African coast, she cherished both resentment and fear, and Dutch offers fared no better. The English were scarcely strong enough commercially to be considered seriously as a possible source for negroes. In addition the English were heretics (as were the Dutch also) and therefore could not be allowed to introduce negroes into Catholic America. Spanish merchants who offered to attempt direct trade with native chiefs were discouraged lest their actions on the West Coast embroil Spain with other European nations, as they undoubtedly would have done. The result of all this was that for a period of over twenty years Spain had no contract for negroes, and illicit purchase must frequently have been resorted to. Scelle, *La Traite Négrière,* I. 473-495; see introduction, this work, p. 105.

[3] Bonaire or Buen Ayre, a Dutch island not far from Curaçao.

in the inclosed letters what goods they can obtain in coming here, taking a sample of each article along to show them, should occasion present, and, at the same time, inform the Biscayan that I have not received any orders to allow negroes to leave the island until payment for them has been made, and that I shall let him have, within four months after date, a fuller and more explicit answer which I hope I shall receive from your honors in the meantime. . . .

I am confident that on these conditions he would give at least two hundred pieces of eight for a merchantable negro or negress, one with another. . . .[4]

31. Vice-Director Beck to the Amsterdam Directors.[1]

[Curaçao, July 28, 1657.]

Gentlemen, . . . As I advised your honors in my last letter, I dispatched the freight-boat to the Biscayan at the appointed and designated place—a certain small island near the Main—and sent him word on the subject of his proposed trading for negroes, as I had informed your honors more at large in my last. . . . Whereupon he resolved to visit this place in person, in our aforesaid freight-boat. He was accomplished by a certain Padre, named Friar Francisco, to purchase a few parcels of merchandize with one or two little negro girls. I also sold to the above named Biscayan a small negro boy with a few goods, for which he had brought with him some hides and tobacco in our aforesaid boat; these are sent herewith as a specimen by the aforesaid ship *Voogel Struys,*[2] the price of the hides being fifteen shillings each and of the tobacco six pieces of eight the arobe of twenty-five pounds as per invoice,[3] I have sold to the aforesaid Padre Friar Francisco goods to the amount of over four hundred pieces of eight and two little negro girls, all at a fair and reasonable price, in order to encourage and stimulate them to come to these ports to trade, which I think is greatly for the company's interest. Wherefore, I let the Padre have the two little negro girls at one hundred and fifty pieces of eight each, which together amounts to three hundred pieces of eight, and to the aforesaid Biscayan a little boy at one hundred and twenty pieces of eight. . . .

With regard to the trade in negroes, the aforesaid Biscayan, now here, has given me such explanations and further information on that point, that we can come to no other conclusion than that a good

[4] If a piece of eight be reckoned at 4 *s.*, this would indicate an extravagantly high price for negroes, £40, in contrast to the £18 for which, shortly afterward, the Company of Royal Adventurers agreed to furnish them to the British islands.

[31] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 17:28.

[2] The *Ostrich.*

[3] Arroba, a Spanish weight, which varied locally from twenty-five to thirty-six pounds.

and favorable result is to be expected from it. He has communicated to me the most direct and shortest route, how and in what manner not only one shipload of negroes, but gradually more, with good saleable merchandize besides, could be traded off. Were a ship with necessaries in the harbor here he would be willing, on receiving notice thereof at the appointed place, to come here and enter into such agreement with the company, from which, as he firmly believes, he and the company would derive great advantage.

The place the negroes should be conveyed to is called Porto Bello, the staple place of trade. Permission can be obtained to dispose of the cargo freely there on paying one hundred and thirteen pieces of eight for each negro, which is the royalty. But such permission is not given except to persons of their own nation; but it can be obtained under the pretext that they had chartered a Dutch ship and crew to fetch and bring over the negroes, and that the negroes and merchandize in the ship are the property of their nation.

Such is the manner in which the aforesaid Biscayan would contract for and purchase negroes from the company on the following conditions: That he, or his companion, with five or six more of their nation, shall embark at their own expense with the company's skipper, commissary, crew, and matrosses in the ship lying ready to sail and prosecute with them their voyage to Porto Bello, and after receiving a permit there from the governor, sell the negroes, which they know they can sell immediately after their arrival at such a high price that the outlay of the aforesaid royalty in order to obtain the permit, may be easily repaid. Therefore, they will undertake this themselves, and pay to the company, after safe arrival there, for each negro and negress between eighteen and thirty years of age, two hundred reals or pieces of eight, in silver bars or pieces of eight; further they will be able to obtain there a proper permit to trade then to other places, to load the ship with such cargo and freight as the countries supply and are most profitable to the company. In like manner, the price for the goods being agreed upon and arranged here, the payment there for them shall be made in the same manner as for the negroes, but the risk of the sea and the expenses of the negroes, until they arrive at the above place, must be borne by the company, but when arrived there, they will be responsible for them. For the full performance of the conditions which shall be made with them here on the part of the company, the aforesaid Biscayan offers to stake his life, and even to remain here in person in the fort, or at the option of the company to leave another responsible person here at the risk of his life, if any fraud is or has been intended or designed. And it is further conditioned that the negroes in their minority, as well as old

and deformed ones, must be disposed of at a special and lower price. On these terms he is resolved, at all times from now henceforth, whenever a ship with negroes will be ready here, at the time and place to be named where advice is to be sent him, to come hither and with God's merciful help faithfully to perform whatever is above-mentioned.

The other plan or proposal mentioned in my last, to run the negroes in at the north side of Cuba, is not, he says, so feasible as this.

32. Vice-Director Beck to Director Stuyvesant.[1]

[Curaçao, August, 1659.]

Honorable, Valiant, Wise, Prudent and most Discreet Sir.

Sir, I now transmit to your honor duplicates of what I have already sent by the galiot *Nieuw Amstel,* Skipper Augustinus Heermans, and it will be very agreeable to me if I may be informed by the earliest opportunity of their speedy and safe arrival. I would not forego the present favorable occasion and opportunity of the ship *Sphaera Mundi,* Jan Pietersen skipper, to acquaint you of the circumstances of this island up to the present time (God be praised!) in regard to the continuation of the trade with our nearest neighbors. Hitherto all current articles of commerce have been sold, no matter how many were imported, especially negroes, the trade in which at this place the company reserves to itself.

There are lying here at present, practically ready to sail hence directly for the Fatherland, two ships, which keep me so busy that I have not enough time left to write to your honor at length. One is the company's ship called the *Coninck Salomon,*[2] which arrived here on the 2d of July from Guinea, with three hundred and thirty-one slaves. Of these I have sold upon delivery 300 at one hundred and fifty pieces of eight each, to a certain Spanish trader whom I am daily expecting to come here and receive them, which I wish may occur before the departure of the aforesaid two ships in order to be able to transmit the proceeds to the lords masters.

Franck Bruyn selected from the aforesaid lot of negroes for your honor, two boys and a girl who go over in this ship. I have done every thing possible to protect them against the cold. The said Franck Bruyn has also selected two for Commissary Van Brugh, who likewise go by this conveyance on said commissary's account. Your honor will please to have such payment collected therefor from said Van Brugh for the company, as you will consider just. Commissary Laurens van Ruyven has also purchased two young negroes

[32] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 17: 41.
[2] *King Solomon.*

here for account of his brother the secretary of your province, at the same price as the lot sold for here, *viz.*, one hundred and fifty patacoons.[3] I am still in daily expectation of a ship with negroes. I wish they were come, even were they a thousand head. I expect the abovementioned merchant here, as already stated, to take away those of the *Coninck Salomon*. He is well able and will eagerly buy the whole lot at once.

I have received orders from the lords masters to send your honor against the spring some fifteen or sixteen negroes, whom I could have easily dispatched now, but we have no coarse cloth to clothe them, and are fearful that they will not be able to endure the winter there. As negroes will be plenty here in future, I thought it best, according to the orders of the lords masters, to postpone sending them until the spring, when I shall be sending a young negro girl for Mr. Augustinus Heermans according to his request. Meanwhile, I hope to receive for my instruction your honor's advice and order as to whether you will require any more negroes than the above, and of what age and in what numbers you wish them sent. . . .

33. Journal of the Slaver *St. Jan.*[1]

Journal kept on the ship "St. Jan", begun on the fourth of March of the year 1659.

We weighed anchor, by order of the Hon'ble Director, Johan Valckenborch, and the Hon'ble Director, Jasper van Heussen, to proceed on our voyage to Rio Reael,[2] to trade for slaves for the hon'ble company.

March 8. Saturday. Arrived with our ship before Ardra,[3] to take on board the surgeon's mate and a supply of tamarinds for refreshment for the slaves; sailed again next day on our voyage to Rio Reael.

17. Arrived at Rio Reael in front of a village called Bany,[4] where we found the company's yacht, named the *Vrede*,[5] which was sent out to assist us to trade for slaves.

In April. Nothing was done except to trade for slaves.

May 6. One of our seamen died; his name was Claes van Diemen, of Durgerdam.

[3] A Spanish coin, about $1.12.

[33] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 17:43 (a).

[2] The modern Rio del Rey, just east of the Old Calabar River. The *St. Jan* was proceeding from Elmina, on the Gold Coast, to the Slave Coast.

[3] Arda or Ardra, one of the first settlements on the Slave Coast, a low, open coast extending from the Gold Coast to the Bight of Benin.

[4] Bonny, a village near the mouth of the New Calabar River.

[5] *Peace.*

22. Again weighed anchor and ran out of Rio Reael accompanied by the yacht *Vrede*; purchased there two hundred and nineteen head of slaves, men, women, boys, and girls, and set our course for the high land of Ambosius,[6] for the purpose of procuring food there for the slaves, as nothing was to be had at Rio Reael.

26. Monday. Arrived under the high land of Ambosius to look there for victuals for the slaves, and spent seven days there, but barely obtained enough for the daily consumption of the slaves, so that we resolved to run to Rio Cammerones to see if any food could be had there for the slaves.

June 5. Thursday. Arrived at the Rio Cammerones[7] and the yacht *Vrede* went up to look for provisions for the slaves. This day died our cooper, named Pieter Claessen, of Amsterdam.

29. Sunday. Again resolved to proceed on our voyage, as there also but little food was to be had for the slaves in consequence of the great rains which fell every day, and because many of the slaves were suffering from the bloody flux in consequence of the bad provisions we were supplied with at El Mina, amongst which were many barrels of groats,[8] wholly unfit for use.

We then turned over to Adriaen Blaes, the skipper, one hundred and ninety five slaves, consisting of eighty one men, one hundred and five women, six boys, and three girls for which bills of lading were signed and sent, one by the yacht *Vrede* to El Mina[9] with an account of, and receipts for, remaining merchandise.

July 25. Arrived at Cabo de Loop de Consalvo[10] for water and wood.

27. Our surgeon, named Martyn de Lanoy, died of the bloody flux.

Aug. 10. Arrived the company's ship, named *Swartem Arent,*[11] from Castle St. George d'el Mina, bound for Patria.

11. Again resolved to pursue our voyage towards the island of Annebo,[12] in order to purchase there some refreshments for the slaves,

[6] The high land of Ambosius is southeast of the Rio del Rey, north of the mouth of the Kamerun River.

[7] The Kamerun River is southeast of Calabar, near the curve of the Bight of Biafra.

[8] Hulled or crushed grain, either oats, wheat, barley, or corn.

[9] Elmina had been acquired by the Dutch in 1637 and since that time had been their headquarters on the coast. For a period somewhat later than this, descriptions of the castle of Elmina abound, all describing it as the strongest and handsomest fort upon the coast. It had about one hundred white men and fifty cannon. Astley, *Voyages,* II. 589-590. The term Gold Coast is a more or less flexible one, but it may be considered to include the coast line from Axim, west of Cape Three Points, to the River Volta.

[10] The name of this cape, more commonly spelled Cape Lopez de Gonçalvez, later becomes simply Cape Lopez. Just south of the equator, it was regarded as the southern limit of the Bight.

[11] *Black Eagle.*

[12] Annobon, south of São Thomé.

We have lain sixteen days at Cabo de Loop hauling water and wood. Among the water barrels, more than forty had fallen to pieces and were unfit to be used, as our cooper died at Rio Cammerones, and we had no other person capable of repairing them.

Aug. 15. Arrived at the island Annebo, where we purchased for the slaves one hundred half tierces of beans, twelve hogs, five thousand cocoanuts, five thousand sweet oranges, besides some other stores.

17. Again hoisted sail to prosecute our voyage to the island of Curaçao.

Sept. 21. The skipper called the ships officers aft, and resolved to run for the island of Tobago and to procure water there; otherwise we should have perished for want of water, as many of our water casks had leaked dry.

24. Friday. Arrived at the island of Tobago and hauled water there, also purchased some bread, as our hands had had no ration for three weeks.

27. Again set sail on our voyage to the island of Curaçao, as before.

Nov. 1. Lost our ship on the Reef of Rocus,[13] and all hands immediately took to the boat, as there was no prospect of saving the slaves, for we must abandon the ship in consequence of the heavy surf.

4. Arrived with the boat at the island of Curaçao; the Hon'ble Governor Beck ordered two sloops to take the slaves off the wreck, one of which sloops with eighty four slaves on board, was captured by a privateer.

List of the Slaves who died on board the Ship "St. Jan" from 30th June to 29th October in the year 1659.[14]

[1659]	Men	Women	Children [15]
June 30	3	2	
July 1	2	1	
3		1	
5		2	1
6		1	
7	1		
8	2	1	
9	2		
10		2	
12		1	

[13] Los Roques, southeast of Curaçao, almost directly north of Carácas.
[14] N. Y. Col. MSS., 17:43 (b).
[15] The Dutch text says *Jongens* (boys), but the note at the end of this table makes it clear that both sexes are included.

[*List*—continued:]

[1659]	Men.	Women	Children
13	2		1
14	1		
16	3	2	
17	2		
18	3	1	
19	1	3	
20	1		
21	1	1	
23		2	
24	1	1	
25	2	1	
26	1		
28	3		
29		2	
Aug. 2	2		
3	1		
6	1		
8	2		1
9		1	
11		1	
16	1 man leaped overboard		
18	1		
20		1	
22		1	
23		1	
24	1		
29		1	
31	1	1	
Sept. 3		1	
6	2		
7	1		
8	1	1	
13	1	1	
14	2	2	1
16	1		
19	1		
23		2	
24	1	3	
26		1	
Oct. 1	2		
3	1	1	
4		1	
10	1	2	
12	1		
13	1		
19		1	
23	1		
29	1		
	59 Men	47 Women	4 Children

On the first of November, two hours before day, have we lost the ship *St. Jan,* upon the reef of Rocus and fled with the boat to the island of Curaçao, and left in the ship eighty-five slaves, including men, women, boys and girls, and arrived on the fourth of this month at Curaçao.

34. Deposition of Adriaen Blaes, 1659.[1]

Appeared Adriaen Blaes van der Veer, and says, that he was commanded by Johan Valckenburch, general of El Mina and the Gold Coast, on the 4th of March last to sail as skipper of the ship *St. Jan* from the roadstead of the Castle del Mina aforesaid, with commissary Johan Froon and the accompanying crew or sailors, in the company's service, to the Calabari or Rio Real, there to trade for slaves and to proceed with them, by order of the aforesaid general, to this place. In obedience to these orders, two hundred and nineteen slaves, big and little, were actually traded and purchased, wherewith we sailed in order to prosecute our voyage and carry out our instructions. Not obtaining at the Calabari such sufficiency of provisions as this voyage demanded, for the sustenance of the aforesaid slaves, we resolved to go to the highland of Ambosius where we were unable to procure any provisions, as was our desire. We therefore went to the River Camerones, where we obtained a few articles, but not as much as we wanted. Nevertheless, we pursued our voyage towards Capo de Lopo Gonsalves, at which place we took in wood and water, and thence stood across although experiencing great misery and want of food, to Anabo, where we got some provisions and went on our voyage and made land in the month of October last at the island of Tobago, the greater portion of the slaves having died from want and sickness, in consequence of such a very long voyage, so that we saved only ninety slaves, out of the whole cargo. Having taken in water and a few refreshments from the surrounding islands, we set sail from there, passing around the islands, and after we fixed our course on the first instant, west by south, we ran ashore, two hours before day, on one of the reefs of Rocus, on the north east side of the island. At day break, perceiving our danger, we saved ourselves with all the crew in the boat, leaving the negroes in the ship, taking our course to this place, in order to inform the Hon'ble Director M. Beck of our misfortune. After we had left some of the men at Bonayre, because the boat was too heavily laden with the crew, we arrived here on the fourth instant. Having reported ourselves to the aforesaid Hon'ble Director, he dispatched me with the above boat to Aruba,[2] whither the company's vessels had sailed, the day

[34] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 17: 52.
[2] Oruba, a Dutch island just northwest of Curaçao.

before, on the company's business, with orders to proceed in said vessels with five of my men, and Jan van Gaelen, the company's servant. Arriving there on the following day, we went over in the company's vessel, whereof Hans Marcussen Stuyve was skipper, with Jan van Gaelen, and two of my crew, and the other three of my men in the bark, called the *Jonge Bontecoe,*[3] of which Jan Ryckertsen was skipper, all in the service of the company.

We pursued our voyage without any mishap, pursuant to the orders we had received from the aforesaid hon'ble director to this place, and so on to Rocus, to save the aforesaid slaves and ship's property, and having sailed on the evening of the seventh after remaining half an hour here, we arrived in the afternoon of the following day off Bonayre where we met an English privateer,[4] who having the wind of us, overtook us and compelling us to strike and to send off a boat, the aforesaid Jan van Gaelen went on board him, who told him, we came from Curaçao and were going to Bonayre. Thereupon, the said privateer dispatched in our boat, in which Jan van Gaelen whom he detained had gone to his ship, on board our vessel a party of his men to search for pieces of eight which, they said, we had. Then not finding any, as we had none, they forced us to run with them up the roadstead of Bonayre, where we arrived about two hours before the privateer. Some of my men who were on shore, not knowing anything of these proceedings, called out, If I were on board? The privateer's men taking up the word before me, asked, "Who?" Thereupon they answered, "The skipper of the ship wrecked at Rocus", adding, Had we been to the slaves, or were we going to save them? The privateers answered that they were going to save them; manifesting great joy thereat, saying, when the privateer cast anchor, "Captain, we have a good Prize". Thereupon they forced the deponent to go on board the rover which was a small frigate, carrying four guns, and about thirty men, whereof Jan Pietersen, a native of Denmark, was captain. This vessel was called the *Casteel Ferget.*[5] Coming on board, the captain enquired how many negroes he had left on his ship? Deponent answered, "over eighty". When he heard that, he sent the vessel in which the deponent came, belonging to the company, to Little Curaçao, to bring his lieutenant and some of his men, who were lying there in a periauger, which they had taken from the Spaniards, to watch the company's vessels. Meanwhile this deponent remained on board the rover, and they returning to us in the roadstead of Bonayre, the rover permitted this deponent

[3] The *Young Brindled Cow.*

[4] *Caper,* hereafter translated rover, a term sometimes used to designate pirates rather than the slightly more law-abiding privateers.

[5] The *Castle Frigate.*

to go back to the bark, on board of which still were, Skipper Hans Marcussen aforesaid, with one of his hands, who had been compelled to go to Little Curaçao to fetch his aforesaid lieutenant and men. To this vessel I came, as stated, from the aforesaid rover with two of my crew, being then in all five servants of the company on said company's vessel. The captain of the rover having then placed his lieutenant and pilot, with some of his hands, on board the bark, we set sail under compulsion, leaving Jan van Gaelen aforesaid and some of our men behind, whom the rover retained by force on board his ship, not heeding any protests or requests as free men, which they themselves admitted us to be, having cognizance of the commission granted by the hon'ble director to the aforesaid Hans Marcussen Stuyve, as skipper of the aforesaid company's vessel, and that therefore, they used force and violence towards us who were not in any manner in their service, but indeed in that of the company, to whom alone we owed obedience, and that for the purpose of executing the orders of the hon'ble director, to which end and to no other were we sent out. All this notwithstanding, we were compelled to accompany the aforesaid rover who set sail at the same time, taking his course towards the main land of Caraccas where he drove on shore a Spanish ship mounting six guns, and with our bark, in our presence and before deponent's face, drove a Spanish periauger ashore. Thence they forced us to cross over with the rover and cast anchor under Little David's Island, and having put more people in our bark, until they numbered in all fourteen men, whilst he remained there at anchor, we set sail for Rocus.

On arriving at that place, we found the other of the company's vessels, named the *Jonge Bontecoe,* whereof Jan Ryckertsen aforesaid was skipper, with three of my men on board, who had gone over to him at Aruba, out of my aforesaid boat. They went thither, as already stated, by command of the aforesaid Hon'ble Director, also with orders and to no other intent than to save the aforesaid slaves etc., and had lain there four days and had so far succeeded as to pass a line on board my ship, two of the negroes coming on board swimming. The aforesaid line breaking loose, and finding themselves too weak in consequence of the strong wind, the men resolved to wait our arrival, having been informed of our approach, so as, when thus reinforced and when the weather would moderate, to save with our sloops or boats the aforesaid remaining slaves etc. from my ship which also belonged to the company. Then they, the rover's men, who were on board our bark, supposing that the aforesaid skipper Jan Ryckertsen with his crew and my three men had saved all, coming near to them went on board with our bark, according to the orders

they had to that effect from their captain, who had been informed of the departure of the aforesaid company's bark for the same purpose for which we were sent out, by a Frieslander named Jacob Petersen from Belcom, a sailor in the company's service, under Skipper Hans Marcussen Stuyve, who had voluntarily deserted to them on the same day that we came on board the rover. Which [orders] were to board them, and in case they had saved the slaves etc. to seize and forcibly remove them. They accordingly did attack them in a hostile manner in the presence of the deponent and the other four of the company's servants who could not refrain from pointing out the injustice which was being done to them. Finding that no more than the two aforesaid slaves had been saved, they took away perforce our boat together with Jan Ryckertsen's boat, all belonging to the company as appurtenances of the aforesaid vessels, and with them, the weather moderating somewhat, removed the slaves from my ship, making use for that purpose of one of my sailors named Martin Michielsen van Hulst, who was on board Jan Ryckertsen's bark aforesaid. By his assistance, for the negroes knew him and called him by name, the aforesaid Jan Ryckertsen got the line on board, and went over together with one of the rovers at which time all the slaves etc. were still on board. Then came also swimming on board the lieutenant of the rover with two of his men, who then being four in number brought back on board a rope for the company's vessel by which they let all the negroes who were capable of swimming, swim off to the reef, whilst they brought those who could not swim in one of the boats belonging to the aforesaid vessels to the same reef, and having meanwhile made the other boat dry inside the reef, they brought in her on board the aforesaid Jan Ryckertsen's bark eighty two slaves and two sucklings. And this deponent having, before they removed any of the slaves, requested of the lieutenant and his men belonging to the rover, permission to go with his aforesaid sailor, he was unwilling to grant it until some of the slaves had been removed out of the ship, so that when this deponent went on board his ship there remained on board no more than about thirty slaves. After all the negroes had been removed from his ship, this deponent was also brought to Jan Ryckertsen's bark, with the instructions which General Johan Valckenburch aforesaid had given him, together with all the papers and accounts of the said commissary, relating to his cargo and trading, done pursuant to the company's orders. Then the deponent was conveyed by them with the aforesaid bark and negroes, to David's Island, where the rover lay at anchor waiting for us, leaving behind them the vessel whereof Hans Marcussen Stuyve aforesaid is skipper, to save two negroes whom the deponent had left on board when he quit the ship. That vessel

joined us the next day at said David's Island, bringing along the two aforesaid slaves, some kettles, rope and about 70 pounds of elephants' tusks, also some flags, compasses, and other articles. The rover having removed the slaves and everything else out of the company's vessels, took from the deponent the instructions given him by the general, with all the commissary's papers, notwithstanding the protests and requests to the contrary, giving the deponent for answer, that all belonged to him. He moreover commanded them to remain by him until he had hauled wood and water, and afterwards took said Hans Marcussen Stuyve's vessel, saying he needed her. He made the deponent remain on board Jan Ryckertsen's bark, compelling him to make room for said Hans Marcussen Stuyve with all his crew and some of the deponent's men. Then he ordered them not to sail for this place until he had taken his departure, which was on the 23d instant, steering his course towards the Main. And this deponent with his crew and that of the company's bark, took their course with the aforesaid Jan Ryckertsen's bark, to this place where they arrived in safety on the 25th instant.

This he declares to be the truth, and to have thus occurred, and will if need be confirm the same on oath, in presence of Mr. Ghysbert de Rosa and Pieter de Leeuw, witnesses hereunto invited. Curaçao in Fort Amsterdam the 27th November A° 1659.

ADRIAEN BLAES

Witnesses,
GHYSBERT DE ROSA
PETER DE LEEUW
In my presence NICOLAES HAEK, Secretary.

35. RECEIPT OF PEDRO DIEZ TROXXILLA FOR SLAVES, 1660.[1]

I, underwritten, hereby acknowledge to have received from the Hon'ble Matthias Beck, governor over the Curaçao Islands, sixty two slaves, old and young, in fulfillment and performance of the contract concluded on the 26th June, A'o 1659, by Messrs. Hector Pieters and Guilliaume Momma, with the Lords Directors at the Chamber at Amsterdam; and as the negroes by the ship *Coninck Salomon* were disposed of, long before the arrival of the undersigned, and the ship *Eyckenboom*,[2] mentioned in the aforesaid contract, has not arrived at this date, the said governor has accommodated me, the undersigned, to the best of his ability with the abovementioned sixty two slaves, and on account of the old and young which are among the aforesaid negroes, has allowed a deduction of two negroes, so that

[35] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 17: 57.
[2] *Oak Tree.*

there remain sixty head in the clear, for which I, the undersigned, have here according to contract paid to the governor aforesaid for forty six head, at one hundred and twenty pieces of eight, amounting to five thousand five hundred and twenty pieces of eight. Wherefore, fourteen negroes remain still to be paid for, according to contract in Holland by Messrs. Hector Pieters and Guillaume Momma in Amsterdam, to Messrs. the directors aforesaid, on presentation of this my receipt, to which end three of the same tenor are executed and signed in the presence of two undersigned trustworthy witnesses, whereof the one being satisfied the others are to be void. Curaçao in Fort Amsterdam, the 11th January, A'o 1660. It being understood that the above fourteen negroes, to be paid for in Amsterdam, shall not be charged higher than according to contract at two hundred and eighty guilders each, amounting together to three thousand nine hundred and twenty Carolus guilders. Dated as above.

PEDRO DIEZ TROXXILLA,
EVERT JANSEN.

Witnesses,
NICOLAES HAECK,
L. V. RUYVEN.

36. VICE-DIRECTOR BECK TO THE DIRECTORS OF THE WEST INDIA COMPANY.[1]

[CURAÇAO, February 4, 1660.]

Noble, Honorable, Respected, Wise, Prudent and most Discreet Gentlemen,

Gentlemen, My last to your honors, dated 5 January, as per copy enclosed, was by the ship *Gideon,* skipper Simon Cornelissen Gilde, by way of the Caribbean Islands. . . .

You will learn from my last letters, and from the annexed papers sent again herewith, the fate of the ship *St. Jan,* which was due here from Guinea with negroes, and which according to your honors' orders was to replace the aforesaid ship *Diemen* here. What causes us most grief here is, that your honors have thereby lost such a fine lot of negroes and such a fast sailing bark which has been our right arm here.

Although I have strained every nerve to overtake the robbers of the negroes and bark, as stated in my last, yet have I not been as successful as I wished. I shall communicate the particulars to your honors, God willing, by the ship *St. Joris,*[2] which is about to sail

[36] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 17: 57. The government of the West India Company was vested in a board of nineteen, of whom eighteen were representatives of the five chambers, one was named by the States General. The charter of the company outlined its organization in detail. Van Laer, *Van Rensselaer Bowier MSS.,* pp. 87-121, esp. pp. 95-97,101.

[2] *St. George.*

direct from hence this month. If no remedy can be found to prevent such robberies and villainous crimes as the carrying away of the company's slaves and bark, and no prosecution and redress follow, they will not only persist therein, but even strike terror into the Spanish merchants who come here to trade. . . .

We regret exceedingly that such rovers should have been the cause of the ill success of the zeal we feel to attract the Spanish traders hither for your honors' benefit, by previous notices and otherwise, for the augmentation of commerce and the sale of the negroes which are to come here more and more in your honors' ships and for your account. . . .

I have witnessed with pleasure your honors' diligence in providing us here from time to time with negroes. That will be the only bait to allure hither the Spanish nation, as well from the Main as from other parts, to carry on trade of any importance. But the more subtly and quietly the trade to and on this island can be carried on, the better will it be for this place and yours. . . .

Inasmuch as Mr. Ghysbert de Rosa and I have been authorized by The private persons interested in the ship *Hoop*[3] to apply to the governor of the Havana, by whom we understand the rover has been arrested, and to that end have received from them such papers, letters, and proofs as may serve for the recovery of said ship and cargo, nevertheless up to this time have we had no opportunity to effect the work according to our good inclination, except that Mr. Gysbert de Roosa has recently sent his yacht, the *Jongen St. Paaulo,*[4] with a cargo to St. Jago de Cuba, by which we wrote conjointly a letter to the governor at Havana (a copy of which is inclosed) to be sent overland from Cuba, to give said governor some preliminary advice, until a more favorable opportunity shall present itself to carry out your honors' intentions and those of the private friends who are interested, whereof your honors shall later be punctually informed.

I only now received the contract entered into by your honors with Messrs. Hector Pietersen and Guilliaume Momma, by the ships *Gideon* and *Liefde,* after the negroes that had come by the ship *Coninck Salomon* had all been sold, and although the ship *Eyckenboom* has not yet arrived, two Spanish vessels with a yacht from Cadiz have cast anchor in this port on the 2 January. They are come pursuant to express orders exhibited to me by the captain of the aforesaid vessel Pedro Sorilbo by name, and Skipper Evert Jansen, for the purpose of taking away those negroes, according to contract; and they gave me to understand, that in case they should leave here without negroes, the whole object of their voyage would be thereby frus-

[3] The *Hope.*
[4] The *Young St. Paul.*

trated, and they should in consequence suffer excessive damages. I found myself, therefore, obliged to solicit as well the freemen as the company's servants, to loan from their plantations to the company as many negroes as they could possibly spare, under the promise that good stout negroes should be returned in their stead, out of the first lot which would come for the company. In this way, what with the Cape Verde negroes, and those of the company and of private individuals, I have collected together with great trouble sixty-two head. As there were among them some old and some young, two were deducted for them, as appears by the original receipt transmitted herewith. They have accordingly paid me here for forty-six head, as per contract, at one hundred and twenty pieces of eight, amounting to five thousand five hundred and twenty pieces of eight, leaving fourteen head of negroes, for which the aforesaid Messrs. Hector Pietersen and Guillaume Momma are to pay your honors in Holland, as is more fully set forth in the receipt to which for brevity sake I refer. . . .

The aforesaid captain, highly gratified and contented, sailed from here with his aforesaid two ships on the 15th January for Porto Bello, as he informed me. . . .

I received by the ship *Gideon,* from Cape Verde only twenty eight slaves, old and young, as appears by the receipt delivered to the skipper. In consequence of their condition and age, they are not worth so much on the average as the negroes lately brought by the *Coninck Salomon.* But I have since been informed that if an effort were made a handsome lot of negroes could be imported from that place, who would bring a proportionately higher price. . . .

The Spaniards seeing that we are so weak, can get up one pretext or another, especially those who come from Spain, who look on this trade with a jealous eye. For some merchants who arrived in this port with the aforesaid two ships have, as I am informed, alleged here to one and another, that the trade which we carry on here with the Spanish nation on the coast or elsewhere would not be permitted in Spain, and such a prohibition would be issued that no Spaniard belonging to any place would dare to come hither for the purpose of trade. On the other hand, I have understood from the captain himself that they are confident the trade here will flourish more and more, and he hoped that his ship, the *St. Catalina,* would return here in four months with three to four thousand pieces of eight to invest in negroes and merchandise. This was confirmed to me by the Dutch skipper Evert Jansen, in case they arrive safe at Porto Bello. The Spanish frigates which have been previously here, and trade to New Spain, have also told me the same thing, and said that

they came yearly from New Spain up to Carácas, with considerable cash to trade there for cocoa and merchandises, and that they then would seek a pretext to touch, on their way from Carácas, here to purchase negroes and stock goods.

37. The Case of the *Martyn van Russen*.[1]

February, 1661.

Serenissimus Dominus noster Rex contra navem quandam vocatam the *Martyn van Russen* de Middleburrough in Zealand cujus Leonardus Johnson fuit Magister ejusque apparatus et accessiones et Ethiopes pecuniam Riallos de octo et alia bona in dicta navi per navem the *Dyamond Friggot* cujus Richard Whiteing fuit capitaneus apud vel prope Jamaica mense Februarii 1661 aut eo circiter seizitam ac contra dictum Leonardum Johnson in specie ac omnes etc. . . .[2]

Item That shortly after the makeing or enacteing the said Act of Parlim't, the same was publickely made knowne and proclaymed In this Kingdome of England, and all Merch'ts Both natives and Forreigners did take notice thereof, and the same was sent into all Forreign partes and more especially into Holland and Zealand, or the effect thereof was made knowne to or imparted unto the Merch'ts there by their correspondents and Factors resident in England, and that the Master of the said shippe the *Martyn Van Russen*, and her owners or some of them did know of the passeing and publisheing of the said Act of Parli'ment before the comeing forth of the said shippe the *Martyn Van Russen* from [*blank*][3] upon this her last Voyage, wherein she brought Negroes to the Island of Jamaica,[4] and that the said shippe the *Martyn Van Russen* came out of the said Port of [*blank*] or some other Port belonging to the States Generall of the United provinces since the first day of the moneth of Novem-

[37] [1] P. R. O., Admiralty Court, Instance and Prize: Libel Files, file 115, no. 102, pt. 2. The *Martyn van Russen* (or *Rosen*) was a Dutch vessel of about 300 tons. This attempt to enforce the navigation act may have been prompted by the Guinea Company just established.

[2] A quotation from the act of Parliament for encouraging and increasing of shipping and navigation is here omitted: 12 Car. II., c. 18 (*Statutes of the Realm*, V. 246-250). It will be recalled that this act, the so-called first navigation act, forbade importation into British possessions of any commodities in foreign-owned or foreign-built vessels after Dec. 1, 1660. It was charged that the *Martyn van Russen* was trading in violation of this act.

[3] Middelburg.

[4] Jamaica, captured by an expedition sent out by Cromwell in 1655, had now been six years in the hands of the English. Under the Spanish rule which preceded the English capture it had been the centre of the illicit trade of the Caribbean, which certainly included a trade in negroes. Edward Long (*History of Jamaica*, I. 375) states that in 1658 there were 1400 negroes on the island in a population of 5900. This may be an exaggeration, as in 1661 the island had but 514 (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1665, p. 65). Shortly after Jamaica's capture, the inhabitants sent to Cromwell a request to be allowed a direct trade with Africa for negroes but there is no evidence that it received attention. Harlow, *History of Barbados*, p. 303, n. 1.

ber 1660 at Least wise the said shippe the *Martyn Van Russen* her M'r and Company or some of them had notice of the said Act in some Forreign parte before her comeing unto Jemaica, *Et ponit ut supra.*

Item that in or about the moneth of February In the yeare of our Lord God 1661 the said shippe the *Martyn Van Russen* did arrive at the said Island of Jamaica with severall Negroes in her, And did there send ashoar severall of the said Negroes, and sell them in the said Island, and Received severall summes of mony for them, and did trade and traffique in the said Island, and that the said ship the *Martyn Van Russen* was and is a Dutch Built shippe, and doth belong unto Dutch-men, Subjects of the States Generall of the United Provinces and That she was sayled, was [with] a Dutch M'r and Company.

Item That By reason of the premises the said shippe the *Martyn Van Russen* and the Negroes and mony seized in her and her ladeing were seized by the Captains officers and marriners of his Majestyes shippe the *Dyamond,* And That by reason of such her ladeing contrary to the foresaid Act of Parli'ment, The Shippe, Tackle and furniture, moneys, and Negroes seized in her ought to bee condemned and adjudged unto his Ma'tye as goods forfeited and confiscated by vertue of the said Act, Ac ponit ut supra.

Item Quod praemissa etc.[5]

38. Petition of John Knight, Thomas Knight, and Company.[1]

Whitehall, 11 April [1662].

The humble petition of John Knights, Thomas Knights, and Company late Owners of the ship called the *Daniell* whereof Henry Oakes

[5] Endorsed: "Martin van Russen. Dominus Rex contra eandem et Leonardum Johnson et alios. Allegatio Cheeke". Various questions arose in connection with this troublesome vessel, some of them illustrating the difficulties incident to administering the navigation acts by means of officials not wholly in sympathy with them. The *Martyn van Russen* is first heard of in Jamaica when Governor D'Oyley and the council order that the captain, Leonard Johnson, be allowed to sell a sufficient number of negroes to obtain provisions and necessary repairs (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, p. 69). Her capture as an unlawful trader was reported by Captain Whiting of the *Diamond,* Mar. 10, when 48 of her negroes had already been sold. D'Oyley seized the remaining negroes and money on board and sent the vessel away. In February, 1664, the officers and mariners of the *Diamond* had not yet received from D'Oyley the prize money due them, in spite of two orders from the king (*ibid.,* pp. 80, 134, 171, 182, 189). A petition of December, 1663, recounting the circumstances of the seizure of a Dutch vessel in "June last", by the *Diamond,* is indexed in the *Calendar* under *Martyn van Russen* but it seems probable that it refers to a Dutch vessel with 180 negroes which came into Jamaica harbor June 14, 1661. D'Oyley urged the council to trade for its negroes, which were greatly needed on the island, and on their refusal he angrily announced that he would buy them all. Whiting seized the vessel but the governor held the negroes and sold forty to "Major John Coape, a Quaker and ancient rebel", and the rest to a Spanish vessel to which he gave a safe conduct. For all these offenses he refused to answer to the council when he was called to account. *Ibid.,* p. 36.

[38] [1] *Acts P. C. C.,* I. 328-330. The first of the African companies of the Restoration had, by the time of the *Daniel's* voyage, been established, but it is not possible to make certain how many of the vessels bound for Guinea in the years 1660-1663 sailed under the aegis of the new company and how many were private ventures.

was Master was this day read at the Boord,[2] wherein they sett forth, that being the true and lawful Owners of the Ship, about May last 1661 sett forth the same from the Port of London with severall Goods and Merchandizes for their owne Accompt, and did give Order to the said Henry Oake the Master to sayle to, or neere the Gold Coast at Guinny, and there he safely arrived, and did barter away part of his Ladeing for 82 Negroes, a parcell of Elephants Teeth, and some Gold, and had as much goods left, as would have produced 100 Negroes more, and Provisions for them, and the said Oakes was to have sayled with the same from Guinny, to the Barbadoes there to have refreshed his Negroes and soe to have gone to Cadiz in Spaine, there to have sould them, but as he was in his lawfull Employment, one Jasper Vanhuison Generall for the Dutch West India Company resideing at Guinny first seized his Boate and five of his men, goeing towards Cormantine [3] and carryed them away Prisoners, and some few daies after, a ship of Amsterdam, of which one Aron Couzens was Commander belonging to the Dutch, being mounted with 30 Guns, and the ship *Daniell* haveing but Four, the said shipp of Amsterdam . . . tooke her and all the Goods and Negroes, stripping and plundring the Company, and carried the said shipp and Goods to the said Jasper Vanhuisen at Castle de Maine,[4] . . . And had not the said Dutch soe interrupted the Petitioners Trade the said Negroes would have yielded 7000 *l.* sterling. The shipp cost 800 *l.*, and the Gold Elephants Teeth, and other Goods were worth neere 1000 *l.* The petitioners have caused their proofes to be made in the High Court of Admiraltie and have summoned the Dutch by a publique Edict, upon the Exchange, and procured legall notice by Letters to be given to their Ambassador and have done all that the Law requireth on their part. The Boord haveing taken the perticulers into consideration It was this day ordered his Majestie present in Councell that Mr. Secretary Nicholas and Mr. Secretary Morice,[5] or one of them, should make the Case of the Petitioners to be one of those they putt upon the English demands, and also that the Petition be sent over recomended to Sir George Downing his

[2] That is, the Privy Council. After the Restoration, affairs relating to trade and the colonies were handled by the Privy Council, usually through its Committee for Trade and Plantations, or by one of the two councils, the Council for Trade and the Council for Foreign Plantations. C. M. Andrews, *British Committees, Commissions, and Councils, 1622-1675* (Johns Hopkins University Studies, vol. XXVI.), pp. 62, 67, 74 ff.

[3] The English had had a trading post at Cormantine on the Gold Coast since 1624, and a fort of some sort since the time of the company of 1631. Until the incorporation of the Company of Royal Adventurers this had been the headquarters of the English trade, but under that company Cape Coast Castle became the centre of the Gold Coast commerce. In February, 1665, De Ruyter took Cormantine and there established the Dutch Fort Amsterdam.

[4] Elmina.

[5] Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State to Charles I. and Charles II. Sir William Morice, Secretary of State 1660 to 1668.

Majestys Resident at the Hague,[6] to represent the same effectually to the states Generall there.[7]

39. The Company of Royal Adventurers to Francis Lord Willoughby.[1]

My Lord, The Royal Company being very sensible how necessary it is that the English Plantations in America should have a competent and a constant supply of Negro-servants for their own use of Planting, and that at a moderate Rate, have already sent abroad, and shall within eight days dispatch so many Ships for the Coast of Africa as shall by Gods permission furnish the said Plantations with at least 3000 Negroes, and will proceed from time to time to provide them a constant and sufficient succession of them, so as the Planter shall have no just cause to complain of any Want: And for the Price, and terms of Payment, they have for the present resolved, to order all their Servants and Factors not to sell any Negroes higher than is expressed in this following Resolve.

Resolved, That Orders be given to the Factors in the Plantations of the Charibee Islands, to sell all Blacks that are found in Lotts[2] (as hath been customary) at

[6] Sir George Downing had been English resident at the Hague almost continuously since 1657. For the English demands see no. 43, n. 6, *post.*

[7] The Dutch contention was that the *Daniel,* which had obtained its cargo at Amsterdam, was in reality a Dutch vessel, masquerading as English in order to avoid seizure by the Dutch West India Company as an interloper (Zook, p. 38). This was but one of many captures by the Dutch. See no. 43, n. 6, *post.*

[39] [1] "The Letter of His Royal Highness the Duke of York, and the rest of the Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading to Africa: to the Right Honourable Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, Lieutenant General and Chief Governour in and over all His Majesties Islands, Colonies, and Plantations commonly called the Charibee Islands in America", *The Several Declarations of the Company of Royal Adventurers trading into Africa* (1667), pp. 8-9. For a brief account of this company and that of 1660 which it supplanted, see this work, introduction, pp. 85-88; for a more extended account, see G. F. Zook, *The Company of Royal Adventurers*; for the charters of the companies, see Cecil Carr, *Select Charters of Early Trading Companies* (Selden Society), pp. 172-181, 186-192. The royal interest in the African companies was an actual financial interest. Of the company of 1660, Carr says only that the king might come into it if he chose (*Select Charters,* p. xlvi). Pepys writes that he was a member of the company (Wheatley ed., III. 139), and this statement is supported by the fact that on June 29, 1661, a warrant was issued to pay Thomas Holden, treasurer of the company, £90 for the king's additional share. Additional sums of £250, £180, £60 are later referred to (*Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1661-1662, pp. 22, 25, 250, 314). After the reorganization a warrant for the remainder of the king's subscription of £6000, the unpaid amount being £5200, and for £400, the queen's subscription, was issued (*ibid.,* 1663-1664, p. 184). The company later requested from him £7600, due on his shares (Carr, p. 181., n.). James Duke of York, refers to his investment in the reorganized company as £2000.

Francis Lord Willoughby had left Barbados on its surrender to the parliamentary forces in 1651, but was reappointed governor in 1663, not only of Barbados but of all the Caribbean Islands, and held office until his death in July, 1666.

[2] "In lots", *i. e.,* good and bad together. This practice, a common one in the West Indies, never prevailed in the continental colonies. Mrs. Aphra Behn, in her novel *Oroonoko, or the Royal Slave,* published in 1688, describes this method of sale: "Those who want slaves, make a Bargain with a Master, or a Captain of a ship, and contract to pay him so much apiece, a Matter of twenty Pound a Head, for as many as he agrees for, and to pay for 'em when they shall be deliver'd on such a Plantation. So that when there arrives a ship laden with Slaves, they who have so contracted, go aboard, and receive their Number by Lot; and perhaps in one Lot that may be for ten, there may happen to be three or four Men, the rest Women and Children. Or be there more or less of either sex, you are obliged to be contented with your Lot." *Works* (1915), V. 133.

£ 17. sterling p. head in Money (ps. of 8/8 Sivil and Mexico at 4 sh.) or Bills Exchange for England with good assurance of payment, or at 2400 *l.* of well cured Muscovado Sugar[3] in Cask, with express condition, that no Blacks be delivered without present payment in Money, Bills, or Sugar, viewed and accepted by the Factors, or in Cotton or Indico, according to the price currant between them and Sugar.

And do desire your Lordship, that you will be pleased to communicate these Resolutions of the Company to your respective Deputies in all His Majesties American Dominions under your Lordships Government, and direct them to publish the same within their respective Limits and Jurisdictions, and to gather from the Planters and Inhabitants, and to transmit to us as soon as they conveniently can, the certain number of Negroes which they desire, and will engage to receive yearly from Us on those reasonable Terms proposed, that so we may proportion our Care for them accordingly.

And further, The Company doth desire your Lordship to order this inclosed Paper of Conditions to be declared by your respective Deputies, in the most usual manner, and to receive such Subscriptions as shall be accordingly made, and to transmit to us Authentique Copies of them by the first Passage that shall present for England, after the time of subscribing is expired.

By Order of the Royal Company:

ELLIS LEIGHTON, SECRET.

Dated at WHITEHALL, January 10, 1662[/3].

40. DECLARATION OF THE COMPANY OF ROYAL ADVENTURERS OF ENGLAND TRADING TO AFRICA.[1]

To all His Majesties Native Subjects in General: the Publique Declaration and Invitation of the Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading into Africa.[2]

Whereas the Kings most Excellent Majesty hath seriously considered what Profit and Honour did formerly accrew to His good Subjects by the Trade of Africa, while the same was supported, and regulated by the Authority of the Charters granted by His Majesties Royal Predecessors; and His Majesty finding that of late years the Sovereign influence of those Charters hath not had its former good

[3] Muscovado was unrefined sugar. This is based on sugar at about 14 *s.* 3 *d.* per 100 lbs. To obtain the money price of the negroes sold in Barbados 1663-1664, Harlow uses 15 *s.* per 100 lbs. as the average value of sugar. *History of Barbados*, p. 312.

[40] [1] From *The Several Declarations of the Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading into Africa*, pp. 1-4.

[2] A similar declaration was issued to "all his Majesty's subjects resident in any of his Majesty's Dominions of America". *The Several Declarations of the Company*, pp. 5-7.

Effects, by reason of the universal intestine Confusion of the Times; by the advantage whereof, other Nations have taken confidence so far to invade and disturb His Majesties Subjects in the said Trade, that it is in danger utterly to be lost to this Nation, and thereby His Majesties Dominions in America in apparent hazard to be rendered useless in their growing Plantations, through want of that usual supply of Servants which they have hitherto had from Africa; which mischief cannot be prevented but by His Majesties Re-establishing the said Trade, and erecting a Corporation under the special Protection of His Royal Authority, consisting of such persons of Honour and Experience, as may by a considerable Joynt-Stock, and Common Counsel, vigorously assert the Right thereof.

And His Majesty having to that end been graciously pleased to grant to His Royal Highness the Duke of York, and others, (who have already formed and employed a Joynt-Stock of seventeen thousand and four hundred pounds) His Letters Patents for the Incorporation and Regulation of the whole Trade of Africa from Cape Blanc to Cape de bona Esperanza: His Royal Highness therefore, and the rest of the Royal Company, desiring to communicate the advantage of the said Trade to all His Majesties Subjects in general, thought fit to give notice, and do hereby give notice, and publish to all His Majesties native Subjects of England;

That all or any of them that live within the City of London, or twenty miles thereabouts, may at any time before the twentieth day of October next ensuing the date hereof, and those that live in other parts of the Kingdom before the fifth of November following, freely be admitted into the said Corporation and Joynt-Stock, subscribing at least four hundred pounds respectively to be paid to such Treasurers as shall be thereunto appointed; The one half thereof on or before the first of December; the other half on or before the first of March next following.[3]

And to that end a Book shall lie open for the said Subscriptions, during the time aforesaid, at the Insurance-Office in the Royal Exchange in London, every day from Eight to twelve of the clock in the morning; before such Subscriptions, they shall find such equal and indifferent agreements prefixed, as may satisfie all rational persons, that nothing is designed but Publick Good, and the just Right of every Individual interested.

By order of the Company of Royal Adventurers into Africa,
ELLIS LEIGHTON, Secret.

Dated at WHITEHALL, January 12, 1662[/3].

[3] Those subscribers who resided in America were allowed one month after the publication of the declaration in America. Their subscriptions were to be paid in London, within one year of the date of the declaration, with interest at the rate of six per cent. from the first day of March following the date on which the final payment was to be made by the subscribers resident in England.

The Condition for Subscriptions.

We whose Names are hereunder written, do hereby promise and engage our selves, to adventure these several sums of Money by us subscribed, to be imployed (by Gods assistance) in a Joynt-stock in the Trade of Africa, according to such conditions as is hereafter expressed, and as shall be further thought fit by the generality of Adventurers at any Court hereafter to be holden by them, or the major part of them that shall be present.

And we do by our said subscriptions, oblige our selves, our Heirs, Executors, and Administrators, to pay to the Treasurer, or Treasurers of the Company of Royal Adventurers into Africa, or to such as shall be thereunto appointed for this Joynt-stock, the several sums of Money by us hereafter particularly subscribed, according to these dayes prefixed; to wit, the one half thereof on or before the first of December, and the other half on or before the first of March next following, or within ten daies at the furthest after each of the said fixed daies of payment.

Otherwise it shall be free for the Company to exclude us from their Society; and notwithstanding such exclusion, to recover the Moneys by us subscribed, according to our Obligation, by our subscription.

And we the Subscribers do severally further agree, that at the end, or expiration of seven years, to commence from the time of the first payment aforesaid, then by a Committee who shall be chosen by the generality of Adventurers for that purpose, a just and indifferent valuation shall be made of all the remains of Stock then undivided, whereby any Adventurer that shall please to draw forth his Remains, may be paid the same in money according to that valuation at three six months time: And it is also agreed, That the like indifferent valuation of all Remains of Stock, as aforesaid, shall be duly made once in every three years, after the expiration of the aforesaid seven years, and the same liberty as aforesaid, to the Adventurers.

And we the several Subscribers do severally further agree, That any Adventurer, who shall be present at any General Court, shall vote, and rule in the Government of this Stock and Trade according to his Adventure, that is, for every four hundred pounds adventure to have one Vote.

And we the said several Subscribers do hereby further agree, and engage our selves, that if at any time during the continuance of this Stock, it shall duly appear that any of us shall use any other Trade to the parts of Africa (contained in the Patent) than in Joynt-stock, or what shall be allowed of by the Committees of the Stock,

that in such case, that person, or persons so trading in a Clandestine manner, contrary to this our intention, he or they shall wholly lose and forfeit all their Stock or Adventure, and the same shall go to use of the rest of the Adventurers in general.

And we the several Subscribers do hereby further agree, That the management of the whole Trade shall be committed to a competent number of the Interested, to be Elected by the generality of the Adventurers.

And that the Committee (so Elected) shall not sell any Goods (whatsoever) that shall be received from beyond the Seas by any particular contract, but publickly by the Candle only.

And that no Dividend of any profit of the said Stock shall be made in Goods, but in money onely.

By Order of the Company of Royal Adventurers into Africa

ELLIS LEIGHTON, Secret.

Dated at WHITEHALL, January 12, 1662[/3].

41. DECLARATION OF THE COMPANY OF ROYAL ADVENTURERS OF ENGLAND TRADING TO AFRICA.[1]

To all His Majesties Native Subjects of England; The Publick Declaration and Invitation of the Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading to Africa.

Whereas His most Excellent Majesty for the Reasons declared in our former publick and general Invitation, hath been graciously pleased to grant his new Letters Patents to His Royal Highness the Duke of York, and others (therein mentioned) for the Government of the Trade of Africa from Sally inclusive, to the Cape de Bona Esperanza, under a Joynt-Stock, and hath enlarged the Powers and Privileges of the said Company; and hath according to his accustomed Royal Universal Care of all his good Subjects, now made it a National Company, under the Name and Title of the Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading to Africa.

The said Company in Conformity to the said Royal Intention of His Majesty, and to evidence to the whole World, that they intend not to confine the Benefit of the said Trade to a Few, or exclude any from it that will be governed; Notwithstanding that they have already a Subscription of a competent sum of Money, that may answer to the necessary Occasions of the Trade, and have already dispatched a very considerable number of Ships, and sufficient Cargoes for the present supply of the respective Markets of that Coast: Yet they do hereby once more invite all His Majesties Native Subjects

[41] [1] *The Several Declarations of the Company,* pp. 9-10.

of England in general inhabiting in the City of London, or within twenty miles thereof, within a Month of the Date hereof, and all others without those Limits within two Months, to subscribe by themselves, or their Attorneys what sum or sums they shall please to adventure in the said Joynt-stock, to which, and the freedom of the said Company, they shall be admitted without any Fine, on the Conditions and Terms following, which are but equal to those on which the present Members have been admitted.

That is to say,

That every man shall subscribe what sum he pleaseth, not under Fifty pounds: and that whatsoever shall not exceed Four hundred pounds, shall be paid unto the Treasurer of the Company within eight days after such under-writing.

And that for what any part of any mans Subscription shall exceed Four hundred pounds, he shall have Terms of payment for the same in eight Quarterly portions, commencing the twenty fourth of June next.

And to this end the Book shall lie open for such Subscriptions in the Glass-house in Broad street, London, during the time aforesaid, every week day from eight to twelve of the clock in the forenoon, and from three to five in the afternoon,[2]

By Order of the Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading to Africa.

ELLIS LEIGHTON, Secret.

Dated at WHITEHALL, Febr. 16, 1662[/3].

42. THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO FRANCIS LORD WILLOUGHBY.[1]

WHITEHALL, 11 March, 1663.

Whereas Wee are certainly informed, that the Spanish Planters of West India have lately attempted to trade with Our Island of Barbada for a supply of Negro Slaves, and did to that end resort thither, first with their monies onely, and afterwards with both money and other commodities, But then departed thence abruptly in greate dissatisfaction, in regard that they were given to understand that they could not lawfully import into that or any other Our American

[2] This subscription, with another opened Aug. 25, 1663, brought the stock of the company to £102,000, of which about £57,000 was paid. In September, 1664, it was increased to £120,200. Zook, pp. 17, 19.

[42] [1] *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 345-349. The privilege of supplying the Spanish markets with negroes had been long coveted by England before the assiento of 1713. In 1660 James, earl of Marlborough, had tried without success to come to some arrangement with the newly established company whereby Jamaica should be made the base for negroes for the Spanish colonies. With the reorganization of the company in 1663 the instructions here printed were sent to Willoughby. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1574, p. 491, 1661-1668, pp. 106, 123-124, 125, 143; and Hist. MSS. Comm., *Heathcote Papers*, pp. 88-89, deal with the attempts to build up this trade.

Dominions the Commodities of the manufacture and growth of their Plantations and yet left behind them a promise, that if they might have assurance of free accesse and recesse with their Shipps moneys and Goods, and free Pratique [Trafique] and commerce with Our Subjects in Our said Plantations, they would make them Martes from whence they would purchase their supply of Negro Servants, and such other European Comodities of all sorts as their owne Plantations may want, and pay Us a reasonable Custome for the same,

And whereas Wee find upon good and mature deliberation, that Our graunting of such Assurance as is desired by the said Spaniards may redound not only to the increase of Our Revenue, but also to the signall Advantage of Our good Subjects both at home and abroad, in point of their trade and Navigation, and judging that the cause doth not in any wise crosse the generall or speciall intention of the Act for Navigation,

Wee have therefore thought fitt and do hereby declare, That Our Royall Will and Pleasure is to give and graunt, and Wee do hereby give and graunt free licence and Warrant to any of the Spanish Subjects of America, to come from any Port of America, and to enter into any Road, Port or Haven, of Our said American Dominions, with their Shipps, Moneys, Bullion, and Goods, and freely to sell, barter, and exchange the same to and with Our Subjects there, and as freely to returne to any of the said Spanish American Ports with their Shipps, and such Goods and Negroes as they shall have bought in our said Dominion, without any lett, trouble or molestation to be made or given by you, or any other Our Officers or Subjects military or civill, whatsoever, And Wee do hereby command that both you and they do lend the utmost assistance for the inviolable observance of this Our Graunt, and free Licence aforesaid, Any thing in the Act of Navigation, or any other Law, Statute or Ordinance, or any Letters of Mart or Reprizall given or to be given to the contrary Notwithstanding.

And Wee do further hereby impower and require you to make and give free Passeports and protections accordingly to any such spanish Shipps, Monies and Goods trading to or from any of Our said American Dominions under your Government, when and as often as you shall be thereunto requested and desired.

Provided allwaies, that such Spaniards do agree, and accordingly well and truly pay for Our use to such Person or Persons as Wee shall appoint to collect and receive the same,

For all Goods and Merchandizes whatsoever either imported or exported the same duties of Tonnage and Poundage as is now established by Law in this Our Kingdome of England, to be paid in peices of Eight Royalls at the rate of Four shillings the peice,

And for every Negro person or Slave, that the said Spaniards or any other shall transport for any other Port or Place in America, other then such who are actually under Our obedience, Tenn peices of Eight for each Head.

Excepting allwaies all such Negro Slaves as are or shall be brought directly or immediately by Contract made here in England with our Company of Royall Adventurers of England trading to Africa. All which Our Royall Will and pleasure is, shall and may be free exported without the payment of any Duty or Imposition whatsoever to Us or Our Successors.

And further Our will and Pleasure is, and Wee do hereby require you to give your expresse Order and assistance to Our Collectors, and other Officers of Our said Customes, That no Negro Persons be exported from any the Islands or places within your Government under pretence of furnishing any Plantation of Our owne American Dominions, untill the transporter or Lader of them shall have first given good and sufficient Security by Bond to the use of Us and Our Successors, that he will returne Certificate within a Competent time from the place to which they are bound that the said Negros are there landed and disposed of to the use of the said Plantations.

And Our further will and Pleasure is, and Wee do hereby strictly command and enjoyne you, and all Our other Ministers and Officers under you, that you do not permitt or suffer any Goods, Monies, or Merchandizes whatsoever, that shall be so imported on Spanish Ships by virtue of this our Licence to be reshipt and exported thence, on any other Shipps or Vessells, then those that do and shall properly belong unto Our Subjects of England, and for which the Merchants and Laders thereof, and the Commanders of the said Shipps and Vessells do give you good security by Bond to our use, that the same shall be brought into Our Kingdome of England directly and there landed, and not elsewhere,

And further Our Will and Pleasure is, that you give to the Commanders of every such Ship a Certificate of the quantity and quality of all such monies, Bullion, Goods and Merchandizes as he shall have given you such security for, to the end, that the same might be exhibited to the cheife Officers of Our Customes here in the port, where the same shall be entred and landed,

Provided allwaies that the King of Spaines Subjects shall not by virtue or colour of this Our Licence be permitted to import into our said Island of Barbada, or any other Our American Plantations, any Goods, Ware or Merchandizes whatsoever of the Growth or manufacture of Europe, Asia, or Africa, It being the true intent of this our gratious Licence, that the said Spaniards shall import no Goods or Merchandizes whatsoever, saving only such as are the proper

product of the Spanish American Plantations. Provided also that the said Spaniards shall not by virtue of this Our Licence have Liberty to export from any of Our American Plantations any Comodities whatsoever of the Product of Our said Plantation, saving onely such necessary provision, as shall be requisite for the feeding of themselves and such others as they shall transport from thence.

43. The Company of Royal Adventurers to the King.[1]

1663.

Humbly represent that the trade of Africa is so necessary to England that the very being of the Plantations depends upon the supply of negro servants for their works. This trade was at the time of his Majesty's restoration managed by particular adventurers, who were so far from any possible design of having forts or asserting the honour of the nation that they were a constant prey to the Hollanders and were quite tired out of the trade by their great and frequent losses, of which they brought in clear proofs to the Court of Admiralty; so if his Majesty had not established a company the nation had probably by this time been quite driven out of it. The Company under the special management of the Duke of York sent out this last year above 160,000 *l.* in cargoes,[2] have plentifully supplied the coast to the great satisfaction of the natives, furnished all the Plantations with negro servants, set up new manufactures at home and improved the old, vented a great many native commodities, employed above 40 ships, and doubt not they shall import very considerable quantities of gold and silver, as they have already begun. They have built forts and factories in Africa and repaired others, and have no European rivals but the Hollanders; but as to them, experience of the past gives just cause to apprehend what is intended for the future. For as the annexed extracts of letters prove, the Dutch have endeavoured to drive the English Company from the coast, have followed their ships from port to port, and hindered them coming nigh the shore to trade;[3] they have persuaded the negroes to destroy their servants and to take their forts, have seized their boats and goods, violently taken possession of Cape Coast, and shot at his Majesty's Royal flag. To complete the former indignities, one Valckenburgh, Director-General of the West India Com-

[43] [1] Abridgment, from *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, pp. 175-176. Endorsed, "The Royall Company, losse of whole trade in Affrica".

[2] The company later said that it had sent forty ships to Africa during 1663. Zook, p. 19.

[3] See n. 6., below.

pany in Africa, has sent a protest [4] to their factors, in which he challenges the whole trade of Guinea as their propriety, by right of conquest from the Portuguese; of which having sought remedy by means of Sir George Downing [5] the Company have received no satisfaction. In a word, notwithstanding a stock so considerable, and the many good ships of force and the land forces they have sent, had it not been for the countenance of some of his Majesty's ships, to give the Company a respect in the eyes of the natives and preserve their forts, the Company had ere this been stripped of their possessions and interest in Africa; Cormantin Castle itself being in extreme danger when the *Marmaduke* and *Speedwell* arrived there. The Dutch have sent a second protest,[6] in which they say they will force the English from their forts if they do not quit them.

44. Consideration of a Petition of the Company of Royal Adventurers trading into Africa [1]

Whitehall, 24 August, 1664.

Upon the humble petition of the Company of Royall Adventurers of England trading into Africa, with a Paper annexed, read at the Board the Third of August instant, Shewing, That the Petitioners have given his Majestys Island of Barbado's a liberall Supply of

[4] 1663, June 1/11, *ibid.*, pp. 135-136.

[5] 1663, Aug. 26, *ibid.*, p. 156.

[6] 1663, Sept. 2/12, *ibid.*, p. 158. The "Kings Narrative of Dutch affairs", Nov. 24, 1664, stated that about twenty ships had been taken on the Guinea coast (*Parliamentary History,* IV. 299). The English, in accordance with the commercial treaty of 1662, later demanded reparations for the following seizures: *Constant Mary,* for Guinea, seized May 8, 1654; *Brotherhood,* seized on Guinea coast, February, 1655/6; *Sarah,* for Guinea, seized August, 1656; *Fortune,* for Guinea, seized August, 1656; *Lyon Providence,* for Guinea, seized August, 1656; *Rappa Hanoeck,* for Guinea, seized near Cape Lopez about Sept. 11, 1656; *Brazil Fregat,* seized between Angola and Fernambuck (Pernambuco), 1657; *Aethiopian,* sent to Bohuee (?) for negroes, seized January, 1661/2 (?); *Daniel,* for Guinea, seized February, 1661; *Saint-John Baptist,* Emanuel Hart, who had carried negroes from Guinea to "Baghia in Brazil" and there bartered them for sugar, seized June, 1661; *Black Boy,* seized near Commenda, Apr. 13, 1661; *St. John,* sent to Calbarine (Calabar ?) for negroes, n. d.; *Content,* for Guinea, seized 1661; *Charles,* for Guinea, seized 1661; *Merchant's Delight,* seized near Cape Coast, about August, 1661; *Paragon,* for Guinea, seized about Oct. 15, 1661. *A Catalogue of the Damages for which the English demand Reparation* (London, 1664), pp. 5-12; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, pp. 65, 113, *ibid.,* 1699, p. 588.

If 1661 be the correct date for the seizing of the *Charles,* she (or possibly another vessel of the same name) was released to trade again in 1662. William Crawford, master of the *Charles,* made affidavit that in October, 1662, his frigate and the *James,* Captain Merritt, were prevented from trade by the *Golden Lyon,* a Dutch vessel. A skiff sent to the shore to buy slaves, was seized by the Dutch with its goods and men. The men were later returned with warnings against further trade. That these threats did not prevent Crawford from trading is certain, for on Oct. 26, 1663, the King of Spain directed Francisco Salmon, accountant of the navy, to allow the 128 slaves from the *Charles,* master William Crawford, to be brought into Cadiz and sold. *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, p. 113; Hist. MSS. Comm., *Heathcote MSS.,* p. 132.

[44] [1] *Acts P. C. C.,* I. 381-382. Incurable optimism as to their future ability to pay was common to the planters of all the colonies and the reluctance of the colonial assemblies to allow the forcible collection of debts created constant friction between the

Negro-Servants; And have given the Planters long time of Payment for them, for their greater Incouragement; Who are, at this time Indebted to the Petitioners, at least, forty thousand pounds sterling; And that the Petitioners finde themselves very much abused by the intollerable delayes of Payment [2] amongst the most of the Planters, against which the present Forme of Judiciary proceedings in that Island afford no Remedy, but what is worse then the disease, So that, unless some better Constitution and Execution of Justice be suddenly established in that Island, the Petitioners whole Stock will be exhausted, and buryed in the hands of the Planters, and not recoverable but at the pleasure of the Debtors; And thereby the Growth of the Plantations, and just Interest of the honester Pay-Masters is obstructed And praying Redresse herein.[3]

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company and the assemblies. Most, if not all, of the laws relating to debt were passed with an eye to the debt for slaves, and rested heavily on the African Company, the largest creditor to be affected. Against these laws the only recourse of the company was an appeal to Privy Council and King. The usual method of debt collection was for the creditor to bring suit in the local court. If he obtained a judgment, the provost marshal was directed to sell the debtor's goods by public outcry. The planter maintained, and rightly, that his negroes were frequently seized for small debts, and he was thus left with no means of working his plantation. It was to obviate this possibility that many of the laws were passed to which the company objected.

[2] Slaves purchased by contract with the company were to be paid for in three installments, two, four, and six months after their arrival. Six, nine, and twelve months' credit soon became the usual terms.

[3] A letter to Lord Willoughby urging him to see that this evil be remedied follows (*Acts P. C. C.,* I. 382-383). The matter of the planter's debts continued to be an acute vexation to the company. In 1665 the planters owed £49,895 (Zook, pp. 75-76, n.). On Aug. 27, 1669, the Privy Council again considered it, the company having alleged that the debtors refused to pay and that the laws of the island protected them in this course. This statement on the part of the company was supported by evidence from other sources. Willoughby wrote, July 22, 1668, "There is such animosity between the planter and merchant that all ways are studied by some of the Assembly to make the merchants quit the island, and they have proposed an Act that no merchant shall sue for a debt this four years to come" (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, p. 594).

The law left property attached for debt in the hands of the debtor for eighty days after attachment. If the property were negroes, as was frequently the case, by the expiration of the eighty days the attached goods had disappeared. The complaints of the company caused the Privy Council to consider the matter again and to suggest that land as well as goods be subject to attachment, since land could not be spirited away during the interim before sale (Harlow, *Barbados,* pp. 202, 315; *Acts P. C. C.,* I. 528-529, 532). To this suggestion the assembly refused to accede. A year later Governor Willoughby pointed out to the speaker that the laws relating to the collection of debts had not as yet been remedied. Four years after this Governor Atkins, himself none too friendly to the African Company, urged the assembly to repeal the laws that protected the debtor, by means of which the company was defrauded. Though the assembly brought counter charges against the company it at last repealed the offending law Jan. 22, 1677 (Atkins to Williamson, C. O. I: 39, no. 9; Harlow, *Barbados,* p. 219; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1669-1674, pp. 540, 544). The laws of the other islands regulating the relations between debtor and creditor were likewise distasteful to the home government. In Antigua, by the act of extent, goods were to be valued by sworn appraisers, then taken in fixed order. Slaves were attached to the freehold. If the personal property were insufficient to clear the debt, then the creditor must work the estate. In appraisal, sugar was valued at twice its market price. This act, in response to criticism, was amended in 1676. C. S. S. Higham, *Development of the Leeward Islands under the Restoration, 1660-1688* (Cambridge, 1921), pp. 157-159.

45. Vice-Director Beck to Director Stuyvesant.[1]

Curaçao, 16 April, Anno 1665.

Sir, . . . A ship, named *Joffr. Catarina,*[2] whereof Jacob Dircksen Willree is skipper, arrived here on the 14 January last, from Arder, on the coast of Guinea, with one hundred and fifty slaves. She was sent in the service of the company from Amsterdam to the Castle del Mina to carry a message to Mr. Valckenburgh with some supplies for that place, and succeeded very well, notwithstanding many English ships were off that coast. . . .

Since my last, I have sold here to the Genoese [3] all the slaves which had come here on the company's account in the last ships and were remaining at this place and were considered merchantable and could be spared from the country, one hundred and twenty pieces of eight. And because of these English troubles, and because for some time no slaves were expected here from the coast of Guinea, the aforesaid Genoese have taken their departure hence with their ship and the above-mentioned purchased slaves, on the 23 January last for Cartagena. We shall learn betimes whether this trade shall be renewed in Holland with the company, or whether it will be pursued and continued at this place by other Spaniards.

I have, since that, been informed that the principals of the above-mentioned Genoese in Spain have contracted with Royal Company of England for the delivery of slaves, such delivery to be made at the island of Jamaica, and that a large ship belonging to the said Genoese has already arrived at Jamaica, to carry away the slaves, according to the contract concluded with the Royal Company. But inasmuch as no slaves had reached there for the Royal Company, they were allowed to purchase as many slaves from the English planters and inhabitants as they were to receive. In regard to this contract, all commissions of privateers and ships against the Spaniards in these West Indies are revoked, and they are forbidden to inflict any damage on the Spanish nation by land or water; and when a rich Spanish prize was brought by the English privateers into Jamaica, they were obliged to restore her, free of costs and charges.

I doubt if this English royal company will be able to fulfill their contract with the Genoese, if it be of any magnitude, in consequence of the disturbances and troubles caused by themselves on the coast of Guinea and the great obstruction they will encounter as long as these troubles continue, in their slave trade and in all their other commerce, from the privateers of Holland and Zeeland, of which they have had, hitherto, no suspicion.

[45] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 17: 104.
[2] *Miss Catarina.*
[3] The assientist Grillo and Lomelin had bargained with the Dutch West India Company for 1400 negroes.

46. The King to Francis Lord Willoughby.[1]

Worcester House, 30 March, 1666.

Whereas the Company of Royall Adventurers of England trading into Africa did by their Petition desire they might have Leave to support the Bargaine they have made with Signior Grillo by such Negroes as shalbe procured by Signior Grillo himself, or any Agents employed by him, the better to comply with a Contract they have made with him, His Majesty in Councill having taken the said Petition into Consideration, and finding that in the present juncture of Affaires the Agreement cannot otherwise be complyed with, Wee do in his Majesties name pray and require you to permit all such Negros as shalbe comprized within the numbers, that ought to be delivered to Signior Grillo by the said Contract, whether brought in by Signior Grillo himself in the Ships of any Nation in Amity with his Majesty, or by the Company into Jamaica or Barbados, or by either of them procured upon the place, to be reimbarked and transported from thence, paying no other Duty or Custome for the same than the Petitioners are lyable to pay for such as they have sold, and do and shall deliver unto the said Signior Grillo, the Company sending under their Seale a Certificate of the Number that are to be delivered yearly to Signior Grillo, Which Indulgence his Majesty is pleased to graunt as a Favour to the said Royall Company that they make use of it so far forth as they shall find it for their Interest and extend it, or withdraw it, as they shall see occasion, they signifying from time to time their desire to you.[2]

47. The Privy Council to Francis Lord Willoughby.[1]

Whitehall, 6 April, 1666.

[A letter to Lord Willoughby of Parham. The Company of Royal Adventurers having complained] That Captaine Nicholas Pepperell Commander of the Petitioners Ship *Charles* having seized in the Coast of Guinny the Ship *William and Susan* trading there in contempt of his Majesties Charter, and brought her to Barbados to be there adjudged in his Majesties High Court of Admiralty, the said Captaine was at his Arrivall arrested by the Owners of the said Ship in an Action of 500,000 pounds of Sugar at Common Law, Whereupon the Petitioners Factors applyed themselves to Your Lordship and desired that the said Action may be dismissed from the Common Law to its proper Judicature the Admiralty, which your Lordship

[46] [1] *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 409-410. See introduction, p. 168.

[2] A similar letter was sent to Sir Thomas Modyford, governor of Jamaica.

[47] [1] *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 411-412. The brackets used here and in a few other selections from the *Acts* are those used in the texts to indicate material which has been summarized.

refused, and sitting in the Court of Admiralty would not take any Cognizance of the Cause there, but left them to defend his Majesties Charter at Common Law, as by the Petition a Copy whereof is herewith sent your Lordship may appeare, Which his Majesty having taken into Consideration, hath commanded us to signify unto your Lordship That it is his expresse Pleasure and Command That you forthwith dismisse the said Action Bayle out of the Court of Common Pleas in that Island, in which it is depending and transmit the whole Case and pretence of the Plantiffs together with all Writings and Papers thereunto belonging to this Boord, His Majesty intending to take Cognizance thereof himself.[2]

48. A List of the Royal Adventurers of England trading to Africa, 1667.[1]

The Kings Most Excellent Majesty
The Queen's Majesty
His Royal Highness the Duke of York
His Highness Prince Rupert
The Duke of Albemarle
The Earl of St. Albans
Earl of Anglesey
Lord Arlington

[2] While the Dutch struggle actually brought about the ruin of the company of 1663, the obstacles encountered in the West Indies were contributing factors which should not be ignored. Not only did the Barbadian planters fail to pay for their negroes, but their sympathies, and sometimes those of the government of the island as well, were often with the interloper rather than the company. That Willoughby was thought to have neglected the above order is shown by the fact that nearly two years later, Jan. 31, 1668, the Privy Council called a second time for the transference of this case to England. Zook, pp. 76-78.

[48] [1] *The Several Declarations of the Company,* p. 10. This list, printed in order to show sources of capital and influence, is not dated and appears with material of 1663, but since William Rumbold, whose executors are here included, did not die until 1667, and since it was published in 1667, it must belong to that year. The original list of subscribers contained in the charter of 1660 is as follows (Carr, *Select Charters,* pp. 172-177): James Duke of York, Maria Princess of Orange, Princess Henrietta, Prince Rupert, Duke of Cumberland, George Duke of Buckingham, George Duke of Albemarle, James Marquis of Ormond, Philip Earl of Pembroke, Henry Earl of St. Albans, Edward Earl of Sandwich, John Earl of Bath, Thomas Earl of Ossory, George Lord Berkeley, William Lord Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Charles Lord Brandon, Sir George Carteret, Charles Howard, William Coventry, Sir Charles Sidley (Sedley), Sir John Warner, Sir Charles Berkeley, Henry Jermyn, William Legge, John Denham, Sir Anthony de Marces, Sir Ellis Leighton, Sir Edward Turner, Edward Gregory, Richard Nicholls, Cornelius Vermuyden.

By 1663 this list had doubled. While it still contained a large group of courtiers, it had added a number of the merchant class, chief among whom were Backwell, Noell, Povey, and Riccard; Queen Katherine, Mary the Queen Mother, James Duke of York, Henrietta Maria Duchess of Orleans, Prince Rupert, George Duke of Buckingham, Mary Duchess of Richmond, Edward Earl of Manchester, Philip Earl of Pembroke, Henry Earl of St. Albans, John Earl of Bath, Edward Earl of Sandwich, Charles Earl of Carlisle, Earl of Lauderdale, George Lord Berkeley, William Lord Craven, Lord Lucas, Charles Lord Gerrard, William Lord Crofts, John Lord Berkeley, Thomas Grey, Sir George Carteret, Sir Charles Sidley (Sedley), Sir Ellis Leighton, Edward Gregory, Sir Edward Turner, Sir Anthony de Merces, William Legge, Richard Nicholls, Sir William Davison, William Cutler, Sir James Modyford, Thomas Cullem, George Cock, Charles Porter, Sir John Colleton, John Buckworth, Sir John Robinson, Sir Nicholas Crisp, Sir Richard Ford, Sir William Rider, John Bence, Sir George Smith, Sir John Shaw, Sir Martin Noell, Abraham Brigges, Thomas Povey, Edward Backwell, Matthew Wren, Tobias Rustat, Martin Noell, jr., Henry Johnson, James Congett, John Ashburnham, Edward Noell, James Noell, Francis Meynell, John Cooper, Sir Andrew Riccard, William

Lord Ashley
Sir Allen Appesley [2]
Col. William Ashburnham [3]
Mr. John Ayres
The Duke of Buckingham
The Earl of Bath
Lord Bellasis
John L[ord] Berckley
Henry Brounkerd Esq;
Edward Backwell, Esq;[4]
Alderman John Bence
Mr. Alex. Bence
Mr. John Ball
Mr. Birkhead
Mr. John Buckworth
The Earl of Carlisle
William Earl of Craven [5]
William L[ord] Crofts
Sir George Carteret
Sir William Coventry [6]
The executors of
Sir John Colleton
The Executors of
Sir Nicholas Crispe
Sir Anthony Craven
Capt. George Cock [7]
Mr. William Cutler
Mr. Thomas Cullom [8]
Mr. John Collvill
Thomas Crispe Esq;
Mr. Jeremy Copping
Capt. Edward Crispe
Mr. Thomas Childe
Mr. John Conny
Sir William Davison
Mr. Francis Dashwood.
The Countess of Falmouth
Sir Richard Ford
Sir Philip Frowd [9]
Mr. Robert Foley

Harbart, Sir John Jacob, Sir John Harrison, Sir John Wolstenholm, Sir William Wake, Sylas Titus, Peter Proby.

C. M. Andrews points out that eleven members of the African Company (by which he evidently means the Company of Royal Adventurers) were members of the Council of Trade created in 1660, and that eight members of the African Company were also members of the Council for Foreign Plantations: Lord Berkeley, Sir George Carteret, Sir Nicholas Crisp, Sir Andrew Riccard, Sir John Shaw, Thomas Povey, Martin Noell, and Sir John Colleton. Andrews, *British Committees,* p. 68.

[2] An older Sir Allen Apsley was deputy governor of the company of 1618. This member of the family was treasurer of the household of the Duke of York, and a member of Parliament from 1661 to 1678.

[3] William Ashburnham, described by Pepys as an "experienced man and a Cavalier", was cofferer of the household after the Restoration. In the patent of the company John Ashburnham is named, but no William.

[4] Edward Backwell, alderman and goldsmith, was one of the most successful bankers of the time. Cromwell and Charles II., as well as many members of the nobility, the city companies, and the East India Company, at times called upon him for funds.

[5] William Earl of Craven, to whom Charles I. and Charles II. were heavily indebted, was one of the proprietors of Carolina, and a member of the Privy Council. Throughout his life he was devoted to Elizabeth of Bohemia and was probably familiar with Prince Rupert and his plans for an African company.

[6] Sir William Coventry, private secretary to James, Duke of York; a member of Parliament in 1661; in 1665 made privy councillor and knighted.

[7] Capt. George Cock, a prosperous merchant, had served in the Royalist forces, and in 1660 had been made searcher of the port of Newcastle. Pepys referred to him in the entry, "This morning Captain Cocke did give me a good account of the Guinny trade". *Diary,* Nov. 4, 1663.

[8] Sir Thomas Cullum, alderman, who had made a fortune in the draper's business, married the daughter of Nicholas Crisp, and been knighted in 1660, had died in 1664. This Thomas may have been his son.

[9] Richard Ford, the London merchant trading between Rotterdam and Exeter in 1652, may well have been Sir Richard Ford, M. P. 1662-1677. Sir Philip Frowde, knighted Mar. 10, 1665, was secretary of the Council for Foreign Plantations, established in 1660.

Thomas Grey, Esq;
Col. Ranald Graham
Sir Dennis Gawden [10]
Lord Hawley
William Harbert Esq;
Mr. James Hore
Mr. Henry Johnson
Thomas Killigrew Esq;[11]
The Earl of Lawtherdale
Lord Lucas
Sir Charles Littleton [12]
Sir Ellis Leighton
Sir John Lawrence
Sir John Lawther
Col. William Legg [13]
Christopher Lawther, Esq;
Mr. Robert Lee
John Letten
Sir Anthony de Marces [14]
Sir James Modyford
Sir Thomas Modyford [15]
Alderman Francis Meynel
Mr. Richard Middleton
Mr. Richard Mountney
Mr. Henry More
The Execut. of Sir Martin Noell
Edward Noell Esq; [16]
Thomas Noell Esq;
The Earl of Peterburgh
Edwards Prodgers Esq;
Thomas Povey, Esq;[17]
Charles Porter, Esq;
Mr. Peter Proby
Mr. John Portman
Duke of Richmond
Sir John Robinson
Sir William Rider
Sir Andrew Riccard [18]
Tobias Rustat Esq;
The Execut. of
Mr. William Rombald
Mr. Rosse
Mr. George Robinson
The Earl of Sandwich
Sir Charles Sidley
Sir John Shaw
Sir James Shane
The Execut. of Sir George Smith

[10] Sir Dennis Gauden, attached to the victualling office.

[11] Thomas Killigrew, who had been with Charles II. throughout his exile, was upon the Restoration made groom of the bedchamber, and given the right to erect his playhouses in London.

[12] Sir Charles Lyttleton, knighted in 1662, accompanied Lord Windsor to Jamaica as lieutenant governor. When the latter returned home he remained a short time as governor.

[13] Col. William Legge, who had served under Prince Rupert, after the Restoration was made treasurer of the Ordnance and groom of the bedchamber. He was a member of Parliament for Southampton.

[14] Carr prints the name de Marces as de Martes. *Select Charters,* p. 173.

[15] Sir James Modyford, younger brother of Thomas, was merchant, colonial agent, and deputy governor of Jamaica. Between 1664 and 1666 he was in London as colonial agent, later he was appointed by his brother chief judge of the admiralty court of Jamaica. Sir Thomas Modyford in 1647 arrived in Barbados, where he owned a sugar plantation. Originally a Royalist, he had gone over to the parliamentary side in 1652. He was appointed governor of Barbados before the Restoration but the place was shortly afterward bestowed upon Willoughby. In 1664 he was sent to Jamaica as governor.

[16] Sir Martin Noell, one of the most important merchants of the Restoration period, was the owner of some 20,000 acres in Jamaica. For an account of his manifold activities, see Andrews, *British Committees,* pp. 49-55. His brother Thomas was well known in Barbados and Surinam. The list in the charter contains the names of Martin Noell, jr., and James Noell, but not Thomas.

[17] Thomas Povey, in spite of the fact that he had not been an active Royalist, was in high favor after the Restoration. He was treasurer to the Duke of York, master of requests, and receiver general for rents and revenues of the plantations. *Ibid.,* pp. 51-52.

[18] Sir Andrew Riccard, one of the wealthiest of London merchants and a land owner in Jamaica, was father-in-law of John Lord Berkeley.

Edward Seymour Esq;
Mr. John Sweeting
Mr. George Snell
The Execut. of
Mr. Francis Simpson
Mr. Arnold Sartillon
Sir Edward Turner
Capt. William Thomas .
Mr. George Toriano
Mr. James Temple
The Execut. of Sir Thomas Viner
Sir Robert Viner
Brome Whorwood Esq;
Sir William Warren
Sir John Wolstenholme
Matthew Wrenn Esq;
Joseph Williamson Esq;
Mr. Francis Warner
John Wolstenholme Esq;
Mr. John Young [19]

By Order of the Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading into Africa.

ELLIS LEIGHTON, Secret.

49. PETITION OF SIR THOMAS BLUDWORTH AND OTHERS.[1]

WHITEHALL, 16 July 1669.

. . . Sir Thomas Bludworth, Knight, Sir William Ryder, Knight, Roger Chappell and others Merchants,[2] Shewing, That in October, 1667, they set out the Ship *Thomas and William,* Robert Bartlet Master with a Cargo of Goods to trade on the Coast of Guinea, there to take in Negros, and to returne for Cadiz in Spaine, in which Voyage she sprang a Leake, insomuch that she was forced to put in at Surinam, where at her Arrivall, the said Master found the same contrary to his Expectation to be in the possession of the Dutch,[3] and being no waies able to proceed any further with his said Ship was necessitated to contract for his Slaves to be paid in heading

[19] The following members of this company were in 1663 also members of the East India Company: Edward Backwell, who in 1661-1663 held a license to supply the East India Company with coin and bullion; John Bence; Sir Richard Ford; Francis Meynell, who likewise had the privilege of supplying the company with coin and bullion; Sir Andrew Riccard, who was governor of the East India Company from 1660 to 1662; Sir William Rider; Sir John Shaw; Sir George Smith; and Sir John Wolstenholme, who was a heavy stockholder in the East India Company. Sainsbury, *Court Minutes of the East India Company,* 1660-1663, pp. v, xxx, 23, 24, 146, 241, 366.

[49] [1] *Acts P. C. C.,* I. 528.

[2] Sir Thomas Bludworth was a member of the East India Company and had in 1662 served on a committee which endeavored to continue that company's interest in the West African coast (introduction, pp. 83-84). Sir William Rider was deputy governor of the East India Company at the time the African company of 1663 was formed. Rider became a member of this company; both Bludworth and Rider were stockholders in the African company of 1672 (*Court Minutes of the East India Company,* 1660-1663, pp. 36, 105, 200, 257, 259). Roger Chappell had been a factor of the East India Company on the Guinea coast. *Ibid.,* pp. 213, 356.

[3] Surinam had been captured by the Dutch in February, 1667, a fact which one would suppose Captain Bartlett might have known when he set sail in October, while he could hardly have known that it was recaptured by the English in October. This however he may have heard while trading on the West Coast. By the Peace of Breda Surinam was restored to the Dutch, probably not long before the *Thomas and William* arrived there. *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1661-1668, pp. 599-600.

for Caske, and to hire two Dutch Pinkes to carry part thereof to Barbados, engaging all the Petitioners Estate at Surinam to returne the said Pinkes, but at their Arrivall at the Barbados, the said Pinkes and their Lading were seized condemned and sold by which meanes the said Master cannot comply with his Engagement at Surinam, and the Petitioners Estate there being to the value of Three Thousand pounds wilbe lost, And therefore humbly Praying, That if the said Two Pinkes and their Lading cannot be delivered unto them, they may receive the full Proceed thereof according as they were sold towards the Satisfaction which they must make out of their Estates at Surinam for the said Pinkes and Goods in them, which the Dutch value at Two Thousand pounds.[4]

50. Reflections on Jamaica Slave Trade, 1670 (?).[1]

Some Reflections on the Royall African Companys Interest in the Plantations and the use of a Major Generall in the Island of Jamaica.

The preservacion of the Royall Affrican Companys interest in supplying our Plantations with Negros is as necessary as any one matter w'ch concernes them, for though by the Interloping Trade both from Affrica and the Dutch Island of Cuirisa [2] they may in time of Peace bee supply'd and perhapps att 10 p Cent lower rates, yett would they prove but a petty Recompence for the Stop of them in time of Warr, w'ch would infallibly happen if the Compa. should by Interlopers bee discouraged from minding that matter, as they must needs bee if things there proceed, as lately they have done.

The Remedy of this mischiefe seemes att present principally to bee Intrusted to His Ma'ties Governours there; w'ch it is true might bee effectuall, if the Governo'r was not to need the Country for his own propper support: but that being so, if hee [be] zealous for the Company, hee loses the Country, and if hee favour the Country, to which hee is necessitated by his interest, hee as certainly loses the Company and is Slander'd, as one guilty of Tricks, w'ch destroys him att Court.

These mischiefes might bee remedyed and the Affrican Companyes interest might bee with ease preserved, if some necessary Rules were made concerning that Trade here, and the inspection of them placed in A Major Generall who by usage there officiated in some sort like a Comissary of the Musters a place absolutely necessary for the safety of all their Lives.

[4] The petition was referred to Lord Willoughby for his report.

[50] [1] Library of Congress, British Transcripts, Egerton MSS. 2395, f. 466. Endorsed, "R: Affrican Company in Jamaica and Concerning a Maj'r Genn'll". This manuscript, itself undated, is found between one of Dec. 22, 1669, and one of Mar. 30, 1670.

[2] Curaçao.

For they considering that the advantage arising by Blacks in Planting compared to that of white Servants is very considerable have in their Laws att Jamaica Fourseene that the proportion of Blacks might in short tyme bee such, that a Rebellion of them would bee easy and therefore have in their Assembly Enacted that to every Eight Blacks, as I take it, every man should bee obliged to keep one white man.

This Law soe necessary and made considerably penall is in the plantations frequently broken and will in the end signifie nothing if a due Register or Muster bee not kept both of the blacks and Whites in the Island and the particular Planters to whom they belong.

This might bee easily done if the King by his Letter should take notice of the Premises: And appoint that for the safety of his Subjects there An Office for Tolling Blacks and Registring all Sales of them should bee held att every place where Quarter Session Courts are kept and that these Registers should bee duly returned to the Major Generalls Office, to bee compared with the Muster Rolls of the Whites belonging to every plantation in the severall precincts of the Island.

It might bee further ordered that once a quarter the Number of the dead Blacks might bee returned.

It might bee further necessary that all Blacks now in the Island or hereafter to bee brought thither should bee marked with one Generall Brand. And that any which should after bee found without that Brand should bee forfeited, Branded and Sold, the proffitt to bee ½ to the Governor and the other ½ to the White Informer, with Freedome to him that is a White Servant who discovers a concealed Black of his Masters.

This Office would absolutely prevent Interloping, prevent clamour against the Governo'rs either there or here and secure the Island of Jamaica from Rebellions of their Blacks, which is most in danger by its severall Mountainous Woody Fastnesses to receive them.

The Company for a Law of this sort might afford and would be ready to allow a sufficient support by way of Factorage for maintaining the Office, as suppose it was 5 *s* per head for every new Black they brought to bee pd. att his first Branding.

51. Proposals for Resettlement of the Company of Royal Adventurers trading into Africa, 1671.[1]

Present stock, 122,000 *l.* to be valued at 10 per cent., and so reduced to 12,200 *l.* Creditors to receive two-thirds of their debts in old stock

[51] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1661-1668, pp. 119-120 (summary). These proposals are calendared under the date 1663, which is probably a mistake, since the financial plan here proposed is that used in 1671. The document bears three indorsements, the first of which is undated, the second is "Guiney Company, 1671", the third, a late pencil indorsement, is "Guinea, 1671, 63, Jan.", which perhaps accounts for its place in the *Calendar*.

and the remainder in ready money;[2] 84,000 *l.* new stock to be raised, in subscribing which present adventurers and creditors, who shall subscribe two-thirds of their debts into the old stock, shall have the preference; every 100 *l.* adventurer to have a vote in the management. Government in England to be by committee of five, or at most seven persons, to be chosen by plurality of votes in general court; two of the five, or three of the seven, to retire annually, and others substituted; the committee to meet three days a week and stay three hours at each meeting, and to receive 20 *s.* apiece for each meeting; no member to be absent except he have first petitioned the general court to lay down his place; the committee to have power to suspend any of the Company's officers hereafter mentioned, unless upon their appeal the general court restore them; the said officers to give security for faithful discharge of duties, *viz.*, a treasurer and chief accountant at 150 *l.* each per ann. salary, second accountant at 100 *l.*, warehouse-keeper at 60 *l.*, surveyor of ships at 30 *l.*, and messenger at 20 *l.* Resolutions of the committee to be by majority of votes, and binding on the Company unless contradictory to some order of the general court. Any member of the committee defrauding the Company or receiving any gift or bribe to forfeit his whole stock, and any officer so guilty to be forthwith discharged and made incapable of being ever restored. Posts in Africa to be Cape Corso, Anashan, Commenda, Aga, and Acra;[3] castle of Cape Corso to be head factory and residence of the agent for the whole of Africa; also of two merchants, a gold-taker, a warehouse-keeper, a chief accountant and second accountant, and three younger factors; garrison to be 50 English soldiers and 30 negro slaves, a captain, and four sergeants or corporals. Anashan to have chief and second factor, a sergeant, ten English soldiers, and eight negroes. Commenda, Aga, and Acra to have each a house, two factors, two soldiers, and two negroes. For the Caribbee islands [4]

[2] The creditors were to receive £19,000 in cash, and £38,000 in shares of the old company, which would be written down to £3800. Of £100,000 capital of the new company, £16,000 went to shareholders and creditors of the old company, £19,000 as cash to creditors, and £65,000 was to be used as working capital. For every £100 of his debt a creditor would thus receive £33. 6. 8 in cash, and £6. 13. 4 in the stock of the new company. Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies,* II. 19.

[3] Cabo Corso (Cape Coast), not far from Elmina, remained throughout the period of the English slave trade the chief English factory upon the Gold Coast. This form of the name was retained by the English throughout most of the seventeenth century but by the eighteenth it had been transformed into Cape Coast. Excellent pictures of this fort are to be found in Churchill, *Voyages and Travels,* vol. V., and in Astley, *Voyages and Travels,* vol. II. Anashan was less than ten miles east of Cape Coast; Commenda, west of Cape Coast; Elmina, about half-way between them; Agga or Adga, east of Anashan, in the Fantyn province; Accra, about 150 miles east of Cape Three Points, near the eastern limits of the Gold Coast. Portuguese, French, and Danes had had forts or factories at Accra before this time.

[4] By 1671 the British were in possession of Barbados, the Leeward Islands, Jamaica, and the Caymans.

the Company to allow the factors two per cent. for sales and returns in goods, and one per cent. for returns in bills of exchange; the factors to make good to the Company all their debts, and the Company to be at no further charge. For the supply of the plantations with negro servants; the Company to grant license to all his Majesty's subjects to fetch negroes on payment of 3 *l.* per ton on the tonnage of their ships, but binding them not to touch at certain points; also to make offer to governors to furnish them annually with as many negroes as they will contract for at 17 *l.* per head at Barbadoes, 18 *l.* at Antigua, and 19 *l.* in Jamaica, with a reduction of 1 *l.* per head at each place to any one contracting for a whole ship-load and paying one-fourth of the price in advance with security for the remainder; the Company not to be bound to supply negroes to any planter indebted to them for a former supply. If the Company's creditors will not accept of one-third in money and two-thirds in old stock, the whole effects to be made over to them and a new patent taken out. Endeavours to be used to obtain an Act of Parliament for confirmation of the Company's charter.

52. The King to William Lord Willoughby.[1]

Whitehall, 22 November, 1671.

It is of a long time That Wee have been made acquainted with the hard measures the Royall Company trading to Africa have received in Our Island of Barbados in relation to the great debts due to them and the delay and fayler of Justice they have mett with in their endeavors for the recovery thereof. But now lately they have by their complaint made to Us so fully represented their case in that Particular, and the ruine impending upon their whole Stock, and Trade, to the Scandall of the Government there which is like to be followed with a totall losse of that beneficiall Trade to us and Our Kingdomes, and even ruine to that and other Our Plantations, That Wee have taken the same into Our most serious and Princely consideration, and by advice of Our Privy Councill have resolved to interpose in the most effectuall manner, Our Justice and Royall Power, that full right may be done to the said Company, and that by no Artifice or combination upon pretence of Law or Custome in that Island they be any longer withheld from what is due to them.

And though Wee might justly send for some of their cheif Debitors hither to answer this complaint, and to abide such rule as shalbe found expedient for their plenary satisfaction, and the recovery of their Trade which is in great hazard by the proceedings used there, in this

[52] [1] *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 572-574. William Lord Willoughby, brother of Francis, succeeded him as governor of Barbados, reaching the island in January, 1667.

Case, Yet being desirous to recommend Our Justice by all waies of lenity and moderation towards such as We hope will not continue Obstinate in a course of wrong and injury to their fellow subjects Wee have thought fitt first to settle this way and method for the obteyning Justice to the said Company *Vizt.*

That you Our Governor or Deputy Governor of that Island, do employ your utmost Care and diligence in assisting Mr. Robert Beven and Mr. Edwin Stede Agents now purposely sent by the said Company for recovery of their said debts procureing him with all the Interest you have speedy and full justice therein, And that none may shelter themselves under Our Authority, or as persons employed by Us, and in Our Service Our Will and pleasure is, That if upon the prosecution of the said Agent, and such assistance and Countenance as you shall give him, which Wee command you to doe in the most effectuall manner, as in an affair, which Wee take much to heart, the said Debitors or any of them, shall not make payment to the said Agent of the debts due to the said Company within four Moneths after demand that every person neglecting or refuseing such payment be discharged from his Office, place, or Imployment, or proffitt, trust, or honour in that Island especially of his place of Judicature they being altogether unworthy to have a hand in the distribution of Justice, that are not just in their owne particular Concerns. And if this course shall not take the Effect Wee hope and desire Wee are resolved to apply the utmost and most severe remedies Our Royall authority is furnished with to compell the refractory to pay their just debts, and to lett them see, That distance of Place shall shelter none from Our Justice and Power.

And Wee doe further streightly charge and Command you . . . That this Our Letter be published in the accustomed Places and then recorded in the Generall Assembly of Our said Island, whereof, and of your punctuall execution of these Our Commands in all Points, Wee shall require a strict account of you.[2]

53. Charter of the Royal African Company.[1]

Charles the Second by the Grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc., To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting: Whereas all and singular the

[2] A similar letter was sent to Jamaica May 25, 1672. A letter of Nov. 26, 1672, duplicates this. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1669-1674, pp. 363-364, 436.

[53] [1] T 70: 1505. By far the most valuable single source of material for the slave trade is the body of records of the Royal African Company in the Public Record Office, known as Treasury Papers 70, and here cited as T 70. For a description of these papers see Hilary Jenkinson, "The Records of the English African Companies", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (third ser.), VI. 197-220; a list will be found in *Lists and Indexes,* no. XLVI. (Public Record Office, 1921), pp. 52-76. A more extended study based on these papers will be found in a forthcoming book on

regions, countrys, dominions and territories, continents, coasts and places, now or at any time heretofore called or known by the name or names of Guinny, Buiny,[2] Angola and South Barbary or by any of them, or which are or have been reputed esteemed or taken to be parcel or member of any region country dominion territory or continent called Guinny or Binny, Angola or South Barbary and all and singular ports and havens, rivers, creeks, islands and places in the parts of Africa to them or any of them belonging, and the sole and onely trade and traffic thereof, are the undoubted right of Us our heirs and successors and are and have been enjoyed by Us and by our predecessors for many years past as in right of this our Crown of England,

And whereas the trade of the said regions, countries and places is of great advantage to our subjects of this Kingdom, and for the improvement thereof divers attempts have been made and several charters granted by our Royal Progenitors to several persons with such powers and authorities, as were then conceived proper for the carrying on of the said trade, but all the said endeavours proved ineffectual untill We by Letters Patents under our Great Seal of England bearing date the tenth day of January in the fourteenth year of our reign did give and grant unto our Royal Consort Queen Katherine, Mary the Queen our Mother (since deceased), our dearest Brother James Duke of York and others therein named the propriety and government of all the said regions territories, countries, dominions, continents, coasts and places, in trust for the Company of Royal Adventurers of England, trading into Africa, And for the better managing of the Trade and traffic thereof, did create and make them and such as they should think fit to receive into their Society [a?] body politick and Corporate by the name of the Company of the Royal Adventurers of England trading into Africa, Granting to them and their Successors the sole Trade of the said Regions, Countries, Dominions, Territories, Continents, Coasts and places, with prohibition to all others, and several other liberties and priviledges as by the said Letters Patents may appear, whereby the said trade is very much advanced and improved,[3]

Nevertheless, by accidents in the late wars and other casualties the said Company have sustained great losses by means whereof their

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the Royal African Company, by Dr. George F. Zook. The letter-books, ledgers, minute-books, cash-books, waste books, and journals, amounting to some 1600 volumes, offer an embarrassment of riches from which to make selections illustrative of the history of the companies. Most of the extracts here printed have been taken from the letter-books and journals, as more illuminating when removed from their context than would be detached portions of the ledgers. Extracts from these papers, selected by Miss Ruth Anna Fisher, were printed in the *Journal of Negro History,* XIII. 286-394.

[2] Benin.

[3] For the charter of 1663 see Carr, *Select Charters,* pp. 177-181.

stock hath been so impaired that, besides the great Debts they were payable unto, there remained not sufficient to manage the said trade, whereupon all persons refused to advance any more money upon that account lest it should be subject to the payment of those debts and not be employed in the said trade,

And it being found also by experience that the powers and privileges in our said Letters Patents granted were not sufficient for those purposes for which they were designed,

Thereupon the said Company, to enable them to pay and satisfy their just debts so far as the value of what remained unto them will extend unto, have treated with the persons hereafter named who upon that occasion have made subscriptions towards a new stock, and have for valuable considerations undertaken to assure unto them all the said regions, dominions, territories, continents and places by Us granted as aforesaid, and all their rights and privileges in the trade thereof, And for that end to become humble suitors to Us that We would be graciously pleased to accept a surrender of all their rights and interests either in law or equity in the said regions, dominions, territories, continents, coasts and places, and of all their whole rights and privileges of trade unto those parts, And that We would be pleased to make the said persons hereafter named a new Society or Corporation to whom the said regions, territories, continents, coasts and places and the sole trade thereof may be granted with such powers and privileges as shall be most convenient for the advancement and carrying on the said trade,

And the said Company have accordingly besought Us on that behalf and have under their Common Seal surrendered the said property and sole privileges unto Us for the purposes aforesaid,

Now know ye that We graciously tendering the encouragement and advancement of the said trade and to the end the new Company or Corporation hereafter erected and constituted may be the better enabled to maintain and enlarge the said trade and traffic into and from the parts and places in the said Letters Patents and hereafter in these presents expressed, and at the humble petition of the said Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading into Africa and also of the persons hereafter named, We have accepted of the said surrender and of our more especial grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, We have given and granted, and for Us our heirs and successors do hereby give and grant unto our dearest Brother James, Duke of York, Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury, Mr. John Buckworth, Sir John Banks, John Bence, Esquire, William Earl of Craven, Mr. Jarvis Cartwright, Mr. Samuel Dashwood, Sir Richard Ford, Mr. Thomas Farrington, Captain Ferdinando Gorges, Mr. Edward

Hoopegood, Mr. John Jeffries, Sir Andrew King, Charles Modyford, Esquire, Mr. Samuel Moyer, Mr. Peter Proby, Mr. Gabriel Roberts, Sir John Shaw, Mr. Benjamin Skutt, Sir Robert Vyner, Mr. Thomas Vernon, Mr. Nicholas Warren and Mr. Richard Young,[4] their executors and assigns, all and singular the regions, countrys, dominions, territories, continents, coasts and places lying and being within the limits and bounds hereafter mentioned (that is to say), beginning at the port of Sallee in South Barbary inclusive, and extending from thence to Cape De Bona Esperanza inclusive, with all the Islands near, adjoining to those Coasts and comprehended within the limits aforesaid, which regions, countrys, dominions, territories, continents, coasts, places and Islands have been heretofore called or known by the name of South Barbary, Guinny, Binny or Angola or by some or any other name or names, which are or have been reputed, esteemed or taken to be part, parcel or member of any Country, region, dominion, territory or continent within the limits aforesaid, and all and singular Ports, Harbours, Creeks, Islands, Lakes, and places in the parts of Africa, to them, or any of them, belonging or being under the obedience of any King, State, or Potentate of any Region, Dominion or Country within the limits aforesaid,

To have and To hold all and singular the said Regions, Countries, Dominions, Territories, Continents, Islands, Coasts and places aforesaid, and all and singular other the premises within the limits aforesaid, to the said James, Duke of York, Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury, Mr. John Buckworth, Sir John Banks, John Bence, Esquire, William Earl of Craven, Mr. Jarvis Cartwright, Mr. Samuel Dashwood, Sir Richard Ford, Mr. Thomas Farrington, Captain Ferdinando Gorges, Mr. Edward Hoopegood, Mr. John Jeffries, Sir Andrew King, Charles Modyford, Esquire, Mr. Samuel Moyer, Mr. Peter Proby, Mr. Gabriel Roberts, Sir John Shaw, Mr. Benjamin Skutt, Sir Robert Vyner, Mr. Thomas Vernon, Mr. Nicholas Warren and Mr. Richard Young, their ex'ors and assigns, from the making of these, our Letters Pattent, for and during the term, and unto the full end and term of one thousand years, yielding and rendering therefore unto Us, our

[4] This group of twenty-four constituted the "assistants" of the new company, named later in the charter. The names in this list which had not heretofore appeared in African charters are: John Banks, Jarvis Cartwright, Samuel Dashwood, Thomas Farrington, Ferdinando Gorges, Edward Hopegood, John Jeffreys, Andrew King, Charles Modyford, Samuel Moyer, Gabriel Roberts, Benjamin Skutt, Thomas Vernon, Nicholas Warren, and Richard Young. Sir John Banks was a merchant of small beginnings, who, according to Evelyn, had by 1676 amassed a fortune of £100,000 (*Diary,* ed. Dobson, II. 393). The colonizing activities of Gorges are too well known to need description. John Jeffreys and his brother Jeffrey, both London merchants, were closely associated with the slave trade throughout the remainder of the century (see their activities in the Virginia trade, this work, vol. III). Samuel Moyer had been a London alderman in 1652, and in 1653 was a member of the Council of State (*Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1652-1653, pp. 62, 339). Benjamin Skutt and Gorges had been signers of a petition for free trade to Africa, in 1667. Stock, *Proceedings and Debates,* I. 342-345.

heirs and successors, two Elephants, whenever we, our heirs and successors, or any of them, shall arrive, land or come into the Dominions, Regions, Countrys, Territories, Plantations and places before mentioned, or any of them.

Nevertheless, our Will and pleasure is, And we do hereby declare the true intent and meaning of these presents to be, that this, our present grant and demise of the Regions, Countrys, Dominions, Territories, Continents, Islands, Coasts, and places aforesaid, and all the benefits, comodity, profits, and advantages made and to be made and gotten out of the same, or by reason of the term aforesaid, shall be and shall be interpreted to be in Trust and for the sole use, benefit and behoof of the Royal African Company of England hereafter mentioned, and their Successors, and after, in and by these presents Incorporated, or mentioned to be Incorporated, And, therefore, for the setting forward and furtherance of Trade intended, in the parts aforesaid, and the incouragement of the undertakers in the discovering the Golden Mines and settling of Plantations, being an enterprise so laudable and conducing to so worthy an end as the increase of Traffic and Merchandize wherein this nation hath been famous; of our further and more ample [*torn*] Grace and favour certain knowledge and mere motion, We do will, ordain, constitute, appoint, give and grant unto our said dearest Brother James, Duke of York, His Highness, Prince Rupert, Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury, Henry, Earl of Arlington, [*and 199 others*] that they and all such others, as they shall from time to time think fit and convenient to receive into their Company and Society to be traders and adventurers with them to the said Countries, shall be one body Politick and Corporate of themselves, in deed and in name, by the name of the Royal African Company of England: and them, by that name, one body Politick and Corporate in deed and in name, We do, for us, our heirs and successors, make, create, ordain, constitute, appoint and confirm by these presents; and that by the same name they shall have perpetual succession, and that they and their successors, by the name of the Royal African Company of England, at all times hereafter, shall be persons able and capable in Law to have, take, purchase, receive, possess and enjoy Manors, Messuages, Lands, Tenements, rents, liberties, priviledges and hereditaments of whatsoever kind, nature, or quality to them and their Successors, and by the same name shall and may be persons able and capable in law to plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered unto, defend and be defended, in whatsoever Court and places, and before whatsoever Judges, Justices, Officers and Ministers, of us, our heirs and Successors, and in all and singular pleas, accompts, Suits, Causes, and demands whatsoever of what kind,

nature or sort soever, and in such manner and form as any other of our Liege People of this Kingdom of England, or other dominions, being persons able and capable in Law to plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered unto, defend and be defended, have, purchase, receive, take, possess, give and grant, let and dispose by any lawful ways and means whatsoever. And that it shall, and may be, lawful for the said Royal African Company of England and their successors to have and use a Common Seal for all the causes and businesses of them and their Successors, which seal our will and pleasure is shall be engraven and set forth in manner and form following, that is to say, On the one side the image of our Royal Person in our Parliament or royal robes, and on the other side an elephant bearing a castle supported by two negroes or black mores:

And for the better ordering and Governing of the said Company we have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors do give and grant unto the said Royal African Company of England and their successors that there shall from time to time, be a Governor, Sub Governor, and Deputy Governor and twenty-four assistant members of the said Company, which said Governor, Sub-Governor, and Deputy Governor and assistants, or any seven or the major part of them (of which the Governor, Sub-Governor, or Deputy Governor to be one) and their successors, we will shall be called the Court of Assistants of the Royal African Company of England, shall be and are hereby authorized and impowered according to such Rules, orders and directions, as shall from time to time be made and given unto them by the General Court of the said Company, and for want of such order rules or direction by the said General Court then they the said Governor, Sub Governor, Deputy Governor and Assistants or any seven or the major part of them, Whereof the said Governor Sub Governor or Deputy Governor to be one, are hereby authorized and impowered from time to time to have the Whole management and direction of all the Affairs and business of the said Company as well in buying and selling of all goods and merchandizes as in providing Ships, erecting factories, and in the Choice of their factors and all their other Servants and ministers Whatsoever, and generally to act and do in all other things Whatsoever they shall Judge necessary to the well ordering and Government of the said Company and the trade thereof, and to so enjoy, perform and execute all the powers, authorities, priviledges, Acts and things to all intents and purposes as if the same were done by the said General Court, and that our dearest and intirely beloved brother James Duke of York shall be the present Governor and Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury shall be the present Sub Governor and

Mr. John Buckworth shall be the present Deputy Governor, and that Sir John Banks, Capt. John Bence, Esq., and William Earl of Craven, Mr. Jarvis Cartwright, Mr. Samuell Dashwood, Sir Richard Ford, Mr. Thomas Farrington, Capt. Ferdinando Gorges, Mr. Edward Hopegood, John Jeffries, Esq., Sir Andrew King, Charles Modyford, Esq., Mr. Samuell Moyer, Mr. Peter Proby, Mr. Gabriel Roberts, Sir John Shaw, Mr. Benjamin Skutt, Sir Robert Vyner, Mr. Thomas Vernon, Mr. Nicholas Warren, and Mr. Richard Young shall be Assistants of the said Company, together with three such other persons as shall be chosen at the next general Court of the said Company or any other General Court by the major part of the persons there assembled before the fifth day of January next ensuing to be Assistants, and that the said Governor, Sub Governor and Deputy Governor and the said Assistants shall continue in their said respective places and Offices untill the twentieth day of January next ensuing the date of these presents, and from thence untill there shall be a New Choice duely made of Governor, Sub Governor and Deputy Governor and twenty four persons as Assistants of the said Company to succeed them according as is hereafter directed, unless they or any of them shall die or be removed by Order to be made by the General Court of the said Company before the expiration of the said time; and in case any of them shall die or be so removed before the expiration of the said time it shall, and may be, lawful for the major part of the persons assembled at any General Court of the said Company to make choice of any member of the said Company in the place of such persons so deceased or removed, which person so to be chosen shall continue in the said office during the residue of the said time.

And we do further, for us our heirs and successors, give and grant to the said Royal African Company of England and their Successors that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Company at any time between the first day of January and the said twentieth day of January next ensuing, the date of these presents, and so from time to time between the first and twentieth day of January in every year successively, to assemble a General Court of the Royal African Company of England, and by the major part of the generality there present, to make a general Collection and choose a Governor, Sub-Governor and Deputy Governor and twenty four assistants for the purposes aforesaid, which are to continue in the said office for the ensuing year next after the twentieth day of January following the said election, and from thence until other persons be duly chosen in their rooms; and upon the death or removal of any Governor, Sub-Governor or Deputy Governor, assistant or assistants at any time

within the year and before the said twentieth day of January, it shall be lawful for the Generality of the said Company, at any General Court to be for that purpose assembled by the major part of the persons present at such General Court, to elect and choose a Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy Governor or assistants, as there shall be occasion, in the place and room of such person as shall be so dead or removed: Provided Always, that the Sub-Governor and Deputy Governor and assistants, in this patent named, shall, before he or they enter upon the execution of the said places respectively, take their Corporal Oaths, for their true and faithful execution of their respective Trusts and places, before the Lord Keeper or Chancellor of the Exchequer for the time being, who are hereby authorized to administer the same accordingly. And Provided also, that all and every the other persons above mentioned, members of the said Company, and all such other persons as shall from time to time be admitted members of the said Company, before they shall have liberty to act as members of the said Company or have any benefit, profit or advantages thereby, shall before the said Governor, Sub-Governor and Deputy Governor, or any three of the assistants above named, who are hereby respectively authorized to administer the same, take an Oath of Fidelity to the said Company, which oath We will and appoint shall be in these words following, You do swear to be good and true to our Sovereign Lord the King's Majesty and to his heirs and successors and that you will be faithful to the Royal African Company of England trading into Africa, in the management of their said trade; the secrets of the said Company which shall be given you in charge to conceal by the said Governor, Sub-Governor or Deputy Governor you will not disclose, and during the present joint stock of this Company you will not trade to any of the limits of this Company's Charter without leave of the General Court or Court of Assistants, So help you God; And also, that the said Court of Assistants shall have power and authority to administer an Oath of Fidelity to all their Inferior Officers and ministers that shall be chosen and employed under them in the services of the said Company, for their faithful and due execution of their several places and Trusts reposed in them, to the best of their skill, so that nothing be contained in the said oath that is or shall be repugnant to the laws of this Kingdom: And upon the choice of any succeeding Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy Governor and assistants, We do give and grant power unto the preceding Governor Sub Governor or Deputy Governor, or any three of the assistants to administer a Corporal Oath, to the Succeeding Governor, Sub-Governor or Deputy Governor, for the due and faithful execution of their respec-

tive Trusts and places, which they are to take before they enter upon the execution of their several Trusts and places.

And for the better ordering and managing the affairs of the said Royal African Company of England, we do, by these presents, for us, our heirs and Successors, grant unto the said Governor, Sub-Governor and Deputy Governor and assistants, or any seven of them, of which the Governor, Sub-Governor or Deputy Governor to be one, full power and authority at all times convenient to assemble themselves together in any place or places convenient, for the direction and management of the affairs and business of the said Company, and to hold Courts and as often as they find cause to summon a General Court of the said Royal African Company, who from time to time, upon their meeting, shall have power to make and may make, ordain, constitute and establish, such, and so many good and necessary and reasonable laws, ordinances, orders and constitutions, as to the greatest part of them so assembled shall seem necessary and convenient for the good Government of the said Company and their affairs, and them, or any of them, to alter, change, make void, and if need be, make anew, as they shall think fitt and convenient, and to impose and set such pains and punishment upon the offenders and breakers of the said Laws and ordinances, either by imprisonment or fines as in their, or in the greater part of their discretion shall be thought reasonable; which said Laws and ordinances shall be put in execution by the said Court of Assistants. And, our will and pleasure is the said fine and fines shall be levied and received to the use of the Company and their Successors, in such manner as the said General Court or Court of Assistants shall direct and appoint, and by them to be enjoyed, without any account to be made to us, our heirs or successors for the same; all which Laws, ordinances and constitutions, so to be made as aforesaid, We Will and Command, to be observed and kept so as the said Laws, ordinances, orders, constitutions, imprisonments, fines and amerciaments, be reasonable and not repugnant to the Laws of this our Realm of England.

And we do hereby further grant, that if the Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy Governor or any of the Assistants for the time being shall at any time hereafter be convicted for any misdemeanour and declared to be removed by the judgment of the generality of the said Company or the major part of them or so many of them as shall be then duly assembled upon summons issued for calling of a General Court by the Governor Sub-Governor or Deputy Governor or any three of the Assistants, which summons the said Governor, Sub-Governor or Deputy Governor, or any three of the assistants, are hereby required to issue forth when and as often as they shall

be thereunto required by any twelve of the Generality of the Company, that then, and in every such case, such Governor, Sub-Governor Deputy Governor, and assistant or assistants as shall be so convicted, and declared to be removed shall be *ipso facto* removed and deprived of his said office, and the said Company may proceed to the New Election of other persons in their offices at the same Court or any other Court, in manner as is herein before prescribed.

And we do, moreover, for us, our heirs and Successors, give and grant unto the said Company and their Successors that it shall and may be lawful to and for any person or persons of the said Royal African Company of England, or their, or either of their Executors, Administrators or Assigns, and every of them to grant and assign over to any person or persons whatsoever, any of their Stock and Stocks, and the proceeds and profits thereof: Provided always, that for the preventing of all mistakes, the said Assignment be made in open Court before the Governor, Sub-Governor or Deputy Governor and assistants, or any seven of them, of which the Governor, Sub-Governor or Deputy Governor to be one, and there registered, and not otherwise, and so as the said party making such assignment be not indebted to the said Company, or being indebted to the said Company, do give them satisfaction for the same before such assignment be allowed; And, so as such Assignment [Assignee], before he or shee be admitted to take the said assignment, or any benefit thereby, in case he or she be not then a member of the said Company, as shall be admitted a member thereof, in open court, before the Governor, Sub-Governor or Deputy Governor and Court of Assistants, who are hereby impowered to give the same, do take the Oath above prescribed to be taken by all the members of the said Company. And that all and every such Assignee and Assignees from and after the making of any such assignment or assignments and taking the Oath aforesaid, shall and may have and enjoy the same rights, benefits as the assignor or assignors had or might have enjoyed.

And further, of Our more especial Grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, We do hereby, for us, our heirs and Successors, grant unto the said Royal African Company of England and their Successors, that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Company and their Successors, and none others, from time to time to set to Sea such and so many shipps, pinnaces, and barks as shall be thought fitting by the said Court of Assistants for the time being, of [which] the Governor, Sub-Governor, or Deputy Governor to be one prepared and furnished with Ordnance, Artillery and Ammunition or any other habiliments in warlike manner fitt and necessary for their defence;

And shall for ever hereafter have, use and enjoy all mines of Gold and Silver (subject to the proviso and limitation in that behalf hereinafter contained) which are or shall be found in all or any the places above mentioned, And the whole, entire and only Trade, liberty, use and privilege of Trade and Traffic into and from the said parts of Africa above mentioned (that is to say): into and from all and singular Regions, Countries, Dominions, Territories, Continents, Islands, Coasts and places now or at any time heretofore called or known by the name or names of South Barbary, Guinny, Buiny or Angola or any of them, or which are or have been reputed, esteemed or taken as part, parcel or member of any Region, Country, Dominion, Territory or Continent called South Barbary, Guinny, Buiny or Angola, or any other Region or Countries or places within the bounds and limits aforesaid, and into and from all and singular Ports, Havens, Rivers, Creeks, Islands and places in the parts of Africa to them or any of them belonging, or being under the obedience of any King, State, or Potentate, of any Region, Dominion or Country in South Barbary, Guinny, Buiny or Angola, or limits aforesaid, for the buying, selling, bartering and exchanging of, for, or with any Gold, Silver, Negroes, Slaves, goods, wares and merchandizes whatsoever to be rented or found at or within any of the Cities, Towns, places, Rivers situate or being in the Countries, Islands, Places, Ports and Coasts aforementioned, any statute, Law, grant, matter, customs or privilege to the contrary in any wise, notwithstanding.

And likewise that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Royal African Company of England and their Successors, and none others, from henceforth, at any time or times, from time to time, after the date of these presents, to use, prepare and set to Sea such and so many Ships, Barks and Pinnaces and such number of men to sail therein for the further discovery of the said Rivers and places before mentioned, And all Lands, Dominions and Territories within the compass of the same, paying always unto us, our heirs and Successors such customs, subsidies, imposts and other duties as shall be due and payable for and in respective of the exportation and importation of any goods, Wares and Merchandizes by them or any of them, to be exported or imported by virtue of these presents.

And of our further Royal Favour, We have granted and by these Presents for us, our heirs and Successors, We do grant unto the said Royal African Company of England and their Successors that the said Regions, Countries, Dominions, Continents, Territories, Islands, Coasts, Rivers, places and passages within the limits and bounds aforesaid, or any of them, or the Lands, Seignories or Dominions thereunto adjoining shall not be visited, frequented or traded unto

by any other of our subjects, or by any other of the subjects of our heirs and Successors, either from any Ports or Havens belonging or appertaining or which shall belong or appertain to us, our heirs and successors, or to any foreign Prince, State, or Potentate whatsoever, and therefore we do hereby, for us, our heirs and Successors, charge and command, prohibit and forbid, all the subjects of us, our heirs and Successors, of what degree or quality soever they be, that none of them directly or indirectly, presume to visit, frequent, trade or adventure to traffic into or from the said Regions, Countries, Dominions, Territories, Continents, Islands, Rivers, and places aforesaid or any of them or to import any Red Wood, Elephant's Teeth, Negro Slaves, Hydes, Wax, Gums, graines or any other the Commodities of the said Countries, from any port or places, within the limits aforesaid whatsoever into any of our Kingdoms or Dominions, other than the said Company, their Successors, Factors, Deputies, and Assignees, unless it be with license and consent of the said Company, first had and obtained in writing under their common seal, upon pain of our indignation and imprisonment of their bodies during the pleasure of us, our heirs and Successors, and the forfeiture and loss of both their ships and goods wheresoever they shall be found, either within any of our Kingdoms or Dominions or any other place or places out of our Dominions.

And our further will and pleasure is, and we do also hereby further charge, prohibit and forbid all and every the Factors and Masters of Ships, Mariners and Members of the said Company and their Successors that they or any of them do not, directly or indirectly, presume to trade, adventure or traffic for themselves, or any of them, in or from the Regions, Countries, Dominions, Territories, Continents, Islands, Rivers, and places aforesaid, or any of them, unless it be with license and consent of the said Company first had and obtained in writing under their common seal aforesaid; and for the further effecting of our pleasure herein, We do hereby, for us, our heirs and Successors, grant and give full power and authority unto the said Royal African Company of England and their successors for the time being, that they, by themselves, their factors, deputies and assigns, shall and may, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, enter into any Ship, Vessel, house, shop, Cellar or work-house and attack, arrest, take and seize all and all manner of ships, vessels, Negroes, Slaves, goods, Wares and Merchandizes whatsoever which shall be brought from or carried to the places afore mentioned, or any of them, contrary to our Will and pleasure, before in these presents expressed, the moiety or half of all forfeitures thereupon arising, We do hereby, for us, our heirs and Successors, give and grant unto the said Company

and their Successors, to their own proper use and behoof without account, And the other moiety or half part thereof, We will, shall be and remain to the use of us, our heirs and Successors.

And for the better preventing of Secret and clandestine trading contrary to our intentions herein before expressed, our further will and pleasure is, and we do for us our heirs and successors grant unto the said Royal African Company of England and their Successors, that no Commissioner or other officers whatsoever that are or shall be appointed to manage the affairs of the Customs payable to Us our heirs or successors shall permit any entries to be made of any goods or merchandise to be exported from any of our ports in our Kingdom of England for or to any of the parts aforesaid or of any goods or merchandise of the growth and production or manufacture of the parts or places aforesaid of Guinny, Buiny, Angola and South Barbary above limited or appropriated to the said Royal African Company of England, to be imported other than such as from time to time shall be allowed of by the said Court of Assistants of the said Company, or their successors under their common seal or the hands of the officer to be by them appointed to sit in the Custom House for that purpose:

And we do of our more especial grace and favour certain knowledge and mere motion for us our heirs and Successors give and grant unto the said Royal African Company of England, that the Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy Governor and Assistants of the said Company for the time being or any seven of them duly assembled in manner aforesaid, shall and may have the ordering rule and government of all such forts, factories and plantations as now are or shall be at any time hereafter settled by or under the said Company within the parts of Africa aforementioned, and also full power to make and declare peace and war with any of the heathen nations that are or shall be natives of any countries within the said territories in the said parts of Africa as there shall be occasion, as also that the said Governor, Sub-Governor and Deputy Governor and assistants, for the time being, or any seven of them, duly in Court assembled as aforesaid, shall have full power, license, and authority, to name and appoint Governors and Officers, from time to time, in the said factories and plantations, which said Governors shall have, and by these presents we do, for us, our heirs and Successors, give to them full power and authority to raise armies, train and muster such military forces as to them shall seem requisite and necessary and to execute and use within the said plantations the Laws called the Marshall Laws, for the defence of the said plantations against any foreign invasion or domestick insurrection or Rebellion, according to such Rules, directions and

instructions as, from time to time, shall be given them by the Court of Assistants of the said Company, the Sovereign right, power and dominion over all the said plantations, to be at any time settled in the parts aforesaid. And power of making Peace or warr when we shall be pleased to interpose our Royal Authority therein, to us, our heirs and Successors, Always reserved.

Provided also, and our further Will, and true intent and meaning is, that we, our heirs and Successors shall and may have, take and receive two thirds parts of all the Gold Mines which shall be found, seized, possessed or wrought in the parts and places aforesaid, We, our heirs and Successors, paying and bearing two-thirds part of all the charges incident to the discovering, buying, keeping, defending, maintaining, working and transporting of the said Gold. And that the said Company and their Successors shall, and may have, take and enjoy the other third part of all the said Gold Mines, found or to be found, they the said Company and their Successors from time to time bearing and paying the other third part of all the charges for Working and transporting the said Gold as aforesaid.

And for the more effectual encouragement of merchants that shall trade into the places aforesaid and for the attracting of trade to these parts We have thought fit to erect and establish and we do by these presents erect constitute and establish a Court of Judicature to be held at such place or places, fort or forts, plantations or factories upon the said coasts as the said company shall from time to time direct and appoint, which Court shall consist of one person learned in the Civil Laws, and two merchants, which said persons and such offices of the said Court as shall be thought necessary shall be nominated and appointed from time to time by the Court of Assistants or the major part of them, and which said person learned in the Civil Law and two merchants or the major part of them, whereof the said person learned in the Civil Law to be one, shall have cognizance and power to hear and determine all cases of forfeiture and seizures of any ship or ships, goods and merchandizes trading and coming upon any of the said coasts or limits contrary to the true intent of these presents, and also all causes of mercantile or maritime bargains buying selling and bartering of wares whatsoever and all policies or acts of assurance all bills bonds or promises for payment of money on mercantile or trading contract all charter parties or covenants for afreighting of vessels and wages of mariners and all other mercantile and maritime cases whatsoever concerning any person or persons residing, coming or being in the places aforesaid, and all cases of tre[s]passes, injuries and wrongs done or committed upon the high sea or in any of the regions, territories, countries or places afore-

said concerning any person or persons residing coming or being in the parts of Africa within the bounds and limits aforesaid.

All which cases shall be adjudged and determined by the said Court upon due examination and proof according to the rules of equity and good conscience and according to the laws and customs of merchants by such methods and rules of proceedings as we shall from time to time direct and appoint either under our Great Seal or Privy Seal, and, for want of such direction and until such direction shall be made, by such ways and means as by the judges of the said courts shall in their best judgment and direction think meet and just whether it be a summary way or otherwise according to the exigency of the several cases that shall be brought in judgment before them, and all judgments determinations or decrees made in the said courts are to be put in writing and signed by the persons that were present at the making of the same, and shall contain a short state of the matter of fact as it appeared to them and their sentence and adjudication thereupon.

And further, We do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said Royal African Company of England, that they shall enjoy to all intents and purposes all privileges in the City of London, as fully as any company of Merchants established by any Letters Patent granted heretofore by us, or any of our predecessors at present do or may enjoy. And further, we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, charge and command all and singular, Admirals, Vice-Admirals, Generals, Commanders, Captains, Majors, Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, comptrollers, collectors, waterers, searchers and all other officers and ministers of us our heirs and Successors whatsoever to be from time to time, in all things, aiding, helping and assisting unto the said Company and their Successors or any employed by them, upon request made as they tender our displeasure; And will avoid the contrary at their peril.

And our Will and pleasure is, and by these presents we do grant for us, our heirs and Successors, unto the said Royal African Company of England and their Successors, that these our Letters Patent, and all and singular grants, clauses and things therein mentioned under the limitations and conditions therein contained and expressed shall be and continue firm, valid, good and sufficient in the Law and shall be construed, reputed and taken as well in the meaning as to the words of the same, most favorably and to the benefit of the said Company and their successors, any omission, uncertainty or defect in these presents or any other clause, matter or thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding, although express[ly?] mentioned of the

true yearly value, or uncertainty [certainty?], of these premises or of any of them, or of any other gifts and grants by us, or any of our progenitors or predecessors heretofore made to the said Company of Royal Adventurers into Africa in these presents is not made, or any statute, Act, Ordinance, Provision, Proclamation or restriction heretofore had, made, enacted, ordained or provided or any other matter, cause or thing whatsoever to the contrary hereof in anywise notwithstanding.[5]

In Witness etc. Witness the king at Westminster the seven and twentieth day of September [1672].

By the King

[Pygott] [6]

[Enrolled 17 July, 1674.]

54. The Trade of the Royal African Company, 1672.[1]

Account of the Limits and Trade of the Royal African Company. The company's limits under his Majesty's Charter begin at Sally in South Barbary new Tangier and end at Cabu Buen Esperança where the East India Company's limits take place. . . .[2] Next begins the North coast of Guinea. On James Island in the River Gambia the companies have a fort where are kept 70 men, and a factory whence elephants' teeth, bees-wax, and cowhides are exported in very considerable quantities; the river is very large and runs up much higher than any discovery has been made, and the gold is supposed to come most from places at its head; in this river they have small factories at Rio Noones, Rispongo, and Calsamança, and trade by sloops to Rio Grande and Catchao,[3] for those commodities and negroes. At Sierra Leone River they have a factory for the same commodities, whence they sail into Sherboro River, where there is a factory, and trade chiefly for redwood . . . thence they trade to Cabe Mount and Cestos for elephants' teeth, where there was formerly a factory; and all along by ships staying a day or more they trade on the Grain and

[5] To facilitate the reorganization of the African business, the Company of Royal Adventurers granted to Thomas Matthews and Francis Mann, merchants resident in Jamaica, power of attorney to deal with all property belonging to or owed to them. At the same time the Royal African Company granted to them and to Thomas Skutt similar power, thus making easy the transfer of property from one company to the other. *Collections of the Virginia Historical Society,* VI. 54-58.

[6] Sir Richard Pygott, clerk of the patents.

[54] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1669-1674, pp. 412-413 (summary).

[2] A description of Barbary and the Canary Islands follows.

[3] These are not places on the Gambia, as one might think, but rivers southeast of the Gambia. The order is, the Casamance, the Cacheo, the Grande, the Nuñez, the Pongo.

Quaqua coast,[4] for Guinygrains or Mallagruetts,[5] which is physic for negroes, and Quaqua cloths which are sold on the Gold Coast, and for teeth. At Cape Trespontes [6] begins the trade for gold, and on that coast they have factories, not laid down in the maps, at Ashinee, Abinee, Dixiscove, Anashan, Anto, Succondee, Anamaboo, Wyamba and Aga; Cormentine was taken from them in the first Dutch war, when Mr. Selwyn was agent, and at the same time they took Cabo-Corso Castle from the Dutch, which is now their chief port and place of trade, with 100 English, besides slaves, and the residence of their Agent-General, who furnishes thence all their under-factories with goods, and receives from them gold, elephants' teeth and slaves. Near Cabo Corso is the great Dutch castle called the Mina; and more leewardly the company have another factory at Acra for gold. Their next factory is at Ardra for slaves only, which are there very plentiful; next follows Benin with a factory where they procure great quantities of cotton cloths to sell at Cabo-Corso and on the Gold Coast; then more leewardly lies the Bite, whither many ships are sent to trade at New and Old Calabar for slaves and teeth, which are there to be had in great plenty, and also in the rivers Cameroons and Gaboons which are near, but no factories, those places being very unhealthy. A trade for Angola is begun, and they have ordered a factory to settle near the Portugals' chief city at Sunis, whence it is hoped great quantities of slaves and copper may be got. They have not yet discovered any other places within the limits of their Charter. The slaves are sent to all his Majesty's American Plantations which cannot subsist without them. . . .

55. Thomas Clifford to the Commissioners of Customs.[1]

December 21, 1672.

By the order in Council of the 20th inst., made on the petition of the Royal African Company, I am to order the stopping of any ships

[4] The Quaqua coast extended from the River Lagos to the Cobre or Ancobre River, between the Ivory and Gold coasts. The origin of the name is uncertain but the most common explanation offered is that it was given by travellers because of the peculiar sounds made by the natives as they paddled their canoes.

[5] Mallaguetta (spelled in many fashions), occasionally called Paradise grains, was not unlike Indian pepper. The English early discovered it and, after they had ceased carrying it to England, purchased it to mix with the food for their negro cargoes.

[6] Cape Three Points was about sixty miles west of Cape Coast Castle. It consisted of three headlands, perhaps ten miles apart. Assini was the first commercial town on the Gold Coast; Abinee, a trading post five or six miles east of Assini; Dixcove, variously spelled, was a few miles east of Cape Three Points; Anamabo and Cormantine were east of Cape Coast, Sekondi was west, about half-way between Cape Three Points and Cape Coast.

[55] [1] *Cal. Treasury Books,* 1672-1675, p. 19. From the first, the company realized that it must be unremitting in its vigilance in opposing the independent trader. The laxness of the enforcement of its monopoly privileges during the past years had given fresh impetus to a trade always difficult to hold under legal restrictions. The company first directed its attention to detaining possible interlopers before they sailed.

bound out upon private accounts to any places between Sallee and the Cape of Good Hope to the prejudice of and contrary to the Charter granted to the said Company. On behalf of said Company I am informed that the ship *George,* William Shafte, master, and the *Benjamin,* Abraham Major, master, are now outwards bound from the Thames upon the said [Guinea trade] account. Until further order herein you are to lay a stop on said ships and to hinder them to proceed on their voyage.[2]

56. By the King: a Proclamation.[1]

Charles R.

Whereas it is found by Experience, That Traffique with Infidels and Barbarous Nations not in Amity with Us, and who are not holden by any League or Treaty, cannot be carried on without the Establishment of Forts and Factories in places convenient, the maintenance whereof requires so great and constant Expence, that it cannot be otherwise defrayed, then by Managing the whole Trade by a Joynt Stock; We in Our Royal Wisdom taking the same into Our serious Consideration, and more especially having found by experience, That the whole Trade of the Coast of Guiny, Buiny and Angola, and other parts and places of Africa, so much importing our Service, and the Enriching of this Our Kingdom, was very much abated, and attempted to be Ingrossed by Foreigners, and in eminent danger to be utterly lost, and taken from Us, and Our loving Subjects, not onely by Foreign Force, but by the Violence and Inconstancy of the Heathen Natives: For the Recovery and Preservation whereof, We were Graciously pleased to encourage and invite Our loving Subjects to Raise a Joynt Stock to be used and imployed therein: And in consideration thereof, and for the better Securing of such as should come

[2] On Dec. 28, Clifford reported that the owners of the vessels in question had given assurance that they had no intention of going to Africa, and he had ordered their release, receiving security that they would not enter the territory of the company's grant. *Cal. Treasury Books,* 1672-1675, p. 23.

[56] [1] *Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society,* XII. 121-123. See *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1669-1674, p. 626; *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1673-1675, p. 437. This proclamation came as the result of a request from the Royal African Company, which notified the Privy Council that ships from New England and "divers other parts of his Majestys Dominions in America", as well as ships of the Dutch and other foreigners, were carrying on the trade of which the company had the monopoly, and, more than that, were carrying it on at the invitation of the plantation governors themselves. Sir Francis North, attorney general, was ordered to prepare this proclamation, which was approved on Nov. 25 (*Acts P. C. C.,* I. 614-615). The governors of Barbados, Jamaica, the Leeward Islands, Bermuda, Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, New England, and New York received copies, with orders to see that it was punctually obeyed, "not only by discouraging and hindring as much as in you lyes all Attempts and Endeavours contrary thereunto, but by affording your utmost Assistance to the said Company or their Agents in taking the Forfeitures of such Persons as shall presume to transgresse the said Proclamation, and otherwise, as to you shall seem best for procuring all due obedience to his Majestys Comands in this Particular". Dec. 2, 1674, *Acts P. C. C.,* I. 616.

in and be concerned in the said Joynt Stock and Trade, We did by Our Letters Patents under Our Great Seal of England, bearing date the Seven and twentieth day of September, in the Four and twentieth year of Our Reign, Grant unto several of Our loving Subjects, the whole entire and onely Trade into and from Africa, from the Port of Sally in South Barbary inclusive, to the Cape de Bona Esperanza inclusive, with all the Islands near adjoyning to those Coasts, and comprehended within the Limits aforesaid, and did Incorporate them by the name of The Royal African Company of England; And the said Company having raised a very great Stock sufficient to Manage the Trade thereof, have since, at their great Expence and Charge, Fortified and Settled divers Garisons, Forts and Factories, by which means they have so Secured the said Trade, that the same doth now begin to flourish, and if not disturbed, is likely to be further improved to the great benefit of this Our Kingdom; Nevertheless, We are Informed by the humble Petition of the said Company, That divers of Our Subjects in several of Our Plantations in America, who are not Members of the said Company, nor any ways concerned in their Stock, do endeavour to reap the Benefit and Fruit thereof;[2] and to that end have already sent several Ships into those parts to Trade, and are providing more, the which if it should be permitted, and not strictly and presently prevented, will disable the said Company from supporting the great Charge of maintaining the said Forts, Garisons and Factories, and consequently, unavoidably occasion the loss of the whole Trade of those Countreys:

Wherefore for remedy thereof We have thought fit, with Advice of Our Privy Council, to Publish and Declare Our Royal Will and and Pleasure to be, And We do hereby strictly Prohibit and Forbid all and every of Our Subjects whatsoever, Except the said Royal Company and their Successours, at any time or times hereafter, to send or Navigate any Ship or Ships, Vessel or Vessels, or Exercise any Trade from any of Our Plantations, Dominions, or Countreys in America, to any of the Parts or Coasts of Africa, from Sally to Cape de Bona Esperanza, or any of the Islands near thereunto, as aforesaid, or from thence to carry any Negro Servants, Gold, Elephants Teeth, or any other Goods or Merchandizes of the Product

[2]The assembly of Jamaica had, early in 1674, passed an act authorizing the free importation of negroes in all ships conforming to the requirements of the navigation acts. It is difficult to interpret this as anything but sheer defiance of the company's charter, but Governor Lynch explained it by saying that the company's patent was not yet in the island when the measure was passed (Sir Thomas Lynch to Secretary Sir Joseph Williamson, Nov. 20, 1674, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1669-1674, pp. 559, 564, 622). At the suggestion of the Council for Trade and Plantations, in addition to the customary instructions for governors, Vaughan was adjured to take care that there be no trading from Jamaica to any place in Africa within the charter of the Royal African Company, and not to suffer any ships to be sent hither. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1669-1674, p. 625.

or Manufacture of the said Places, to any of Our American Dominions or Plantations, upon pain of Our high Displeasure, and the forfeiture and loss of the said Negro's, Gold, Elephants Teeth, and all other Goods and Merchandizes, and the Ship or Vessels which shall bring or carry the same. And We do hereby also strictly Require and Command all Our Governours, Deputy-Governours, Admirals, Vice-Admirals, Generals, Judges of Our Courts of Admiralty, Commanders of Our Forts and Castles, Captains of Our Royal Ships, Justices of the Peace, Provost-Marshals, Marshals, Comptrollers, Collectors of Our Customs, Wayters, Searchers, and all other Our Officers and Ministers Civil and Military, by Sea or Land, in every of Our said American Dominions or Plantations, to take effectual care, That no person or persons whatsoever within their respective Limits or Jurisdictions (except the said Company and their Successours) do send or Navigate any Ships or Vessels, or Exercise any Trade from any of Our said Dominions or Plantations, to any part of the said Coast of Africa, within the Limits aforesaid, or from thence to Import any Negro Servants, Gold, Elephants Teeth, or other Goods of the Product of any of those Parts, into any of Our said Dominions or Plantations in America; And if any person or persons shall presume to act or do in any wise contrary to this Our Royal Proclamation, to the end Our Will and Pleasure herein may be the better observed, We do further Will, Require, and strictly Command all Our said Governours, Deputy-Governours, Admirals, Vice-Admirals, Generals, Judges of Our Court of Admiralty, Commanders of Our Forts and Castles, Captains of Our Royal Ships, Justices of the Peace, Provost-Marshals, Marshals, Comptrollers, Collectors of Our Customs, Wayters, Searchers, and all other Our Officers and Ministers Civil and Military, by Sea or Land, in every of Our said American Dominions and Plantations, That as often as need shall require, they be Aiding and Assisting to the said Royal African Company, their Successors, Factors, Deputies or Assigns, to Attach, Arrest, Take and Seize all such Ship or Ships, Vessel or Vessels, Negro Servants, Gold, Elephants Teeth, or Goods, Wares and Merchandizes, wheresoever they shall be found, for Our Use, according to Our Royal Charter Granted to the said Company, upon Pain of Our high Displeasure, and as they will answer the contrary at their Perils.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall, the Thirtieth day of November, in the Six and twentieth year of Our Reign [1674].

God save the King.[3]

[3] The proclamation was read and ordered to be published "by beat of drum, and set up in some public place", by the Jamaican council, Mar. 17, 1675 (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1675-1676, p. 186). John Latimer, the historian of Bristol trade, who regards the incorporation of the Royal African Company as the triumph of the London monopolists

57. Considerations on Spanish Trade.[1]

Jamaica Feb'ry 2 1674/5

Considerations about the Spaniards buying Negros of the English Ro'all. Company and receiving ⅔ att Jamaica and ⅓ at Barbado's.

The English having now peace may more certainly and cheaply supply both which imports the Catholick King and the Assientistos, otherwise his Dues and their proffitts may bee delayed or lost.

The English Company now consisteth of most Merchants that conduct the Company businesse better, and will most certainly Comply with any contract they make, if the Assientisto's bee Spaniards, it is the better for them the Indies and his Cath: Ma'tie the[y] should agree with the English, because the Negros will come att lower rates, it being near 20 ps 8: cheaper to give 110 ps: 8 per hd. att Jamaica then att Curosao. The cheaper they Buy the cheaper they may sell with little Risques and greater quantities and better pay the Cath: King's dues.

From Jamaica Negroes may bee easily transported to S'ti Martha [2] and soe to all the ports Leeward soe farr as La vera cruz.

From Barbados to all the Windward parts of the Continent.

The Spaniards need not fear agrandizing Jamaica by any such contract, for it is rather believed by the Planters there such a contract would bee to the pr'judice of the Settlement, soe none of them desire it.[3]

But now were it so, such a consideracon comes now too late for the Island is already well fortified and peopled and soe planted that it will Loade 100 Shipps yearly, so it is their interest to live well by a bad Neighbour they cannot remove.

The English cannot give them such apprehensions of introducing goods and spoiling the Trade of the Flotes as the Dutch have done, for they have noe slight or Counterfeit goods, nor Silks, nor Linnens

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over Bristol merchants, writes of this proclamation as a flagrant violation of the rights of the Merchant Venturers, and as the first document in a new struggle between the two parties. While he finds no evidence that Bristol traders openly protested, he regards it as certain that the proclamation was quietly ignored, and the company's subsequent troubles with interlopers would indicate that he was right. *Annals: Seventeenth Century,* p. 368.

[57] [1] Library of Congress, Br. trans., Egerton MSS. 2395, f. 50.

[2] Santa Marta is on the coast of Venezuela.

[3] The governors of Jamaica and Barbados had, on the whole, favored supplying the Spaniards with slaves from their islands, but the planters had opposed it. See introduction, pp. 110-117.

which can bee transported soe cheape Via Jamaica as Cadiz and it is certaine such goods for these 3 or 4 yeares have been cheaper amongst the Spaniards then the English att Jamaica.

Nor is it the interest of England, the vent of their Manufacture by Spaine should be interrupted etc. the Planters doe lesse desire it fearing Jamaica should not bee supplyed.

To prevent further such importations of Goods the Negro's may bee transported in English Shipps and delivered in Rodes and Bayes before Officers that should see them imediately dispatched which will likewise avoid Risque of Enemyes, in Spanish Shipps neither one nor the other can bee avoided.

Who understood well the English interest and that of Jamaica, know it is for their advantage the Spaniards bee pr'served in the possession of the Countreys they have in the West Indies, and that the French grow not too Strong or numerous on Spaniola, the reasons are obvious and not to bee enumerated.

Such a Contract made and Settled att Jamaica would occasion a Factory being there, that would bee meanes of giving the Spaniards more advice more frequently from Europe and of all passages in those parts, and would bee a cause (att least a Witness) of the Governours good keeping the Capitulatorys.[4]

On such a Contract the King of England his Minist'rs and the Governour here, would effectually endeavour the due observance of the peace and the very Shipps the Spaniards hyred to attend the Negro's transportation would awe and reduce and punish all Pyrates, and then that severity would make them not dare approach the Island, but leave these Indies or that Trade which is that the Spaniards cannot doe, but with vast charges and in long tyme, and by Europeans and Subjects, which will much more endanger introduceing goods and underhand Trade, then the English who are Strangers.

Such a Contract would occasion an amicable end of the differences and pretentions betweene the Subjects of one and the other Crowne, and make them have as good a Correspondence as the Laws of their Nations will permitt; it may likewise make all the world see that as it is the English interest for the Spaniards to keep the Countreys they now possesse so it is not for the advantage of the English to have any other Collony but Jamaica.

If it bee 20 ps. 8. in the Assientist's way to receive the Negroe's att Jamaica and buy of the English, it is fitt they pay something more per hd. to his Cath: Maj'tie and will considerably advance the revenue.

[4] A reference to the terms of friendship which the treaty of 1670 attempted to establish. Davenport, *Treaties,* II. 95-98, 186-189.

58. Voyage of the *James*, 1675-1676.[1]

1675. March. A journall of my intended voyage for the gold Coast kept by mee Peter Blake Commandr of the Royall Companys Ship *James* in the searvis of the Royall African Company of England. . . .

27. Saturday. the Committee came downe consisting of three persons *viz*: Mr. William Roberts. Esqr. Capt. Abraham Holditch and Mr. William Stevens. . . .

Aprill, Thursday 1. . . . sent a pylott a shore with my lettr to the company and ordered him to ride through for London. . . . rec'd a packett from Mr. Heron [2] by ordr of the royall company directed to Agent Generall Mellish Esqr. at Cape Corsoe. . . .

Monday 5. . . . off Cows road . . . sent a letter to bee conveyed to the African howse [3] according to the Direction, and I made saile. . . .

Friday 30th. . . . made the Land of Bonevis [4]

Maie, Saturday 1. . . . eastermost pointe of Saintiaugoo [5] I halled in for Appaia roade . . . went ashoare to the Govern'r whome . . . informed mee that Geo: Parris had ben—but was gone—for Saintiauggoe roade, upon which I retturned aboard and fynding that hee was und'r commaund of the Portingall foarte wee thought it most conveinent to saile for Cape Mount and waite his comeing there. . . .

Monday 30. [*August*].[6] . . . came in sight of the towne of Assenee . . . sent my pinase with six of my passeng'rs to Cape Corso with all the lett'rs and pap'rs belonging to the Agent. . . .

Tuesday 31st. . . . severall canoes came aboard from this towne to whom I sold severall goods for gold and slaves.

Sept'r 1675, Wednesday 1st. . . . severall canoeoes came . . . to whome I sold severall goods for gold and slaves. . . .

Thursday 2d. . . . severall cannoes aboard of wich I tooke but littell gold and bought 3 slaves. . . .

Friday 3d. . . . I bought two slaves and tooke two ounces of gold. . . .

Monday 6th. . . . a neaggerman dep'ted this life whoe died suddenly. . . .

[58] [1] T 70: 1211.

[2] Samuel Heron was secretary of the Royal African Company.

[3] The African House was on Throgmorton Street.

[4] Bonavista, one of the Cape Verde Islands.

[5] Santiago, the largest of the Cape Verde Islands.

[6] Meeting the frigate *Hawk*, Captain Blake examined her papers, and ordered her not to trade upon any part of the West Coast. He then sailed down the coast, stopping at most of the trading posts to exchange iron and pewter for mallaguetta and ivory, but apparently not for slaves.

Tuesday 7th. . . . had sight of the foart of axseine[7] standing close by the sea side sheweing redd with a redd Clift to the westward of it . . . came to Anchor. . . .

Sunday 12th. Mr. Fowle Aylmore came aboard of mee in a cannoe from suckindee w'th an ord'r from agent Mellish for mee to saile fore Cape Corsoe by reason that the footoo'rs had made a quarrell with him and fyred severall shott. . . .[8]

Thursday 30th. . . . rec'd a letter from Agent Mellish not to molest any of the commendoe peeple but . . . to saile to windward and there to sell what goods I cann postible and to sell as cheape etc. . . . came to Anchor . . .

Friday 15th. [*October*] . . . orders to sail for Wyemba[9]

Sunday 17th. . . . came to anchor . . . near the greate divill's hill of Wyemba. . . . From Wyemba to Accra looking for Capt. Howe.

Friday 22nd. . . . came to Anchor in Accra Roade . . . the cheefe of O'r foarte came aboard by whome I sent the king and the Cabbeseeres there Custome w'ch was one anchor of brandy. . . . I was informed, that the daine had bought most of p'te of Capt. Howe his cargoe and that it was to bee landed here, but I will prevent him of his desyne. . . .

Tuesday 16th. [*November*] . . . Anchored . . . the devills hill bearing W and by No. and the factory house bearing W and by N½ No. w'ch is the old Factory, but the new Factory which is now building lyeth some two miles to windward of the old one. . . . Mr. Arthur came aboard who informed me that he had not seen Capt. Howe in his Interlop'r pass to windward since my departure, and that he had writt to the Agent for me to take in his Slaves. . . .

Tuesday 23rd. . . . Anchored near Cormentyne and went ashoare to Aga.[10] . . . a Lre [Letter] from Mr. Harvey cheefe

[7] Axim, near the mouth of the River Cobre (or Ancobre), northwest of Cape Three Points. The Portuguese, who had established the first fort here, St. Anthony, had been driven out by the Dutch in 1642 (William Bosman, *Description of Guinea,* pp. 2-3). Here, Captain Blake, with the permission of the "Duch Coape man [mercantile agent] a shoare", took wood and water and purchased five chests of "courne" for his slaves, at 3 *d.* per chest. This business he had transacted when a new Dutch governor arrived from Elmina who refused to allow him to obtain further supplies.

[8] The "Footoo'rs" were the natives of Fetu, the "accaneys", with whom they quarrelled, were from the neighboring province of Akanna, north of Fetu. A few days later the captain was directed to join with Mr. Johnson, the agent at Commenda, and the caboceers or chief men of Fetu, in a palaver over some missing gold which belonged to the factory.

[9] At Sekondi Captain Blake took in corn for food for the cargo presently to be purchased. It is to be remembered that these places are close together, so that, though the journeys of the *James* were frequent, she was at no time far from Cape Coast Castle.

[10] Dutch, Danes, and English all traded here. The Dutch and Danes had each a fort, the English, a small factory. Churchill, *Voyages,* p. 177.

of Aga, wherein he did inform me that the Warsawes [11] and the Footoores had beaten the Accany's and that the Warsawes were at Ineshan [12] and also that he had severall slaves, 100 Chests of Corne w'th other goods and money of the Compa. w'ch was in much dainger . . . therefore desired my assistance. . . .

Wednesday 24th. . . . wee put aboard of my Long boate the Comp'a Gold and Slaves and . . . the other Goods, and I ordered them to return to Annamabooe w'th all speed to gett the goods out of that factory. . . .

Sonday 20th. . . . Det'd to keep our Negroes ap'te from our white men. . . .

December, Wednesday 8th. . . . Capt. Fowles in the *Vine* came to anchor close by me. I sent my pinace aboard him for my L'res, and he came aboard in my pinace and bro' me an ord'r to deliver him all my Slaves, but I resolved to speak w'th the Ag't before I parted with them, by reason they were good Slaves and the most of my own buying, in ord'r to the same I mand my pinace, and at midnight I put fro[m] o'r Ship bound for Cape Corso.

Thursday 9th. . . . landed at Cape Corso, and aplyed myself to the Agent, and gave him an acc't of what slaves I have aboard and the goodness of them as also the great trouble I have had in providing of them, upon w'ch he ord'red me to deliver him all those Slaves w'ch were put aboard by the Factors at Annamaboe, and at Agga w'ch was about 16. this evening the agent gave me an ord'r and also an ord'r for Capt. Fowles for the afores'd slaves, and I set saile w'th my pinace from Cape Corso, bound for Anamabee

Friday 10th. This morning . . . went aboard Capt. Fowles where I delivered him his Order from the Ag't to receive from me all such slaves as were put aboard by Mr. Bellwood and Mr. Harvey Factors at Anamabee and Agga, also I made him a tender of the sd slaves, but he was not ready to receive them. . . .

Saturday 11th. . . . rec'd from Agga, 6 chests of corn to feed the Slaves, having no corn aboard. . . .

Thursday 23. . . . Capt. Fowles came up from Wyemba and came to anchor of from Cormentyne, also this day I tooke of all Mr. Harvey's Corne and Slaves. . . .

Friday 24th. . . . Capt. Mingam who was bound for the byte [13] is arrived at Cape Corsoe and hath brought w'th him a ship w'ch he

[11] Wassau was a native province northwest of Fetu.

[12] Anashan.

[13] There are two bights, that of Benin, and Biafra, east of Benin. In the general region described as the "Bite" both may be included. When a narrower limit is intended it is usually the Bight of Biafra.

supposes to be prize . . . bound for Madagascar,[14] there Cargo consisting of p'es of 8/8 Iron barrs and brass Manelaes.[15] . . .

January [*1675/6*], *Thursday* 6. . . . myself and Carpenter went ashoare . . . to cutt wood to make head ledges and Comings [16] for a grateing is to be let down the aire among the Slaves. . . .

Saturday 8. . . . the great Man of this place made me pay 3 ounces for my wat'r w'ch he sd was by ord'r of the brassoe of Fanteene [17] by reason the Cabbesees of the place made a compl't that Capt. Fowles went away and did not give them a dosie [18] I was forct to make him paym't w'th ½ a brll of powder and halfe a Saye, and discount a peece in money w'th him other wise he would have panyard [19] my people, I deliv'd him a whole brll of Gunp'r and he pd me for the one half one boy and 1 woman Slave. . . .

Sunday 9th. . . . shipt of all my Corne and some wood . . . rec'd a lett'r from Ag't Mellish wherein he ordered me to saile for Wyemba and there take in w't Slaves Mr. Arthor had bought. I returned him this answer—to desire him I might goe for Accra and take in those good Slaves because I was afraid of having a parcell of their Slaves from Wyemba.

Monday 10th. . . . came to anchor in Wyemba road . . . went ashoare and aply'd myself to Mr. Adam Arthor the chiefe of this Factory and showed him the Ag'ts L're, also gave him a L're from the Ag't directed to himself, he sd the Slaves were already at the old Factory house, but I saw some 60, very thin ordinary Slaves w'ch he had by him at this new Factory. . . .[20]

Tuesday 11th. . . . Wee putt on board her (the longboat) 48 men slaves, and by my pinace I sent of as many Slaves as she would conveniently carry, being very thin Slaves and severall boys for men w'ch I did object aga't but Mr. Arthor said they came from the King and he rece'd them perforce for the Compa. debts. . . .

Wednesday 12. I went ashoare and sent of the remaining parte of Mr. Arthor's Slaves aboard w'ch made up the whole number to be 167 rec'd from him, also those last slaves were for the most parte very thin Slaves I was forct to receive them or none for he had no more, this night I stayd ashoare in expectation of more Slaves w'ch

[14] For an account of the attitude of the Royal African Company toward the slave trade from Madagascar, see introduction, pp. 93-95.

[15] Variously spelled. These were metal rings, worn by the African tribes. Towerson carried them to Africa, and from that time for many years they were one of the important commodities of European traffic on the coast.

A marginal note here reads, "Mingam bro[ught] a Boston man to Cape Corso".

[16] Commings, coamings, raised borders about the edges of the hatches and scuttles of a ship, which prevent water on the deck from running below; also called carlings, and combings.

[17] The chief man of the Fantine people.

[18] Dos, dashee, or gratuity.

[19] Kidnapped. The "Saye" referred to above is doubtless a piece of English woollen. See no. 62, n. 2, *post.*

[20] Here he made a new tank for carrying water for the slaves.

Mr. Arthor sd he should have from the King by day light w'ch he sd would be Choice Slaves. . . .

Thursday 13. . . . finding noe Slaves come down from the King I went aboard. Mr. Arthor came after me, I gave him a receipt for his Slaves . . .

Set sail fro' Wyemba Jan'y 1675/6.

Sonday 16th. . . . . came to anchor athwart Anamaboe. I sent my pinace ashoare to the Factory to know if they would deliver me any Slaves and Corne, they sd they had no orders, but would have had goods, and I had no Ord'rs to goe into the road, I also sent for 30 paire of shackells I lent them and they told my mate they had Slaves in them and could not let them out lest they should run away. . . .

Wednesday 19th. Anchored in Cape Corso road, went ashoare and applied myself to Ag't Mellish, also made my Compl't of the Slaves I rece'd at Wyemba by his ord'rs, he replyed they were paid in by the King for a debt and it could not be helpt. . . .

Monday 24th. . . . sent ashoare the remains of all the goods, except Powd'r and Brandy, I went ashoare, gave the Agent an acc't of the sales of what goods I had disposed of, and what slaves I have bought. . . .

Thursday 27th. . . . Capt. Eaton (in the *Merchants Delight*) sett saile from this place bound for Anamaboe and Agga there to take in Slaves and Corne, and from thence to Accra and Wyemba, to take in theire Slaves, this morning W'm Bartlett and . . . by ord'r of Agent Mellish came aboard and counted and marked all our Slaves. . . . went ashoare and wee adjusted my acc't w'ch was all right onely 1 Chest of Knifes wanting. . . .

February, Tuesday 1st. . . . the Generall replyed he would not deliver him [21] upon w'ch I demanded leave to come into the road w'th my ship. He sd I might come into the road but he would not suffer me to touch the Interloper. Grible, the Master of the Interloper, made great Compl't how he tooke his goods and gave him w't price he pleased for them, also he made him pay extraordinary prices for slaves, I demanded by w't Commission he brought the sd Grible downe, he being an English man and English vessel. The fiscall sd . . . [they] thought him to be a hollander . . . he was brought down by mistake. I replyed I did think he had affronted the King of England in seazing his subjects and imprisoning them at Axem in time of peace and that he had affronted the Royall Compa. in harbouring and protecting English Interlopers w'ch were the Companies enemies. He

[21] Captain Blake had demanded that the Dutch general at Elmina surrender to him a London interloper, the *Alice,* anchored under the protection of the castle's guns.

replyed that his Masters at home would answer and that in a short time he did not doubt but he should have a Comission to take all English and Dutch Interlopers. . . .

Monday 7th. . . . Anchored in Suckindee road . . . Mr. Fowler Aylmore came aboard and said I should have my Corne as fast as I would take it . . .

Tuesday 8th. . . . they would have given my men old Corne w'ch was not fitt for o'r Slaves to eate—after some dispute I had other Corne. . . .

Wednesday 9th. rec'd 100 Chests of Corne. . . .[22]

March, Wednesday 8th. Sett saile from Dickey's road bound for the Barbadoes.

Thursday 16th. . . . a Turnadoe—w'th much thund'r lightening and raine this day I put all my slaves out of Irons. . . .

Wednesday 22th. . . . I called all my thin Slaves aft. w'ch came from Wyemba and found 25 of them . . . gave my slaves tobacco and pipes. . . .

Tuesday 28th. Caught fish and agreed to give for every 10 fish a pt. of brandy, gave my Slaves 10 fish in their suppis.

Wednesday 29th. Caught albycoures and sharks. gave the Slaves albycoures. . . .

Thursday 30th. . . . gave the Slaves tobacco and pypes and albyc'r in their Suppis. . . .

Friday 31st. . . . gave the Slaves fish in their suppis. . . .[23]

Monday 17th, [*April*] . . . a stout man slave leaped overboard and drowned himself.

May, Sonday 21st. Made the Island of Barbadoes Att Anchor in Kerley Bay.[24]

Monday 22nd. Mr. Steed [25] went aboard and looked on o'r Slaves

Tuesday 23rd. orders to prepare the Slaves for sayle on Thursday.

Wednesday 24th. o'r Slaves being shaved I gave them fresh water to wash and Palme Oyle and Tobacco and Pipes.

Thursday 25th. Mr. Steed and [*blank*] came on board to sell o'r Slaves—wee sould 163 Slaves.

Friday 26th. wee sould 70 Slaves.

[22] He continued to buy corn, at Dixcove receiving 1000 chests at 1½ accies per chest. An accy varied in value from time to time and place to place, but it was probably about five shillings.

[23] The slaves had fish daily and on April 14 and May 1 they were given beef. They also were given tobacco at least once on the voyage.

[24] Carlisle Bay.

[25] Edwyn Stede, one of the company's factors at Barbados.

Saturday 27th. Sould 118 Slaves.

Monday 29th. delivered 80 Slaves which were part of the 118 which were sould on Satturday. . . .

Tuesday 30th. . . . went on boord with a Planter to sell him some of o'r refuse Slaves but hee did not like them and I went on shoare and gave Mr. Steed an Acc't.

Wednesday 31st. . . . Mr. Man and myself came on boord and sould 5 of the refuse Slaves.

June, Thursday 1st. . . . Mr. Steed and —— begann to sell Capt. Seamans Slaves. . . .

Sonday 4th. . . . ordered with all expedition to fitt my Shipp to take in Capt. Reckords Slaves to carry them downe to Nevis by Reason that Capt. Reckord would nott carry them doune unless they would Insure him 40 Tunns of Sugar fraight at 3 *l.* 10 *s.* per Tunn. . . .[26]

Tuesday 6th. . . . My men resolved for Nevis. Mr. Gascoyne fetcht ashoare the remaining Slaves being 7 Men and 10 Women. . . .

Saturday 10th. . . . took out my dispatches to sayle. . . . Capt. Reckord sent his slaves on board of mee being 223 Slaves and one from Collonel Newton. . . .

Sett sayle for Nevis. . . .

Wednesday 14th. . . . Went on board of His Majesty's Friggott the *Phoenix,* being sent for by General Stapleton,[27] the Governor of this Island . . . the General asked mee wherefore I brought downe byte Slaves [28] and did not bring downe mine owne Gold Coast Slaves Also said he did believe that I had on boord all the refuse of the Shipps that were att Barbadoes. I did assure him that they were the whole cargo of the *John Alexander.* Had they come downe in their owne shipp, it had been much moore for the Company's Interest—was always my opinion.

Thursday 15th. I went ashoare, to discourse about the disposall of o'r Slaves and they (the Agents) shewed mee the Company's instructions which was not to sell good Slaves under 19 *l.* per head and if they could not gett their price that then they should send their shipps downe to Jamaica and that they said that the Man of Warr had given out that they were refuse Bite Slaves soe that they could not sell them but att an Under Rate soe wee continued to Consider of

[26] The crew objected to this but were persuaded to undertake it. Captain Reckord had arrived May 30 from Old Calabar.

[27] Sir William Stapleton.

[28] The prejudice against slaves from the Bite (the Calabars), which is here shown, continued throughout the eighteenth century and frequently appears in the documents which follow.

what to doe with the Shipp untill the morrow and we went aboard to view the Slaves. . . .[29]

hee [Carpenter, agent] went upon the Quarter Deck and they sould 20 Slaves, 13 women and 7 men att [*blank*] per head being thin Slaves—wee concluded the day of Sayles to bee on Wednesday next and tomorrow wee would put upp bills to take suggar upon fraught and that I should Agree with the fraughters and that I should meet them att Mr. H's house.

Tuesday 19th. prepared o'r Slaves for the Sale tomorrow. . . .

Wednesday 20th. began o'r sale of the Slaves and sould the three fourths of the whole number. . . . Mr. H. tells mee that the whole number of Slaves would make out one with the other 18 *l.* Sterling per head.[30]

Thursday 22nd. . . . wee sould all o'r Slaves to 19 w'ch being very bad were carryed ashoar 18 of them were sould for a Thousand pound of Sugar per head and one which was a mad Meuth [Mute ?] was sould for 1400 li. of Sugar. Alsoe in the morning aboord 20 refuse slaves were sould att 1700 li. of Sugar per head. . . .[31]

An Acc'tt of the Mortallity of Slaves aboord the Shipp "James".[32]

1675	Day	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	
Abbenee [September]	6	1				Departed this Life suddenly.
Temenn October	28			1		Departed this life of Convulsion Fitts
Agga December	20	1				Departed this life of a feavour
Cape Corso January 1675/6	20	1				Rec'd from Wyemba thin and Consumed to Nothing and soe dyed
Ditto	26		1			Rec'd from Wyemba very thin and wasted to Nothing and soe dyed
Suckingdee February 1675/6	8	1				Rec'd from Wyemba very thin and dropsicall and soe departed this life.
Thwort of Butteren[33]	23		1			bought to Windward and departed this life of a Consumption and Wormes.

[29] The captain protested against the order to carry the cargo to Jamaica; first, because the man-of-war which had spoiled his sale at Nevis would now report at Jamaica that the cargo was refuse from both Barbados and Nevis; secondly, because the crew had been promised that they might sail for England on July 15. Mr. Carpenter, the company's agent at Nevis, to clear himself from blame in disregarding the company's orders, made legal protest to the crew, then went forward with plans for sale at Nevis.

[30] This would make sugar slightly over 10 *s.* per cwt. A marginal note reads: "Noat. Good Slaves att 3500 lbs. of sugar per head."

[31] A marginal note reads: "made an end of selling o'r Slaves." They set sail for England July 8, and anchored in the Downs Oct. 12.

[32] T 70: 1211.

[33] Boutri (?), a Dutch post between Sekundi and Dixcove.

[*Account*—continued:]

1675	Day	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	
Ditto	24			1		Received from Wyembah with a dropsy and departed this life of the same disease
Dirkeys Cove[34]— March	26		1			Rec'd from Wyemba thin and soe Continued Untill Death
Ditto	5		1			Miscarryed and the Child dead within her and Rotten and dyed 2 days after delivery.
Att Sea	13	1				Rec'd from Wyembah very thin and soe Continued untill hee departed this life.
Ditto	15	1				Rec'd from Wyembah very thin and fell into a flux and soe Continued untill his death.
Att Sea 1676	18	1				Rec'd from Wyembah very thin and soe fell into a Consumption and dep'ted this life.
Ditto	30	1				Rec'd from Wyembah very thin and soe Continued Wasting untill death.
Ditto	31			1		Very sick and fell overboard in the night and was lost
Ditto Aprill	6	1				Rec'd from Wyembah thin and Consumed very low and after dyed of a Great Swelling of his face and head.
Ditto	14	1				Rec'd from Wyembah thin and dyed of a flux
Ditto	15		1			Rec'd from Wyembah Sickned and would not eat nor take anything.
Ditto	16	1				bought by mee and dyed of a flux
Ditto	17	2				The one rec'd from Wyembah and dyed of a flux.
						The other rec'd ditto who Leaped Over boord and drowned himself.
Ditto	20		1			rec'd thin at Wyembah and dyed of a Consumption.
Ditto	21			1		rec'd from Weyembah with a dropsy and soe dyed.
Ditto	26		1			bought by myselfe and being very fond of her Child Carrying her up and downe wore her to nothing by which means fell into a feavour and dyed.
Att Sea May	1	1				Rec'd from Anamabooe departed this life of a flux.
Ditto	2		1			Rec'd from Agga and departed this life of a flux.

[34] Dixcove.

[*Account*—continued:]

1676	Day	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	
Ditto	3	1				Rec'd from Wyembah and dep'ted this life of a dropsy.
Ditto	4	1				Rec'd of Mr. Ballwood att Amy Sea and dyed of a feavour by Lying in the Long boat, in the rain in the night which noe man knew of for hee went into her privately.
Ditto	5		1			Rec'd from Wyembah very thin and old and dep'ted this Life of the flux.
Ditto	6	1				Rec'd from Annamabooe and dep'ted this life of a flux.
Ditto	8		1			Rec'd from Wyembah with a Dropsey and departed this life of the same disease.
Ditto	9	1				bought by mee att Anamaboe and departed this life of the flux.
Ditto	12		1			Rec'd from Wyembah thin and Consumed away untill life departed from her.
Ditto	13	1				Rec'd from Wyembah thin and dep'ted of a flux.
		1				Rec'd from Anamaboe and dyed of the Cramp in all his Joynts and all over his body being lately recovered of the flux.
		1				bought by mee dyed of the Cramp.
Att Sea May	14		2			the one rec'd from Wyembah very thin departed this life of the flux the other recd from Anamabooe and departed this life of the flux.
Ditto	16	1				Rec'd from Annamaboe and departed this life of a flux.
Ditto	20		1			bought by mee and departed this life of Convultions.
Barbados	21	1				Rec'd from Agga and departed this life of a flux.
ditto	22	1				Rec'd at Wyembah and departed this life of a flux.
ditto	23	1	1			The woman bought by mee dyed of Convultions the man rec'd att Anamabooe dyed of the flux.
ditto	29		1			Rec'd from Wyembah and dyed of a Consumption.
ditto	31		1			Rec'd ditto and dyed of a dropsy.
June ditto	1	1				
	4		1			
	6	2	1			
		28	19	4		

Acc't of the Slaves mortallity rec'd out of the "John Alexander".

June 15th 1676	Day	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	
In Nevis	15		1			both very thin and Weake when rec'd.
	16		1			
	17		1			very thin when rec'd.
	19	1				
	20		1			
	21		2			
	22		2			
		1	8			

59. The Case of the *Susanna*[1]

11'mo Maii 1676.

Nautae sive Marrinarii Navis vocatae the *Thomas and Francis* contra Capitaneum Georgium Gallop

Exton Suckley

Quo die Exton nomine procuratoris ac ut procurator legitimus Nautarum Navis vocatae the *Thomas and Francis* omnibus melioribus et efficatioribus via modo et juris forma necnon ad omnem quemcunque juris Effectum dicit allegat et in hiis scriptis in jure proponit articulatim prout sequitur.

Imprimis that on or about the twenty sixth day of February 1673 the shipp the *Susanna* whereof [*blank*] Lench was Captaine or Comaunder was taken and seized by the said shipp the *Thomas and Francis* whereof Capt. George Gallop was Commander and there was taken and seized in the said shipp six hundred and forty Negroes or

[59] [1] Admiralty Court, Instance and Prize: Libel Files, file 117, no. 191. The case of the *Susanna* (which in some records appears as the *Dame Susan*) illustrates some of the domestic difficulties arising from negro prize vessels. On Nov. 6, 1674, the Privy Council referred to the Lords Commissioners of Appeals a petition from Gilbert Pickering, Thomas Peachy, Robert Coat, and others, seamen of the *Thomas and Francis,* stating that on Feb. 26, 1674, they had taken the *Susanna* from the Dutch off Curaçao, as she came from Guinea, with 600 or more slaves and 271 gold marks, besides other goods of considerable value. As the said ship carried letters of marque, the negroes, being between decks, belonged to the petitioners, but the captain (George Gallop) and the governor of Jamaica (Sir Thomas Lynch) sold them and converted the proceeds to their own use, contrary to his Majesty's proclamation for the encouragement of seamen (*Acts P. C. C.,* I. 615-616). On Jan. 10, 1676, the Lords Commissioners of Appeals reported that the 300 negroes disposed of by the admiralty court in Jamaica were to be allotted according to the judgment there rendered, the 244 remaining were to be divided among the captain, the officers, and the seamen, any negroes that they had already received being subtracted from their allottment. Lord Vaughan, the new governor of Jamaica, who had arrived there Mar. 14, 1675, was to be charged to collect the payment for these negroes as rapidly as possible, in order that the rights of the captors might be speedily satisfied. This report was accepted by the Privy Council and acted upon on Jan. 19, 1676 (*Acts P. C. C.,* I. 648-650; R. G. Marsden, *Documents relating to the Law and Custom of the Sea,* Navy Records Society, II. 95-101). In April, 1676, the complaint of the officers and seamen of the *Thomas and Francis* that the captain had had an illegal number of the negroes was referred by the Privy Council to the High Court of Admiralty (*Acts P. C. C.,* I. 662). The Admiralty case here follows. Exton and Suckley were the advocates for the litigants respectively.

thereabouts [3] and not long after the takeing and seizeing thereof the said Captaine George Gallopp ordered forty, thirty five, thirty one, thirty, twenty nine, or twenty eight negroes to be taken out of the said shipp the *Susanna* and brought on board the said shipp the *Thomas and Francis* and there were from the said Prize brought on board the said shipp *Thomas and Francis* according to such order or by some other order or appointment of the said Capt. Gallopp or some of his Officers by and with his Consent forty, thirty five, or at least twenty eight Negroes before the said shipp the *Susanna* was brought into any Port att least before they arrived att Port Royall in Jamaica and were delivered to Coll. Collier and Coll. Benlosse at Jamaica or were all disposed of by the said Capt. Gallopp or with his privity and consent and converted to his owne use and not brought to any Accompt, nor are they any of the Negroes condemned or mentioned in the sentence given by the Lords Commission'rs of Appeale concerning the Negroes seized in the said shipp ponit tamen de quolibet alio numero et conmuni divisione et de quolibet.

Item that over and besides the said Negroes mentioned in the next precedent article and in the sentence aforesaid the said Capt. Gallop tooke into his custody thirty Negroes and branded them or marked them on one of their shoulders with his owne marke *vizt,* G. G. and disposed of them to some plantation which he had on the Island of Jamaica and converted them to his owne use att least did not bring them or any of them to Accompt soe that the said Capt. Gallopp ought and is bound by law to accompt for seaventy one and seaventy negroes to the said Marrin'rs and to pay the vallue thereof to be devided according to the usuall manner amongst the Seamen belonging to the said shipp the *Thomas and Francis,* ponit tamen de quolibet alio numero mancor̃ [?] sive mancipiorum et ut supra.

4. Item quod praemissa omnia et singula fuerunt et sunt vera notoria publica manifesta pariter ac famosa ac de et super eisdem laboravit et laborat publica vox et fama unde facta fide de jure in hac parte requisita petit pars proponens.

5. Item that the paper or Schedule hereunto annexed was and is the [4] paper hand writeing of the said George Gallopp att least subscribed by him and sent and delivered to Capt. Gear according to his order. Et ponit ut supra.

Cap'tn Geair, Being ill disposed, and not in a Condition to come aborde my selfe, I have sent the Docktor to Looke After the sick Negroes, and by him these few Lines, to Request you to Rooke me out thirty stoute Negroe men,

[3] There were actually 544 negroes in the *Susanna.* The 244 adjudicated by the Lords Commonissioners of Appeals had sold for £4801. *Cal. Treasury Books,* 1676-1679, pp. 589-590; Marsden, II. 99.

[4] The word "pretended" is here crossed through in the manuscript.

and as soone as I shall see a Conveniency I will send the Longe boate for them Which is all at Present from Your Loveing frinde

sende the Portegese Negroe for one. GEORGE GALLOPP.

I am Resovled to ancor at the Keays where I would Likewise have you Come to an Ancor, and be shue to Keepe a strict gard and Lett noe Botes whatt soe ever come Aborde not soe mutch as our owne untill farther order.

From aborde the *Thomas and Francis* alias *Sainte George* the 4th Martch 1673 [/4].[5]

Robertus Cole, Ephraim Wareing, Stephanus Graunt et Socii Nautae Navis vocatae the *Thomas and Francis* cujus Georgius Gallop est vel nuper fuit Capitaneus et in schedula praesentibus annexa contra praefatum Georgium Gallop.

EXTON SUCKLEY

Quo die Exton nomine procuratoris ac ut procurator legitimus praefatorum Roberti Cole, Ephraim Waring, Stephani Grant et sociorum omnibus melioribus et efficatioribus via modo et juris forma nec non ad omnem quemcunque juris effectum dicit, allegat et in hiis scriptis in jure proponit articulatim prout sequitur.

1. Imprimis That the shipp the *Susanna* w'ch was taken on or about the 27th day of February 1673 English style in the West Indies by the shipp *Thomas and Francis* Capt. George Gallop Comaund'r and the *Flying Horse* w'ch was victualled and manned out of the sd. shipp the *Thomas and Francis* and und'r the Commaund of Edward Odway [6] at w'ch tyme of capture there were on board the said shipp 660 Negroes all w'ch were above the Gun Decke of the said shipp and there was not any provision made for them in the hold of the said shipp for any Lodging there, and that there was likewise at the said tyme of seizure 184 markes of Gold found above the Gunn Decke in severall parcells and all put into one Bagg which were of the Weight of 100 pounds all w'ch said Negroes and Gold were taken and seized in the said shipp and came to the Possession of the said Capt. George Gallop et ponit de quolibet alio numero Negrorum et de quolibet alio pondere aut valore auri et conmuni divisione et de quolibet.

2. Item that after the seizure of the said shipp and slaves and gold as afors'd the said Capt. George Gallopp tooke the said Negroes and sold and disposed of the same at his own will and pleasure *viz't.* he tooke out of the said shipp forty of the best men Negroes and sold and disposed of them before the shipps arrivall at Jamaica [7] and landed 26 Negroes more the first night which he came to Port Royall in Jamaica and put them into Capt. Coop[er']s house for his owne use and thirty others he marked or caused to be marked with the marke G.G. on one of their should'rs being his usuall marke and

[5] Endorsed: "For Capt'n Geire Aborde of the *Susanne.*"
[6] "Otway" in the report of the Lords Commissioners of Appeals.
[7] From "and landed" to "for his owne use" is written in the margin.

sent them to a plantac'on which lieth upon the said Island to be their employed for his owne use and benefit and the remaind'r were sold or disposed of upon the said Island by him and for his use and benefit ponit tamen de quolibet alio numero et ut supra.

3. Item that every Negroe or Black slave was worth one with another 25 *l.* a peice and for soe much they were sold or might have (at the s'd rate) bene soe sold and that every pound weight of gold was and is worth the sum of 44 *l.* sterling or every marke of Gold worth 30 *l.* sterling et ponit de quolibet alio valore et pretio et ut supra.

Item that there belonged to the said shipps or men of warr the numb'r of [8] 200 men or marriners and that all and singul'r the persons menc'oned in the schedule hereunto annexed were at the tyme of the Capture afores'd seamen and mariners belonging to the said shipp the *Thomas and Francis,* and that they are by the Law [9] and usuall privileges in such cases entituled unto and ought to have there p'rticul'r shares thereof and that the s'd Captaine George Gallop hath and doth refuse to pay unto them there respective shares due unto them at least not their proportions as he ought to doe and did and doeth take the Advantage of there necessitys and would force them to take much lesse then what they ought by law and custome to have, thinking thereby to make a Gaine Extraordinary and beyond Equity and reason [10] That those that did take any mony in parte or otherwise for their shares the s'd Capt. George Gallop did promise . . . unto them that if the sume of money by them received did not amount unto what should be their just and lawfull due, it should be no prejudice to them but they should have as much as any other et ponit ut supra

Item that the p'rtyes above menc'oned haveing noe other wayes or meanes to recover their respective dues have caused the s'd Capt. Gallop to be arrested by vertue of a warr't from this Court and he is arrested.

Item quod praemissa etc.

60. The Case of the *Thomas and Francis.*[1]

5 Junii 1676.

Nautae sive Marrinarii navis vocatae the *Thomas and Francis* contra Capn. Gallop.

Exton. Suckley.

[8] The number "160" is here crossed through in the manuscript.

[9] 13 Car. II., c. 14, "An Act for confirming an Act, intituled, An Act for encouraging and increasing of Shipping and Navigation, and several other Acts both public and private mentioned therein." *Statutes at Large,* III. 36.

[10] From "That those" to "as much as any other" is written in the margin. A part of the sentence is crossed through in the manuscript.

[60] [1] Admiralty Court, Instance and Prize: Libel Files, file 117, no. 193.

Quo die comparuit personaliter dictus Capitaneus Georgius Gallop et sine Revocacione et omnibus melioribus et necnon ad omnem Juris effectum exinde quovismodo sequi valentem dicit allegat et hiis scriptis in Jure proponit prout sequitur

1. Imprimis whereas it is expressed in the Answere of him the s'd Capt. Geo. Gallop to the latter end of the first Ar'cle that there were delivered to him the s'd Capt. Gallop for his proporcion as Commaunder of the shipp *Thomas and Francis* the number of 29 or 29 and a halfe Negroes the same is by error sett downe to be delivered as Comander of the *Thomas and Francis* for they were in Truth delivered unto him as he was a Quarter part Adventurer in the shipp called the *Flying Horse* w'ch was the Private man of Warre w'ch was in Consort-shipp with the said vessell the *Thomas and Francis* of w'ch he the s'd Capt. Gallopp was Comaunder whereof docendo de errore he desireth the same may be retracted and amended Ac petit jus et justitiam, ac ponit communem divisionem et de quolibet.

2. Item that all the Negroes that were brought in the said shipp the *Susanna* to Jamaica were all taken out of the s'd shipp before the s'd shipp and Negroes did come to Port Royall *viz't* att a Place called the Kayes and none of the s'd Negroes that were so brought to Jamaica were or could be disposed off by the s'd Capt. Gallop but by and with the order and privity of S'r Thomas Lynch the Governor of the s'd Island for as soone as ever the s'd vessell came but upon the Coasts of the s'd Island of Jamaica the s'd Capt. Gallop went to the s'd Governor and gave him notice of the s'd shipp and Negroes and he presently ordered Coll. Muddiford [2] Leiften't Coll. Beeston [3] and one Mr. Robert Hewett to goe imediately and take possession of the s'd vessell the *Susanna* and the Negroes, and they did goe on board accordingly and did see all the s'd Negroes disposed according to the orders of the s'd Governor except such Negroes as were got on shoare by the Marrin'rs in the Huddle and promiscuous deliv'y of the s'd Negroes on the shoare w'ch were ab't 30 or att least 26 Negroes, and soe much was and is well knowen to Leifen't James Gier, John Miller and others the Marriners of the s'd shipp the *Thomas and Francis,* and soe much or the like in effect they or some of them have confessed and acknowledged before credible witnesses Hocque etc. ponit tamen de quolibet alio numero etc. Ac ponit ut supra.

3. Item that the s'd Leiften't Gier and John Miller and others the marin'rs of the s'd shipp the *Thomas and Francis* had their parts

[2] Col. Thomas Modyford.
[3] Sir William Beeston was lieutenant governor of Jamaica from 1692 to 1702.

and shares of those Negroes that were soe promiscuously got a shoare, and the s'd Lieift't Gier hath also had and rec'd 50 *l.* in money and one Negroe man in full of all his share and proporc'on of the s'd Negroes and hath given his discharge in full for the same under his hand, and the s'd S'r Thomas Lynch hath or had the s'd discharge, and the s'd John Miller hath received ab't Thirty Pounds in full of his share, and given his discharge under his hand in full of all demaunds from the s'd Negroe Prize, and soe have sev'all others of the s'd Marrin'rs all which discharges the s'd Governor hath or had in his Custody and the s'd p'rty proponent desireth that for avoyding any further trouble or charge the s'd Receipts or discharges may be produced. Et petit jus et justitiam etc. Ac ponit ac supra.

4. Item that the s'd Capt. Gallop did besides the afores'd 29 Negroes and halfe or 30 Negroes w'ch he rec'd on board the *Thomas and Francis* as and for his Quarter part Adventure in the *Flying horse* receive on board his s'd shipp the *Thomas and Francis* Twelve Negroes for Capt. Henry Archbold w'ch the s'd S'r Thomas Lynch accompted for, and he the s'd Capt. Gallop also rec'd five others w'ch he also bought and payd for to the s'd Governor and he also received on board his s'd vessell the *Thomas and Francis* six Negroes for the Acc't of Capt. George Needham besides some Negroes w'ch were also deliv'd on board the *Thomas and Francis* for the Acc't of Capt. Mathews the certain quantity whereof he doth not know, but to the best of his remembrance they were five, all w'ch sev'all parcells are by error and mistake as he conceiveth reckoned to have been taken on board the *Thomas and Francis* for the peculiar Acc't of him the s'd Capt. Gallop. Hocque etc. ponit tamen de quolibet et alio numero Ac ponit ut supra.

5. Item that the s'd Negroes seized in the *Susanna* were never particularly mustered or numbred by the s'd Capt. Gallop or any of his Compa. that he knoweth off but only as they were told out upon the delivery by the s'd Coll Muddiford and others who were sent on board by the s'd Governor or by such others as they appointed and the s'd Governor hath given an Acc't both of the number and how the same were disposed, and his Acc't is allowed and confirmed by the Sentence of the Lords of the Appeale and there are only two hundred and Forty Four Negroes adjudged by their Sentence to be devided between the s'd Capt. Gallop and his Marriners and the s'd Capt. Gallop hath not had one Negroe of that 244 w'ch remaine to be shared and devided as more fully may appeare by the s'd sentence and the s'd Governors Acc't. Que pro hoc lecta et inserta haberi vult et petit etc. Ac ponit ut supra.

6. Item that there is noe Faith or Creditt Sufficient in Law to bee given unto the sayings and depon's of James Gier, John Miller, and

Richard Rogers for they sweare and depose in their owne Cause and for their owne advantage and benefitt, for the more they can gett from the s'd Capt. Gallop the more they expect to get for themselves and soe much is publiq[ue] and no[to]rious and the s'd Richard Rogers was lately convicted at Jamaica and condemned amongst others for running away with a Prize and the s'd Capt. Gallop begged and obteined his life from the s'd Governor. Hocq[ue] etc. Ac ponit ut supra.

7. Item quod praemissa sunt vera etc.[4]

61. Answer of the Royal African Company.[1]

October 26, 1676.

After which was read the answer of the Royal Company, received 6th July 1676. That it is therein alleged the Company very scantily supply Barbadoes with negro servants, and those at excessive prices; to which the Company reply that they have been settled little above four years, in the two first navigation was obstructed by the Dutch war and general embargoes laid on all ships, yet the Company sent forth seven ships to carry soldiers and ammunition, etc., to preserve the forts and factories in Guinea, whence they proceeded with negroes to the Plantations, and four of the ships to Barbadoes. The third year, the war being ended, the Company most vigorously prosecuted their trade, and thence sent out fifteen ships to the coast of Africa,

[4] The seamen again complained to the Privy Council that Captain Gallop was delaying settlement with them, and a hearing was set for Aug. 2, 1676 (*Acts P. C. C.,* I. 669). In 1677 a warrant was sent to Lord Vaughan for the full amount of the proceeds from the 244 negroes, which had not yet been remitted (*Cal. Treasury Books,* 1676-1679, pp. 589-590). From Jamaica meanwhile Lieut. Gov. Sir Henry Morgan had written to Secretary Williamson: "there is the greatest cheat in the world intended to be put on the King about Capt. Gallop's negro prize, which was condemned to the King, but there has been no return to his Majesty though above 7000 *l.* received; and the General [Vaughan] demanding the reason, Sir Thos. [Lynch] answered that he kept it for Capt. Gallop; but if Gallop had come he would have answered that it was condemned to the King. To keep people in the dark there was no register kept of the fees of the condemnation, and contrary to all custom she was condemned when without command" (Apr. 13, 1675, *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1675-1676, p. 206). Governor Vaughan arrived in Jamaica to supersede Lynch on Mar. 13, 1675. After the rendering of the decision Vaughan wrote to Sir Robert Southwell that his Majesty had been misinformed about the facts of the case, but offered no further explanation. *Ibid.,* p. 427.

[61] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1675-1676, pp. 387-388, "Memorandum. On 6th April and 26th October 1676 was read, at the Committee of Trade and Plantations, a paper of grievances presented to his Majesty, with a petition of the Council and Assembly of Barbadoes, and referred to the consideration of the Committee by an Order of 24th November 1675." This paper, the second article of which charged the Royal African Company with failing to supply enough negroes and with charging excessively high prices, resulted from the deliberations of the assembly of Barbados in February and March, 1675. It reached the King and Council in November of that year and was referred to the Privy Council's Committee of Trade and Plantations. Here it failed to obtain any attention until Apr. 6, 1676, and was not considered until October, when the Royal African Company, the agent for Barbados (Colonel Thornborough), and the Commissioners of Customs were asked to be present at a hearing of the grievances. *Ibid.,* pp. 174, 193, 373, 475.

and ordered six of them to Barbadoes with about 2000 negroes, which their factors disposed of at a much lower price than was usual before this Company was established. Last year they sent twenty ships to Africa, and appointed eight of them with about 3000 negroes to Barbadoes.[2] It is alleged the Company have sold their negroes at 20 *l.* and 22 *l.* per head, but an examination of the Company's books shows the price to have been about 15 *l.* per head.[3] By the Company's last letters there remained owing to them about 25,000 *l.* besides the 3000 negroes sent last year, which may swell the debt to 70,000 *l.* sterling or more.[4] This present year the Company have

[2] Never for any continued period were the islands satisfied with the numbers sent to them by the company. From the complaints and counter complaints which fill the pages of the Colonial Office records it is possible to gain some notion of the amount of the traffic carried on by the new incorporation. In January, 1672, 400 negroes were received in Jamaica, not a third the number which could have been sold, wrote Governor Lynch (Lynch to Williamson, *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1669-1674, p. 316). Richard Brown, writing from Jamaica in September, 1672, referred to the arrival of cargoes of 350, 150, and 140 negroes, some of which were company cargoes (*ibid.,* p. 415). All this preceded the granting of the charter. Under the charter importation failed to satisfy the Jamaicans, who in 1675, having surrendered their law allowing free importation, importuned the Duke of York to see that they obtained from the African Company sufficient slaves (May 11, 1675, petition of the assembly and council of Jamaica, *ibid.,* 1675-1676, pp. 217, 229). In Barbados the complaint here answered was but one of many. In 1676 Governor Atkins wrote that not 2500 negroes had been sent to the island since his coming, whereas three times that number could have been absorbed (1676, July 4/14, Atkins to the Lords of Trade, *ibid.,* p. 422).

In its defense the company made various assertions about its shipments: on Jan. 29, 1674, it stated that seven ships, with 2320 negroes, had been sent to Jamaica; five ships, with 1720 negroes, to Barbados (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1669-1674, p. 552); between March and June, 1676, five vessels, carrying 1588 negroes, reached Barbados, where but 1372 could be sold. The remainder (called by the company 224) were sent on to Nevis, where there likewise had been complaints of an inadequate supply (*ibid.,* 1675-1676, p. 481, 1669-1674, p. 572). In 1676 four ships carried 1660 negroes to Jamaica, and plans for landing 1540 the next year were already made in November, 1676 (*ibid.,* p. 503).

[3] Coupled with complaints of scarcity of supply were those of high price. Lynch, writing in the spring of 1673, observed that negroes could not be obtained according to the Royal Company's proposals under £35, which would be a prohibitive price to the poorer planter (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1669-1674, p. 478). Appeals were made to the example of the Dutch, who supplied the Surinam planters with good negroes for 2400 pounds of sugar each (*ibid.,* p. 518). In 1675 Jamaica complained of a price of £22, rather than the promised £16. The fact that Barbados was making the same complaint rather lessened the force of the Jamaica charge that it was "good trade" to buy at £17 in Barbados and sell for £24 in Jamaica (*ibid.,* 1675-1676, pp. 281-282, 304, 411-412).

[4] The members of the new company, with the experience of the Company of Merchant Adventurers well in mind, realized that an over expansion of credit in the islands must be avoided. In 1673 the Barbados factors were instructed to investigate the laws for the collection of debts (*ibid.,* 1669-1674, p. 544). The king, in pursuance of his policy of lending royal aid to the incorporation, protested to Barbados over the amount of outstanding debt, a protest which was met by the indignant response of the colony that the Royal Company had the same opportunity to collect its debts that any inhabitant had (Mar. 4, 5, 1673, Minutes of Council, *ibid.,* p. 470). Barbados however yielded to royal pressure and modified her obnoxious legislation, abolishing the eighty-day interim between the attachment and sale of a debtor's goods (Harlow, *Barbados,* p. 318 n.; *ante,* no. 44, n. 3). Jamaica, for the first time an important market for negroes, protested that the outstanding debt in Barbados ought not to

already sent ships and intend more, by which the Company hope their Lordships may be satisfied what little reason they have to complain, which the Company believe they would not have done but to prevent the Company's complaint against them.

ANDREW KING, Sub-Governor,
GABRIEL ROBERTS, Deputy Governor.[5]

62. ACCOUNTS OF THE *SARAH BONAVENTURA*, 1676-1677.[1]

LONDON, 1676, November the 15.

Invoyce of Severall goods laden on bord the "Sarah Booneadventure" Henry Nurse comander: For Acco. of the Royall African Company of England to buy Negroes—marked and nomberd. Contents. Cost and Charges Foll.

		ll.	*s.*	*d.*
	Iron barrs 100 qtt.; 26c. 2[qu.] 2 lb.			
	At 13. 6s. per Tunn	18	0	3
	Sayes[2] 1 balle			
No1	20 p's at 42s per p's	42		
	Perpetuanos[3] 2 balles			
8:9	25 p's in each balle at 24s. per p's.	60		
	Sleties[4] 5 Casses			
86	20 peeces each			
87	20 " "			
88	20 " " } 100 p's at 11 s. per p's	55		
89	20 " "			
90	20 " "			
	Paper bralls[5] 1 Casse			
49	123 p's at 4s. and 7d. per p's	28	03	09
	Tallow 10½ Ferkings at 47s. per Cent.	05	04	06

prejudice the company against her (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1669-1674, p. 478), yet by November, 1676, her own debt was £25,000. *Ibid.*, 1675-1676, p. 503.

[5] At the hearing on the 31st the company "complained [that] they were extremely damaged by the interloping ships, notwithstanding they had been at 50,000 *l.* charge to build forts for the support of their trade" (*ibid.*, p. 388). Colonel Thornborough admitted that Barbados was well supplied with negroes, the scarcity having belonged to the period of the Dutch wars. Governor Atkins however had written, July 4/14, 1676, that negroes were still lacking, adding, "they that can stop the market when they please may make the market what they please". In reporting on this matter the Lords of Trade remarked that it was Governor Atkins's business not to encourage complaints but to suppress them. *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 676-679; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1675-1676, pp. 419-425, 484-485, 489, 510-511.

[62] [1] T 70: 1212.

[2] Sayes or says, a woollen cloth resembling serge. The amount in a "piece" varied locally, but it was about sixteen yards.

[3] Perpetuanos, frequently called perpets, an English woollen cloth of lasting quality.

[4] A thin linen cloth, taking its name from Silesia, though that form was soon lost.

[5] Brawls, with many spellings, was a striped cloth of Indian make, usually blue and white.

		ll.	s.	d.
	Brought forward	208	8	6
25	50 bright Muskeets at 8s. per p.	20		
	Tapsells[6] 1 Casse			
45	40 peeces broad at 12s. 2d. per p's	24	06	08
	Long Cloath 1 Casse			
64	10 Peeses m 20 half Peeces blew 29s. p's	14	10	0
	Old Sheets 4 Casses[7]			
65	65 in each Chest			
66	65 " " "	260 Sheets at 2s. 4d. per Sht.	30	06	08
67	65 " " "			
68	65 " " "			
	Niccones[8] 1 Casse			
61	50 Peeces at 7s. 6d. per p's.	19	03	04
	Boysados[9] 1 balle			
16	4 Peeces at 49s. per p's	09	16	
	Knives one barrell			
41	41 doz at 35s. per grose is 5. 19. 7.	08	12	11
	40 doz. at 16s. per grose 2. 13. 4.			
	Powder 5 barrells at 55s. per barell	13	15	
	Charges For Custom and Shiping, all Charges	10		
		358	19	01

The Account of Negroes bought one bord the good Ship called the "Sarah Booneadventure" by Henry Nurs Comander For the Account of the Royall African Company of England on the gold Coast of Guiney from the 28 day of Feb. to the 18 day of July 1676/7.

Men Slaves	Women	Boyes	Gerles	the First Cost	P's Sayes	Perpetonos	Nittones	Tapsells	Paper brails	Sheets	Musketts	Sleties	Iron barrs	Knives	½ barr'll Powder		Oun.[ounces]	Ang. [angles][10]
2	1			Cost			4				5				½	Receid		3
1	1					2			3	1								
4						1	13		2	3								
		1	1			1	2			1								
3		1			2	2			4							Recd		6
4					1	2	1		6	1								
2	3				1	3			4	1								
2	2	1			2½				3½									

[6] Tapsells, an Indian cotton cloth.

[7] In 1653 the Guinea Company complained that the Customs Commissioners had seized old sheets imported for their Guinea trade to the value of £1000. *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1652-1653, pp. 398, 435.

[8] A cotton cloth from India, variously spelled, niccanees, nichanees.

[9] Boysados, more commonly baysados, is probably some variation of the coarse English woollen stuff known as bays.

[10] On the African coast fifteen angles (or angels) were equivalent to an ounce of gold; in Europe, twenty. Bosman, *Description,* p. 75.

Men Slaves	Women	Boyes	Gerles	the First Cost	P's Sayes	Perpetonos	Nittones	Tapsells	Paper bralls	Shects	Musketts	Sleties	Iron barrs	Knives	½ barr'll Powder		Oun.[ounces]	Ang. [angles]
2	2	1			1½	3			1½	2						Receid		6
1	5	1	1		1	5		4	4							Recd		6
2	2	2			1½				5			2		4				
2	1	2			1	1	3	5								Recd		6
5	2	1			2	4			7½			1		6				
3	1					4			6					4				
2	4	1				7			6	2				14				
2									2½									
2								4	½									
	3	1	1				3		14½									
2	3		1					2	13½				14	36				
2	1	1	1					6	1				7	8				
3	3							15										
		1	1					3	½									
46	34	14	6		14½	35	26	39	85	11	5	3	21	72	½		1	11

Account of goods belonging to the Negro Cargo: Sold For Gold one bord the "Sara boneventure" Henry Nurs Comander: For Account of the Royall African Company In Guiney Gold Cost in the yeare 1677.

	Mk's	Oun.	Ang.
To Forty Five Muskeetts	1	1	7
To Twenty Iron barrs at 16 per bendy		2	8
To Tenn Ferkings of Tallow		2	10
To Sixteene Sheets		1	2
To Fore barells Powder at 2s. 6d. per bar'll	1	1	8
To Twelve Sleties at 6d. per p's		4	14
To Twelve Perpetanos at 11d. per p's	1		4
To too Sayes at 22d. per p's		2	12
To half one Saye			11
	5	1	12

HENRY NURSE

Goods sold For Corn at Dickeys Cove before wee went to Cape Cost and Afterwards At etc

To one Saye at	16	Chests	Bought 111 Chests
to too Perpetanos	20	"	
to Twenty Seven bralls	54	"	
to Twenty one Sheets	21	"	
to Twenty Fore knives		"	

Occoda [Akwidah?]

To one p's boysado 12 Chests	bought 036 Chests
To Thirty six Sheets at	
Three Sheets for too Chests 24	

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HENRY NURSE

p's Sayes	Perpetuanos	Sleties	Muskets	Bar'll Powder	½ Fer Tallow	Iron Barrs	paper bralls	boysados	Knives	Sheets		[Marks]	[Oun.]	[Ang.]
2½	12	12	45	4	10	20				16		5	1	12
1	2						27	1	24	57	Chests Bought 147			
3½	14	12	45	4	10	20	27	1	24	73	147	5	1	12

The Account of Charges At Occodah In buying Corne and other Necessaries For the Negros: From May the 18 to June 7th.

To the Brassooe of the towne For house rent to put the Corn in as wee bought it: and A negro man to watch it:—Three paper bralls

To new Corn Plantings and limes and red peper and Shugar Canes:—Too paper bralls and Forty eight Knives.

To Carring Corn out of the house to the bote by the Negros:—Too hundred eightyeight Knives.

To Foreteene gallons Palm Oyle For the Negros too paper bralls.

HENRY NURSE

To three Iron barrs for three hundred wct. of Mallegeeto.

To goods lost going one Shore att Occodah when the bote was lost —one peese of boysado: sixteen sheets: 36 knives.

HENRY NURSE

To goods Trusted Aloome at Pumponnee[11] at our going up to windward hee promising to Furnish us with Corne at Our going downe Againe—too p's boysados, Fore Paper bralls and Fore Iron barrs.

HENRY NURSE

Account of goods delivered one Shore At Cape Cost And Accra As by Recepts.

To too peeces Sayes: one perpetuanos: twenty Fore Niccones: One Tapselle: one hundred sixty Five Sheets: half one barrell of Powder: Eighty Five Sleties: Tenn Peeces blew Long Cloth: Five Hundred and Fore Knives: Fivety too Iron Barrs.

[11] Pumponnee or Pompena, east of Laye, near the mouth of the River Volta.

p's Sayes	Perpetuanos	Necones	Tapsells	paper brallls	Sheets	Musketts	barells Powder	Sleties	Long Cloath	Boysados	Knives	Iron barrs	½Ferkings Tallow		Men Slaves	Women	Boyes	Gerles	Chests Corn	Marks	Oun:	Ang:
14½	35	26	39	85	11	5	½	3			72	21	10	Bought	46	34	14	6			1	11
3½	14			27	73	45	4	12		1	24	20		For					147	5	1	12
				11	16					3	372	7										
2	1	24	1		160		½	85	10		504	52		Delivered on Shore								
20	50	50	40	123	260	50	5	100	10	4	972	100	10		46	34	14	6	147	5	3	7

HENRY NURSE.

Received one This Cargo Five Markes, Three Ounces, Seven Ang: of gold . . . and bought on bord one hundred Negro persons: *viz:* Forty Six Men; Thirty Fore women, Foreteene boyes: and six gerles, and one hundred Forty Seven Chests of Corn and the Rest of the goods delivered on shore to Cape Cost and Accra To Mr. Harbin.

Errors Excepted. By WILLIAM DEXTER.

The Account of Goods bought For the Account of the Royall African Company of England For the Negros at Saint Temay,[12] *Aug. 4th 1677.*[13]

	p's eight	
To One Con For the negros	06	
To Too thousand Cockernuts	20	
To One Quarter Caske of Palm Oyle	06	
To One Thousand one hundred Fivety yames	30	84
To Seventy Seven of Plantings	05	
To Six Thousand five hundred heads of corn	13	
To limes Oringes and Red Pepper	04	
peeces of Eight	84	
To eighty Fore Peeces of Eight At Five Shilings per peese is	£21	

[12] São Thomé or St. Thomas.

[13] Some notion of the purchases which this cargo permitted may be learned from a later item: "Capt. Henry Nurse demands freight for 474 negroes del'd at Jamaica out of the *Sarah Bonaventure.*" T 70: 77.

63. Petition of the Royal African Company.[1]

Whitehall, 22 November, 1676.

[The Council refer to the Committee for examination and report the petition of the Royal African Company, showing] That Edwin Steed their Agent residing in Barbados having in pursuance of his Majestys Charter granted to them seized a Vessel called the *Anne* of Barbados and her Lading of Negros imported thither contrary to the said Charter and the Priviledges thereby granted to the Petitioners, One James Vaughan, Bernard Schenckingh and Arthur Middleton Merchants [2] without regard to his Majestys Proclamation have lately brought an Action against the Petitioners Agent in the Barbados grounded upon the Statute of Monopolies for the recovering of Treble Damages against him for seizing the said Vessell and Lading, Which being contrary to Law as the Petitioners are informed, They most humbly prayed his Majesty would be pleased to issue out his Royall Comands to the Cheif Governor of the said Island of Barbados for the securing the Petitioners and their Agents in the quiet Enjoyment of all those Imunitys and Priviledges granted to them by his Majesty and that no such vexatious Actions may be brought and encouraged there against the Petitioners and their Agents contrary to Law, and in contempt of his Majestys said Charter.[3]

[63] [1] *Acts P. C. C.,* I. 680-681; see also *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1675-1676, pp. 496-497, 504. Once the Dutch war was at an end the problem of the interloper became a much more troublesome one. In addition to the proclamation of 1674, letters had been sent to all the governors of the American plantations admonishing them to see that the monopoly of the company was respected. Barbados was one of the worst offenders, not only receiving and protecting interloping vessels which arrived there, but also sending vessels to the coast. On Sept. 15 and Nov. 26, 1675, and on Mar. 1, 1676, Stede and Gascoigne write of their troubles with the *Providence,* the *Speedwell,* and other unnamed vessels. The case of the *Providence* was a particularly flagrant one, which in March, 1676, the Council was asked to consider. It had carried 150 negroes to the island, where the company's agent had seized 80, only to have them taken from him by violence, while he and his assistants were severely beaten. An appeal to Governor Atkins brought no relief. The Council reviewed the facts in a letter to Atkins, directing him to deal more severely with violators of the charter (*Acts P. C. C.,* I. 655-656; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1675-1676, p. 359). The owner of the *Anne,* also guilty of interloping trade, had resorted to legal rather than to physical obstructions to the monopoly of the company.

[2] Sept. 15, 1675, Stede and Gascoigne wrote of an interloping ketch which, having made one successful trip as the property of Morris and Fowell, had been sold to Vaughan and Middleton, who prepared to use it in the same business. Regardless of the governor's orders, the owners of this vessel had continued their preparations in the harbor until it was forced to depart by the arrival of H. M. S. *Foresight.* Possibly this was the *Anne,* though one can not be certain of that, as of course Vaughan and Middleton may have owned a number of slaving vessels. *Ibid.,* p. 278.

[3] "On the 24th the Council adopt the proposal of the committee to insert a clause to this effect in the letter prepared for Sir J. Atkins with a Reprimand to him for suffering the said Action to be comenced against the Petitioners Agent, for acting according to his Majesty's Royall Charter." *Acts P. C. C.,* I. 681.

The company's troubles with an interloper were by no means over once a vessel was seized. The sympathies of the island were often so strongly with the offender that it was difficult to obtain a conviction. On Apr. 2, 1676, Peter Beckford wrote to Sir Joseph Williamson that the admiralty judges, Sir Henry Morgan, Lieut.-Col. William Beeston, and Lieut.-Col. Robert Byndlosse, had dismissed the case of a vessel from the

64. The King to Governor Jonathan Atkins.[1]

1676, December 9.

. . . and to the end you may be so worthy of imitation by other Plantation Governors in all respects we think fit further to take notice of a complaint made to us by the Company of Royal Adventurers trading to Africa that an action hath been brought against their Agent residing under your Government for having seized according to the power they have by our Royal Charter, a vessel called the *Anne* of Barbadoes, with her lading of negroes imported thither, and to let you know that you failed in duty to us in suffering the said action to be commenced against the said Company's Agent for acting according to our said Charter, which ought not to be questioned or judged there, and therefore we require you to discountenance this action, and to prevent such proceedings for the future. And we, intending that the said company of Royal Adventurers shall not by any ways be invaded upon as the rights of our charter to them, have thought fit to order in Council that no ships but only such as are in the service of the said Company shall be permitted to go to sea on a trading voyage from any ports or places of any parts of our Plantations in America whose cargo may be suspected by the Agents of the said Company to be proper for any parts of Africa within the said Company's Charter, until such time as the masters, owners, or other proprietors of such ships and vessels have given good security that they will not go to any parts within the limits of the said Royal African Company's Charter, *viz.*, from Sallee to the Cape of Good Hope, and that they shall not import any negroes, gold, elephants' teeth, mallagetta, or other commodities of the countries within our said Charter to any of our said Plantations we have therefore thought fit to signify our pleasure to you and do hereby require you to take such bonds accordingly. . . .

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admiralty court to that of common law. This was apparently the *St. George,* from Angola, with 300 negroes, transferred to the island courts because of the plea that it was seized not on the high seas but in or near a harbor, and therefore came within parish jurisdiction. On learning of this action, the Lords of Trade appealed to the surrogate of the Admiralty and to the Attorney General as to English usage, and were informed that the case was unquestionably an admiralty case, whereupon they instructed Lord Vaughan, governor of Jamaica, to see that the jurisdiction of the admiralty court was sustained (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1675-1676, pp. 366-367, 369, 411, 416, 418, 429-431). The belief in England was that if the case were to be brought into the common law court the judges would rule that the company's charter was void by the statute against monopoly.

[64] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1675-1676, p. 511. A similar letter was to be sent to the governors of the other American plantations.

65. The Case of the *Antego Merchant*.[1]

Whitehall, 26 January, 1677.

The Royal African Company of England by petition this day read at the Board [2] have presented that having formerly complained to the King of some ships going out to the coast of Guinea contrary to petitioners charter (which grants petitioners the sole liberty of trading on the coast of Africa from Sallee to the Cape Bon Esperance) the King did order the stop of such ships till the master gave security not to proceed to any of the said limits.[3] Since this those loose traders have been more cautious by entering at the Custom House for some other places the goods they intend for that trade, having at the same time other ships fitting out to take in the said goods at sea or at some convenient ports, and then proceed for the coast of Africa, as petitioners have very good ground for believing that sundry ships have lately done, and are now informed that one John Case, master of the *Antego Merchant,* is laden with goods proper for Guinea, though entered at the Custom House for Antigua. Therefore petitioners pray remedy against said ship and all others such. It is therefore hereby ordered that Treasurer Danby direct the Customs Commissioners not to permit said ship to depart till security be given that she shall not trade within the said limits, and if the master refuse to give such security the Lord Treasurer is to report it to the Council Board.[4]

[65] [1] *Cal. Treasury Book,* 1676-1679, pt. I., p. 529; *Acts P. C. C.,* I. 685-686; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1677-1680, p. 10. The sending out of interloping vessels was by no means confined to the West Indies. Efforts to prevent their sailing were frequent in London, whence many departed in spite of the watchfulness of the company. The interloper not only braved the danger of being seized by agents of the company; he was also a fair prey for the Dutch. The *Alice* of London, John Gribble master, was seized by the Dutch while being chased by the vessels of the Royal African Company (*ibid.,* 1675-1676, p. 345). For attempts on the part of the Dutch and English to combine against the interloper, see *ibid.,* 1677-1680, pp. 13, 144.

[2] Privy Council.

[3] The Orders in Council, Sept. 20, 1672, and Sept. 4, 1674; see "Petition of the Royal African Company to the King", Jan. 26, 1677, *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1677-1680, p. 10.

[4] The *Antego Merchant* was but one of many suspicious vessels which the Royal African Company called to the attention of the customs officials. In May, 1677, complaint was made of the *Blossom,* owned by George Parris and John How, who had already traded within the company's territory. Though the *Blossom* was entered for the Canaries, her goods were suitable for Guinea and the gossip of the sailors was that they were carrying blacks to the plantations (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1677-1680, pp. 78, 83, 182; *Acts P. C. C.,* I. 704; *Cal. Treasury Books,* 1676-1679, p. 619; C. O. 268: 1, pp. 69-73). Pp. 79 and 80 of the last-named relate to the detention of the *Mary,* also under suspicion. Earlier in the year John Thornborough, master of the *Tyger,* had left London for Guinea and Barbados, boasting that he would publicly expose his negroes for sale. The company requested that the governor of Barbados be directed to prevent this. *Acts P. C. C.,* I. 691.

66. Edwyn Stede and Stephen Gascoigne to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbados, May 24, 1677.

Arrival of an interloper belonging to Colonel William Sharpe, Chief Judge,[2] John Worsam and Major John Hallett, two of his Assistants (as our Stephen Gascoigne was informed by Colonel John Stanfast), Philip Cheeke and Roger Cowley, a Commissioner of Customs, which gives great encouragement to other people to take this liberty, seeing those that sit in great places and live by the King's Commissions presume to act as they do. The ship brought but 98 negroes and but few or no elephants teeth. Advice of her arrival came a little too late for they were twelve miles distant, and the negroes were landed and carried to Colonel Richard Bailey's plantation, close to the landing-place, about an hour before the factors got there. Acquainted the Governor with it who sent for Colonel Bailey, and he told him the negroes were sent for by Judge Sharpe and the other before named. These men have been very solicitous to turn out the Company's factors from their offices for doing their duty. "Sure it would discourage the whole fraternity of interlopers if some of these be displaced for their disobedience to the King's commands."

June 16, 1677.

Arrival of an interloper with 120 negroes landed on the back part of the island before the factors had notice, having been on board the Company's ship all day selling negroes. Leonard Woodfine was Commander and Richard Bate, Barnard Schenckingh, and Arthur Middleton Owners.

[66] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1677-1680, pp. 93-94. Stephen Gascoigne was the second Barbados factor of the Royal African Company. Stede, his senior in appointment, was not long after this made a member of the council of Barbados, retaining his position with the African Company (*ibid.,* pp. 328, 647). The selections relating to the West India Islands printed in this work have been chosen to illustrate the history of the company rather than the history of the slave trade in its relation to Jamaica or Barbados. That history remains to be written, but a few excellent short accounts have been published: see G. L. Beer, *Old Colonial System,* pt. I., vol. I., pp. 316-381; V. T. Harlow, *History of Barbados,* pp. 310-330; Frank Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies,* pp. 61-90; Waldemar Westergaard, *The Danish West Indies,* pp. 137-156; C. S. S. Higham, *The Development of the Leeward Islands,* ch. VII.

[2] Sharpe was speaker of the Barbados assembly, as well as judge. Letters from Barbados, received in May, recount that Sharpe had in 1675 aided rioters against the Royal African Company's factors, who were seizing the negroes of a interloper. The circumstances are so similar that one wonders whether the incident is not the one here described, despite the discrepancy in dates (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1677-1680, p. 99). The king had ordered Sharpe's removal from his judgeship on May 18, 1677. *Ibid.,* p. 90.

Impossible for the factors to prevent the landing, those employed to give notice being beaten and wounded without any cause given.[3]

67. Journal of the *Arthur*, Dec. 5, 1677–May 25, 1678.[1]

Dec. 5th 1677. A Journall of a voyage att New Callabarr[2] in the shipp the *Arthur* Capt'n Rob't Doegood Commander: one the accompt of the Royall Affrican Company of England, of all actions and transactions from Gravesend to New Callabar and from thence to the Island of Barbados our portt of Discharge.

Feb. 1677[/8]. Wed. 5 Wee Brake ground at Gravesend by five of the Clock in the mourninge and came to Anchor againe 7th day att twelve the wind att s. e. . . .

Munday 11 February 1677[/8]. This day aboutt nine in the morninge Came one Board the Kinge of New Calabarr with some others of his gen'tes [gentlemen?] and after a Long discourse Came to Agreem'tt for Currentt for negro man 36 Copper Barrs: for on negro woman 30 and for one monello[3] eight yames

Tuesday 12th Feb'y 1677[/8]. This morninge Came one Board of us some Cannowse [canoes] Belonninge to Bandy[4] with negroes but nott any wee did like: from which persons wee had Intelligence of Capt'n Wilkinse[5] your Hon'rs Ship and that he had been gone from thence aboutt two moones and whilst he lay there was enforced to putt his negroes all on shore By reason of fire which appeared to be in his

[3] Governor Atkins was far from being in sympathy with the African Company. On Sept. 16 he wrote that the Guinea Company took upon itself to be governor of Barbados. He was evidently convinced however that he must support the contentions of the company if he wished to retain the favor of the home government for, on Nov. 28, he wrote to the Lords of Trade and Plantations: "The complaints of the Royal African Company concerning interlopers are no small scandal to him. Account of an action which hath happened which cleared the whole point, by a vessel being brought in by his Majesty's frigate and the case publicly heard in the Court of Admiralty where the Governor presided, and the right of the African Company was fully asserted, which gave satisfaction to the whole Assembly, insomuch that Mr. Sharpe who otherwise is a very honest man, very popular and ingenuous, did before them all acknowledge he had been deceived and was sorry for what he had done, and that he would never more act in it, so hopes that uncertain trade will be given over." *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1677-1680, pp. 150, 183.

[67] [1]T 70: 1213. Items regarding the preparation of the cargo of this ship may be found in T 70: 77, for Nov. 8 and 20, 1677, and Feb. 19 and 26, 1678. The *Arthur* had made at least one earlier voyage to Guinea. On June 18, 1677, Thomas Holden wrote to Secretary Williamson from Falmouth: "The 14th came in here the *Arthur* of London in nine weeks from Jamaica laden with sugar for London. She has been twelve months out of England, for she went for Guinea to load negroes, of which she made but an indifferent voyage, many of them dying in their passage." *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1677-1678, p. 199.

[2] New Calabar was west of Old Calabar.

[3] Manello.

[4] Near the mouth of the New Calabar River.

[5] Probably William Wilkins of the *Golden Lyon.* Capt. Amos Wilkins, *Lenox,* was also in the service of the company at this time and had delivered 152 negroes in Barbados in August, 1677. T 70: 77.

forecastell insoemuch that hee was very Likely to have Lost his ship By fire had nott the inhabitants [on] shore been kinde to him and helped him in the quenching of the fire and did honnorably deliver him againe all his negroes

Wednesday 13 February 1677[/8]. The 12th day wee Bought 3 men 3 women as your hon'rs will finde one my Books of Acc'tt and this day we Bo[ought] 14 men and 18 women very good and young negroes with some provisions for them. . . .

Sunday 17th Feby. 1677[/8]. Bo't 10 men 5 women 1 Boy and 3 girles all very likely negroes nott one of them exceedinge 30 years nor one under 14 yeares

Monday 18th Feby 1677[/8]. This day wee Bo't 4 men and 4 women havinge noe encouridgm't to By more by Reason of shore Remissniss in Bringing us provitions Doubtinge wee should have more Negroes then wee were Likely to have provitions and soe they to take advantage that did forbarre to Bye sendinge away again severall negroes and keepinge only such as we had minde to.

Wednesday 20th Feb. 1677[/8]. This day we had Cannows from Callabar and wee Bought 6 men 6 women and on Boye but had very Littell provitions from [for ?] them

Thursday 21st Feby 1677[/8]. This day we had severall Cannows on Board of us with Negroes Butt very few provitions wee Bo't 9 men and 11 women which were very stoute negroes indeed Butt nott many yames more then what before this day was promised to Bee Brought: the goods in our hands we kept till such Tyme as they had Brought enough for those negroes we had Bo't of them

Friday Feby 22 1677[/8]. This day we sentt our Boat att Donus to see whatt might be done there, wee findinge negroes to be Brought one Board of us fast enough but were nott free to deale in many fearing lest wee should take in negroes and have noe provitions for them and the Boate returned againe with 1000 yames which they had purchased from severall of those on shore findinge yames very scarce this day, wee Bo't 7 men and 4 Women with some provitions as your hon'r may finde one the Booke of acc'tt.

Sattday 23 Feb 1677[/8]. This day wee Bo't butt one Negro woman with some provitions havinge but few Cannows one Board of us and noe choice of Captives

Sunday 24 Feb 1677[/8]. This day wee Bo't 11 men 6 women and 3 girles, findinge the negroes to be very good and Likely stout and young negroes did purchase the more Butt those which had nott Brought provitions as wee expected for the passage of those negroes they sould us did detaine and keep in our hands soe much goods as would purchase those provitions and they to Bringe the same the next Cominge one Board. . . .

Munday 25 Feby 1677[/8]. This day wee Bo't 6 very Likely men with some provitions more indeed we might have purchased Butt havinge Negroes plentie one Board and the Advantage of Takeinge our Choice did Resolve to take none but such as were very good indeed therefore sentt away againe severall negroes. . . .

Friday 1st March 1677[/8]. This day wee Bought 13 men and 4 women very good negroes with some provitions: wee have some of our seamen sick and doubt we shall Loose some: Butt the Incouragement and hopes of not stayinge Long here is our greatest Comfortt and Trust shall bee Ready to goe from this place in three weeks tyme more our Businiss fully perfected as to our Negroes and provitions. . . .

Sattday 2 March 1677[/8]. This day wee Brought 2 men and 2 women havinge nott many Cannows one Board of us did Forbare to Buy too many expectinge to have as wee did Resolve our Choice of negroes: wee have made Choice of negroes to the Best of our skill and Judgm'tt and as likely negroes as a man should see yett wee finde that some of them doe decay and grow Leane and some are sick they want for no thinge havinge dealy as much provition as they cann make use of neither doe the[y] want for any Comfortt not suffering any man one Board to strike them.

Acctt of what Negroes Dyd every day

Sunday 3 March 1677[/8]. This day wee Bought 5 men and 5 women and some provitions: aboutt 2 in the morning died one of our seamen after 5 days sickness and about 4 in the afternoon died one negro man: have 5 others sick.

Monday 4 March 1677[/8]. This day wee Bought 3 men and 4 women and 7 Girles very Likely Captives wee had some provitions and some oyle for them as will appere pr accontt

Tuesday 5. This day wee Bought 5 men and 5 women wee forgett nott your hon'rs Interests mindeinge if possible to gett most men: if they are any way promisinge Butt as yett wee finde the women generally Better then they men.

Wednesday 6. This day wee Bought 3 men: 1 women with some provitions as pr accompt will appeare very good negroes nott forgettinge your hon'rs orders that none exceed the age of fourteen neither under the age of twelve yeeres as heatherto had Been minded and accordingly Bo't

Fryday 8. This day wee Bought 2 men and 1 woman haveinge nott many Cannows one Board to take greater Choice therfore did

forbare to purchase expectinge more for to Chuse for your hon'rs Better advantage Resolvinge as was befor minded to Buye not any Butt such as might If Life might bee permitted Answer your hon'rs expectation and advantage:

The 7 day aboutt four in the afternoon died one woman. This day as will appeare y're accompt wee did nott purchase any Negroes Butt some provitions for negroes: wee have many sick Captives Butt take the greatest Care wee can to preserve [them].

Sattday 9, March 1677/8. This day wee Bought 8 men and 6 women very Likely Negroes with some provitions—wee had died this day one man and severall others that are sick nottwithstandinge our Care with the Docktors phisick there is nothinge wantinge to them. . . .

Tuesday 12, March 1677/8. This day wee purchased 1 man 4 women and 1 Boy with some provitions as will appeare pr Accontt and att 10 in the forenoon died one man which to our knolidge had nott been sick 12 houres.

Wednsday 13, March 1677/8. This day havinge many Cannows on Board wee Bought 9 men and 8 women with some provitions many others wee might have Bo'tt more but wee had noe Reason findinge many bad negroes and the sickniss of ours one Board did soe much troble us takeing them in very Likely and stout negroes to fall sick in soe short Tyme that wee Littell in Curagm'tt. this day died 1 man and 1 Boy.

Thursday 14, March 1677/8. This day wee Bought 1 man and 1 woman with some provitions wee are nott free to Buy to many all one Tyme our Complem'tt Beinge all most up Butt are very Likely to Loose more here havinge many very sick.

Fryday 15. This day wee havinge many Cannewes on bord and very Likely negroes wee Bought 11 men, 4 women, 2 Boyes and 1 Girle wee had not purchase soe many Butt findeinge them very Likely negroes and haveinge then many sick: . . . died this day one man

Sattday 16. This day wee Bought 3 men and 1 woman with some provitions wee hope to depart this place in few dayes our Complement beinge up: nether intend to purchase one negroe more except more dye to make our full number when wee shall come clare ofe: wee have many sick and doubt will not long live: the reason of ouer Byinge is bye the Loss of Negroes here. . . .

Monday 18. haveing soe many very sick expectinge in few dayes the Loss of some negroes and haveinge very likely Negroes By the side wee Bought 4 men and some provitions: this day died 1 woman.

Tuesday 19. Came down againe Fogo Towne[6] where wee lay two dayes to take in Water.

Wedsday 20. died this day on man and on woman.

Thursday 21. . . . wayd from thence . . . died on man haveing many more very sick. . . .

March, 1678.

Wednsday 27. . . . this day died one man. died of our negroes befor such tyme as wee could gett over the Barr 12 men 6 woman and 1 Boy: have sevarall others sick.[7]

Thursday 28. . . . in the afternoone I causd a muster of the negroes haveing all that were well downe btween deck and soe told them up, on and on, giveinge all tobaco as the came up: and found to bee one Board a life 175 men: 135 women: 9 Boyes: and 10 Girles and nott one Negro more in the shipp; myselfe sarchinge both betwen decks: and likewise the hold: and am very Certaine there was not one Negroe more Bought for I paied the goods my selfe for every Negroe was purchasd this voyage, this day died one man: and 2 women.

Fryday 29. . . . and aboutt 5 of the Clock in the afternoon wee had sight of Farnandy po[8] att the S. E. of us—this day died one woman.

Sattday 30. . . . this day wee had died two men—haveinge att Least 30 more very sick.

Sunday 31. . . . in the morninge died one of our seamen and in the afternoon that day died our docktor w'ch wee did accon'tt a great Lost haveinge 6 white men very sick and many negroes sick: had not been sick passinge three dayes and wee had Been att sea of from the Barr when he died, 5 dayes.[9] this day died one woman and one Girle.

Aprill, 1678.

Munday 1. . . . this day died one man and one woman

Tuesday 2. . . . aboutt two of the Clock in the afternoone wee came up with Cape Stt. Johns[10] itt Lay E. from us aboutt 7 Leagues: this day died two men—wee haveinge many more sick takeinge the greatest Care wee Could for there preservation.

[6] Fokke, near the mouth of the New Calabar River.

[7] From this point on, a tabulated account follows the daily entries and repeats the information contained in them concerning deaths. It is omitted. Including days here omitted, it records the death, besides these, of 34 men, 32 women, 1 boy, and 1 girl, before the ship reached Barbados. The record of the weather and of the passage of the *Arthur* from one place to another have also been omitted.

[8] Fernando Po, an island, not far from the mainland, to the southeast of Calabar.

[9] And the "Docktors mate" died on Apr. 4.

[10] Cape St. John is not far north of the equator.

Munday 8. . . . our negroes fallinge sick very many to our greate Troble Resolved to goe at Cape Lopuse [11] to take some Refreshinge for them there aboutt 4 in the afternoon wee had a fresh gale: this day died one man.

Tuesday 9. This day aboutt 12 in the forenoone wee Came to anchor neare the wateringe place at Cape Lopus. died this day and last night [two women]

Wedsday 10. there was att Cape Lopus when wee Came in a Dutchman, Belonginge to the mine, which had traded upon the Coast 5 months for Teeth, the next day after wee Came in he went away from Cape Lopus this day wee sentt our Boat one shore for water: this day died [one woman]

Thursday 11. This morninge our men went ashore woodinge and some for water, wee had one Board Load of wood this day and 4 Tunn of Water: this day died one man.

Fryday 12. This day wee had 2 Boates Load of wood on Board and some water. wee finde our Negroes to a mend and to be very well Refreshed wee Concludee itt to be By Reson of the Change of the water: this day died one woman.

Sattday 13. Wee are now Cleeninge our ship: in the hold throwinge away the Rotton yames wch are a great many more than wee thought. wee doubt wee shall not have good in the ship 30,000 yames and shall be forced to take in provition here. this day died one woman

Sunday 14. The tyme wee had Been at Cape Lopus wee did accord with some of the Inhabitants there for some provitions for our negroes and they Brought one Board this day green plantins and some Drye one Buffalo w'ch your hon'rs will finde one the Accon'tt Booke.

Munday 15. This day aboutt 2 of the Clock in the morninge wee sett seale from Cape Lopus. . . . wee finde that the negroes are greatly refreshed By the stoping a Littell tyme. this day died one man

Tuesday 16. . . . this day died one man

Fryday 19. . . . in the afternoone wee had sight of Anabo [12] aboutt 8 Leagues distance, this day and Last night died 2 negro men.

Sunday 21. . . . this day died one Negroe man: some more wee have sick and though wee have noe Docktor yett wee doe the Best wee Cann for them giveinge them Brandy and Mallagetta: there is nothinge wantinge to them. this day died one man.

[11] Cape Lopez was a much-used delivery point for slaves carried by the Dutch to the Portuguese São Thomé.

[12] Annobon.

Munday 22. This day the winde nott Blowinge soe Fresh I did Muster the Negroes Causeing all to goe Downe Between decks that were weell and soe counted them up giveinge as they Came up one after one, Beinge all out of sheckells, Tobacco: and found to be alife 155 men 119 women 9 Boyes 9 Girles and noe more, this afternoone died one woman. . . .

May.

Wedsday 1. our negroes are now for the most part in health.

Tuesday 14. . . . this day died one man:—wee finde our negroes provitions to fall shortt By Reason of the many yames w'ch are Rotten.

Wedsday 15. . . . I tooke acco'tt of the Negroes Causeinge all that were well to goe downe Between decks: and soe Countinge the sick alought in the fore Castell and upon deck first: then Causeing the woman to Come up first one after one: and after the men: and I found to bee alife then 144 men: 110 women: 9 Boyes and 9 Girles and noe more, this eveninge about seaven of the Clock died one woman.

Thursday 16. . . . this morninge and Last night died two men: one Boye: god Continue the gale otherwise wee doubt itt will be hard for us all intendinge to give our Negroes white mens provitions if theres should fall shortt w'ch wee doubt as yett wee have nott abated the negroes any thinge of there victialls but have as much as att first.

Sattday 18. . . . this afternoone died one man

Tuesday 21. . . . aboutt 4 of the Clock in the afternoone wee had sight of the Island of Barbadoss, suppossinge too Late to gett in that night wee stood away.

Wednsday 22. The morninge Beinge hasie and darke wee Could not see the Island for two houres after wee stood towards itt wee made seale and seald N. W. and By 12 of the Clock that day wee Anchord in Caleele Bay[13] in Barbadoss: aboutt two houres after wee Came to Anchor; the Commander ordered his Boat to be mand who goes one shore and gives your hon'rs agentts accompt of the ships arrivall: my selfe Contininge one Board: expecting there Worshipps one Board that night.

Thursday 23. This day wee expected your hon'rs Agentts one Board but did not Come. I went into the hold to see what was Left of the Negroes provition and found about 240 yames a few dryed plantaines w'ch was Left of that wee tooke in att Cape Lopus: 18

[13] Carlisle Bay.

stock Fish: 3 parts of a hdd. of Beanes: a very small matter of Mallagetta and about 10 l. of Tobaco: this is that w'ch was Left of there provitions: w'ch was not enough to give them Sattisfacktion three dayes: wherefor your hon'rs Agentts did order partatoes one Board whiles the Remaind there.

Fryday 24. This day I wentt one shore to your hon'rs Agentts and gave there W'rships the Charter p'tt and alsoe an accompt of what Negroes wee Bought what died one the Coast: what in the passage and how many wee Brought into Barbadoss alife: alsoe there worshipps had the sight of the Invoyces with the Declaration and proclamation: there worships intendinge the next day to Bee one Board and Lotte the negroes: w'ch after I had sattisfied there worshipps what they desired I went one Board againe. died one woman.

Sattday 25. This day your hon'r Agentts were one Board and Lotted the Negroes: which beinge done I shewed there Worships my Booke of Accompt and whatt provitions was Left alsoe the Accompt of Teeth purchased and what goods Remayned of the Cargoe shipt one Board by your hon'rs Beinge now in the ship the *Arthur* eight hole Cest of Copper Barrs: and 34 Barrs in a Broken Chest, 26 Iron Barrs 16 Tapseels 10 pentadoss [14] 16 dozen of Knives —this day died one negro man w'ch your hon'rs agentts had the sight of.

Sunday 26. Tuesday Followinge is intended the day for sale of Negroes: I am ordered to Tarry one Board w'ch accodingly doe. this day died one man.

Tuesday 28. This day were many of your hon'rs Negroes sold: the next day Beinge Keept: there were none sold untill Thursday. Wednsday Beinge the 29 May.[15]

Thursday 30. this day the negroes were very thinn upon haveinge nott many Left.

31. The next day Rainy weather were not many Buyers one Board: if itt had Been Fare Weather suppose had sold all the Negroes —there were 23 Left unsold:[16] and the next day Beinge Satterday Mr. man Came on Board By your hon'rs Agentts order and Caused them to be Caryed away. I suppose the[y] were sold: after the negroes were all outt I Left the shipp and went one shore and the 7th of June Came outt of Barbadoss in the shipp the *Edward and*

[14] Pintadoes, printed chintz or calico, from the East Indies.

[15] May 29 was the day on which Charles II. was born in 1630 and on which he returned from his "travels" to London in 1660.

[16] There were apparently 265 living negroes when the sale began. To have disposed of 242 in four days indicates a fairly satisfactory market.

Ann Captn Nathaniell Green Commander: in Company with eleven seale more Bound for England.

Your Hon'rs Sav't

GEO. KINGSTON [17]

68. THOMAS THURLOE TO THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY.[1]

GAMBOA, 15th March 1677/8.

. . . The next most considerable place for Trade is within this River of Gamboa for Slaves, Teeth, Wax and Hydes and may yield yearly between 5 and 6000 Slaves, 14 or 15 tuns of Teeth and wax and about 10,000 Hydes, the prices differ according to the persons the Goods are bought of, the dearest rates are those we give to the Portugueze which are 30 Bars for a Slave [2] 18 Barrs per Cent for Teeth 16 for wax and 3 Hydes per b'l. To the natives wee give not so much but agree with them as wee can. But wee buy farr more of the Portugueze than of the Natives. If the Portugueze be kept poore then they will certainly bring their goods to the Islands [3] but if they begin to grow rich then they will stand upon high terms and carry their goods to any Interloper's Strange Ship that comes in unless wee comply with them in every particular therefore this method ought to be used, to lend the best of them soe much and no more as with the proffitt of the goods wee lend them they may pay us againe and just maintaine their families soe that they wilbe allwayes in a necessity of borrowing and consequently only trade for us and not dare to sell what they gett to any strange Ship for fear wee should deny the lending of them. Once a Year (*vizt.*) about the ende of February a Vessell should be sent up the River to buy Slaves and Teeth of Merchants who come to such a particular place about 200 leagues up on purpose to meet with us and the Portugueze where those Comodityes are purchased

[17] This is probably the person to whom the factors refer in a letter of May 6, 1679, though the identification can not be certain, as this signature might be read "Hingston".

[68] [1] T 70: 10, "Abstracts of Letters Rec'd by the Royal African Company of England so far as relate to the Committee of Correspondence. No. 1, March 15, 1677, to Feb. 8, 1682". This volume relates almost entirely to the company's trade. The letters from the plantation agents report the arrival of negro vessels, the numbers carried, the difficulties with interlopers. The agents stationed on the African coast write on the same subjects. For the most part, the abstracts are very rough. The pages of the volume are not numbered. The name is written Thurloes in the letter-book.

[2] The value of an iron bar, the trading medium on much of the African coast, varied so greatly from time to time that any statements concerning it must be made with caution. The estimates range from 2 *s.* to 6 *s.* By a careful study of the ledgers of the Royal African Company, Dr. George F. Zook has compiled a table of average prices of slaves, translated into pounds sterling, which is to appear in a forthcoming work on the Royal African Company, and which will furnish a valuable means of comparing all statements of prices made in the papers here printed.

[3] That is, to James Island, in the Gambia, on which the English fort stood. The English company of 1618 had established a settlement and Capt. Robert Holmes had built or rebuilt a fort in 1663-1664. This was one of the three places on the coast for which the Royal African Company had paid its predecessors £34,000. A plan of the fort as it stood in 1732 is to be found in Astley, II. 171.

at a cheaper rate than here below; and there is itt where wee buy the Country clothes which are very necessary to buy provisions here for wee spend 10 or 1200 every Year:

A third place to Trade in is betweene Cape Verde and this Rivers mouth which yeilds a good quantity of Negroes and Hydes but dearer then here for being an open place the French and Spaniards use it continually which hath raised the price of their Comodities,[4] wee have not used that place because the Dutch had a Factor there; but since their Island hath been taken per the French,[5] I sent thither to see what might be done and In a month or five weeks time bought 26 Negroes and 1400 Hydes, and if Goree were settled per the English, for the Dutch are taken and the French have left it, soe that tis free for the first commer, without wee might have a Considerable trade upon that Coast for it yeilds at best 500 Negroes and 50,000 hydes Yearly.

As for the sending out of Ships hither, it would be convenient to order it soe that none may be here In the raine time for that may prove the overthrow of a Voyage.[6] 4 every Year would be enough (*Vizt.*) 2 for Negroes one to goe from hence at Christmas and the other at the latter end of May, and may both be dispatched from hence, for all the time betweene June and Christmas will be to buy ones Cargoe and from Christmas to June the other. . . . this day I have sent another Ship to that Coast to buy Slaves and Hydes.

69. Thomas Thurloe to the Royal African Company.[1]

28th May 1678.

. . . As to the Trade of these parts I have allready written by the *Friendship* Capt. Anthony Young in which I have given you an Acco't of the trade of this River, Cassamanza, Cacheo, and the Coast of Cape Verde, to which last place the *Convert* hath since made a Voyage, but not answerable to expectation, being hendred in the Trade by 3 Interlopers (*Vizt.*) 2 French and one English or Irishman who gave such accessive rates that wee were not able to doe any good there, and accept some Course be taken to keepe Interlopers offe the Coast there is no thought of a Trade that way. There is at present in this River a Dutch Ship of 450 Tons to buy Teeth, Wax and Hydes belong-

[4] The reference is to Goree, though this trading district also included Rufisque, Portudal, and Joal.

[5] Goree, purchased from the natives by the Dutch in 1617, captured by Captain Holmes in his progress down the West Coast, and recaptured by De Ruyter a few months later, had been taken by the Comte d'Estrées on Nov. 1, 1677. P. Cultru, *Histoire du Sénégal du XVe Siècle à 1870,* p. 59.

[6] The rainy season set in here at the end of May or the beginning of June.

[69] [1] T 70: 10. The name is given as Thurloes in the company's transcript of the letter.

ing to the Dutch West India Compa. and an Englishman by name Capt. Elton for Slaves the Ship belonging to the Duke of Ormond as he reports. If they be suffered to trade here you cannot expect so large returnes as if some meanes were taken to hinder them: I had never any order from the Gamboe Adventurers to seize them nor as Yet from you,[2] therefore desire that you would be pleased to give me full instructions as to that matter and how farr you wilbe pleased and bare me harmless in it. . . .[3]

70. Thomas Clarke and Hugh Elliott to the Royal African Company.[1]

Dated at Orphra in Arda [2] the 17th September 1678.

. . . This goes by the good Ship *Arthur* Capt. Hen. Oake Comand'r. By order of Agent and Councill to be dispatcht from hence 32 Windw'd Negroes She brought with her from Cape Coast, with 378 Slaves we have Shiped ab'd of from hence makes up her full Complem't of 410 Slaves, She is orderd to carrye. She arrived here the 27th Aug'st past.

Some third of the Cargoe that was sent from Cape Corsoe was Long Cloth w'ch is not vendible at present by reason there comes here more than will vend from Cape Corsoe, and besides the Dutch has a greate quantity by him w'ch makes a greate glutt for the present.

Wee were further ordered by Agent and Councill to Send yo'r hon'rs a true Invoice of the Remaines of this Factory by this Ship and to give yo'r Hono'rs acco't of the affairs of yo'r Factory here with an

[2] The Gambia Adventurers, a company subsidiary to the Company of Royal Adventurers trading into Africa, was formed in 1668. Its members were largely members of the older company. For the privilege of exclusive trade with the Senegal-Gambia region it paid the parent company £1000 a year (Zook, pp. 22-23). A letter from the "Committee of the Gambia Stock" to the Earl of Carlisle, Mar. 27, 1678, concerning the amount owed by St. Thomas for negroes, evidently relates to the affairs of this group. The Duke of York desired to press for payment (Sloane MSS. 2724, p. 33). In October of that year the adventurers wound up their affairs, recording in their minutes that they were ready to deliver their goods on James Island, Bence Island, and at Sherbro, amounting in all to £12,527 9 *s.* 4 *d.*, to the Royal African Company and receive payment. On Dec. 10, "Squire" Bence and Benjamin Hinton were delegated to call the attention of the African Company to the fact that, according to the terms of the lease, the company was to make payment within one month from the date of the appraisement. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, p. 303.

[3] The remainder of this letter was printed in the *Journal of Negro History*, XIII. 290 (July, 1928). It describes the method by which, in Thurloe's opinion, the river trade should be carried on.

[70] [1] T 70: 15, "Abstracts of Letters, 1678-1681"; the list of goods sent by the agents is also to be found in T 70: 20, "Abstracts for the Committee of Goods".

[2] Offra (Orphra) was the residence of the European factors in Ardra. Sieur d'Elbée describes at some length his entertainment by the Prince of Ardra at Offra. Clodoré, *Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans les Isles et Terre-Ferme de l'Amérique*, II. 397-402.

Inventory of w't goods most in request at this Factory w'ch have here inclosed sent yo'r hon'rs and as to the affaires of this Country.

Invoice of goods most in demand at the Royall Companies Factory At Orphra in Arda 17th September 1678.

Red Broad Cloth and fine Scarlett Cloth
Broad White Baftares [3] Ditto narrow
Writt potkeyes, Callicoe Lawnes } all sorts White Callicoes except Long Cloth, All sorts Printed Callicoes or Stony
All Sorts Pintadoes Red Ground the best
All Sorts fine Chints
All Sorts Chercotes
All Sorts Cuttanes [4] Red the best without Stripes or Flowers
Ditto a Sort Stamped in Engl'd with Flowers
Silkes of all Sorts as Sattin and Damaske the Richest the best
All Sorts of beads, white, Greene and Lemon Coller the best well Strung
Rangoes [5] of a deepe Red Coller
Striptt tufted Hollands
Drap'r of all Sorts the Lowest prices
Dammasques of the Cheapest Sorts
Printed Lynens like to Birds eye
Syndall allyars and other Ditto [6]
Cheany Silks
Brandy in Quarter Caske
Fine Hettiaes [7]
Brass pans of all Sorts
Ditto Large to wash their Bodies in
Brass Kettles
Red Corrall in Long Beades
Bouges [8] and Iron the halfe part of the above said Cargoe
Gilded Leather Gold

[3] Bafts, baffetas, or baftas, a cheap cotton fabric which was originally made in the Orient but later was produced by Great Britain for her African market.

[4] Cuttanees, an Indian linen.

[5] Arrangoes.

[6] Holland, a linen cloth; draperies probably refers to woollens in general; sendal is used both for fine linen and for a thin silk.

[7] Sletias.

[8] Bowges or cowrie shells, a generally accepted medium of exchange on the West Coast, and much in demand at Arda, where the favorite payment for slaves was half in cowries, half in European goods.

Accompt of the Remaines of the Royall African Compa. of England—Goods in their Factory of Ophra in Arda Septem 1678.

30	Welsh Plaines [9]	152	Good Long Clothes
7	Carpetts	124	Damnified and rotten
80	Ginghams	100	Barrs Lead
20	Dos. red Scarlett	4410	Manellees
16	Brass Panns	140	l. Sheat Lead
77	Red Perpetanoes	342	Copper Barrs
5	Blew Ditto	210	Pewter Bassons
		3	Iron Bars

71. Thomas Clarke and Hugh Elliott to the Royal African Company.[1]

Ophra in Arda, 20th o'ber 78.

This goes by Capt. Robt. Bell Comand'r of the *Phineas and Margarett* who was Ordred by the Agent and Councill at Cape Corsoe to be dispatched from hence with 500 Negroes 30 of said Number he brought from Cape Corsoe we have with much difficulty [made] up his complement as above and have taken bills of Lading for the same and according to Orders consigned them to Jamaica to Mr. Hender Molesworth Mr. John Ball and Mr. Stephen Gascoigne Your Honors Factors there.

Wee were forced to sell Perpetuanoes w'ch were of a Long Standing by us and some Damnified two for one Slave, Long Cloaths 3 for 2 Slaves, Manalleos 200 a Slave all of them dead goods, When in Request went of one Long Cloth a Slave,[2] one Perpetuanoe a Slave if wee had good goods by us in the Vacancy of a Shipp wee need not to Lower the Prices. There was a necessity for it otherwise the Ship must a gon a way with halfe her Slaves.

72. Stephen Gascoigne to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbados, October 30th, 1678

Since the *Golden Lyon* Wm. Wilkins parted from this Island we had a rumor of sundry Negroes delivered out of that Ship and Sold to Severall of the Inhabitants of this place on which we have made the best inquiry wee could after it and doe find that Severall negroes were Sold and put a Shore out of the Ship how many we cannot discover though tis said 60 or 70, 10 of which were bought by Capt. Toby Freere for which he gave bills of Exc'a to one Mr. James Taggart who it Seems was brooker betweene the Master of the Ship and said Freere this we charged Freere with who confest the Buying the num-

[9] A woollen cloth of the simplest weave, made in western England and Wales.

[71] [1] T 70: 15.

[2] In the margin, "150 Manalleos a Slave."

[72] [1] T 70: 1, p. 1, Letter-Book.

ber of Taggart and that they came out of the Ship but that he neither dealt with the Master or the men or knew any of them. Said Freere also confest he knew 2 more of his Neighbours that bought 8 more of said Taggart and that Major John Hallett bought 24 or 25 of the Master directly and all those the best and choice of the men Negroes which as is said were putt on Shoare out of said Ship to Lewards of this town, after the Master was cleard and in the Night time and there deliverd to Taggart and Hallett of all which wee will use all possible means to make a full discovery and to send the Compa. the best proofe we can gett of it that so the Compa. may gett full reparation for their loss we have also wrot this day these particulars and sent them to Nevis to the Compa. Fact'rs there.[2]

73. Hender Molesworth and John Gauden to the Royal African Company.[1]

Jamaica, Novemb. the 16th, 1678.

Wee had almost forgotten to take notice of the inclosed acco't of Sales of Negroes per the *Prosperous* for neat proceed whereof wee make good to your acco't Curr't £1385.12.9 a very sickly percell as ever came to this Island in soe much that from Fryda. the day of their arrivall to Monda. the day of Sale 14 dyed soe that of 163 brought in made but 149 delivered

[2] On Nov. 12 Gascoigne wrote: "Wee have not bin able as yett to gett a discovery of the Number of Negroes delivered here out of the *Golden Lyon* by Wilkins and his accomplies but one James Taggart confesseth he had of one Steward who had them out of the Ship 29 Negroe men and that himself bought out of said Ship 1 Negroe Woman and that Capt. Shewell comander of the *Noble Katherine* had a Youth out of said Ship, wee hope by the next to make so full a discovery of this matter as to send the Compa. all the particulars upon oath" (T 70: 1, pp. 1-2). On Nov. 30 the factors at Nevis, William Freeman, Henry Carpenter, and Robert Helmes, wrote that the examination of the men on the *Golden Lyon,* which had been conducted in Nevis, had brought forth no information. Stede and Gascoigne, on receipt of this word from Nevis, added: "the Master and men it seems will make noe discovery thereof but deny all nor can wee gett such Testimony upon Oath that those 30 Negroes Taggard owned he bought came out of the Ship he not seeing them come out nor dealing with the Master or any of that Ships Company for them but with a third person who had them out of that Ship and is of this Island, soe that Taggard will only sweare he beleeves they might come out of that Ship but not that he knowes it". By Mar. 3 the agents had apparently despaired of learning all the truth and sent over what depositions they had obtained, testifying to the illegal entry of thirty negroes (T 70: 1, pp. 1, 10-11).

The agents here and in a number of subsequent letters are not referring to the interloping trade, but to another of the company's difficulties, the surreptitious carrying of negroes by the captains and officers, as their own private ventures. It was customary to allow a limited number of "privilege slaves" to captain, officers, and the doctor. To carry privately any number beyond this was a violation of the rules. The captain's "privilege" was usually four in every one hundred and four. The letters which follow furnish ample illustration of the company's difficulties with its own servants, as well as with the inhabitants of the West Indies, who were by no means loath to obtain their negroes at a bargain, whether from the Dutch, English private traders, or dishonest officials of the company.

[73] [1] T 70: 15, p. 3. Hender Molesworth, long a factor of the Royal African Company, was acting governor of Jamaica after the death of Governor Lynch in 1684.

74. Edwyn Stede and Stephen Gascoigne to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbados, Decemb. the 2d: 1678.

Wee feare the many Negroes so lately imported will be a meanes of makeing the Compa. Slaves by the *Martha* and the *Arthur* not to goe of soe quick as otherwise they would especially the meaner sort of them.[2] they alsoe comeing both together on Sunday the first instant but both the Mast'rs dead. the *Arthur* brought in 329 Negroes of 417 taken in at Arda of which many are small and some weake old and very sickly hath also some Gold for the Compa. which he is not able to tell the quantitye. The *Martha* brought 385 of 447 taken in and are pretty good Slaves but many small ones amongst them. wee shall use all possible endeav'rs to put them off at good price and pay and hope they will not lye long on hand the time of year requiring hands in most Plantacions notwithstanding the supplyes by Interlopers and many people are come out of the Country to buy. The *Martha* hath on board about nine or ten Thousand weight of teeth and a Small percell of Copper and Some of the richest of the outwd Cargoe of Silks. Yesterday also arrived the Compa's Ship called the *Coaster* from Arda. Tho. Girdis formerly Comand'r who dying the Ship is Comanded by Mr. Belladine there being 113 Slaves of 150 taken in at Arda. they are bound to Jamaica whether they shall be dispatched with all possible speed wanting wood and water and some refreshments for the Slaves. . . .[3]

75. Edwyn Stede and Stephen Gascoigne to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbados, the 23d Decem. 1678.

. . . Wee formerly acquainted the Compa. wee had used all possible endeavors to seiz the last Interlopers Ship that discharged here and to that end had sent the man of warr Boats to surprise her

[74] [1] T 70: 15; also in T 70: 1, pp. 15-16.

[2] See journal of the *Arthur,* no. 67, *ante.*

[3] For the subsequent history of this vessel, see nos. 77, 78, 86, *post.* A list of bills of exchange is here omitted. The vessels delivering negroes in the West Indies were accustomed to carry sugar to England, but as a cargo of sugar was of less value than the negro cargo it replaced the agents usually returned bills of exchange in addition to the sugar (Pitman, *Development of the British West Indies,* p. 66), and listed such bills in their letters. These lists are here omitted unless they contain items of special interest.

[75] [1] T 70: 1, pp. 6-8. A similar letter, of the same date, not a duplicate of this appears in T 70: 15; in T 70: 10 is a summary of a letter of this date which reads: "A succession of Interlopers. Notwithstanding all care used. Parris with 180 Negroes . . . Davis 160 Negroes. Another with 200 and odd." The earlier paragraphs of this letter recount the difficulties of the agents over the *Coaster,* which had run away with some of the company's gold.

where she lay at anchor but that she was gon before they came, and as wee were informed for London, but since wee are given to understand that she is gon to Antego and there recommended to Mr. James Vaughan the Deputy Governor (for a good Freight for England) by Coll. Christopher Codrington[2] of this Island who is a great Favourer of Interlopers, and who recd. the Gold, Teeth and Wax also the Negroes out of this last Interloper as wee are told and secured them in his dwelling house, cureing house and boyling house, useing this expression also as wee are told that he would warrant and secure them ag'st the Compa's Factors or any [one] else lett them come with what Authoritie or force they could and yet this man as wee are told is labouring to gett his Maji's mandamus to be made one of the Council of this Island. Wee are also told [*torn*] and his Brother Collo. Drax[3] and Collo. Sharpe bought all the cheife negroes out of the Interloper which as report goes were sold also at very low rates which if true wee presume is done upon a designe of prejudice to the Compa. to enable Collo. Drax and others to be able to aver when they come to England (whither they are speedily bound) that they have bought of the Interlopers, much cheaper than they can of the Compa. (*Viz.*) that the Interlopers sell their choyce Negroes at 14 *l.* per head as 'tis said these did, and their midling and poore Negroes at 8 *l.* per head to the end this may be an argum't for an open trade as they call it—though wee presume the Freightors and owners who ever they be will finde themselves und'r great losses notwithstanding tis said they had good quantity of Gold and teeth and some wax but of these things wee can send the Compa. no proofe as they require from us by severall of their Letters. Wee are getting an informacon of those things some from one and some from another and therefore cannot expect to gett proofe of what wee soe learne by chance as it were though we believe it to be truth.

To give the Compa. an Acco't of transactions in the Voya. and of what private trade hath bin for we discover none but those negroes formerly advised that Capt. Woots pretended he had bought with some Madera wine he had on the Coast being eleven in Novmb'r wherein we since discover your Factor Mr. Holland pretends he was a part concernd but wee having sold them for the Compa. acco't shall leave them to make their application to the Compa. for what favour they shall be pleased to grant them.[4]

[2] Christopher Codrington, collector, had been deputy governor of Barbados in 1669 and 1671, during Willoughby's two absences in England. In 1674 he migrated to Antigua, and in 1688 was made governor of the Leeward Islands.

[3] Col. James Drax, one of the wealthiest of Barbados planters.

[4] From the second letter of this date: "Our Comission on 92 Negroes d'd Capt. Penny for £1380 Ster at 1½ per Cent. £20. 14. 00

"Our Comission on 66 Negroes d'd Capt. Cosker for £990 Ster at 1½ per Cent. £14. 17. 00

£35. 11. 0"

76. The Case of the *Golden Sun*.[1]

Whitehall, 24 January, 1679.

Whereas the Commissary of the States Generall of the United Provinces, and of the Dutch West India Company hath this Day represented . . . that one Captain James Browne did in the yeare 1677 piratically take in a Certain Ship called the *Sun* on the Coast of Cartegena neer too hundred negros belonging to the said West India Company, and one Balthazar de rue Inhabitant of Amsterdam, and Landed some of them at Jamaica. That by order of the Governor and Councill there they were to be seized and sold, and the proceed deposited for the use of the Right Owner. That accordingly they were sold, and the Bond of three thousand pounds entered into for restitution thereof as aforesaid. That the said Right having been fully proved to be in the said West India Company etc. It is humbly prayed that the said Bond may be delivered up to their Agent Sir Thomas Modyford.[2]

77. The Factors at Nevis to the Royal African Company.[1]

Nevis, the 3rd of January, 1678[/9]

We formerly wrote you that we had Laid Stopadge in the hands of those that bought Capt. Wilkinson's Freight Negroes for the wrong done the Compa. for Landing Negroes in Barbadoes,[2] and also had an Arrest ag'st the Master, Since which he hath Petitioned the Generall [3] to have a tryall at a Spetiall Court which was Granted and for want of Evidence from Barbadoes did quitt the Security, we haveing noe Proofe that might be sufficient for us to joyne Issue and when further Proofe comes can then Commence a New Suite. we Suppose twill be 10 weeks before the *Golden Lyon* may saile from hence, She being a Ship of great burthen and the Planters but now begining to Grinde and have yett but little or no Suggars aboard soe that we hope may hear from you before She Sailes hence.

Tis now 3 weeks since here arived Mr. John Bellwood one of your Factors at the Coast from Barbadoes who came from thence in Persuite of the Ship the *Coaster* that touched at the Island for

[76] [1] *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 799; see also nos. 79, 89, *post*.

[2] The matter was referred from the Council to its Committee for Trade and Plantations, which reported Feb. 10, 1679 (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, p. 328). On Feb. 21 an Order in Council directed that, as soon as proper evidence was produced, the bond entered into by Richard Braine, judge of the admiralty, should be delivered up (*ibid.*, p. 331).

[77] [1] T 70: 1, pp. 8-9. The factors were William Freeman, Henry Carpenter, and Robert Helmes.

[2] This refers to the *Golden Lyon*. The captain's name is given as William Wilkins in the letter of Oct. 30, 1678.

[3] Sir William Stapleton, governor of the Leeward Islands 1672-1686.

Provisions Bound for Jamaica and was there put from her Anchor and left the said Bellwood and 9 more of his men a Shoare. he was in hopes to have mett him here but missing her imediately proceed[ed] to Jamaica where we hope he will find her. And that they on board had no other than honest intentions to the Compa's Interest its a great Disapoyntment to Montseratt where you designed to send her but presume your Orders came to late to Cape Cost for the Agents sending her thither. That Island will now want a Small Ship or two this Yeare as also Antegua another Vessell beside the *Wellcome* that you have ordred thither also this Island hopes for good Supply.[4]

78. Hender Molesworth and John Gauden to the Royal African Company.[1]

Jamaica, 14th Feb'ry 1678[/9].

Wee came to understand (upon the returne of the expresse that wee sent to Blewfeilds) that there were severall Negroes privately sold and conveied a Shoare out of the *Coaster*[2] (to the Number of 44) at her being there w'ch wee have since secured onely one person that bought 10 of them stands it out and resolves to try the property by Law. As for all the rest the Buyers being sufficient men Wee have accepted their becoming D'rs [debtors] unto you Leaving the Negroes in their hands at the prices they Bought them. But this person, not being responsible like the rest Wee had not the same reason to continue them with him and therefore it is that he contends.[3]

You may please to take notice that at the time of the Sales finding soe many Concerned in the Comission Negroes *vizt.* Girdis and

[4] On Feb. 12, 1679, the *Welcome,* John Elliott, arrived at Barbados with 210 negroes from Old Calabar. She was supplied with wood, water, and provisions for her negroes, then sent on to Antigua, where 163 were sold and 47 given to the captain for his freight and commission. Nevis soon after received 171 negroes by the *Charles,* Capt. Andrews: "the worst Parcell that wee have ever seen from the Coast and the quantity being not halfe what we expected" (Mar. 3 and 11, 1679, factors to the company, T 70: 15, and 1, p. 14). The smaller islands were prone to think themselves neglected in favor of Barbados and Jamaica yet their negro population was steadily increasing (Higham, pp. 145, 148):

	Montserrat	*Antigua*	*Nevis*	*St. Christopher*
1672	523	570	1739	904
1678	992	2172	3860	1436

[78] [1] T 70: 15.

[2] Stede and Gascoigne wrote to the company, on Dec. 23, of the *Coaster's* clandestine departure from Barbados.

[3] "As for the 10 Negroes out of the *Coaster* w'ch wee advised were in dispute for the partye concerned upon our repaying him £3 which he had paid the Boatswaine in part for them was contente to decline his pretensions soe wee let Lt. Collo. Scot have them at the same price, they were at first sold unto Snaswell, he having been very diligent and active for us in the discovery of the rest and Seizing and Securing of those by w'ch he thinks himselfe Sufficiently gratifyed for his paines and charge therein and will serve for incouragem't both to him and on [to] others on such like future Occasions." Mar. 8, 1679, Molesworth and Gauden to the company, T 70: 15.

Belwood for buying on the Coast and Girdis and Evans for the delivery, Wee reduced the same into mony for the more easie dividing it, and have only paid Mr. Evans and Belwood their parts the rest being £26. 11. 3 belonging unto Capt. Girdis remaines in our hands for yo'r Order whose chest likewise (sealed up by Mr. Belwood at the time of his decease) continues aboard the *Coaster* and soe will goe home in her We thinking it not prudent for us to remove it.

And you may please to observe by the Acco. of Negroes per Capt. Lowe that my Lord Carlisle is there charged £40 for two Negroes per supposed to be paid here but he having since told us that he intended to pay for them by Bills of exc'a and expected to have them at the Compa's lowest rates £17 per head wee accepted thereof, and therefore it is that wee charge yo'r acco'tt with £136 for 130 *l.* he gives bills for being for the said Negroes out of Captaine Lowe and 6 more out of the *Coaster*—soe doe wee likewise Charge you with the full mony paid him here for w'ch he gives his Bills with deduction of 10 *l.* per Cent w'ch wee think better then any Goods wee can Load from hence whereof wee desire y'or opinion for o'r further Governm't

You have likewise herewith Mr. Bellwoods Bill for the 40 *l.* wee lent him to pay the fr'tt of the Ketch w'ch he hired to follow the *Coaster* at her going away from Barba. for w'ch he refers himselfe unto you.[4]

79. The Case of the *Golden Sun*.[1]

Whitehall. 21 February, 1679.

[The Council approve, and give orders in accordance with the Committee's report in the case of the negroes claimed by the Dutch West India Company, that Lord Vaughan, Governor of Jamaica, had certified the particulars *ut supra*] And that the property which is claimed by the Said Commissary in the said Negros might appear unto us he hath produced the deposition of Nicholas Van Beeck and Marc Broen Directors of the Dutch West India Company, taken at Amsterdam the 24th of November last, declaring that on the 27th of January 1677 Laden at Curasao one hundred and Sixty One Negroes on board the *Golden Sun,* Francis Wier Master, which were all belonging unto the Said West India Company; as alsoe the Depositions of Balthazar De Rue concerning the Lading of thirty Negroes more on board the said Ship, for the use of himselfe and others the freighters. Wee have Likewise seen two originall Instruments of Procuration from the said Directors of the Dutch West

[4] Mar. 8 the factors reported the arrival of Captain Bell with 282 negroes, of which 53 were delivered to him by lot for his freight and 7 for his commission. T 70: 15.

[79] [1] *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 806-807; see nos. 76, *ante,* 89, *post.*

India Company and the Said Balthazar de Rue, constituting Sir Thomas Modyford their Lawfull Attorney in all things relating to the Said Negroes. Wee are therefore most humbly of opinion that . . . the Earle of Carlisle or the Commander in Chief of . . . Jamaica for the time being bee required to give Order that [upon production of evidences making out the right of de Rue and the Company in the negroes the bond] entered into by Richard Braine Judge Admirall of Jamaica . . . and others for Restitution of the Said Negroes unto the Right Owners, bee forthwith Delivered up unto the Said Sir Thomas Modyford; all reasonable charges expended upon account of the said Negroes being first satisfyed unto Such to whom the same shall appear to bee Due according to such Regulation and agreement as his Lordshipp shall Direct.

COUNCILL CHAMBER 10th of February 1679.

80. CAPTAIN WILLIAM SMITH AND JONAS LYNCH TO THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY.[1]

TACCARADA,[2] March the 10th 1678[/9].

Wee sold and bought since wee came upon the Coast *vizt.* 306 Barres of Iron 3 p's Seayes 15 p's Perpetuanoes 63 l. w'tt of Brasse Kittles 200 Pewter bassions 12 Jugges 46 dooz Knives 97 musquetts 7 p's Sletias 40 p's niconees 142 p's Brawles 2 p's nillias[3] 200 p's Guiny stuffes 108 bunches blue Beads 13 ll. w'tt of Cowreyes 30 halfe firkines of tallow 20 Barr of powder for w'ch wee bought 53 Eleph'ts teeth w'tt 864 ll. and 18 markes Gold with 8 negroe Slaves and Provisions for the Negroes *vizt.* 256 Chests of Corne and 150 l. of Mallagetta. . . .

81. EDWYN STEDE AND STEPHEN GASCOIGNE TO THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY.[1]

BARBADOS, 6th May 1679.

Wee send first acco't of sales of Negroes by the *Ruth,* Capt. Pomeroy which as they were few in Numb. so they were very bad Slaves and Sold at meane rates People being fearfull to buy them there having bin so great a mortality among them and these few survivors, were very poore, by reason of the flux they had bin visited with and want of their country provisions and little of any

[80] [1] T 70: 15.

[2] Taccarada or Takoradi, east of Cape Three Points. The Dutch had here a small fort called Fort Witsen. Before 1700 this post had been held by English, Dutch, Brandenburgers, Swedes, and Danes. Bosman, *Description of Guinea,* pp. 17-18.

[3] Nillias, Indian piece goods, of which there were striped and plain varieties. The term Bengalls was also applied to these goods.

[81] [1] T 70: 1, pp. 15-16.

other sort would they eate as Mr. Kingstone informs us;[2] Upon the Ships arrivall we strictly examine[d] Mr. Kingstone concerning private Trade, and if any Negroes were on board that were not the Companys. he averred to us he was confident there was none, notwithstanding which we hyred a boat to watch the Shipp that night, who discovred nothing carried out of the Ship, and, yet we are informed and have very good reasons to believe though wee cannot yett gett it proved upon Oath that 4 Negroes and 16 Eleph'ts teeth were carryed out of the Ship that night Some of the Seamen soe declaring though upon our examining the matter they mince the matter.[3] Wee have also reason to suspect Capt. James in the *Ann* brought 10 Negroes and put them on Shoare privately as the Doctor confessed to me Edwyn Stede upon my charging him here with it though afterwards he fell of from what he said but possible may agine justifie it before the Compa. upon their further examination of the matter.

Mr. Kingstone having used his endeavors to sell what of the Negroes Provisions remained in the *Ruth* and finding no body that would offer any thing for them he hath left sundry species thereof with us.

82. Edwyn Stede and Stephen Gascoigne to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbados, 24th May 1679.

Wee are now to give the Compa. an acco'tt at Large of the Pinck *Marigold* from New Callabar. And of the Behauviour of Mr. Lambert Peachy the present Mast'r and M. Fowler the Compa's Factor on board and all that Ships Compa. and Say as we hinted in a former that upon the arrivall of that Ship the Master and Factor came on shoare to us, when we examined them their occasion of touching here having taken in provisions and refreshm'ts sufficient for the Negroes at St. Thomas to carry them to Nevis they replied they wanted a small Anchor which they doubted of being supplied with at Nevis, and so they cam thither having Lost their Anchors in the River of Callabar where they also beliged [bilged] their ship by means of the unskilfullness of the mate who pretended to be Pilott. Wee then stricktley examind Mr. Fowler as to private Trade on board the Ship, who answerd with all confidence and

[2] Another letter of this date is to be found in T 70: 15, which up to this point is identical with this one. The remainder of this paragraph is omitted and instead is given a list of bills of exchange, amounting to £315. 13. 6.

[3] On May 14 the agents wrote that there were sixty more negroes on the *Ruth* than had been reported as belonging to the company; in June they reported that they had examined the seamen of the vessel but found them unwilling to testify lest they lose their wages. Each man interviewed asserted that there were on board more negroes than Kingston had reported but from no one could the factors gain definite and conclusive evidence. T 70: 1, pp. 23-24; Harlow, *Barbados,* p. 324.

[82] [1] T 70: 1, pp. 19-22.

assurance there was not any, nor could be he having taken more than ordinary care to prevent it and farther gave us acco't of the Numb'rs of the dead, which he also averred he saw each dead and throwne over board and that the remainder were only 118 and that there was not a Negroe in the Ship more than that Numb'r on any Acco'tt which was also confirmed by the now Master Lambert Peachey. wee then told the Factor how much it conserned that he should be as Little absent from the Ship as might be especially at Night telling him farther how the Mast'r of the *Golden Lyon* had abused the Compa. By delivering out of that Ship here a considerable Number Negroes (of the best) and that here were a great many people about the Towne who kept boats and went off in the Night time to see what purchase they could gett from any of the Ships Compa. and would if not well watcht tempt out some of the Negroes and therefore charged said Fowler to be extremly Vigilant no such or the Like fraud were put upon him to the prejudice of the Compa. adding farther We conceived it would not be necessaires to put waiters on board the Factor being a Live, besides that the comon sort of people here that were to be hired into that imploye were soe false wee knew not how [to hold] them knowing whilst they tooke pay from us in behalfe of the Compa. they would be made drunk or be bribed to take no notice what was done to the Compa's prejudice. After this upon farther discourse with the Factor and meeting with some indirect answers from him and his Letting fall some indecent discourses and expressions of the Compa. particularly of their severyty to those imployed by them of their slender wages and of the difficulty of getting from them allowance and paym't of any thing disbursed by those in that imploym't or other, enough according to his expression to make any body cheate the Compa. wee began to distrust and surmise he was upon that designe, and there upon did desire to see his Journall his Acco'tt of Negroes bought and those dead which we found exactly according to what he told us before with which the Capt's acco'tt also agreed though the acco'tt of mortallity kept by the Doctor differs his Acco'tt of mortallity being short of theirs [*blank*] Negroes. Wee desired to see a muster of the Negroes the next day as well to know the Number on board as their condicon which was with difficulty obtained, neither Mast'r no[r] Fact'r being on board, but as wee have just cause since to believe were driving their bargains on shoare, for the Negroes they designed to cheat the Compa. of, for upon counting of the Negroes instead of 118 they said only remained of 293 bought in Callabar for the Compa. wee found 180 odd Slaves. wee demanded of the Persons on board who pretended to those supernumerary Negroes and by whom they were bought in. they replied they knew nothing of it how they came in or to whom they belonged

and about 8 at Night Mr. Fowler came to our house (of the same day many hours after wee had made this Discovery) and told us that early in the morning he had mustered the Negroes and had found a considerable Numb'r more than belonged to the Compa.; but told us not what Numb'r wee asked him if he knew not that before; he protested he did not, wee asked him how they came into the Ship and who pretended to them. he averred he knew nothing of it, wee asked him if upon the mustering of them in their voya. he made no discovery of any Negroes more than the Compa's he answered he had not mustered them all the voyage by reason of his great sickness all the way thoug he said he saw all the dead Negroes thrown over board. Wee asked him if he had Lycence from the Compa. for any private adventure on his own acco't and if he had any pretence to to those Negroes. he said noe he was allowed nothing of that Nature by the Compa. Wee asked him if the deceased or present Master had any such Lycence and if any of them pretended to them, he said they had noe Lycence for private trade nor did he know they or either of them pretended to them nor who did. wee asked him since he discoverd this Fraud so early in the morning why he acquainted us not earlier with it and what he and the Capt. had done on Shoare all that day in the Compa. he was in who wee knew to be people that were Likely to deale for any thing they would sell. he said he was coming early in the morn' to tell us of it butt mett with the Mast'r who dissuaded him upon some Slender pretence nor did he know he was obliged to acquaint us with the discovery he had made or wee [had] any pow'r to call him to any such acco. of what frauds he discovered which he had done by Letter to the Compa. (his Instructions only Leading him thereto) and was all was incumbent on him, wee asked him if the Compa. [would] not have thought he had done them good service to have comunicated his discovery to us that wee might have assisted him in preventing the Negroes being carryed out of the Ship and to have seized them for the Compa's use, he answerd noe Nor did he Believe wee could seize them for the Compa. for that by Charter Party if any were brought contrary to it they were to be mulct by the Compa. 20 *l.* per head and not to be seized or medled with by us which with many other insolent expressions and reflections of his on the Compa. and defending and justifieing himself in his honest and prudent care of the Compa's business caused such indignacon in us against his actings, that wee could not but tell him it appeared to us all his actions were knavish and that he deserved severe punishm't, to which he replied he cared not for what wee said or thought: He doubted not but the compa. would be pleased with what he had done and would reward him for his good service and that he had those Friends would bring him

off thus wee parted haveing before sent a Guard to the Ship according to the Letter.

And wee have Just cause by all his actings and proceedings to believe he was a Sharer in this cheate by denying and concealing all from us and being allways actually in Compa. with the Mast'r and those his assistants in bringing the Negroes

Wee omitted to acquaint the Compa. that after wee discovered the supernumerary Negroes on board Capt. Peacheys Ship wee demanded of him to signe a bill of Lading for all the Negroes then on board for to deliver them to the Compa's Agents at Nevis for the Compa's Acco'tt which he possitively denyed saying he was not obliged by Chart'r Party to signe any Bill of Lading for them nor would he on any tearmes.

83. Edwyn Stede and Stephen Gascoigne to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbadoes, June the 10th, 1679.

With this wee send the Compa. bill of Lading for the Negroes Left on board the *Marigold* that were fitt to be carried to sea *vizt.* One hundred and fifteene w'ch were sent to Nevis their first designed Port soe soone as wee could gett a Vessell to carry them which was the Last of May wee hope they are arrived there in safety and to a good markett they that were sent being very good Slaves. Wee tooke 7 a Shoare w'ch were not fitt to be sent not being able to stand all of w'ch are dead—notwith-standing wee used all possible care to preserve and recover them so that the Compa. may perceive that notwithstanding thee 45 Negroes brought on shoare by the Mast'r and Factor and the mortality w'ch was great among them by reason of their stop here yett at the time of sending there remained 4 more then the Mast'r and factor owned to be on board the Ship in the whole when they came into the Roade. And it doth most certainly appeare to us the great mortality of Negroes that was in that Ship from Callabar hither and here was occasioned by the Ships being crowded and pestred with the supernumerary Negroes taken into that Ship not having Roome to stow or cleane them for wee never saw soe stinking foule and nasty Ship in our Lives.[2] When the Ship came

[83] [1] T 70: 15.

[2] A letter of June 10 (possibly dated June 19), nearly identical with this one, at this point has the following: "but wee presume they stood not much upon that, resolving if soe many remained a Live in the Ship as they pretended to they would have noe Loss, the Living being still theirs and the Dead the Compa's. And as a further testimony of the Fact concurance and Interest in this cheate." This joins what follows without punctuation (T 70: 1, p. 23).

Over one hundred years later, the committee of the Privy Council which was investigating the African trade estimated that the percentage of loss on the Middle Passage, in 1680, was 27 2/3. The figures given in those letters of 1678 examined by the editor fall below that rate, amounting to between 19 and 20 per cent. Report of the Committee of the Privy Council on Trade to Africa (1789), pt. IV., no. 5, app. B, quoted by Higham, *Leeward Islands,* p. 158.

from St. Thomas Wm. Longstone Sailor and some others of the Ship's Compa. (as they told us) in messing them there went to count them w'ch being told to Mr. Fowler he was very angry with them for soe doing and asked what they had to doe to count the Negroes, that was his worke and not theirs and that they had a very uneasie being a board the Ship from thence hither for attempting to tell the Slaves there.[3]

Those 37 which were here seized by us and afterwards were condemned were sold for 400 *l.* to be paid part in 3 mo'ts the rest at Xmas.

The Ship was also appraised at 360 *ls.* Sterling which is now sold for 400 *l.* to be paid some in p'sent the rest at 6 mo'ts

On Thursday the 29th of May Capt. Wm. Smith in the *Blossom* arrived here In about 9 weeks from Cape Corsoe bound for Virginia touching here for wat'r and Refreshments for the Negroes not having touched at the Islands. he brought hither 117 men one Boy and one hundred twenty six women in pretty good Condition. on his arrivall wee searched the Ship and found noe Negroes more then before menconed nor other private trade the Factor Mr. Lynch also assuring us there was none. they saild the 5th Instant Leaving with us coppy of their acco't of disposall of their cargo at Guynie signed by the Master and Factor to be sent the Compa.[4]

This day arrived the *Swallow* Evan Seyes from new Callabar in 9 weeks and in 9 weeks 4 daies from Anibo[5] where he touched for refreshm'ts and came hither for Provisions his Yeams being all rotten. they tooke in at Callabar 179 Neg'rs and Lost 19 of them. wee shall furnish them with all speed with such provisions as this country at present affords and will dispatch them with all speed to their designed port of Virginia.

84. The Factors at Nevis to the Royal African Company.[1]

Nevis, 15th July 1679.

About 14 days Since H. Carpenter writt you an uncopied Lett'r the Contents of which was to advise you that on the 28th ultimo being Satturday wee had some notice of an Interloper about the Island

[3] The other letter closes with the statement that the master, Peachy, the factor, Fowler, the mate, White, and the gunner, John Hunt, seem to be the only ones on board the *Marigold* concerned in the fraud. On July 12 the agents reported that the mate and captain had offered 59 negroes to an unnamed resident of the island, who refused to buy and reported the offer to the company's factors. T 70: 1, p. 25.

[4] Nathaniel Bradley, one of the Cape Coast factors, wrote on Mar. 29, 1679, that he had loaded the *Blossom* with 270 negroes in 15 days. The captain had apparently lost 26 negroes on the passage. T 70: 15, p. 30.

[5] Annobon.

[84] [1] T 70: 1, pp. 26-27.

the Landing of whose Negroes wee indavord what possible wee could to prevent Placeing men at all Suspicious places of Landing. the Satturday Henry Carpenter spent in riding round the Island to view said Places which that night was secured as well as wee could as allso Sunday and on Sunday night Henry Carpenter with 2 [*torn*] happened to be at the Places where the Ship and Sloop Intended to Land their negroes etc.

the Persons concerned to help the Interloper were one Charles Pym one of the Generalls Councill and also a Capt. in this Island and one John Eddy a Capt. alsoe, Phillip Lee speake[r] of the Assembly: Josf. Tory a Leiv'tt and Richard Cary and Thomas Belchamber which Last the Negroes were consigned to with 10 or 12 more Ordinary fellows which they had gott.

85. Edward Pierce to the Royal African Company.[1]

Bence Island,[2] Aug. 4, 1679.

. . . The Negroe Ship would be most convenient sent out of England in Aprill to be heare in June, may be hired as you think fitt according to the help you send us in men and Sloopes you may guess what negroes wee may be able to send you. Betwixt this place and Rio Noones,[3] I question not if I have help to gett ready by July 120 good slaves, if wee have such assistance that wee can send to the River at Grandby[4] and the Begegres, (besides teeth) you may buy 4 or 500 Slaves Yearly and if your cheif factory for the parts aforementioned were plast at the Idoloas[5] your business would be done with a great deal more ease than it is.[6]

86. The Case of the *Coaster*[1]

Decimo Octavo Septembris Anno Domini 1679

Hugo Wilkins contra navem the *Coaster*, et contra omnes etc.

[85] [1] T 70: 1, p. 33. In the beginning of this letter Pierce, who was the company's agent at Bence Island, asked that 20 or 30 negroes bred in Barbados be sent out to him as company servants.

[2] Bance or Bence Island is the largest of three islands in the mouth of the Sierra Leone River. The company had erected a small fort here, which was used chiefly as a storehouse. According to Barbot, the one advantage was its difficulty of access (Barbot, "Description of Guinea", Churchill, *Voyages*, V. 99). The island continued to be a source of slaves for America until the nineteenth century, serving as headquarters for successive traders after the African Company abandoned it in 1728.

[3] Rio Nuñez.

[4] The Rio Grande. "Begegres" probably refers to a region between the Cacheo and the Casamance rivers.

[5] One of the corruptions suffered by the Isles of the Idols.

[6] The company at this time was far from prosperous. On July 14, 1679, John Verney wrote to Sir R. Verney, "Sir Gabriel Roberts [deputy governor of the company] and I went to Windsor about the Royal African Company's business", and on Oct. 30 he commented that the king could not borrow from the African Company, which is "as poor as a courtier". Hist. MSS. Comm., *Seventh Rept.*, pp. 472a, 474a, 476b.

[86] [1] Admiralty Court, Instance and Prize: Libel Files, file 119, no. 115. See nos. 77, 78, *ante*.

et contra societatem Regalem Africanam Angliae proprietarios dictae navis pro interesse[?]

CHAPMAN FRANCKLIN[2]

Quo die Francklin nomine procuratoris ac ut procurator legitimus dictae societatis Regalis per viam reconventionis omni meliori modo, nec non ad omnem juris effectum exinde quovismodo sequi valentem dixit, allegavit et in hiis scriptis in jure proposuit articulatim prout sequitur viz.

1. Impr's. That the said shippe *Coaster* mentioned in the processe of this Cause in the yeares One thousand six hundred seaventy and seaven and one thousand six hundred seaventy and eight, and moneths therein concurreing, and dureing all the voyage in question, wherein the wages in question are demanded was the shippe of the Royall African Company of England, and the said Company were, and are the owners thereof, and soe commonly accounted. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio temporis Spatio etc. Et ponit pars ista communem divisionem, et de quolibet.

2. Item. That within the time mentioned in the next precedent article the said Shippe was by the said Royall Company set out to sea, and imployed in their owne service to goe from this porte of London to Guinia, there to take in Negroes for, and upon the accompt of the said Royall Company, and to carry the same to the Island of the Barbadoes, or to such other places as the said Royall Company, or their agents should appoint, and there to unlade, sell, and dispose of the same for and upon the accompt of the said Royall Company, and afterwards to returne for England where the said voyage was to end, and determine. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio temporis spatio etc. Et ponit ut supra.

3. Item. That the said shippe within the time aforesaid mentioned in the first ar'le of this allegation did arrive at Guinia aforesaid where there were laden, and put aboard the said shippe (at which time Thomas Girbis the master of the said shippe was liveing) for and upon the accompt of the said Royall Company a greate number of negroes, which were transported in the said shippe to the said Island of the Barbadoes where the shippe arrived with the same within the time aforesaid, and more particularly in or about December or January one thousand six hundred seaventy and eight. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio temporis spatio etc. Et ponit ut supra.

4. Item. That the said Thomas Girbis was by the said Royall Company appointed ma'r of the said shippe the voyage in question, and did goe from this port of London in the said shipp as, and

[2] Chapman and Francklin were the advocates of the litigants respectively.

being ma'r thereof, and was master of the said shippe in the s'd voyage untill his death which hapned upon, or about the Coast of Guinia in or about the moneths of August, September, or October in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred seaventy and eight. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio temporis spatio etc. Et ponit ut supra.

5. Item. That the said shippe some moneths after the death of the said Thomas Girbis the Ma'r thereof being arrived at the Barbadoes with the said Negroes before alleadged in her the said Hugh Wilkins after the arrivall of the said shippe there with the said negroes in her which did belong unto, and were the negroes of the said Royall Company did of his owne head without any authority from the said Royall Company, or any of their agents, or factors, take upon him to take and did take out of the said shippe eleaven of the said Negroes, which were then aboard the said shipp which then lay at the Barbadoes, and put, or cause them to be put into a boate, or wherry belonging to the Barbadoes, which hee had procured for that purpose, and did in the said boate, or wherry, carry or cause the said eleaven negroes to be carryed, and put on shoare in Barbadoes, and there hee the said Hugh Wilkins did of his owne head without any authority from the said Royall Company sell, and dispose of, or barter away the said eleaven negroes, and had received monies, or comodities for the same to the value, or sum of twenty pounds (sterling) for every one of the said negroes, one with another, in toto eleaven score pounds, and that hee, [did] and doeth dispose of the same to his owne use, and benefitt, and never gave any accompt thereof to the said Royall Company or any for them. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio temporis spatio etc. et de quolibet alio numero aethiopum etc. et de quibuslibet aliis pecuniarum summis etc. Et ponit ut supra.

6. Item. That every one of the said negroes one with another was the time aforesaid worth the summe, or value of twenty pounds sterling, and soe much was the common and usuall price of a negroe in the Barbadoes the time aforesaid, and soe much negroes were then and there usually sold for. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio temporis spatio etc., et de qualibet alia pecuniarum summa pro valore etc. Et ponit ut supra.

7. Item. That the said Hugh Wilkins after the time of the arriveall of the said shippe in the Barbadoes the time aforesaid, and after hee had carryed the said eleaven negroes on Shoare as aforesaid, did never returne againe on board the said shippe, but did contrary to his duty desert, and forsake the said shipp at the Barbadoes, and did runne away from the same, and would not, nor did come

home in the said shipp for England, which hee ought to have done, by which meanes the said Royall Company for want of his service in the said shippe were, and are damnified to a great value. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio numero aethiopum etc. Et ponit ut supra.

8. Item. That after the time of the arriveing of the said shippe at the Barbadoes the time aforesaid, and after the s'd Hugh Wilkins had carryed the said negroes out of the said shippe on shoare at the Barbadoes aforesaid, some of the mariners of the said shippe, whereof Mathew Barker(named in the processe of this cause) whoe is pretended to be the apprentice of the said Hugh Wilkins was one; did contrary to their dutyes (the said Thomas Girbis the Ma'r of the said shipp haveing been dead some moneths before) instead of landing, and putting the other negroes, which were then left in the said shippe, (which were about the number of eighty, or ninety negroes) on shoare at Barbadoes, and deliv'ing the same to the agents, and factors of the said Royall Company there, did runne away with the said shippe and negroes then aboard her to the backe side of the Island of Jamaica, where they kept themselves out of command of the authority and governement of that place, and would have there disposed of the said negroes at their owne will and pleasure, but that one Mr. Molesworth being agent of the said Royall Company or some other the agents of the s'd Royall Company there, hearing thereof did cause a boate, or Shallopp to be manne[d], and there upon brought in the s'd Shippe into a porte in Jamaica contrary to the will of the said shippes company. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio numero aethiopum etc. Et ponit ut supra.

9. Item. That the said Mathew Barker after the arriveall of the said shippe at Jamaica as aforesaid, did desert the said shippe, and did runne away from the same and did not come home in the said shippe to the great losse, and damage of the said Royall Company. Et ponit ut supra.

10. Item. That the voyage in question was a tradeing voyage, and that the whole, and entire trade of Guinia, especially for negroes, did before, and dureing the voyage, in question, and since belong to the Royall African Company of England, exclusive to any persons of England, and that no mariners which did serve in the said shippe the voyage in question, or which have served, or doe serve in any of the shippes of the said Royall Company to, or for Guinia or Buiny were, or are, or ought to deale, or trade for, or dispose of any negroes whatsoever, nor did, or doe the said Royall Company permit, or give them the said mariners any order, or leave soe to doe, nor had the said Hugh Wilkins any authority to trade for, or buy or dispose of any negroes the voyage in question. Et ponit ut supra.

11. Item Quod praemissa omnia et singula fuerunt et sunt vera publica notoria pariter et famosa, atque de et super eisdem laboraverunt et laborant in praesenti publica vox et fama unde factâ fide de jure in hac parte requisitâ petit pars ista proponens jus et justitiam etc.

87. Hender Molesworth and Rowland Powell to the Royal African Company.[1]

Jamaica, Feb. 15, 1679/80.

Wee take notice of y'r reviving of your old order for paying of the Chirugions head mony [2] at delivery of the Negroes.

Wee take notice of the hint you are pleased to give us of the Interlopers [3] who are apt enough to Boast w'thout a Cause but notwithstanding their Bravados there is none of them will put themselves here under the Hazard of Seizing, And if they Sculke only in Creekes and Bayes about the remote parts of the Island, wee [do] not envy them the proffit of the voya. If they gett noe more by any thing else then they shall by their Negroes (when all their returnes are at home) though it be naturall to them to put the best Face upon a bad matter, yet what their Tongues will not confess their purses will feele.

On the 23 ulto. arrived Capt. Nurse from Angola with 490 neg'rs w'ch wee exposed to Sale the 29th Ditto within w'ch time there dyed 20 Soe that wee recd. but 470 and amongst them objected against 20 more as under aged according to what our receipts will mention for which wee allow noe freight here.

And on the 25th Ditto arrived Capt. Andrew Branfill in the *Vine* with 278 from Old Callabar (w'ch wee sould the first Currt. whereof two dying before Sale wee recd. only 276).

The negroes by Nurse were meanly condition'd for besides neer ⅓ boyes and Girles there were a great many Leane and Sickly ones occasioned from the want of Provisions throughout the voyage the Capt. himselfe also having been very ill on the Coast.

[87] [1] T 70: 1, p. 46.

[2] The ships' doctors were paid so much per head for the negroes landed in good condition.

[3] The company not long after this again petitioned for help in upholding its privileges, and on Mar. 9 the Privy Council directed that letters be sent to Barbados, Nevis, and Jamaica, ordering them to observe the company's charter. *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 885.

88. Accounts of the *Swallow*, 1679-1681.[1]

London the 23rd March 1679[/80].

Invoice of goods laden abord the "Swallow" Capt. Evan Seys Commander for accompt of the Royall African Company of England Bound for New Callabar their to take in 220 Negroes And consigned unto said Capt. Evan Seys.

										l.	*s.*	*d.*
Iron 2000 barrs wt. 25 tons at £15:5:0										381	5	0
Copper barrs. 5 chests												
	barrs	cwt.		qr.		lb.						
44	200	2	:	0	:	06						
45	200	2	:	0	:	07						
46	200	2	:	0	:	06						
47	200	2	:	0	:	08						
48	200	2	:	0	:	07						
	1,000	10	:	1	:	06	at	£6:3		63	07	1
Cowries, 3 barrells												
		cwt.		qr.		lb.						
130		2	:	0	:	14	Tare	20				
131		2	:	0	:	04	"	19				
160		2	:	0	:	21	"	22				
		6	:	1	:	11	"	61				
tare				2	:	05						
		5	:	3	:	06	net at	£3:7		19	08	10
Beeds, 1 chest												
29	26 bunches white wt. 76 at 13 *d.* £4:02:4											
	17 ditto christall wt. 48 " 15 *d.* £3:00:—									7	02	4
Manelloes 1 bunch black												
		cwt.		qr.		lb.						
5,000 rings wt.		1	:	2	:	25	net at	£3:5		5	11	11
For customs and all other charges										7	00	6
1 box 2 scarlett laced coates for presents £5:08:5												
2 white hatts laced								£2:05		7	13	5
Negroe Provitions												
1 hhd. and 1 Runlett qt. 76 galls. fine spiritts								£11:10				
6 hhds. beanes								7:05				
1 hhd. flour								3:10				
1 hhd. pease								1:15				
2 puncheons and 1 barrell								6:10				
1 barrell qt. 1 tobacoe								2:19				
1 barrell qt. 7 gross pipes								0:09				
1 hhd. vineger								3:05				
1 hhd. salt								1:02				
2½ stock fish at £6-3 and 1 puncheon beef, £3:5								9:00		47	13	0
										539	2	2

[88] [1] T 70: 911, "Invoice Book, outward, of the Royal African Company, 1680-1681"; T 70: 939, "Invoices Inward, 1680-1681".

NEVIS January 12th 1680[/1].

Accompt of Sales of 71 Negroes Sould out of the Shipp "Swallow" Capt. Evan Says Commander For Accompt of the Royall African Company of England.

		Men	Women	Boys	Girls	lbs. of sugar
Sir W. Stapleton at 3000		4			1	15,000
George Cruff	S			1		2,800
James Walker		4	3	1		26,600
Moses Leavermore 2 at 3800, 1 at 2800		1	1	1		10,400
Edward Parsons		3	1	2		19,200
John Pope	S		0	1		2,800
John Chapman				0	1	2,000
John Williams		1				3,500
Thomas Weekes		1	1	1		9,500
John Syms		2	1			10,800
Humphrey Heywood			2			7,000
Nath. Harris		3	1			14,000
Joseph Crisp		2	7		2	32,200
David Howels		2	2			13,800
Walter Clarke		1				3,500
Hurly Welch			1			3,500
John Wighall		1				3,200
Hurly Jackman			1			1,700
Robert Ellin			1			1,200
Phillip Sullivan		1				1,080
John Jeffries		1				3,500
Edward Harris			1			3,000
Capt. Evan Seys		1				2,560
William Meede		3	6			8,181
		31	29	7	4	199,721
Allowed by the Ma'r for the overplus of his Fr'tt etc.						736
						200,457

Men	31		
Women	29		
Boys	7		
Girls	4		
	71	36	
	3	104	commission
	16	6	freight
	91	10	
	6 dead		
	97		

Note that the 2 boys and 2 girls marked with S the mast'r pretended was his and his mates for which noe Fr'tt or commiss'n was allowed him.

WILL'M FREEMAN
HENRY CARPENTER
ROBERT HELMES

LONDON the 31st March 1681

Nevis. Received from Mr. Henry Carpenter and Company the sum of Two hundred Sixty two pounds in Negroes at Sixteen pounds per head and is in full payment for two thirds parts of Freight of eighty seven Negroes brought to this island in the ship *Swallow* and for which I have given three receipts by this tenour and date.

Dated the 17th day of January 1680[/1].

£262

EVAN SEYS

Received of Mr. Henry Carpenter and Company the sum of Four Pounds and Seven Shillings and is in full for the head money of Eighty seven Negroes brought to this island in the ship *Swallow* Capt. Evan Says commander, For which I have given three Receipts of this tenour and Date. Dated in NEVIS the 18 day of January 1680[/1]. . . .

£4.7 JEREMIAH OXTEA

89. THE CASE OF THE *GOLDEN SUN*.[1]

WHITEHALL, 2 April, 1680.

Wheras it has been represented in behalf of the Dutch West India Company and the executors of Balthazar de Rue concern'd in the Negros seized on board the *Golden Sun* in the year 1677, That Sir Thomas Modiford their late Atturney and Procurator [is dead,] [2] The said West India Company and Executors of Balthazar de Rue humbly desire Charles Modiford Baronet, Hender Molesworth and Francis Hanson Esqrs. being by them appointed to be their Atturneys, and Procurators, His Majesty would be pleased to renew his orders to the Earle of Carlisle or the Comander in Cheif of Jamaica for the time being to the end the said Bond may be delivered up to them and the proceedes of the said negros duely recovered. It is thereupon Ordered in Councill that . . . as soone as the Evidences making out the Right of the said [Company, and Executors] in the said Negros shall be lawfully produced by Sir Charles Modiford, Bart. Francis Hanson and Hender Molesworth, Esqres. or either of them jointly or severally, Then the said Bond entred into by the said Richard Braine, Judge Admirall of Jamaica and others, for restitution of the said Negros unto the Right Owners be forthwith delivered up unto the said Procurators or any of them, all reasonable charges expended upon accompt of the said Negros being first satisfied unto such to whom the same shall appear to be due, according to such Regulation and agreement as his Lordship shall direct. [The Committee]are hereby ordered to signifie unto the Earle of Carlisle or the Comander in cheif of Jamaica for the time being his Majestys pleasure herein.[3]

[89] [1] *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 885-886; see also nos. 76, 79, *ante*. On Mar. 26 Peter Hacker, acting for John Wachtendonck, commissary for the United Provinces, petitioned the Lords of Trade and Plantations that the restitution of the loss go forward as if Modyford and Balthazar de la Rue were still living. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, pp. 499, 500.

[2] Modyford died in Jamaica in 1679.

[3] On Apr. 8 the Lords of Trade and Plantations communicated to Lord Carlisle the directions of the Council. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, p. 517.

90. Mr. Hoarde to the Royal African Company.[1]

Jam[es] Island, the 22 June 1680.

. . . The 13th May the *Lawrell* Capt. Cha. Plumer Commander came in this River to buy Negroes he being very well acquainted here made a great Stop to the Trade soe that I could not buy a Slave of the Merchants in 13 or 14 days which hath been a greate impediment to the *Converts* Dispatch besides the diffrence that he made betweene the natives and I. After all these wrongs I man'd the *Ann* and went downe and brought her under Comand of the Castle. Then he gave me a Bond of £2000 ster. under his hand and seale to depart in 48 howers after the signeing the said Bond and not to apeare in the River of Gambia or upon the Coast of Guiny in the Space of one whole Yeare. This Bond he hath Forfeited: for he traded in the River 12 or 14 days after against my will and consent Traded and bought Sev'all Neg'rs to your Prejudice . . . The Bond I will send home by Capt. Crow to prosecute the Law against him if you please. . . .

The *Convert* Sailes with 213 Negroe Persons,[2] to keep her upon Demmorage till I have her Complement I thinke it not convenient for now the Raines are come in they fall Sick and dye dayly in 20 dayes time have Lost 80 Negroe Persons; besides having noe prospect of getting the Rest till the *Ann* comes downe the River to Stay for her it is not worth while. She I sent up for 80 dayes to gett the *Margretts* Cargoe. I hope to dispatch her before her time is expired. Now she hath aboard 112 Tunns of Hydes and three or foure Tonns of Teeth and Wax: The Capt. and most of his men are sick beyond hopes of Recovery.

91. The Factors at Cape Coast Castle to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cape Corsoe Castle, June the 28th, 1680.

Captaine Mingham Received 16 Slaves out of the Sloop *vizt.* ten men and six women.

[90] [1] T 70: 1, p. 58. Hoarde was one of the company's Gambia factors.

[2] Of the arrival of this vessel at Barbados, the agents wrote July 30, 1680: "Now is arrived the *Convert* Capt. Robert Butcher from Gambia who sailed thence the first instance with two hundred and thirteene Negroes and has brought hither One Hundred and eighty Slaves. Some good men amongst them but the Women very bad and as wee conceive many of the men are much the worse for being soe loaded with Irons as they have bin all the Voyage the Captaine saying they are very unruly and once designed to rise and cut him and his People off Soe durst not trust them otherwise he sayeth he Left one of the Companies Shipps there bound directly home and three Interlopers which is all the Accompt he gives us of that Place." T 70: 1, pp. 62-63.

[91] [1] T 70: 15. The agents were Nathaniel Bradley, Henry Spurway, Thomas Spurway, Theo. Pysing, and John Mildmay.

Captaine Mingham being about gitting his Corne of at Amessa and Cormantine [2] having advice that Slaves could not be gott without Sayes and Perpetuanoes he put on board the Sloop 9 Sayes and thirty Perpetuanoes to bring to Cape Corsoe, to help purchase his Slaves (as per the matter of the Sloopes Receipt); but the wind not being faire for the Sloope to come up and extraordinary high Sea Running on Shoare and very strong Weather, She was Within three dayes after forced on shoare from her Anchor and grapnell at Amessa, where she staved all to Peeces which when the Country People saw they came downe with Numbers of Soldiers and tooke away all the goods and forced the Sloopes men overboard and Capt. Minghams men comeing to see if they could save the sloop or goods, except foure markes seven ounces and six angles which one of the Sloopes men saved in his sash and brought up hither which I received.

There was Lost in that Sloope seventy Iron Barrs, forty seven Nicconees narrow, nineteen Brawles, Seventy six Tapseels, two Ginghams, two barrells of Powder, two halfe Firkins of Tallow, forty Pewter basons, foure Pounders, one Damaged Perpetuanoe, and nine sayes and thirty Perpetuanoes of Captaine Minghams and noething of Satisfaction to be gott for them.

What Captaine Mingham brought downe of his Windward and Stayes Cargoe he put on Shoare here and hath a Receipt for them, and wee have put on board Ninety Caske of Bowges to purchase his Complement which is the only commoditye that wee have that will purchase Slaves at Allampo.[3]

Captaine Seaman hath one hundred and fifty Slaves on board and is takeing in his Corne at Annamaboe and is to have what Slaves they have there, and from hence to goe downe to Acra where in few dayes Question not that Fort and the *Isabella* will supply him with his Complement.

92. The Factors at Nevis to the Royal African Company.[1]

Nevis, the 16th July 1680.

The 12th of this instant the murther was tryed an Acco'tt of the Proceedings therein you have inclosed as also what elce there passed,[2] In which you will see how wee moved the Court That the Neg'rs That

[2] Amissa and Cormantine were but a short distance east of Cape Coast Castle.
[3] Allampo or Lampi, the region east of the River Volta.

[92] [1] T 70: 1, pp. 53-54. Extracts from this letter are printed, *Cal. St. Col.*, 1677-1680, pp. 579-580.

[2] The murdered man was James Starky, a former agent of the African Company, who was killed in a riot occasioned by an attempt on the part of the company's agents to seize negroes illegally imported. The agents brought suit against Richard Cary, Thomas Belchamber, and Capt. John Edge for 40 negroes (Admiralty proceedings, July 12, 1680, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, pp. 570-571). Higham, *Leeward Islands*, p. 162, gives an account of the attack in which Starky was killed.

wee formerly seazed might be tryed in that Court but was denyed. Capt. Cope Capt. Helmes and Mr. Holbirch [3] will give you a full acco. what therein passed as also about Thornebury an Interloper who came to an anchor 1½ Leag' to windw'd of the Fort the 15th of June and there Rid 4 or 5 da's in Sight of all the Island till he had Landed his Negroes to whome Boats from the Ships and Shoare went to and againe very frequent. the same da. wee waited on The Gen'all and Acquainted him thereof and desired his assistance in seizing The Neg'rs and The Preventing of The Landing of Them According to his Maj'tres Chart: on which he Issued out a warrant directed to The Marshall [4] to Seiz Said Ship and Neg'rs and to bring her under Comand which was told him that Afternoone who Promised to doe it with all speed but insteed Thereof went out of The way and never did it Of which the Gen'all was made acquainted the 16th Day about Sun Sett. They brought from sd. Ship about 180 Neg'rs [5] in a Sloop and Landed Them at Stanley's Bay where wee endeavored to seize them but was Prevented by Mr. Phillip Lee Speaker of The Assembly who first drew his Sword and bid defiance to any that would seize them together with Mr. Rich'd Carry and Thos. Belchamber, Ltt. John Sockwell, John Standley and One O Storman [6] all standing with Their Swords pointing to our Breasts and some with their Pistolls Swearing Bitterly that they would kill that man that would offer to seize a Negroe there notwithstanding they had at that very instant the Gen'alls Order Red to them wherein He comanded all his Comiss'rs Officers to assist us in The Seasing of Those Neg'rs of which they would take no notice but in stead of Obeying the Same They with about 20 Say'lrs and Privateers accompanying them with their Swords Drawne kept us from makeing any Seizure of them saying that they had brought them and would Land them if They died for it and what they did they would maintaine with Their Lives and fortun's of which the next da. wee acquainted the Governor who gave us This Answer That he knew noe Law to punish Them for it but would acquaint The King thereof.[7] Mr. Lambert your Factor on the

[3] The *Calendar* prints this name as "Holbital".
[4] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, p. 551.
[5] The *Calendar* reads "80".
[6] Austerman.
[7] On July 1 Stapleton had written to the Lords of Trade: "I have the King's orders from Newmarket to seize all interlopers, ships and other goods, and help the agents of the Royal African Company, whose complaint was the reason of the order. I beg your Lordships instructions how to act in cases where there is resistance, or a man defends his own. I am aware that it is my duty to defend the King's perogative, but the law takes hold of any violent act of bloodshed, without which people will not part with that which is their own. I never refuse any warrant for seizure, or assistance when I may safely give it. We have had one man murdered already in one such quarrel, account of the trial enclosed" (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, p. 560). On Aug. 25, 1683, the Privy Council prepared for the king's signature an order to Stapleton, informing him that complaints about interlopers continued, and directing him to enquire into the murder of one of the company's agents, undoubtedly meaning Starky. They mention as concerned Charles Pym, John Eddy, Philip Lee, Joseph Jory, Richard Cary, and Robert Belchamber. *Ibid.*, 1681-1685, p. 480.

Geo. and Betty was in Compa. with us and saw all what Passed of which he will give you a full Acco. God sending him well to you.

Thornebury came into This Roade where he now Rides at an anchor The 14th Instant wee have not Yett meddled with him but intend to see what may be done with him as speedily as may be wee wish our Success may be better then hitherto it hath been.[8]

93. Accounts of the *Mary*, 1680-1681.[1]

London the 14th August 1680

Invoice of goods laden on board the "Mary", Capt. Robert Smith Commander For accompt of the Royall African Company of England Bound for Cape Coast Castle and consigned unto the Agent Generall and the Rest of the Councell, vizt.

	£	s.	d.
Iron 32,000 barrs wt. 40 ts. at £14 10	580		
Cowry 50 barrells [details of weight for each barrel given separately, amounting to] 101 cwt. 2 qr. 1 lb. net, at 67 *s.*	340	1	1
Beads 11 chests			
bunches			
36 great white 1. 0. 09			
66 small white 1. 3. 05			
78 Haire collor 1. 0. 12			
30 black 1. 1. 06			
61 small black 1. 3. 04			
85 great white 2. 1. 26			
54 Lemon collor 0. 2. 08			
52 Reds 0. 2. 06			
67 white 1. 3. 05			
13 green transparent 0. 1. 12			
8 lemon collor 0. 0. 06			
87 ditto transparant 0. 2. 07			
57 orange 0. 2. 05			
100 green transparent 0. 3. 12			
25 lemon ditto 0. 1. 03			
64 black 0. 2. 13			
813 [883] bunches 15. 2. 27 net 1763 at 13*d.* [9. 17. 7]	95	09	11
220 orange, 100 Lemon } 320 bunches at 2*s.* 1*d.*	33	06	8
sheets 15 chests [details] total 975 sheets at 2*s.* 8*d.*	130		
spirits 20 whole cases at 10*s.* 8*d.*	10	13	4
Tallow 100 half firkins wt. 23. 2. 27 gross, 3. 3. 05 tare; 19. 3. 22 net at 38*s.*	37	17	11
Powder 75 barrells at 50 *s.*	187	10	0
Sayes 15 Cases [details of quantity in each] total 300 ps. at 44 *s.*	660		

[8] It is evident from the letters of the agents that the difficulties with interlopers had not abated, and the company again appealed to the king for aid. On Sept. 9, 1680, its petition was referred by the Privy Council to a committee for consideration. *Acts P. C. C.*, I. 885, II. 8.

[93] [1] T 70: 911. Certain corrections of the figures have been inserted in brackets throughout these accounts.

[*Accounts*—continued:]

			£	*s.*	*d.*
Pewter 2 barrells					
30 4 lb. basons	1. 0. 15				
30 3 lb. " }					
30 2 lb. " }	1. 2. 00				
10 1 lb. " }					
100 basons	2. 2. 15	net 295 at 9*d.*	[2	3	3]
Musketts 3 chests					
50					
50					
50					
150 ps. at 8*s.* 6.			63	15	
Knives 1 barrell					
58 doz. best at 34 *d.*	£8. 04. 4				
12 doz. ordinary 20 *d.*	1. 00. 0		9	04	4
Siletias 4 cases [details] 84 ps. at 20 *s.* 8 *d.*			87	16	8
			[86	16	0]
Plains 2 bales					
12 Ells					
8					
20 Ells reds at 24 *s.*			24		
Perpetuanos 5 bales and 1 case [details] 146 ps at 30 *s.*			219		
Linnen 1 case, 12 ps each 20½ yds at 23 *s.*			13	16	
For customs and all other charges[2]			54	10	8
			2558	2	10
			[2547	1	7]

LONDON, the 30th September 1681[3]

			£	*s.*	*d.*
Sundry Accts. To the *Mary* Capt. Robert Smith					
Voyadge in the said Ship					
For freight of 459 negroes delivered att Barbados out of the said ship according to Contract at £5: 15 per head	£2639. 05				
Freight of 45 refuse negroes at £4. 10	202. 10				
6 negroes the Capt. bought with his owne gold at 20 *a* each at £3. 12 per oz.	£27. 00				
Provitions for the negroes	£15. 15. 4		2884	10	4
Gold *oz.* *a* *Ta*					
For freight of 652 2 6 2 at 10/p cowry			100		
Charges of merchandise			97	16	0
For passage of 17 passingers	£49. 15. 4				
6 *a* of gold paid to the generall of the mine for gunsmiths tools	1. 08. 6		51	03	10
			£3033	10	2
The *Mary* and owners to Sundry Accompts.					
To voyage in Said Ship					
For goods wanting	£5. 02. 6				
abated on this accompt		8			
Breach of Charter party for 11 negroes Carryed over and above what was laden for the Companies acct.	£220. 0. 0		225	03	2
To Cash paid advance on the passengers and passage	34. 0. 0				
Ditto paid here on acct	1200. 0. 0		1234	00	—
To Ballance			1574	07	
			£3033	10	2

[2] A list of goods for the castle, amounting to £254. 14. 8, follows.

[3] T 70: 962, "Copy book of Accounts of the Royal African Company of England. No. 1, from July 11, 1678 to Dec. 31, 1681".

94. Edwyn Stede and Stephen Gascoigne to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbados the 4th Septemb. 1680.

Upon makeing up the Accompt with Captaine Woodfine for the Freight of those Negroes were brought hither by him there hapned a diffrence between us which could not well be adjusted by us here, And therefore both he in behalfe of himselfe and Owners And wee in our capacity Referred it to the Determination of the Company. It falling out that after wee had divided the Negroes and delivered the Captaine his Freight and Comiss'n Negroes. Dureing the 10 dayes time Reserved by the Compa. for Sales Ten of the Companies Negroes died For which nevertheless he expected Freight—alleadging after the Dividend and delivery of the Negroes each one ought to Stand to their Loss without any Defaulcation or abatement of Freight, he haveing also Lost two or three of his in the ten daies time, But for as much as this case had not happned to be disputed before, wee did not give him allowance of Freight for those Ten Negroes but reffered it to the good pleasure of the Company: As wee doe alsoe his demand of Comission for Fifty Negroes he placed the Factor for and bought on the Coast which not appearing to us wee leave him to make out the Justice of his demand to the Company.

Wee now send four First Bills of Exchange and Three First Receipts *vizt.*

John Sewger and Wm. Johnstowne on Wm. Boulton pay ab. the 12th November	£246.	00.	00
John Farmer on John Bawden Payable at 40 daies Sight	100.	00.	00
Christopher Codrington on Anthony Wallinger att 40 daies	234.	11.	6
Samuel Smart on Nathaniel Bridges payable the 12th November	200.	00.	00
Ralph Gibbons Receipt for head mony of 387 Negroes by Woodfine	19.	07.	00
	£799.	18.	6
Comission on said mony at 7 per ct.	55.	19.	10
Comission on £1170 for 78 Negroes d'd Capt. Woodfine in part of Freight at 1½ per ct.	17.	11.	00
Comission on £465 for 31 Negroes d'd Capt. Butcher in part of Freight at 1½ per ct.	6.	19.	6
	£880.	8.	10

For all which wee pray our Accompt may have Creditt

[94] [1] T 70: 15; the same letter without the accounts is to be found in T 70: 1, p. 64. On Apr. 1, 1680, Governor Atkins sent to William Blathwayt, auditor general, a certificate of negroes received from the company, signed by Stede and Gascoigne. From Dec. 1, 1678, to Dec. 1, 1679, "1425 negroes [were] received and sold to sundry persons for money and sugar at sundry prices", amounting in all to 20,520 *l.* On Jan. 5, 1680, 484 negroes were sold for 7050 *l.* *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, p. 509.

95. Planters of Jamaica to the Lords of Trade and Plantations.[1]

[Jamaica,] November 4, 1680.

. . . 3. The inhabitants beg that the foundation of the patent may be kept, which they conceive was that the (Royal African) Company would improve the trade by fully furnishing and at moderate rates. As to quantity, it is supposed that three or four thousand (negroes) would sell, and every year more and more; as to price, 16 *l.* or 17 *l.* a head for lots in which are no refuse negroes, at six months' credit, which rate the Company cannot in reason find fault with, since many affirm that they seldom cost the Company above half that price, and others if permitted would furnish fully at 14 *l.* a head. If the Company objects that the Island has always had more than it could pay for, then it is truly answered that the Company ruin their own chapmen by selling at such rates and taking 20 per cent. the first six months and 15 per cent. after, so that it is hard for the poor planter ever to pay; and it is well for the Company, if ever paid, that the Island is in their debt; and the Islanders are under no great obligation to the Company for biting and devouring them by such unreasonable and unconscionable dealing. The Company also puts the King to great expense for frigates to protect their trade to the ruin of his customs, trade and navigation, seeing that each negro at work in the colonies produces to His Majesty ten shillings (and most say 15 shillings) per annum custom, or else his master cannot be enabled to pay for him. Governors and captains of ships also are under many difficulties, law-suits, etc., in obeying orders in favour of the Company. Wherefore it is hoped that His Majesty will regulate the negro trade, and instead of giving the Commander-in-Chief instruction in favour of the Company, will order him not to suffer them out of revenge for discovering their abuses to King, kingdom and colonies, to ruin the planters by hastily calling in of their debts seeing that they receive so great interest for forbearance and have hitherto been too hard for other interests.[2]

[95] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, pp. 626-627, "Unsigned, Inscribed, Read 4 Nov. 1680".

[2] In a hearing of Nov. 4, 1680, before a committee of the Privy Council at which this paper was presented, the company maintained that Jamaica owed £60,000 for negroes and would owe £50,000 more on the arrival of the cargoes then on the way. The cost of the negroes was £5, plus £4 5*s.* freight, with a 25 per cent. loss for mortality, and a £20,000 annual charge on its forts. Despite its difficulties, the company stood ready to fulfil its obligations, provided the planters would meet theirs (C. O. 391: 3, p. 229; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, pp. 625-626). On Nov. 11 the committee recommended that the company send 3000 slaves annually, to be sold at £18, by lot, without reservation, on six months' credit. Montserrat and St. Christopher, which had been complaining of an inadequate supply, were also to be provided with blacks. All this, however, was to be contingent on the payment of the debt to the company (C. O. 391: 3, p. 231; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, p. 629). The next day the Council issued an order in accordance

96. Henry Greenhill to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cape Corso Castle, Decem. the 7th 1680.

He [Captain Norsworthy] [2] does not scruple the publique owning that any Interlopers came upon the Coast; he would give them better entertainment then your hono'rs Ships and that I am apt to beleeve he would performe because I have heard of many that have been here with whom here hath been such a Correspondence that trading hath been frequently allowed.

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with this report (*Acts P. C. C.,* II. 12). On the same day (Nov. 12) a request from Jamaica asked that the chancellor of Jamaica be empowered to stay execution if creditors should take violent measures to collect their debts. The report on this request was unfavorable, as it was believed that such a policy would discourage the Royal African Company. The petitioners were however assured that the company would be urged not to be over hasty in collecting its debts (C. O. 391: 3, pp. 239-241; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1677-1680, pp. 630-631, 638-639).

The efforts of Jamaica planters to relieve their condition did not cease with this petition. The next spring (April, 1681) the Privy Council considered a petition from several of them asking to be allowed to send directly to Angola for a cargo of negroes. At the same time a request from "divers merchants, planters, tradesmen, and seamen", for freedom of trade on the African coast, was presented. The Royal Company was heard, and the petitioners were offered opportunity to subscribe to an increase of £60,000 in the stock of the company. This they declined to do, and the matter of the petition was dismissed (*Acts P. C. C.,* II. 19-20). Meanwhile, Governor Atkins wrote that the assembly of Barbados had sent instructions to Colonel Drax, then in London, "to overthrow the patent of the Guinea Company and to that I told them that I could not join them, for that I acted daily by the King's patent, and in that particular by both his patent and express orders as well as your Lordships'. But their hopes went high" (Oct. 26, 1680, Atkins to the Lords of Trade and Plantation, *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1677-1680, p. 621). In 1689 the subject of the outstanding debts was again a matter of controversy. The council and assembly of Jamaica suggested to the king that if the company had over extended its credit it was because the factors had distributed negroes to their favorites, irrespective of whether they could pay for them. The company retorted that twenty members of the assembly were among the debtors, and that the credit the planters had received amounted to £90,000, of which it would lose one-third by the recent act which decreed that a piece of eight should pass for six shillings (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1689-1692, pp. 106-107).

To the company, its burden of debt, out of all proportion to its reserve strength, threatened its financial security throughout the twenty years which had elapsed since its establishment. To the islands the volume of debt menaced their political security. Planters, hopelessly in debt, felt themselves in the power of the company. "Agents of the African Company carry such a sway here as almost to stop any proceeding, for if a man does not vote as they would wish for a Vestryman or Assemblyman they proceed against him for what he owes them for negroes (most of the planters being in their debt) thus ruining him and his family. Many honest men have met with this usage who would not be biassed against their consciences. By such disloyal actions we are laid open to the attacks of any enemy" (July 2, 1695, Governor Russell to the Lords of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1693-1696, p. 526).

The petitions of Joshua Brooke and Samuel Nash against the African Company, presented to the House of Commons Dec. 16, 1680, and Jan. 5, 1681, may also have dealt with the question of the company's monopoly. Stock, I. 422.

[96] [1] T 70: 1, p. 99.

[2] Greenhill was a newly arrived agent at Cape Coast Castle, Norsworthy a retiring agent.

97. Certain Considerations relating to the Royal African Company, 1680.[1]

The Design of this Treatise is,

I. To open the Original and Growth of the Guiney Trade.

II. To demonstrate the Utility and Advantages which redounds to the Nation by that Trade.

III. That the same National Advantagious Trade cannot be securely carried on but by a Company and Joint-Stock. . . .

And the late Parliament did allow the same Policy [trade by chartered companies] as appears by an Act, Intitled An Act Declaratory concerning Bankrupts, made in the 14th year of His Majesties Reign, for the encouragement of the East-India and Guiney Companies.[2] And that the Nobility and Gentry might not be discouraged in their Honourable Endeavours of Adventuring their Money in the said Societies, did exempt them from being subject to the Statutes against Bankrupts: And did therein further declare, That by such Undertakings, Navigation was Increased, and the Publique Good of the whole Kingdom very much advanced. And by another Act of the same Parliament made in the [*blank*] year of His Majesties Reign, they thought fit to own the African and East-India Companies by Taxing their Joint-stocks by Name. . . .[3]

Secondly. The Publique Utility and Advantages of the Guiney Trade. For the Utility and Advantages that redound to the Nation by the Guiney Trade: They are such as these.

I. The Exportation of our Native Woollen and other Manufactures in great abundance, most of which were imported formerly out of Holland; but have of late Years (by the present Companies Direction) been Manufactured at home: And for the greater expence thereof, have given express Orders to their Factors at Guiney to undersel all other Nations; whereby the wooll of this Nation is much more consumed and spent then formerly; and many Thousand of the poor People imployed. . . .

[97] [1] *Certain Considerations relating to the Royal African Company of England: in which, the Original Growth, and National Advantages of the Guiney Trade, are Demonstrated: as also that the same Trade cannot be carried on, but by a Company and Joint-Stock* (1680; also in Harleian MSS. 7310, pp. 45-50). No adequate idea of the history of the African trade can be obtained without giving some attention to the pamphlet controversies of the day. At the same time that interlopers of Bristol and the American plantations were violating the company's monopoly, many writers were inveighing against it in print and the company was, almost from the beginning, on the defensive as to the desirability of its chartered right of exclusive trade. *Certain Considerations* presents the company's side of the dispute rather more concisely than do some of the statements of its case. From this time forward anyone who dips into the pamphlet literature of the slave trade is in danger of being submerged, so voluminous does it become. For a list of pertinent pamphlets see a forthcoming volume on the Royal African Company, by Dr. George F. Zook.

[2] 14 Chas. II., c. 24, Pickering, *Statutes at Large,* VIII. 128-129.

[3] Here follows a brief history of the successive African charters, which adds nothing to the account in the introduction.

III. By the Negro Trade the Company yearly, at very reasonable Rates, furnish with vast Numbers of Servants all His Majesties American Plantations, and that upon large Credit and Time given to the Planters for Payment; who at this present owe to the Company more then One Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling, whereby they are enabled to carry on their Plantations to much greater advantage, which Credit neither ever was, nor probably will be given in like proportion by Private Traders, by which all the Plantations do flourish more then formerly. A great increase is made to His Majesties Revenue, and to the Wealth of this Nation. So that the Riches of that part of the World, (being the result and product of Industry and Labour) is in good Measure Owing to the Royal African Company. Besides that, it hinders the exhausting this Nation of its natural born subjects. . . .

Thirdly. The Guiney Trade lost to this Nation unless carried on by Company and Joynt-Stock.

. . . It comes now in the third place to be demonstrated, that the same great and important advantages must be inevitably lost, unless the Trade be carried on by way of a Company and Joynt-Stock.

First, by long experience it is evident this Trade cannot be carried on but by a constant maintaining of Forts upon the place, and Ships of warre to protect the ships of Trade, and this is occasioned by reason of the Natural perfidiousness of the Natives, who being a Barbarous and heathen people, cannot be obliged by Treaties without being awed by a continuing and permanent Force, And partly because the Dutch, Danes, French, and other Nations, that likewise Trade in the same Country are ever more vigilant for their own profit, frequently instigating the Natives against us, as well as by their own force, to extirpate and destroy the English Commerce there, as the Dutch did the English Factories in the Spice Islands and other parts of India, for want of a Constant force to protect them, which could never since be regained, they attempted the same in Guiney and forceably possest themselves of the Castle of Cormantine. The charge of maintaining this Force doth *Communibus Annis* amount to more than 20,000 *l.* a year in time of peace, and must needs be much more in time of Warre: And it cannot be imagined that private persons who are *ad libitum,* can have either will or ability to defray a standing expence of this Magnitude. Besides it will not onely be impracticable to know what proportion of Tax to lay upon every private Trader or ship upon such occasions, but also it will be uncertain to find whether the Trade will answer the charge to be imposed, because Trading or not Trading, and for what value, will depend meerly upon the will and discretion of such Private Traders; And it

will undoubtedly fall out, that when the charge is highest the Income will be lowest, as in time of Warre, either Native or European, which may be expected, and must be provided against. For when the danger and charge of supporting the Trade is greater then the present profit, those private Traders will desist, and consequently for want of supplyes to defend the Forts, etc. the whole Trade in Guiney must be inevitably lost, and all the English interest there fall into the hands of Enemies. And (to say nothing of the Dishonour and Shame) how great Dammage and Debilitation that would prove to this Kingdom and the Plantations, may be computed by what hath been before said of the Utility and Advantages redounding to this Nation and the Plantations by the Guiney Trade. But in the continuance of the Present Company and Joint-Stock, so great a misfortune can never probably happen, for there is a Stock of at least 150,000 *l.* sterl. constantly engaged, and under the command of the Governours and Committee by common consent of the whole Company to be imployed for the prosecution and necessary Defence of the Trade, a considerable part whereof alwayes remaines in their Forts and Castles for that purpose.

Secondly, (Because Contraries alwayes appear best by Opposition, and the happiest experiences are those which are gained by the Calamities of other Men) It is to be remembered in those times before the Charter of 1662 what Advantages the Dutch took against the private Traders, whose losses as is beforesaid, amounted to no less than 300,000 Pounds, as by their severall Petitions and Complaints to the House of Commons was alledged: and the Trade being then almost lost, great Endeavours were used by His Majesty for the Subscription of a New Stock. The like happened before to the East-India Trade from the Year 53 to 57, upon an open Trade used in those Years; from the Disorders and ill Success of which looseness of Trading, the Powers then in being presently united them into a Company and Joynt Stock again; and since by his Majesties Charter have so continued to this day. And how dangerous it will be to make a second Experiment after the sence of many Palpable Inconveniences and Mischiefs by the First; let the World Judge.

Thirdly, The maintaining of Forts and Ships of War, being of so great charge, and yet so Essential to the defence of the Guiney Trade, the Company cannot be able to defray the charge of the said Forts and Ships, if they may not enjoy the benefit of their Grant with exclusion to others.

Fourthly, . . . an instance of which kind [injury by a private trader] happened not long since upon the Coast of Guiney, when some considerable Natives coming aboard some private Traders Ships, they forthwith caryed them away, and sold them at the Plan-

tations for Slaves; which perfidious action was afterwards revenged upon the Companies innocent Servants and Ships, some of his Majesties good Subjects having been Murder'd upon the same Account, and others kept long on Bondage, and Ruined in the Estates.

Lastly, Our Neighbours of Holland who so much Covet and Solicite Trade, will be glad to see this Inclosure broken down, and a loose and open Trade permitted here to Guiney, as foreseeing that thereby the English (their most formidable and puissant Competitor) must inevitably at last abandon that Trade, and therefore doubtless would be content to purchase the dissolution of the Royal African Company with a greater summe of Money than ever was subscribed to support it. But yet (contrary to the Native Humour and Genius of a Republique) they themselves do oblige their own Subjects to Traffique by way of Company and Joint-stock, to the East-Indies and Guiney, Endowing them with great Immunities, and obliging themselves to assist their Guiney Company with sixteen Ships of War, at the States Expence, upon any Emergency, as well knowing that there is no other secure way of Trading to those parts. The King of Denmark also hath done the like in point of Company and Joint-Stock; And (which perhaps is more Important than all the rest, and ought to make the deepest impression in the Minds of all English Men) the French King, who now Courts Trade beyond all his Predecessors, is Erecting a Company for management of a Guiney Trade by a Joint-Stock with Vast Incouragements and Immunities granted to them, and Exclusion of all other his Subjects.[4] So that if our Forts, Factories, and Trade, be not secured against the Attacks and Invasions of three so Puissant Nations (which, as is effectually demonstrated before, cannot be done but by a Company and Joint Stock) we of England must quickly bid a final Adieu to all future Trading upon the Coast of Guiney.

From all which hath been said, it is hoped it doth plainly appear.

First, That this Trade Incorporated in a Company is, in its Constitution, National.

Secondly, That without Forts and Force by Land and Sea, it cannot be secured to the Kingdom.

Thirdly, That without a Charter Exclusive to all other His Majesties Subjects, upon sufficient Penalties, and a large Joint Stock to support the Charge, those Forts and Forces cannot be maintained.

Fourthly, That not only all the Powers in force in this Nation, whether Legal or Usurped, ever since the Trade of Guiney hath been discover'd, but all European Nations using any considerable Trade thither, have, and still doe unanimously Prosecute the same by a Company and Joint-Stock, Exclusive to all other their Subjects.

[4] See introduction, p. 96.

To Conclude, It is an easie thing to unsettle and destroy a Trade, not without Great Labour, Danger, and Expence acquired, But it will be very difficult to regain it if once lost, especially this of Guiney, which all our Neighbour Nations so earnestly thirst to gain from us, and which if deserted but for one moneth, would certainly be possest Either by the French or Dutch, so as not likely to be regained from them. And therefore it is hoped it will be maturely and seriously considered how great a dammage the loss of this Trade would be to the Kingdom, and how dangerous the unhinging the present Constitution thereof may be.

98. Hender Molesworth and Rowland Powell to the Royal African Company.[1]

Jamaica the 24th January 1680/1.

On the 9th December Capt. Peter Heywood in his Maj'ities Frigate the *Norwich* intercepted a great Interloper by name the *Vyner* M'r Rany with twenty two Gunns and two hundred and twenty Negroes the remaines of six hundred and odd taken in at Guiny and lay off with her in sight of this Harbour until Rowl. Powell whent aboard to make seizure of her in your name.[2]

On the 20th Currant arrived Capt. Edw. Hill from Arda with about 217 Negroes in a very bad condicon, the flux and small Pox having made a great destruction amongst them.

Whilst the Freg'tt continued in Port attending the condemnation and etc. of the *Vyner* there unluckily arrives at the windward part of the Island Capt. Daniell formerly imployed by you and Lands about 250 brave Angola Negroes [3] which were dispersed and secured before we could have any timely notice to prevent it. they are like to make a great Voyage of it having lost but three or four Negroes in their whole Passage from Angola.

A Person of quality (that is your Debtor in noe inconsiderable sume) living near the place where the Negroes Landed, having (as wee are informed) showen them more Countenance then Suites with

[98] [1] T 70: 1, pp. 75-76; an abstract of this letter is to be found in T 70: 10.

[2] Three days later Lieut. Gov. Sir Henry Morgan wrote to the Lords of Trade recounting this seizure and the condemnation of the *Viner*. He added: "Notwithstanding all our vigilance, some interlopers do escape, and landing their negroes, distribute them in the plantations near adjacent and so avoid seizure. One Captain Daniel did this last week, and left only a bare ship to be seized by the Naval Officer, which was done accordingly by virtue of the Act of Navigation" (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 6). The *Viner* was appraised at £400, and her 191 negroes at £11 per head, making a total of £2501, besides some gold and ivory. *Cal. Treas. Bk.*, 1681-1685, vol. VII., pt. I., pp. 111, 263.

[3] Up to this time Angola cargoes had not been common in the British plantations. The Portuguese were still drawing most of the negroes for their South American colonies from this region.

our Interest, Wee have declared our resentments against him after such a manner, as by due course of Law must very much endamage him, or reduce him to such termes as wee desire for the future soe as to bind him to us, which will be a President of no small advantage unto our affaires for the time to come.

Captaine Daniell having privately Landed his Gunns and the most valluable materialls of his Ship, comes into the Harbour with her Hull where she is seized by virtue of the Act of navigation and will doubtless be condemned to the King. In the condition she is scarce thought to be worth the charge of Condemnation which makes them thinke of buying her for a tryfle, refitt her and Loade her home, which we take to be the designe of their bringing her in and therefore shall endeavour to disappoint them.

Captaine Hill had twellve Negroes upon a private acco'tt which he acquainted us with as being content to referr himselfe to the Company concerning them which wee tooke into our custody and disposed off them.[4]

99. The Factors at Cape Coast Castle to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cabo Corso Castle, April the 6th, 1681.

In answer to what your Honours are pleased to suggest concerning Capt. Woodfin's Negroes whereof 160 died and no complaint made of their Goodness wee are apt to beleive that had he taken in only 400 there had few miscarried and wee find that the Covetousness of Command'rs Crowding in their Slaves above their proportion for the advantage of Freight is the only reason of the great Loss to the Compa. If your Honours would be pleased to beate them down in their number though you gave them five shillings per head exterordinary Your Honours would be considerable gainers at the yeares end.

[4] In March Morgan wrote: "since the taking of the Privateer, the interlopeing shipps tradeing for Negroes contrary to the Charter of the Roy'll African Company have been too successfull in this Island, Fouer of them haveing in some 14 dayes (dureing His M'ts Frig't being att Sea) landed their Negroes both to windward and Leeward of Port Roy'll whereof the Factors here had not the least notice, whereby to make a timely seizure before their landing them, and dispersing them marked in severall adjacent Plantacons." Mar. 16, 1681, Lieut. Gov. Morgan to the Committee of Trade and Plantations, C. O. 1: 46, no. 112.

[99] [1] T 70: 1, pp. 112-113. The factors were Henry Greenhill, Henry Spurway, and Daniel Bridge.

100. Edwyn Stede and Stephen Gascoigne to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbados the 9th Aprill, 1681.

Wee alsoe send accompt of Sales of two Interlopers *Cock* and *Thomas,* and of thirty Negroes seized in *Pepperell* as alsoe accompt of Intrest for the Yeare 1680.[2]

Wee alsoe herewith send the Company Accompt of Sales of the Serrelion Negroes brought in the *Charles* Captaine Bludworth As alsoe accompt of Sales of Negroes from Gambia brought in the *Samuell* Captaine Booth whoe arrived here the 18th March in about a months time from Gambia bringing 199 Slav's of two hundred and thirteene taken in there, they were as good as any wee Received from that Country.

[100] [1] T 70: 15.

[2] The factors in Barbados were far from satisfied with the support given to the company by the government. On May 30, 1681, they wrote: "We must acquaint the Company that whilst we were selling negroes on board their ships, an interloper arrived at the leeward end of the Island with about a hundred negroes, which were then put on shore without interruption. Nor is it in our power, do what we can, to prevent it without the assistance of the man-of-war, which has not cruized since the arrival of our new Governor. We have addressed ourselves to him on the subject, and he replies that he would willingly give the Company all the assistance that he safely could, but complains of the want of effectual orders to do all he would. We beg the Company's further assistance herein, for without it the interlopers will spoil the trade and do what they please, for they carry their heads very high." Governor Dutton presented his side in a letter to Sir Leoline Jenkins, written June 14, 1681: "I am very much pressed by the Agents of the Royal African Company to issue my warrant to the man-of-war that lies here to seize the interlopers that frequently come in, but I tell them that I have no instructions empowering me to do so. When the King gives me such orders, I shall be ready to execute them. All the power that I now have is, when the Company have sold their slaves for time to the inhabitants to see that they have no delay of Justice in obtaining their money according to contract." On July 2, the factors continued their complaint: "We heard with great satisfaction of the capture of the *Vyner,* an interloper, by the *Norwich* frigate in Jamaica. We should have been as satisfied if the *Richmond* had taken some of the many that come here, but for the reason formerly given she has not been ordered out since Sir R. Dutton's arrival. . . . So that we look upon the island as, in effect, without a frigate for more than twelve months, at which the interlopers much rejoice, not caring to have a ship of war here. The *Vyner* did some damage to the *Norwich* when taken, and they bemoan the misfortune that she did not sink the Kings ship by striking her amidships." Conditions seem to the factors no better in the autumn. Their letter of Nov. 9 shows how completely the Barbadian planters were at odds with the company over the question of interlopers, as well as how little the proclamation of 1680 had accomplished. "Unless the King support the Company and discountenance those in places of trust who ought to support his rights, but instead thereof not only are breakers thereof themselves but encourage others, we shall never see the Company established in full enjoyment of its grant. Colonel Henry Drax and Mr. John Peers of the Council of Barbados are such men, and also, as we are informed, Colonel Christopher Codrington, Lieutenant-Colonel John Codrington, and Mr. Samuel Husbands: it would be well if the King displaced them from the honour and trust which they so much abuse. Two interlopers have lately landed their negroes at the usual point to leeward: one carried ninety, the other a hundred and ten. We could not prevent it. No one will help us now the man-of-war is gone. If she were here the Governor would not let her meddle with interlopers without the King's further order." *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1681-1685 pp. 75, 145-146.

101. EDWYN STEDE AND STEPHEN GASCOIGNE TO THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY.[1]

BARBADOS, Apr. 9, 1681.

. . . Wee are apprehensive the Trade that is of Late drove to Maddagascar for negroes which they bring hither may in time be some Inconvenience to the Companies trade. And it is noe small quantities have been imported being between 900 and 1000 that have been brought and sold here in about 2 mo'th time soe that if noe remedy be found they and the Interlop's will give a full supply of negr's to this place. . . .

102. THE FACTORS AT JAMAICA TO THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY.[1]

JAM'CA the 13th Aug'st 1681.

Wee herewith send you Capt. Lowes Bills upon his Owners for £5848 at 3 Severall times of payment drawne upon Mr. Wm. Fownes; Mr. Ben Miller and Mr. Geo. Margetts being for the vallue of 344 Negroes delivered here according to contract at £17 per head upon w'ch wee doe not drawe any Commission at present expecting what you will be pleased to Order therein according unto what wee humbly hinted in some of our former.[2] Wee alsoe have given him our rec'ts according to Chart p'ty for 362 Negroes quallified according to the Compa's Declaration whereof 18 were his Comission Negroes. And for 108 Neg'rs of an inferiour Sort not quallified according unto Contract. The Fact'r you sent upon him died a little before his arrivall here but by Capt. Bell[3] Wee now send you his Booke wherein he kept the acco'tt of the Cargoe signed by him and Capt. Low according to the usuall method The Copie whereof Capt. Low brings home with him.

103. THE FACTORS AT CAPE COAST CASTLE TO THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY.[1]

CABO CORSO CASTLE the 28 Sept. 1681.

Wee are Sorry wee must complaine of our late deed trading att Cabo Corse occasioned by the want of goods we wrot your Honours

[101] [1] T 70: 1, p. 88.

[102] [1] T 70: 16. The factors were Molesworth, Powell, and Wathing. Rowland Powell was not only a factor of the Royal Company but had been secretary to Lieut. Gov. Morgan, who a short time before this dismissed him for an unwarranted use of the official seal of the governor. Francis Hanson had drawn an order to intercept interlopers, giving to the company greater power than it had possessed. This order was printed as a proclamation and several copies sent to England, where for a time it seems to have received much attention. See C. O. 1: 46, nos. 146, 147, 148; Sloane MSS. 2724, f. 1, and 2728 B, f. 193; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 56-57, 72-73.

[2] July 12 the agents wrote to Captain Low's cargo of 470: "Wee shall be at a Loss how to charge our Comiss'n on the Negroes wee deliver Capt. Low for if you tye us (for such greate parcells) to the 1½ per Cent. you will breake our Factory." T 70: 16.

[3] Captain Bell had arrived from Ardra late in May, with 321 alive out of a cargo of 500. By the day of sale but 299 were living, and three more died before they could be removed from the ship. June 11, 1681, agents to the company, T 70: 16, p. 4.

[103] [1] T 70: 20. The agents were Henry Greenhill, Henry Spurway, and Walter Stapleton; the letter was for the guidance of the committee on goods.

for and it grived us the more to see our Neighbours att the Mine to thrive soe upon it. Wee are so sensible of the occasion of it and they take great Pride to shew the English how well they are furnished with all sorts of goods and how their ware houses are cramed with Prodigious quantitys.

Wee are willing to turn every Stone and have therefore sent the Pinke wee bought of the Dutch up to Commenda with a cargoe of Goods which will not sell here.

If we have certain Supplys the out Factories will turne to good accompt if not they will prove chargable.

Wee have added a Cattalogue of goods most vendible at this Place which by all opertunityes wee fail not to acquaint your Honours there being some small additions to what was in our last *vizt.* 500 P's Saies, 1500 P's Perpetuanoes (800 of which must be green, 600 blew and 100 red) but not any Printed for they will not sell Lett the collours be what they will, 400 Guynie Stuffs but noe Pamphreawos, 600 Brawles, 5 Callicoe Clouts, 500 one pound Pewt'r Basons, 150 2 lb. Ditto, 150 3 lb. Ditto, 150 4 lb. Ditto, 300 p's Allejars, 100 Ginghams, the Red Stript best, 5000 Sheetes, 600 broad Tapseiles, 300 Narrow ditto, 500 Long Clothes white, 100 half firk's Tallow, 100 Dozen Knives ordinary, 5 p's of Scarlett Broad Cloth, 2 P's red ditto, 2 P's blew Ditto, 4000 blew Pantkaes, 200 Sleties fine, 500 cours Ditto, 100 Herba Longees, 200 red-ground Pintadoes, 200 Boysadoes, 500 broad Niconees, 100 narrow Ditto, fifty white Blanketts, 300 looking glasses of the each one hundred No. 3, 4, 5 with plain Shutters not with brass hinges. Without your Honors are pleased to supply us with severall Arda Cargoes especially good store of Bowges you will unavoidably Lose considerably by those Ships you send to take their Slaves in here upon the Gold Coast what for the greate scarcity of them and the extravagant pizes that are given by the commanders of ships.

104. Henry Carpenter and Robert Helmes to the Royal African Company.[1]

Nevis the 24th Decemb'r, 1681.

On the 3d Instant in the Evening Capt. Cope in the *George and Betty* arrived in this Road with 415 Negroes most women amongst w'ch was about 40 Children under the Age of 8 Yeares to our best Judgment w'ch wee told him was contrary to his Charter Party whoe answered that they could not buy soe many men and women w'thout that numb'r of Children but wee b[e]leive something else in it w'ch wee hope in Little time to discover. . . .

[104] [1] T 70: 16.

He hath Remaining of his Cargo these follow Goods:[2] 7 doz'n knives, 2½ yds. Scarlett, 10 hangers, 4 Musketts, 7 pr. Sissers, 3 Doz'n Looking Glasses, 2 Cham Potts, 3 doz'n and 2 Padlocks.

On the 5th Inst. Capt. Branfill arrived in the Road and brought 310 Neg'rs most women amongst w'ch was very few Gold Coast he taking in but 77 there and 193 Att Alampo and he was forst [forced] to goe to Arda to make up his complement w'ch he did there.[3]

105. Henry Carpenter and Robert Helmes to the Royal African Company.[1]

Nevis the 29th May 1682.

This goes via Bristoll and serves only to advise you that on Wednesday the 16th Instant Capt. Penny in the *Unity* arrived in this Road with 232 Negroes w'ch wee Imediately mustered. Hee took in at Angola but 250 pretending that his Cargoe would Purchase noe more. he hath Left of his Cargoes severall Perpetuanes, and barrells of Gunpowder and other Goods to the value of £300 as he saith. On the 20th day wee delivered to

Capt. Jourey and Compa. according to Contract	216 Negroes
To Capt. Penny for his Com'on	9
Tooke on shoare not qualified according to Contract	7
	232

The 7 tooke on shoare being 6 boyes and one Girle wee have sold for 6960 *l.* Sugar the Contractors Factors haveing not sold above 70 of theires. Wee have had noe adv'e abt. the Delivery of this Shipp of Negroes then ever wee had before. By Capt. Kennedy intend (God willing) to send you Bills of Exchange for those Negroes and 2 Bills for Capt. Lawrence his alsoe.

106. The Capture of the *Providence*, 1682.[1]

This Journall Begun att Deptfoard the 23d of July 1680: aboard his Maj'ties Katch Capt. Chris. Billopp Command'r.

June 5th, 1682. Aboute 7 this morning the Gueney Compeneyes Agent[2] Came to mee: and desired mee to come to Sayle and bring in

[2] That is, of the cargo which was to have been traded for slaves.

[3] John Mildmay, the factor at Ardra, had assured the company that he could despatch five hundred negroes every five weeks, and that it was to its advantage to take as many as possible from this post, since the duties and charges for water were the same whether the ship carried 50 or 500 blacks. The number of arrivals in the West Indies from Ardra suggests that his advice had been heeded. Oct. 13, 1680, Mildmay to the company, T 70: 1, p. 87.

[105] [1] T 70: 16.

[106] [1] P. R. O., Admiralty Papers, Captains' Logs, 289, pt. IX. The ketch was the *Deptford,* with which Captain Billop was patrolling the Leeward Islands.

[2] Henry Carpenter, one of the factors of the Royal African Company at Nevis.

an interloper that is standing to and fro before the Rode aboute 8 Mr. Carpenter brings mee the Generalls[3] order. betwixt 9 and 10 before nonne come up with hir: She kepeing hir topsayles [aloft ?] I Comanded a gun to be fired a tharte hir fore fout to bringe downe hir topsayles. She giveing noe obedience I Calld to the Master to come a bord and give accompt what hee was and from whence hee came with his Shipp. Nantor [Nanton] answerd mee you are pyratts and Rouges: and I will nott Stir out of my Shipp: upon w'ch I tould him there was them abord that knew us well Enough: him Selfe fired a greatt Goone with a Shott which came a Lettell before the Ketches maine mast over hir: upon w'ch I tould Nantoe that hee deserved Death For fiering att the Kinge's Collors: hee answeared that aney Rouge mite put a broade the King's Collours: and hee would not beleve ous: I bed them beware of bringing themselves into a Forder predickment: and if they would Submitt quiettly they should have all there Cloth's and wages and privatt adventures: But the Comander Nantor being upon the poupe and all his men in a Row towards the head of the Shipp all armed hee asked them, if they would Stand by him they answered all they would Dye before they would part with the Shipp. in a bravadoe the Comander threw his hatt forwards and Clapt his hand upon his breast, Saying as Longe as this hartte is with in mee I will nott parte with my Shipp. in A Lettell tyme affter wee Lad the Shipp *Providince* aboard the Comander of hir or the next man to him Fierd a greatt gune Intending to Strick our maine Mast: For w'ch Cause my Selfe with 4 or 5 More Enterd the Shipp: The Compeney discharged there Small Armis and wounded two of the Ketche's men: I perserving my Intention got up to the Maine Mast and arrested the Shipp in the Kings Name: Comanding there Submession with their aid and assistance. . . . Dewering all this transaction the Shipp Shewd noe Collers after they had Submitted wee Loused from the Shipp and Stoud in for pallmatoe poynt but could not fetch itt Soe anekerd in the ould Roade St. Xpofers:[4] there was killed and wounded 46 Neagroes. . . .

June 10th. The *Providince* was tryd and Condemd as an Enterloper.

June 13th. The Generall Eshewed forth his Comission to 4 to Compell mee and all the Ketche's Compeney to give in Evidence. I Refused with out the Generall was present: for w'ch hee Confind mee and threatnd to Clapt Irons upon mee and Send the Ketch home

[3] Sir William Stapleton, governor. Stapleton's first account of this seizure, sent to Blathwayt on June 7, though very brief, agreed in the main with this record. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 243.

[4] St. Christopher.

without mee: to Complye I gave accompt of whatt I knew: himselfe Comanded mee to Send all my pepell a Shoare to doe the Lyke. . . .[5]

June 15th. My mate, Boatswaine and 2 Mid Shipp men and one Seaman was Comitted to Close Preson because they would not Sweare as they would have them: one of them Shott through the Shoulder: att the Same tyme, the Enterlopers men had there Leberty to goe where they pleased. Every man of them guellty of Morder and treason:

June 19. This day George Nantor Comm'r of the *Providence* had there tryall: The Courte and Jurey being more there Frinds then the Kings Clerd them: the Ketche's Carpent'r being a Wittnease for the Kinge was Carryed to Preson from quortt. . . .

July 1. The Generall Sent his Marshall with a warrant for mee to appeare before him and his Deputy Govern'rs to answear the Complant of the Bench and Juerey for affronting them in quort att Nanters tryall. I Emediattley went wher the Generall and his Deputy Govern'rs was: To know his plesuer. hee tould mee hee would not meddell with that besnesse nor acquett mee till tusday att quortt and if I did nott give him very good Sattisfaction hee would make mee an Exampell with maney other threatings and abussef Languesh.

July 6. . . . the Generall Sent one of his Marshalls men a bord for mee to Come to quort: I being very Sick and Ell writt to the Generall: not being Sattisfied: Sends his Marshall of with a warr't to bringe mee a Shoare: A Second tyme hee Sends his Marshall a bord to Forse mee a Shoare: and Corpall Burt with a Comession to my gunner to take the Comand of the Ketch, my Offercers and Compeney being Loth to Lett mee goe out of the Ketch and declared they would not goe home under aney Comand'r but hee that brought them out with out itt were the Kings Pleasur whoe plased him over ous: by perswaseon's they went with out mee. Sum friends from Shoare Sende mee word I was Rewend it if I came a Shoare the Generall had Sworne as Soone as hee gott mee hee would Clapt mee in Iron's and Send the Ketch away with out mee. Capt. Elley Robenson Came a bord and tould mee hee had heard the Generall Discorse to the Lyk perpose, not 3 owers past. the gunn'r perserved how all pepell Stoud Effected and Dissired to bee Excused of the charge and the Com'r to mee upon my desire: By Friends I was advised to make the best of my waye home and depend upon the Kings Marcey Rather

[5] On June 18 Governor Stapleton communicated to the Lords of Trade the other side of this story. Billop, instead of remaining at Nevis and preparing the necessary affidavits for the governor, had sailed for St. Christopher, and remained there five days in order to prevent the discovery of the fact that he and his men had seized goods and negroes from the *Providence*. "Of two hundred and fifteen negroes imported hither Billop and his men have conveyed away all but eighty-four of the worst and twelve infected with small-pox, besides eight or nine killed." With this letter went an abstract of depositions taken June 12. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 252.

than throw my Selfe into the hands of my thristing Enemeyes whoe were wholeley Resolved to Rewen mee.[6]

July 7. Before day this morning gott the Ketch under Sayle Sent to the Generall to desire his Letters for England I would Stay for them till 12 att night: none came. I bore away Resouling to trust to Mercey att home.[7]

Sept. 8. The Corte Marshall was helld for trying of mee the Corte Clerd mee of all Complants Relateing to the *Providience* Enterloper, for breach of orders Confinde mee Dewering his Maj'ties Pleasure.[8]

Errors Excipted

CHRIS BILLOPP.

107. SIR THOMAS LYNCH TO THE LORDS OF TRADE AND PLANTATIONS.[1]

JAMAICA, Sept. 29, 1682.

. . . A fortnight ago came one Don Gaspar de Montesdoco from Havana to buy negroes. He wants one hundred and fifty, but will hardly get so many, unless of runaways or men not worth the keeping. . . .

[6] The commissioners appointed to enquire into the embezzlement of goods on board the *Providence* reported that all the teeth, copper, redwood, and wax were missing and about half of the 215 negroes. Captain Billop admitted taking some goods but denied having taken the negroes. Other witnesses contradicted this (July 6, 1682, report of Commissioners with list of deponents, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 262-264). On the same day that this report was made the governor and council wrote to the Lords of Trade that Captain Billop was one of the worst men they had ever seen in the king's service. *Ibid.*

[7] "He [Billop] feigned to be unable to come ashore and kept us all night in town though he was as well as any of us. . . . The Marshal, at Colonel Burt's request, took Billop's word to appear next day, but in the night he got out of command. Though the ship is still in sight . . . ." (July 7, 1682, Stapleton to the Lords of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 264). Stapleton was especially anxious to have Billop returned to Nevis for trial, since he had so insolently flouted the authorities of the island. *Ibid.*, pp. 264-265.

[8] The Lords of Trade requested that Billop be held until further information came from Stapleton (Sept. 12, Journal, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 292-293). On Sept. 25, having received communications from Nevis, they called Billop before them, and, ignoring the fact that he had been cleared by court-martial, asked the attorney general what legal steps could be taken to recover the negroes. They were advised that the proceedings of the court-martial should be set aside and the case referred to the admiralty court at Nevis. On his side Billop was not idle, but petitioned the king that the negroes from the *Providence* which Sir William Stapleton had taken from him be restored (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 299, 303, 311, 357). To this the law officers replied that he had no claim whatever to the negroes (*ibid.*, p. 441). A part of these negroes were carried to New York and sold. Here their owners, John Bawden and Thomas Temple, of London, brought suit against Captain Billop and were awarded judgment. *Ibid.*, p. 441.

[107] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 301-302. Sir Thomas Lynch, appointed to succeed the Earl of Carlisle as governor of Jamaica, had arrived in the island in the summer of 1682, for his second service in that capacity, with instructions admonishing him to protect the Royal African Company in its interests and also to see that it carried out the terms of the Order in Council of November, 1680, by supplying Jamaica with 3000 slaves yearly, at £18, on six months' credit. Sept. 8, 1681, *ibid.*, p. 114.

Three days ago Don Josepe d'Ollo came here from Porto Bello. He left his *barco luengo* at Tuana, a leeward port twenty-five leagues from Port Royal, and came here in a sloop, being told that one Spurre, an English pirate, with sixty men, was on the coast. He brought me two letters from the Governor of Panama, which I enclose.[2] I expect to hear that the Governor of Carthagena will send a like message to me, the reason being that it is difficult and dangerous to go to Curaçao.[3] The Assiento has been interrupted, the Assientistas not having paid the King the contract, which is one thousand rials a ton. These Governors have seized two thousand negroes, but Don Josepe says they have compounded in Spain, and that the Assiento will be set on foot again. The chief men therein are certain Dutch merchants of Cadiz. Be this as it may, if we had negroes, the convenience of our ports that lie north and south of Carthagena and Portobello would certainly draw all the trade they may have with strangers to us, and possibly my presence here would not discourage them.[4] But it is hopeless to think of a sufficient supply for such a trade when our own planters are so in want of slaves that the last ship had more buyers than negroes.[5] In this way our best trade and our fairest hopes are like to be lost. I shall do all that I can to keep them, in the hope that the Royal African Company may have time to supply us fully. I fear that you may be offended at a judgment delivered here about that Company's patent.[6] I should have prevented it, had I been able, by remov-

[2] Enclosure: "The Governor of Panama to Sir Thomas Lynch. I am appointed Governor of this province, and have received an order from the King, my master, to agree for two hundred negroes in some of the Windward Islands which are friends to this Crown. Having always found friendship with the English in the Canary Islands, where I was born, I send Don Joseph de Ollo, fully accredited, to you to purchase these negroes. Signed, Don Pedro de Porette. Translation." *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1681-1685, p. 302.

[3] On Nov. 6 Lynch wrote to Sir Leoline Jenkins that he understood that the Dutch had 2000 negroes at Curaçao which they had been holding seven or eight months for the Spaniards. Meanwhile, the governors of Panama and Havana, believing that the assiento had been broken off, were sending to Jamaica for negroes (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1681-1685, pp. 319-320). This was the period of the contract of Don Juan Barroso and Nicolas Porcio. Barroso had bargained for negroes with Dutch, English, and French, but the Dutch alone carried out the bargain. Barroso's death threw the affairs of the assiento into confusion, from which Porcio was unable to rescue them. Scelle, I. 632.

[4] Lynch had during his earlier administration of Jamaica (1672) written to Arlington that he had hoped to foster a trade with the Spaniards but that he found them cautious. *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1669-1674, p. 335; Beer, *The Old Colonial System,* I. 360.

[5] "I think the Company has imported about fifteen hundred since I came, which were sold for ready money in a day; and many men that had money went away without any slaves." Aug. 29, 1682, Sir Thomas Lynch to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1681-1685, p. 286.

[6] This probably refers to the case about which Lynch wrote on Aug. 29, 1682: "The Royal African Company's factors would not seize [the ship] because they have a great trial going forward this sessions and most people judge that they will be cast. I fear judges and jury will not allow seizure after the negroes are landed and marked, and the property has changed hands. I have done and shall do my best to serve the Company, but if the interlopers cannot be brought into the Admiralty-Court nothing more can be done here than in England or Barbados." *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1681-1685, p. 286.

ing the cause to England, but both parties, Englishmanlike, were positive. The Chief Justice has reported the case to Mr. Blathwayt. If the Act about negroes "choque" them I can get the Assembly to quash it, but I fancy that it would be better for the Acts to stand, and so think their factors. . . .[7]

108. The Voyage of the Sieur le Maire, 1682.[1]

On donne en échange à ces Négres, de la toile, du cotton, du Cuivre, de l'étain, du fer, de l'eau-de-vie, et quelques bagatelles de verre. Le profit qu'on tire de ce commerce est de huit cent pour cent. Les Cuirs, l'Yvoire, la Gomme se portent en France, et quant aux Esclaves, on les envoye aux Iles Françoises de l'Amerique, pour travailler au Sucre.

On en a des meilleurs à dix francs piece, et on les revend plus de cent écus. Pour quatre ou cinq pots d'Eau devie, souvent on aura un assez bon Esclave; ainsi la dépence est moins dans l'achat, que dans le transport, à cause des grandes dépences des Vaisseaux (p. 72). . . .

Mais si le Prince est perfide,[2] ses Sujets ne le sont pas moins, car ils se vendent l'un l'autre, sans égard au dégrez du sang, ensorte que le Pere vendra son Fils, et le Fils son Pere et sa Mere, quand le cas y échoit, Ils prennent pretexte d'engager ceux qu'ils veulent vendre à les aider à porter quelque chose à l'Habitation, et quand ils y sont, ils les livrent à quiconque en veut, lors qu'ils n'entendent pas la langue.

Voicy à cette occasion une avanture arrivée il y a quelque temps, qui verifie ce que je dis. Un de ces miserables forma le dessein de vendre son Fils: Celuy-cy s'en apperçut, et dissimulant la chose,

[7] The reference is probably to the law fixing the price of negroes at £18 per head and making the planters "judge in their own cause as to what negroes are merchantable". The company petitioned to the king against this act on Jan. 12, 1683. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 370.

[108] [1] J. J. le Maire, *Les Voyages du Sieur le Maire aux Iles Canaries, Cap Verd, Sénégal, et Gambie, sous Monsieur Dancourt, Directeur Général de la Compagnie Roiale d'Affrique* (Paris, 1695). An English translation was published in London in 1696; Astley prints an abstract of the voyage, *Voyages and Travels,* II. 248-254. Dancourt was sent out by Colbert's second Company of the Senegal, established in 1681. Le Maire was a surgeon in the employ of the company. They sailed on the *St. Catherine* from France, Apr. 12, 1682, and reached Goree on May 20. Here Dancourt established his headquarters, then visited the French trading posts in the region. In this journey he arrived at the island of St. Louis in the mouth of the Senegal, about which Le Maire is writing, on Dec. 13. The English looked with hostile eyes at the French attempt to restore the company and re-establish its trade. "The French, in 1681, attempted to engross the Trade on the Western Coast of Africa. They suffer none to trade at Arguin; and by their Forts at the mouth of the Sanaga, and at Goree, pretend to an exclusive Right to four hundred Miles of Coast: At the same Time they carry on a Trade in the Gambra, in Sight of the British Fort; and at Anamaboo, on the Gold-Coast, within View of Cape Corse, or Cape Coast, where heretofore they were never permitted to slave." Astley, *Voyages and Travels,* II. 161, from *The Importance of the African Company* (1744), p. 24.

[2] Le Maire has been setting forth the iniquities of the native prince of the Senegal country.

comme il entendoit le François, pendant que son Pere etoit alle quelque part, il fut au Magazin, déclara qu'il avoit un Esclave en traite et convient du prix, le livre et le vend; cet Esclave étoit le Pere, qui voyant qu'on luy mettoit les fers aux pieds, se tourmente, dit que l'autre est son Fils, celuy-cy le nie, et le marché eut lieu.

Ce crime ne demeura pas long-temps impuni; car le Fils retournant chez luy avec sa marchandise, rencontra un Grand Seigneur qui luy enleve tout ce qu'il a, le fait Esclave, et le vend à l'habitation (pp. 81-82). . . .

109. John Barbot's Description of Guinea.[1]

Goods for Trade. Besides those mentioned above,[2] which are the most staple commodities, the French import common red, blue, and scarlet cloth, silver and brass rings, or bracelets, chains, little bells, false crystal, ordinary and coarse hats; Dutch pointed knives, pewter dishes, silk sashes, with false gold and silver fringes; blue serges; French paper, steels to strike fire; English sayes; Roan linnen, salamporis, platillies,[3] blue callicoes, taffaties, chints, Cawris or shells, by the French called Bouges, coarse north red cords called Bure, lines, shoes, fustian, red worsted caps, worsted fringe of all colours, worsted of all colours in skeins, basons of several sizes, brass kettles, yellow amber, maccatons, that is, beads of two sorts, pieces of eight of the old stamp, some silver pieces of 28 sols value, either plain or gilt;

[109] [1] "A Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea, and of Ethiopia Inferior, vulgarly Angola, being a new and accurate Account of the Western Maritime Countries of Africa", by John Barbot, agent-general of the Royal Company of Africa and Islands of America, at Paris, in Awnsham and John Churchill, *Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1732), V. 1-420. Churchill's was the first printing of the account, which is also in abbreviated form to be found in Astley, *Voyages and Travels,* III. 1-668.

John Barbot was an employee of the French African companies of 1675 and 1681, and between 1678 and 1682 made at least two voyages to the West Coast and America. His "Description", written in French and translated into English by the author himself after some years of residence in England or frequent visits there, was written in 1682, but considerable additional matter was incorporated before Churchill's publication in 1732. The journal from which much of his account is taken begins Oct. 22, 1678, the day on which he sailed from Rochelle. British Museum, Add. MSS. 28788 is a short account, in French, of some of Barbot's African adventures. The first section of his narrative, from which these extracts are taken, deals with what he calls "Northern Guinea", that is, the Senegambia region. After describing trade in general, and the slave trade in particular for this region, he pursues the same order for other regions, interspersing his generalities with many references to his own experiences. The topic words printed by Churchill in the margin have here been omitted.

[2] Barbot, in the pages that precede this, has given an account of African trade in general, and of the French trade in particular. The French held two places of some strength, St. Louis and Goree. In addition to these, they traded by means of small factories or lodges at Rufisque, Camina (?), Joal, and on the Gambia, and by sloops which they sent up the Senegal. They claimed the exclusive trade of the Senegal and of the coast between the Senegal and the Gambia. Barbot repeats in this list of imports all the commodities which he has previously mentioned. His lists of French, Dutch, Portuguese, and English trading goods make possible some comparison of the products of these nations.

[3] Salempore, a blue cotton cloth, made in India, and used in large quantities in the West Indies; platilla, a white linen, made in Silesia for the American market. The name was apparently of Spanish origin.

Dutch cutlaces, strait and bow'd, clouts, galet, martosdes, two other sorts of beads, of which the Blacks make necklaces for women, white sugar, musket balls, iron nails, shot, white and red frize, looking-glasses in gilt and plain frames, cloves, cinnamon, scissors, needles, coarse thread of sundry colours, but chiefly red, yellow, and white, copper bars of a pound weight, ferrit;[4] mens shirts, coarse and fine, some of them with bone-lace about the neck, breast and sleeves; Haerlem cloths; Coasveld linnen; Dutch mugs white and blue; Leyden rugs, or blankets; Spanish leather shoes, brass trumpets, round padlocks, glass bottles, with a tin rim at the mouth, empty trunks, or chests, and a sort of bugle called Pezant;[5] but above all, as was said above, great quantities of brandy, and iron in bars. Particularly at Goeree, the company imports ten thousand or more every year, of those which are made in the province of Brittany, all short and thin, which is called in London narrow flat iron, or half flat iron of Sweden; but each bar shortned, or cut off at one end to about 16 or 18 inches, so that about eighty of these bars weigh a ton, or twenty hundred weight English. It is to be observ'd, that such voyage-iron, as called in London, is the only sort and size used throughout all Nigritia, Guinea, and West-Ethiopia, in the way of trade.[6] Lastly, a good quantity of Coignac brandy, both in hogsheads and rundlets, single and double, the double being eight, the single four gallons.

The principal goods the French have in return for these commodities from the Moors and Blacks, are slaves, gold-dust, elephants teeth, bees-wax, dry and green hides, gum-arabick, ostrich feathers, and several other odd things. . . .

These people [7] no way differ from the Foules; and there the French have built a small fort, mounted with eight guns, at a place called Gallem, or Galama, 120 leagues higher up the country than the Terrier-rouge, of which I shall speak in its place. There they buy slaves in considerable numbers . . . which they convey down to their factory every year. . . .

On the rivers a Morsil and des Maringuins, at Mambrin, on the north-side of the Senega, and at Lametor, or Brak, on the south-side of the same, the French purchase a considerable number of slaves . . . The country of little Brak affords them slaves. . . .

[4] Probably meaning a copper alloy, copper ferrite.

[5] Bugles were small glass beads made in Venice and sold in strings and clusters.

[6] At Goree a slave was purchased for from twelve to sixteen iron bars; at Portudal from eighteen to twenty bars were paid. Churchill, V. 44.

[7] Barbot is describing a people called by him Fargots, from a country adjacent to the Senegal River, two hundred and fifty leagues from St. Louis. The Fulas were described by all visitors to the Senegal region as skilled farmers and herdmen. They were in no one spot, but scattered through every country between the Senegal and the Gambia. In appearance they were tawny rather than black, with aquiline noses and small mouths. Cultru, *Histoire du Sénégal,* p. 78.

At the villages of Bozaert, or Bozar, and Caye, near the factory they have slaves (pp. 44-47). . . .

Slaves. Those sold by the Blacks are for the most part prisoners of war, taken either in fight, or pursuit, or in the incursions they make into their enemies territories; others stolen away by their own countrymen; and some there are, who will sell their own children, kindred, or neighbours. This has been often seen, and to compass it, they desire the person they intend to sell, to help them in carrying something to the factory by way of trade, and when there, the person so deluded, not understanding the language, is sold and deliver'd up as a slave, notwithstanding all his resistance, and exclaiming against the treachery. I was told of one, who design'd to sell his own son, after that manner; but he understanding French, dissembled for a while, and then contriv'd it so cunningly as to persuade the French, that the old man was his slave, and not his father, by which means he deliver'd him up into captivity; and thus made good the Italian Proverb, *A furbo furbo e mezzo*; amounting to as much as, Set a thief to catch a thief, or Diamond cuts Diamond. However, it happened soon after, that the fellow was met by some of the principal Blacks of the country, as he was returning home from the factory, with the goods he had receiv'd for the sale of his father, all which they took away, and order'd him to be sold for a slave.

The kings are so absolute, that upon any slight pretence of offences committed by their subjects, they order them to be sold for slaves, without regard to rank, or possession. Thus a Marabout, or Priest, as I believe, was sold to me at Goeree, by the Alcaide of Rio Fresco, by special order of king Damel, for some misdemeanors. I took notice, that this Priest was above two months aboard the ship, before he would speak one word; but I shall say more of him in another place.

Abundance of little Blacks of both sexes are also stolen away by their neighbours, when found abroad on the roads, or in the woods; or else in the Cougans, or corn-fields, at the time of the year, when their parents keep them there all day, to scare away the devouring small birds, that come to feed on the millet, in swarms, as has been said above.

In times of dearth and famine, abundance of those people will sell themselves, for a maintenance, and to prevent starving. When I first arriv'd at Goeree, in December, 1681, I could have bought a great number, at very easy rates, if I could have found provisions to subsist them; so great was the dearth then, in that part of Nigritia.

To conclude, some slaves are also brought to these Blacks, from very remote inland countries, by way of trade, and sold for things of very inconsiderable value; but these slaves are generally poor and weak, by reason of the barbarous usage they have had in traveling

so far, being continually beaten, and almost famish'd; so inhuman are the Blacks to one another (pp. 47-48). . . .

This fort [James] is a quadrangle or square, built with lime and stone, and has four bastions, lined with good brickwork; and in the outworks, three, as it were, redoubts in the form of horseshoes, with batteries along the palisadoes from one to another; and within the fort, spacious buildings, storehouses, magazines, a cistern for fresh water, a powder-room, and sixty or seventy pieces of cannon mounted, besides several others dismounted. . . . This is the next best fortification to Cape Coast Castle, of all that are to be found, on either the north or south coasts of Guinea, having under its jurisdiction several factories on the respective branches of that river, as being the head settlement of the royal African company of England, and the chief magazine for trade, managed by a governour or agent, with several factors under him. One of these factories is at Gilofre, on the north side of the river, opposite to the fort.

The French company of Senega have another factory at Albreda, a little village at some distance westerly from Gilofre, both of them belonging to the king of Bar, and this is under the direction of the agent at Goeree.

The factors of the English company at James-Fort, and those of the French at Albreda and other places, drive a very great trade in that country, all along the river, in brigantines, sloops, and canoes; purchasing elephant's teeth or ivory, bees-wax, slaves, pagnos or clouts, hides, gold, etc. . . .[8]

The French having an inconsiderable trade here, in comparison of the English, who are almost as good as masters of the river, they send all they can get in exchange from the Blacks in brigantines to Goeree, where they have their chief fort and magazines; for it is very rare they have any ships coming into the river, during the war with England, because of Fort-James, which commands all the river, and for fear of meeting the English company's ships: besides, that they have been often insulted by the natives in their factory at Albreda, that being only a thatch'd house, of little or no defence, and their goods pillag'd; the king of Bar having always been more favourable to the English, in all likelihood because they have so good a fort, and a good garrison in James island, so near him, and consequently may soon revenge any wrong offer'd to the company's people by the natives.

The Dutch had formerly a considerable trade at Gambia; but since the taking of the island Goeree from them by the French, in the year 1678, (as has been mentioned above, speaking of the river

[8] There follows a long list of the commodities given in exchange for these articles, very similar to that on pp. 282-283, with the addition of salt.

Senega) they have lost all their interest in these parts of Africa, and all manner of trade whatsoever; unless now and then some interlopers of that nation will run the hazard of being seiz'd, and their ships and goods confiscated by the English agent, or the commanders of the royal African company's ships following that trade.

As for the Portuguese trade here, they drive it far up, by cross rivers from Cacheo to Gambia; very few of their ships coming directly to the great river, for fear of being seiz'd by the English and French, who now claim the sole privilege of trade in this place, exclusive of all other Europeans (pp. 74-75). . . .

In former times, the Lisbon merchants drove a great and profitable trade in the rivers Rha and Gambia; but at present, they have in a manner settled it at Cachau, or Cacheo, on the river of St. Dominick, contenting themselves with sending now and then some barks or brigantines to Rha, up the inland waters, to purchase slaves for Spanish wine, brandy, oil, dry fruit of Spain, iron, the best commodity, fine linnen, thread, and gold and silver laces, cloth, damasks, needles, thread, silk, haberdashery of several sorts, and such stuffs as are proper for Gamboa (pp. 81-82). . . .

A Description of South Guinea. The road at Anamabo is generally full of English ships, or those of other nations, anchoring there to trade, or else for corn or other necessaries; but more especially for slaves, which are sometimes to be had in considerable numbers: and there are great quantities of corn for the ships that have bought slaves at other places along the coast, or at Fida, Calbary,[9] Rio Real, etc. This great concourse of ships to Anamabo, very much obstructs the company's trade with the natives, whom, as I observ'd above, the English factors dare not in the least contradict; but are rather obliged to bear with them, and sometimes so infested, that they are close confined to the castle, without daring to stir abroad. Nay, if the Blacks dislike the English chief factor, they send him away in a canoe to cape Corso, or oblige him to pay a heavy fine.

The great wealth of the Fantineans[10] makes them so proud and haughty, that an European trading there must stand bare to them.

The maiz or Indian wheat sells there by the chest, at one Akier[11] of gold. The chest contains about three bushels. When there is a great demand or scarcity, it rises to two and three Akiers. In plentiful years and times of peace, it has been sold for ten, and even for eight Takoes of gold, which is not three shillings English (p. 177). . . .

[9] Whydah and Calabar.

[10] The people of Fantyn, one of the eleven Gold Coast countries mentioned by William Bosman, *Description of Guinea,* p. 4. All writers agree as to the character of these natives.

[11] An accy was about five shillings.

I have already observed, that all the above-mentioned places of Acron and Augwina are well seated for trade, when they are not at war with their neighbours; for when they are, there is little gold and few slaves to be had. The Acra Blacks come down to this coast to trade, when they hear there are ships riding, that have a well sorted cargo, of such goods as they have occasion for, *viz.* sayes, old sheets, coesvelt linnen, bugles, iron and brandy. A good slave sells there, as at all other trading places on the Gold-Coast westward, at the rate of one Benda of gold, which is two ounces (p. 181).[12] . . .

In time of war, it [Accra] furnishes so great a number of slaves, that it amounts to, at least, as many as are sold all along the rest of the coast. This country is continually in war with some of the neighbouring nations, which are very populous, and from whom they take very many prisoners, most of whom, they sell to the Europeans. The slaves are commonly purchased for coesvelt linen, slyziger, lywat, sheets, sayes, perpetuanas, firelocks, powder, brandy, bugles, knives, top-sails, nicannees, and other goods, according to the times. The natives carry those commodities to Abonee market, which is four leagues beyond Great Acra northward, for the Accanez people, who resort thither three times a week; as do other Blacks from the country of Abonee, Aquamboe, and Aquimera, who all buy those goods of the Acra men, at such rates as they think fit to put upon them, the king refusing to permit those strangers to go down themselves to the European warehouses on the coast; for which reason, those Blacks pay often double the value for what they buy. The king has there an overseer, who has the power to set the price on all goods, between buyer and seller. This general overseer is assisted by several officers to act for him, where he cannot be present himself. Those employments are much sought after there, as being both honourable and advantageous; because, both the king's and their perquisites are very considerable (p. 184). . . .

The king and chief Blacks of Acra were, in my time, very rich in slaves and gold, through the vast trade the natives drove with the Europeans on the coast, and the neighbouring nations up the country. . . .[13]

The French, English, and Portuguese ships ply most at this coast [Ningo], to purchase slaves and provisions. Notwithstanding the great numbers of slaves I have mentioned to be transported from these parts, it sometimes happens, when the inland country is at peace, that there are none at all; as it happen'd to me in the year 1682, when having lain three days before Lay,[14] I could not get one, nor was

[12] An ounce of gold was about £4 sterling.

[13] According to Barbot, their wars with their enemies, the Aquamboes, had ruined their country by 1681.

[14] Laye, east of the mouth of the Volta River.

there any likelihood of it at that time, as the abovementioned Black Santi told me; and yet, but two months before my arrival there, one of the men of war of our little squadron got three hundred slaves in a very short time, which shows that the trade is very uncertain (pp. 185-186). . . .

The merchants and factors on that coast [Gold Coast] pay for the commodities they buy, not only in gold, but in slaves, which they call by the Portuguese name Cativos, carrying two, three, or more aboard together in a canoe. Sometimes they in that manner carry great numbers of slaves aboard, at other times fewer, according as they happen to be at peace or war with their neighbours. In the year 1682, I could get but very few, because there was at that time almost a general peace among the Blacks along the coast; and consequently they were two or three pieces of eight a man dearer than at my former voyage. I shall have occasion to speak more particularly of slaves, consider'd as a peculiar commodity (p. 261). . . .

The trade of slaves is in a more peculiar manner the business of kings, rich men, and prime merchants, exclusive of the inferior sort of Blacks.[15]

These slaves are severely and barbarously treated by their masters, who subsist them poorly, and beat them inhumanly, as may be seen by the scabs and wounds on the bodies of many of them when sold to us. They scarce allow them the least rag to cover their nakedness, which they also take off from them when sold to Europeans; and they always go bare-headed. The wives and children of slaves, are also slaves to the master under whom they are married; and when dead, they never bury them, but cast out the bodies into some by place, to be devoured by birds, or beasts of prey.

This barbarous usage of those unfortunate wretches, makes it appear, that the fate of such as are bought, and transported from the coast to America, or other parts of the world, by Europeans, is less deplorable, than that of those who end their days in their native country; for aboard ships all possible care is taken to preserve and subsist them for the interest of the owners, and when sold in America, the same motive ought to prevail with their masters to use them well, that they may live the longer, and do them more service. Not to mention the inestimable advantage they may reap, of becoming christians, and saving their souls, if they make a true use of their condition. . . .[16]

The Gold Coast, in times of war between the inland nations, and those nearer the sea, will furnish great numbers of slaves of all sexes

[15] The paragraphs which precede this describe the methods by which Gold Coast natives are enslaved, repeating much of the subject matter of pp. 284-285.

[16] The section omitted deals with the duty of white owners to Christianize their negroes.

and ages; sometimes at one place, and sometimes at another, as has been already observed, according to the nature of the war, and the situation of the countries between which it is waged. I remember, to this purpose, that in the year 1681, an English interloper at Commendo got three hundred good slaves, almost for nothing besides the trouble of receiving them at the beach in his boats, as the Commendo men brought them from the field of battle, having obtained a victory over a neighbouring nation, and taken a great number of prisoners.[17]

At other times slaves are so scarce there, that in 1682, I could get but eight from one end of the coast to the other; not only because we were a great number of trading ships on the coast at the same time, but by reason the natives were every where at peace. At another time, I had two hundred slaves at Acra only, in a fortnight or three weeks time; and the upper coast men, understanding I had those slaves aboard, came down to redeem them, giving me two for one, of such as I understood were their near relations, who had been stolen away by inland Blacks, brought down to Acra, and sold to us.

I also remember, that I once, among my several runs along that coast, happened to have aboard a whole family, man, wife, three young boys, and a girl, bought one after another, at several places; and cannot but observe here, what mighty satisfaction those poor creatures expressed to be so come together again, tho' in bondage. For several days successively they could not forbear shedding tears of joy, and continually embracing and caressing one another; which moving me to compassion, I ordered they should be better treated aboard than commonly we can afford to do it, where there are four or five hundred in a ship; and at Martinico, I sold them all together to a considerable planter, at a cheaper rate than I might have expected, had they been disposed of severally; being informed of that gentleman's good-nature, and having taken his word, that he would use that family as well as their circumstances would permit, and settle them in some part by themselves.

I have elsewhere spoke of the manner of valuing and rating the slaves among the Blacks, and shall conclude this chapter, which proves to be one of the longest, with an odd remark; which is, That many of those slaves we transport from Guinea to America are prepossessed with the opinion, that they are carried like sheep to the slaughter, and that the Europeans are fond of their flesh; which notion so far prevails with some, as to make them fall into a deep melancholy and despair, and to refuse all sustenance, tho' never so much compelled and even beaten to oblige them to take some nourishment: notwithstanding all which, they will starve to death; whereof I have had

[17] Barbot has already recounted this; see Churchill, V. 155-156.

several instances in my own slaves both aboard and at Guadalupe. And tho' I must say I am naturally compassionate, yet have I been necessitated sometimes to cause the teeth of those wretches to be broken, because they would not open their mouths, or be prevailed upon by any intreaties to feed themselves; and thus have forced some sustenance into their throats.

At the end of the supplement to this description, may be seen how I ordered the slaves to be used, and managed, in our passage from the coast to the West-Indies; which if it were well observed by other Europeans following that trade, would certainly save the lives of many thousands of those poor wretches, every year, and render the voyages much more advantageous to the owners and adventurers; it being known by a long course of experience that the English particularly every year lose great numbers in the passage, and some ships two, three, and even four hundred out of five hundred shipped in Guinea (pp. 270-272). . . .

European Goods for Guinea. As to the different sorts of goods the Europeans generally carry thither for trade; each nation commonly supplies the coast, as much as is convenient, with such as their respective countries afford; and what they want at home for well assorting their cargo, they buy in other parts of Europe. For instance,

The French commonly carry more brandy, wine, iron, paper, firelocks, etc. than the English and Dutch can do, those commodities being cheaper in France; as, on the other hand, they supply the Guinea trade with greater quantities of linen cloth, bugles, copper basons, and kettles, wrought pewter, gun-powder, sayes, perpetuanas, chints, cawris, old sheets, etc. than the French; because they must get these wares from England or Holland.

The French commonly compose their cargo for the Gold Coast trade, to purchase slaves and gold-dust; of brandy mostly, white and red wine, ros solis, firelocks, muskets, flints, iron in bars, white and black contecarbe, red frize, looking-glasses, fine coral, sarsaparilla, bugles of sundry sorts and colours, and glass beads, powder, sheets, tobacco, taffeties, and many other sorts of silks wrought, as brocardels, velvets, etc. shirts, black-hats, linen, paper, laces of many sorts, beads, shot, lead, musket-balls, flints, callicoes, serges, stuffs, etc. besides the others goods for a true assortment, which they have commonly from Holland.

The Dutch have Coesveld linen, sleysiger lywat, old sheets, Leyden serges, dyed indigo-blue, perpetuanas, green, blue, and purple: Konings-Kleederen, annabas,[18] large and narrow, made at Haerlem,

[18] Cotton or linen pieces about a yard in length.

Cyprus and Turkey stuffs, Turkey carpets, red, blue, and yellow cloths, green, red and white Leyden rugs, silk stuffs, blue and white; brass kettles of all sizes; copper basons, Scotch pans, barbers basons, some wrought, others hammered; copper pots, brass locks, brass trumpets, pewter, brass, and iron rings, hair trunks, pewter dishes, and plates (of a narrow brim;) deep porringers, all sorts and sizes of fishing-hooks, and lines, lead in sheets, and in pipes, three sorts of Dutch knives; Venice bugles, and glass beads, of sundry colours and sizes; Sheep-skins, iron bars, brass pins, long and short; brass bells, iron hammers, powder, muskets, cutlaces, cawris, chints, lead balls, and shot, of sundry sorts; brass cups, with handles, cloths of Cabo-Verdo, Quaqua, Ardra, and of Rio-Forcado;[19] blue coral, alias akory, from Benin; strong waters, and abundance of other wares, being near a hundred and fifty sorts, as a Dutchman told me.

The English, besides many of the same goods above-mentioned, have tapseils broad and narrow, nicanees fine and coarse; many sorts of chints, or Indian callicoes printed, tallow, red painting colours; Canary wine, sayes, perpetuanas, inferior to the Dutch, and sack'd up in painted tillets, with the English arms: many sorts of white callicoes; blue and white linen, China sattins, Barbadoes rum, or aqua-vitae, made from sugar, other strong waters, and spirits, beads of all sorts, buckshaws,[20] Welsh plain, boysades, romberges, clouts, gingarus taffe-ties, amber, brandy, flower, Hamburgh brawls, and white, blue and white, and red chequer'd linen, narrow Guinea stuffs chequer'd, ditto broad, old hats, purple beads.

Note, That all the iron for Guinea, is of the very same size and weight as described in the description of Nigritia; and is called at London by the name of Voyage-Iron, and is the only sort used all over the coasts of North and South Guinea, and in Ethiopia.

The Danes, Brandenburghers, and Portuguese, provide their cargoes in Holland, commonly consisting of very near the same sort of wares, as I have observed the Dutch make up theirs; the two former having hardly any thing of their own, proper for the trade of the Gold Coast, besides copper and silver, either wrought or in bullion, or pieces of eight, which are commodity also there.

The Portuguese, as I have already said, have most of their cargoes from Holland, under the name of Jews residing there, which consists in many of the same sorts of goods, mentioned in the article concerning the Hollanders; to which they add some things of the product of Brazil, as tobacco, rum, tame cattle, St. Tome cloths, and others from Rio-Forcado, and other circumjacent places in the gulph of Guinea (pp. 272-273). . . .

[19] Rio Forcado or Forcados is west of the New Calabar River.
[20] Buckshaws, India piece goods.

All the before-mentioned sorts of European goods yield here a price, higher or lower, according to the briskness or dulness of trade, which is more or less proportionable to the quantity they know is at a time on the coast, either in the forts and factories, or aboard ships in the roads; or according as they are at peace or war amongst themselves, up the inland countries, as also answerable to the winter and summer seasons. So that I cannot say any thing precisely of the price of each individual commodity.

The Dutch general, at Mina, sets a price current on all the Dutch goods, of which he sends copies to all his officers, of the out-forts and factories of his dependence on the coast, to disperse it all about the inland people in their several districts; and for ought I know, the English do the same in their several settlements.

The goods sold by the English, Dutch, Danes, Brandenburghers, etc. ashore out of their settlements, are generally about 25 per Cent. dearer to the Blacks, than what they are aboard ships in the roads; the super-cargoes of the ships commonly falling low, to get the more customers, and make a quicker voyage: for which reason, the forts have very little trade with the Blacks during the summer season, which fills the coast with goods by the great concourse of ships at that time from several ports of Europe; and as the winter season approaches, most of them withdraw from the coast, and so leave elbow-room to the fort factors, to trade in their turn, at a greater rate, during that bad season (p. 274). . . .

Of the Slave Coast. . . . The rate in trade is generally adjusted with the king, and none permitted to buy or sell till that is proclaimed; whereby he reserves to himself the preference in all dealings, he for the most part having the greatest number of slaves, which are sold at a set price, the women a fourth or a fifth cheaper than the men. This done, and the king's customs paid, as above mentioned, the factor has full liberty to trade, which is proclaimed throughout the country by the king's cryer.

The most usual difference between the European and the Fida merchants, is, when the factor will not give them such goods as they demand, especially Bougies and Cauries, which are the money of the country, and what they are most fond of; but commonly this is adjusted by paying part in Cauries, and part in other goods: because slaves bought with Cauries cost double the price as if purchased with other commodities, especially when those shells are dear in Europe, the price being higher or lower, according to the plenty or scarcity there is of them.

At other times the king fixes the price of every sort of European goods, as also of slaves, which is to stand betwixt his subjects and

foreigners; and therefore no European must go there to trade, without waiting on him before he presumes to buy or sell.

That prince generally resides at Savi, a town about four miles distant up the inland from the village of Pilleau, at the entrance into a wood; whither the factors and super-cargoes repair upon their arrival, with a true copy of the invoice of goods they have to dispose of, out of which the king picks such as he has occasion for.

The proportion of trade is commonly adjusted by the two standards or iron bars and Cauries, for valuing of all other commodities. For example, a slave is rated at one Alcove of Bougies, or Cauries; the Alcove consisting of fifty Galinas, both of them proper measures of the country, which makes about sixty pounds weight French, by the Blacks there called Guonbotton, and is about four thousand of those shells in number. The other rate is fifteen bars of iron. This regulation being agreed on by the king and factors, the goods are brought ashore, and carried on men's backs to the French house, whither the king himself repairs, or else sends his factors or agents. When he has chosen what he thinks fit, the nobility or prime persons pick out what they have occasion for, and after them every other Black; and then every buyer, king or subject, pays the factor the number of slaves, according to the amount of the goods each of them has so pitched upon.

As the slaves come down to Fida from the inland country, they are put into a booth, or prison, built for that purpose, near the beach, all of them together; and when the Europeans are to receive them, they are brought out into a large plain, where the surgeons examine every part of every one of them, to the smallest member, men and women being all stark naked. Such as are allowed good and sound, are set on one side, and the others by themselves; which slaves so rejected are there called Mackrons, being above thirty five years of age, or defective in their limbs, eyes or teeth; or grown grey, or that have the venereal disease, or any other imperfection. These being so set aside, each of the others, which have passed as good, is marked on the breast, with a red-hot iron, imprinting the mark of the French, English, or Dutch companies, that so each nation may distinguish their own, and to prevent their being chang'd by the natives for worse, as they are apt enough to do. In this particular, care is taken that the women, as tenderest, be not burnt too hard.

The branded slaves, after this, are returned to their former booth, where the factor is to subsist them at his own charge, which amounts to about two-pence a day for each of them, with bread and water, which is all their allowance. There they continue sometimes ten or fifteen days, till the sea is still enough to send them aboard; for very often it continues too boisterous for so long a time, unless in January, Feb-

ruary and March, which is commonly the calmest season: and when it is so, the slaves are carried off by parcels, in bar-canoes, and put aboard the ships in the road. Before they enter the canoes, or come out of the booth, their former Black masters strip them of every rag they have, without distinction of men or women; to supply which, in orderly ships, each of them as they come aboard is allowed a piece of canvas, to wrap around their waist, which is very acceptable to those poor wretches. . . . in the aforesaid months of January, February and March, which are the good season, ships are for the most part soon dispatched, if there be a good number of slaves at hand; so that they need not stay above four weeks for their cargo, and sometimes it is done in a fortnight.

The Blacks of Fida are so expeditious at this trade of slaves, that they can deliver a thousand every month, in case there be no ships at Jackin,[21] in great Ardra, about three leagues and a half east from the port of Fida; which makes a considerable alteration, because the king of great Ardra, thro' whose country they must of necessity pass down, when the ships are at Jackin, to favour his own people, commonly shuts up all the passes to Fida, which puts the Ardra men upon dealing underhand with those of Fida, tho' the two kings are inveterate enemies: but when the king of Ardra leaves the commerce open, then it flourishes at Fida.

If there happens to be no stock of slaves at Fida, the factor must trust the Blacks with his goods, to the value of a hundred and fifty, or two hundred slaves; which goods they carry up into the inland, to buy slaves, at all the markets, for above two hundred leagues up the country, where they are kept like cattle in Europe; the slaves sold there being generally prisoners of war, taken from their enemies, like other booty, and perhaps some few sold by their own countrymen, in extreme want, or upon a famine; as also some as a punishment of heinous crimes: tho' many Europeans believe that parents sell their own children, men their wives and relations, which, if it ever happens, is so seldom, that it cannot justly be charged upon a whole nation, as a custom and common practice (pp. 326-327). . . .

As to the slaves, and the trade of them, whereof I have before spoke at large, it will be proper to observe here, that commonly the slaves we purchase at Fida and Ardra, are brought down to the coast from several countries, two and three hundred leagues up the inland; where the inhabitants are lusty, strong, and very laborious people: thence it is, that tho' they are not so black and fine to look at as the North-Guinea and Gold-Coast Blacks, yet are they fitter for the American plantations, than any others; especially in the sugar

[21] Jakein or Jaquin, near the eastern border of Whydah.

islands, where they require more labour and strength than in the other colonies of Europeans, at which the Fida and Ardra slaves are found, by constant experience, to hold out much longer, and with less detriment to themselves, than the other slaves transported thither from the other above-mentioned parts of Guinea. One thing is to be taken notice of by sea-faring men, that these Fida and Ardra slaves are of all the others, the most apt to revolt aboard ships, by a conspiracy carried on amongst themselves; especially such as are brought down to Fida, from very remote inland countries, who easily draw others into their plot: for being used to see mens flesh eaten in their own country, and publick markets held for that purpose, they are very full of the notion, that we buy and transport them to the same purpose; and will therefore watch all opportunities to deliver themselves, by assaulting a ship's crew, and murdering them all, if possible: whereof, we have almost every year some instances, in one European ship or other, that is filled with slaves (p. 339). . . .

Commodities Exported and Imported. The Dutch, as I have hinted before, drive a considerable trade at Ardra, and next to them, the English, having proper factories or lodges at Little Ardra, and at Offra; and exporting thence, slaves, cotton cloths, and blue stones, called Agry or Accory, very valuable at the Gold-Coast.

The best commodity the Europeans can carry thither to purchase slaves, is Boejies, or Cauris,[22] so much valued by the natives; being the current coin there, as well as at Popo, Fida, Benin, and other countries farther east; without which, it is scarce possible to traffick there.

Slaves in Ardra are usually purchased, one half with those Boejies, and the other half with European goods; and when they are scarce and dear in Europe, as it happens sometimes, we endeavour to satisfy the Ardrasians with one-third or fourth part of them, and the other parts in other merchandize: of which, generally flat iron-bars are, next to Boejies, the most acceptable; for the round or square bars will not do. . . .[23]

All the above-mentioned goods, are also proper for the trade in Benin, Rio Lagos, and all along the coast to Rio Gabon.

The commerce is there adjusted with the king, in the same manner as is done at Fida; and as soon as a ship arrives there from Europe, the commander or super-cargo must wait on the governor of Little Ardra, to be conducted by him to the king, taking along with him the usual presents, which commonly consist in a parcel of about three or

[22] Bougries or cowries.

[23] The list of goods here omitted is similar to that on pp. 290-291, but contains more luxuries, such as flowered silks, gold and silver cloth, and caudebec hats. It also contains the only mention of "umbrelloes" which the editor has seen in enumerations of cargoes sent to the coast.

four pound weight of fine coral, six Cyprus cloths, three pieces of morees, and one piece of damask, for the king; another parcel of coral for the queen; a piece of damask napkins for the prince; one piece of armoizin [24] for the Foella, or captain of the Whites; another for the porters of the court; another for the courtiers, or else some beads, or great brass rings; ten galinhas [25] of Boejies for dancers, who commonly attend at the water-side at landing; or the value thereof in other things.

This governor is commonly very civil towards the officers of ships who land there, ordering twelve or fifteen hundred armed men to receive them on the shore, all dancing: and if he is hindred by business from waiting with them on the king, at Great Ardra, he charges some of his principal officers to accompany them with a fine retinue, and porters with hammocks, each porter to have four brass rings a day, besides subsistence.

'Tis usual for Europeans, to give the king the value of fifty slaves in goods, for his permission to trade, and customs for each ship; and to the king's son, the value of two slaves, for the privilege of watering; and of four slaves for wooding, in case it be wanted; otherwise those duties are not paid.

As for the hire of bar-canoes, we commonly adjust it with the Honga, or captain of the bar; for every twelve trips of a canoe, with goods from or to a ship, one slave in goods: which obliges the Honga to attend in person at the beach, with his men, all the while the ship is sending her cargo ashore, in order to quicken his canoe-rowers, and to give the necessary assistance, if the canoe happens to be overturned by the surges, or filled with water; or to help our people in the long-boat, in which we usually bring our goods from the ship to the skirt of the surf, cast anchor there, and deliver the goods by parcels into the bar-canoe, to run them ashore thro' those horrid surges, which no boat or pinnace can perform, without the risque of being split in pieces, and all the goods cast away.

The Europeans being obliged to deliver at their own charge, at Great Ardra, all such goods of their cargo, as the king has pitched upon for himself out of their invoices; the common allowance to the porters, is one brass ring for each trip, of a light burden, the distance being sixteen leagues; which is extremely cheap.

These particulars, I have thought proper, for the information of such as trade at Ardra: to which purpose, the following observations will be of use.

[24] Armozeen, striped or flowered taffeta.

[25] "Forty Booges make one Tokey; five Tokeys one Gallina; and twenty Gallinas, one Grand Cabess, equal in Value to One Pound Sterling." William Smith, *Voyage to Guinea,* p. 179.

I have hinted before, that we always adjust the price of European goods, of slaves, and of the blue stones, called Agry or Accory, with the king of Ardra; which being agreed on, that prince causes a publick cryer to proclaim it about the country, and to declare that every man may freely trade with the super-cargo of such a ship, who is to satisfy the cryer for his labour; and to pay him forty brass rings, twenty hens, one goat, a piece of canequin, and a piece of short or little armoizin. And without such publick notice from the king to his people, none of them would ever dare to dispose of any Agry, slaves or blue stones, above mentioned.

The governor, or his officers, who have conducted the factor or supercargo of a ship to Great Ardra, to adjust trade with the king, accompany him back in the same order as far as a village, distant about four English miles from the shore of Ardra, to the south south-west, called by the Hollanders, Stock-vis-dorp, where they appoint a house for him to drive his trade in; which being done, the factor causes all his cargo to be brought ashore, and carried to that village by porters; and thence, he sends up by them to Great Ardra, all the goods the king has pitched upon for himself.

After which, the great captain of commerce, called the Foella, is to take his choice of the cargo; but it is very rare, that factors or supercargoes will give a true invoice of all their best goods, either to the king, or the Foella, as knowing they have other notable persons, and considerable merchants to please, who generally give a better price, or pay more punctually than the former usually do.

This custom of adjusting the price of goods and slaves, at first, very much facilitates the expedition of European ships, as taking off all manner of disputes and contests betwixt the several native traders, and the Europeans; and when any such happens, which was not foreseen, the king, being informed thereof, immediately regulates it.

The measure for Boejies, is there the very same as at Fida, and the Blacks, who, like those of Fida, can neither write nor read, observe much the same ways of accompting, by means of small cords or strings, knotted in several parts, on which they soon make their calculations.

The factor or supercargo having finished his sale, is to present the king again with two muskets, twenty five pounds of powder, and the value of nine slaves in other goods, as an acknowledgement to that prince for his favour in granting him the permission to trade in his dominions: he must also, on the same account, present the Foella with one piece of armoizin, the Honga or captain of the bar with another piece, and some other inferior officers with another piece among them.

So that reckoning all those customs and duties together, one way or other, they amount to the value of seventy, seventy five, or eighty slaves, in goods, for each trading ship: whereas at Fida, they do not altogether exceed thirty-two, or thirty-five; which is great odds for the English and French factors residing there.

The English have also a lodge at Offra, but the Dutch having the preheminence in commerce, as being the first intruders at Ardra, they carry a great sway over the English; and one year with another export above three thousand slaves.

The Portuguese, in the beginning of this century, had a considerable trade there, but were supplanted by the Hollanders (pp. 348-350). . . .

Commerce and Slaves. The Europeans are there [Slave Coast] commonly treated with all manner of civility by the natives; and there is great variety of refreshments, at a very cheap rate: For example, we pay for a barrel of fresh water, and a load of wood for fuel, two brass rings; for a chest of salt, four; and for a pot of beer, one: and those rings they reduce into hens; four of them there called a yellow, being five hens.

The slaves we purchase there, are either prisoners of war, or given them as contributions, by neighbouring nations or kings; and some also that have been judicially condemned for crimes committed, to perpetual slavery: besides, a very few sold to us by their own kindred, or parents (p. 352). . . .

Those [the blacks] of Foko will supply us with fresh water and wood. The water is there taken out of a pond near the town, which keeps well at sea; whereas that which can be had at New Calaber, is nothing near so good.

They will also supply us with yams and bananas, at reasonable rates, at the proper times of the year; but in August and September, and so on to March, those eatables grow very scarce, and dear among them: insomuch, that some ships have been forced to fall down to Amboses,[26] and Camarones river, in May and June, to buy plantains, which is a sort of banana dried, yet somewhat green, and is a food well liked by the natives; thus spending a month or five weeks in that voyage, and afterwards turning up again to the westward, to New Calabar, to purchase their cargo of slaves. To avoid this long delay, at that time of the year, it is much better for a ship, bound to this place from Europe, to stop in his way at cape Tres-Pontas, at the Gold Coast; or at Anamabou, on the same coast, to buy Indian wheat or corn there: the Calabar slaves being generally better pleased with food of their own country, than with any of Europe, except

[26] In some places called Ambosius.

horse-beans, which many like pretty well, boiled with pork, o[illegible]h the but especially those we purchase at the Gold-Coast, as shall be [illegible]s of after observed. [illegible]ut

The yams, which are the chief of their subsistance, are not fit to be taken out of the ground before the months of July and August; and therefore most European travellers account those two months, as also June and May, for the best season of the year, in Calabar river; because of the continual rains which refresh and cool the air, and give the natives an opportunity to apply themselves wholly to commerce, up the land, for getting of slaves and elephant's teeth; and are consequently the fittest time for us to purchase slaves with expedition, and less hindrance and fatigue: but more especially in August and September, tho' the months of June and July are somewhat troublesome, because of the lightening and thunder, then very frequent and terrible; but the daily great rains do abate the heats very much.

We reckon the months of October, November, and December, the worst season, because of the dry scorching heat of the sun, and the thick fogs, which are there frequent; so that it is not possible to see from one end of the ship to the other (pp. 379-380). . . .

The town of Great Bandy, consisting of about three hundred houses, divided into parcels, stands in a marshy ground, made an island by some arms of the river from the main: it is well peopled with Blacks, who employ themselves in trade, and some at fishing, like those of New Calabar town, in the inland country, by means of long and large canoes; some sixty foot long and seven broad; rowed by sixteen, eighteen or twenty paddlers, carrying European goods and fish to the upland Blacks; and bring down to their respective towns, in exchange, a vast number of slaves, of all sexes and ages, and some large elephant's teeth, to supply the Europeans trading in that river. Several of those Blacks act therein as factors, or brokers, either for their own countrymen, or for the Europeans; who are often obliged to trust them with their goods, to attend the upper markets, and purchase slaves for them: for all that vast number of slaves, which the Calabar Blacks sell to all European nations, but more especially to the Hollanders, who have there the greatest trade, are not their prisoners at war, the greatest part being bought by those people of their inland neighbours, and they also buy them of other nations yet more remote from them.

There is also a market for slaves at Belli, a large town at west of Old Calabar inland, but the trade is not so brisk as at the east of the river Calabar.

Of all European trading nations that frequent this river, and the adjacent parts, the Dutch have the greatest share in the trade; the

So
or otish next, and after them the Portuguese, from Brasil, St. Thome
slav-Prince's islands; and all altogether export thence a great number of slaves yearly to America, besides a considerable quantity of good elephant's teeth, and abundance of provisions (pp. 380-381). . . .

It [Old Calabar River] is well furnished with villages and hamlets all about, where Europeans drive their trade with the Blacks, who are good civiliz'd people, and where we get, in their proper seasons, as at New Calabar, all sorts of eatables, yams, bananas, corn, and other provisions for the slaves which we barter there, as well as elephant's teeth, and I believe have the greatest share of, of any Europeans.

It is to be observed, that the trade goes on there very slowly, several ships being obliged to stay eight or ten months, according to the circumstances of the natives, making fast their ships to large trees on the bank of the river, to save their cables.

The air in this river is very malignant, and occasions a great mortality among our sailors, that make any long stay. I remember, that at my first voyage into Guinea, being in the frigate call'd the *Sun of Africa,* I met at sea, in crossing the line, an English flyboat, bound for Nevis, but first for Prince's island, which had but five men of all the crew able to hand the sails, having been ten months in Old Calabar, to purchase about three hundred slaves, of which one-third part, or better, were then dead, tho' they had been but three weeks from that river.

The Hollanders, of all the other European Guinea traders, can least bear with the intemperature of the air, in Old Calabar; and for that reason, as well as for the tediousness of their traffick there, in all probability, they seldom send their ships thither: besides its being so situated in the gulph, that the tide almost continually runs with great violence towards Camarones river, in the circular part of the bight, north from all the coast round it; which gives a great fatigue to sailors that come out of Old Calabar, to turn up a ship for three weeks or a month in the gulph to gain Prince's island, St. Thome, or cape de Lope Gonzalves, to take in fresh water, wood and provisions; which is also very prejudicial to the slaves aboard. . . .[27] an instance [of the ignorance of the bar here] I have, at my own cost, in the *Griffin* frigat, which some adventurers of London and myself had fitted out in 1697, for New Calabar river; and after a very prosperous voyage and trade, in three months exactly from the Downs to that river, having in that space taken in three hundred and fifty slaves, was miserably cast away on that bar, coming out to proceed

[27] Barbot follows with an account of goods and prices in Old Calabar. The money of account in Old Calabar was the copper bar, one bar of iron being reckoned the equivalent to four copper bars. A man slave was sold for thirty-eight, a woman for thirty-six or thirty-seven copper bars.

to Jamaica, in the best weather that could be wished; through the neglect of the officers, and for want of taking due observations of the channel, and not having sense enough, when the ship had but gently touch'd undamaged on the skirt of the bar, to cast anchor there, and knock out the heads of all the water-casks to lighten her. But all the crew got into the long-boat, and run ashore at Bandy; leaving the ship with all her sails out, and all the slaves in her, to be tossed to and fro for three days in the channel, till at last it was split in pieces, after the king of Bandy had sent several canoes aboard her, which took out all the slaves, and the best part of her rigging and utensils for himself: being amazed and much surprised at the conduct of our people; most of whom died there, and some few, after three months stay in misery among the Blacks, got their passage in a Portuguese ship over to St. Thome, and thence afterwards to England. It was a great surprise to the adventurers, to hear of their arrival here, when we expected letters from Jamaica, with an account of the ship's arrival there with a good cargo of Blacks; which was no less expected there by many of the planters, then in great want of Blacks, who at that time yielded forty pounds a man (pp. 382-384). . . .[28]

110. Voyages to Martinique, 1679, 1682.[1]

We arriv'd before it about the evening of the twelfth of May, and paid the usual salutes to the fortress . . . and got ashore, just as the tatoo was going: having thus made our passage from Cayenne hither, in seven days, without any remarkable accident. The slaves aboard, being about two hundred and fifty, were all very hearty, having lost only seven of them by sickness, or otherwise, in all our voyage at and from the Gold Coast of Guinea, and found the island in much want of them; and therefore to render them more valuable, I resolv'd to dispose of part of them at Guadaloupe, being inform'd that the planters long'd there much for our arrival.

Accordingly the next day having waited on count de Blenac, captain-general and commander in chief of all the French Caribee islands, and brought our ship about the Negroes point, and Le Prescheur, some days after, when it had been careen'd in the Cul de Sac Royal, to the town of St. Peter of La Basseterre or Martinico; after the usual compliments to the governour, we begun the sale of our slaves, at about seven thousand pounds weight of brown sugar, the

[28] From the Rio del Rey, which Barbot next describes, four or five hundred slaves a year are carried, the greatest share by the Dutch, who give in exchange copper and iron bars, brass basins, beads, armlets, and presses for lemons and oranges.

[110] [1] Barbot's account of two voyages to Martinique is printed in book II. of "A Supplement to the Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea", Churchill, *Voyages and Travels,* V. 570-588.

Indian piece, as they term it there,[2] to be paid at farthest within the month of June following, upon a certain forfeiture agreed on. The sale went thus on pretty briskly, all our slaves being Gold Coast Blacks, which are much more acceptable in the French islands . . . I caus'd about sixty of them to be ship'd off for Guadaloupe, in a small fly-boat, of about eighty tuns, which had been dispatch'd from Rochel, with provisions for the frigate, the *Sun of Africa,* I was in, to help load off our effects, and arrived at Martinico a month before me. . . .

On the seventeenth of May I went aboard the flyboat the *Hope,* and proceeded for Guadaloupe. . . . At break of day the nineteenth, we were got to the westward of the northerly point of Dominica . . . and about noon anchor'd in Guadaloupe road: where, after the usual compliments paid to the chevalier Hinselin, the then governour of the island, and he having forc'd me to accept of his house, which stands on the waterside of La Basseterre, near the iron-gate, (a battery of some heavy, large iron guns, that point at the road, to secure the landing-place;) I had all my slaves brought ashore thither, and in a few days disposed of them all to the inhabitants and planters, for about six thousand pounds of brown sugar a-piece, one with another, the sugar being there better than at Martinico (p. 571). . . .

. . . However, the next morning,[3] after abundance of fatigues and motions, we had so work'd the ships, that about nine a-clock we reach'd the road aforesaid, and there came to an anchor, near our other companion of the Guinea voyage, the *Jolly,* who was arriv'd there twelve days before us, and inform'd me, that at his sailing from Whidah road in Guinea, with the *Emerillon* and the *Pearl,* as I have taken notice in that part of the description of Whidah, he fell to the leeward of the islands Prince and St. Tome in the Bight of Guinea; and after several days spent in turning and tacking, at last reach'd the cape Lope, where having taken in wood and water, finding the officers and crew very sickly, and no refreshments at all at the said cape, at that time, even not so much as a chicken, they had projected to sail for St. Tome; but whether thro' ignorance, or design of the pilots aboard, could not compass it, and were necessitated to make the best of their way for Martinico, in the sorry condition they were in. But by a particular providence finding the tradewinds of south-east, at two degrees south of the line, they got their passage in forty-

[2] Note in Churchill: "Note, That the French imitate the Spaniards in valuing slaves by the denomination of the Indian piece, which the Spaniards call Pieza de Indias. By which is meant, a Black from fifteen to twenty-five years of age; from eight to fifteen, and from twenty-five to thirty-five, three pass for two. Below eight, and from thirty-five to forty-five, two pass for one. Sucking infants follow their mothers without accompt. All above forty-five years, with the diseased, are valued by arbitrators". Churchill, V. 571.

[3] This was in June or July, 1682, on Barbot's second voyage to Martinique.

eight days, and had sold their slaves immediately, the males at six, the females at five thousand weight of brown sugar, the Indian piece, to pay in July and August following, being the season when sugar is most generally made. The next day I caused a hundred and twenty of our slaves to be ship'd off for Guadaloupe, in the *Sun of Africa,* and afterwards in the ship the *Wonderful,* consign'd to the company's agent there: and then proceeded to the sale of the remaining slaves in the *Emerillon,* which I had caused to be removed into the *Jolly,* that the other might sail immediately for the Cul de Sac Royal, to careen and refit. Two days after this, our consort the *Pearl* arrived from Cayenne, for which place I had detached her . . . on the fourteenth of May of that year, as we proceeded from Prince's island to America, and had sold there near a hundred slaves, at two hundred and fifty livres a-piece, one with another, payable one half in bills of exchange in Paris and Rochel, and the rest in Rocou,[4] or Anotto, and some sugars and money; Rocou to be taken at twelve sols a pound; the finest sugar at twenty-seven livres Tournois a hundred; and the inferiors proportionable, as M. de Ferolles, the then governor, inform'd me by his letter: withal complaining, in the name of the inhabitants, that I had not sent two instead of one hundred slaves, which they very much wanted in that island, and the company had promised; but the sending of that number would have too much sunk the price of them.

A few days after, I receiv'd information from the governor of Guadaloupe, and the company's agent there, that the slaves I had sent them by the *Wonderful,* were all sold, at the same price we had at Martinico, which was yet more advantageous to the company, the sugar of Guadaloupe being far better than that of the former island (p. 573). . . .

I spent that time[5] in regulating the affairs of the company, with her agents there; and visiting my friends and acquaintance about the island, as madam du Lion, the former governour, the chevalier Hinselin's widow, the present governour; and other persons of note, with whom I had much discourse concerning the good of that colony, and the affairs of the company, especially in relation to the trade of slaves; all of them desiring I should move the board at Paris, to order that island for the future, to be more constantly supply'd with them from Guinea; and not to send thither the refuse of the slaves of Martinico, as had been practis'd to their great prejudice, by the company's agents and commanders; but that their ships should alter-

[4] Rocou, a red or deep orange dye, from small red berries, for a time raised extensively on the island of Cayenne. Churchill, V. 560-561.

[5] On Barbot's journey home he was obliged to wait three days at Guadeloupe. *Ibid.,* p. 574.

natively make directly for their island from the coast of Guinea. They also desired I should pray the board to employ in their affairs there, men of a good repute and vers'd in trade, with many other particulars (p. 574). . . .

III. Edwyn Stede and Stephen Gascoigne to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbadoes, 27th Jan'ry 1682/3.

The 24th Instant Lott Ambrose Com'ander of the *Golden Fortune* arriv'd here bringing 226 Negroes of 258 taken in on the Gold Coast and at Ardra at which last place he left the *St. George* the 24th October who then wanted 100 Negroes of his Complem't. he touched at Cape Lopus and Annibi and mett with the *Lady Frances* Capt. Hay Com'r who has not above 20 or 30 Negroes Liveing of abt. 160 Taken in at the Bite.

Upon the Arrivall of Capt. Ambrose in the *Golden Fortune* wee tendred the Negroes he bought to Mr. Howell and C'pny togeather with bills of exchange for the value of them as the Company ordered us but they refused to take them and to signe those bills wee tendred them Declaring they would signe noe bills should bind them that were the Drawers but only as Friends and Factors to Mr. Champion Ashly they would receive the Negroes and give such bills as might bind him for paym't by vertue of his bond which they alsoe alleadged was allwaies Incumbent on them by that Agreem't and tendred us bills accordingly, but they not being in such manner Drawn as by the Companyes orders wee were appointed to require, wee refused to accept them but again Tendred the Negroes to Mr. Howell and C'pny with plain Bills for theire amount to be paid at 2, 4 and 6 mo. sight but they continueing to refuse to accept them and to signe those bills wee Tendred them wee protested ag't them as they have against us for not Delivering the Negroes to them upon the bills they offered to give us for theire amount which severall Protests are here inclosed soe wee shall proceed to sell them for the Companyes acco'tt with what convenient speed wee can and for the best price wee can get.

The 25th Instant arrived the *Mary* Capt. Nurse who tooke in at the Gold Coast 507 Negroes out of which they lost 33 which died in the Voyage, the rest wee delivered the Capt. according to the order wee received from the Compa. and for the Amount of which wee send the Company herewith the severall first bills of Exchange. Wee delivered the Capt. 15 Negroes for his commission, which is nigh ½ a Negroe more than it amounted for which part he must acco'tt to the Compa. . . .

[111] [1] T 70: 16, "Abstracts for the Committee of Accounts, 1681-1684". Topical notes in the margin have been omitted.

The Negroes by the *Mary* came in Good Condition and are a parcell of as good Negroes as ever came to the Island there not being more than Tenn in the Shipp that could be excepted against either for Age or Inability though the Company were pleased to allow them 30 at £10 per head. These Tenn refuse Negroes by reason of Sickness and Poverty were not able to goe over the Shipps side alone for which reason the Capt. pressed that wee would take those Tenn on the Companyes Acco'tt notwithstanding the Compa. had allowed them before 30 at £10 per head, the Capt. pretending those being for what were not of right Age and that for those could not goe over the Shipps side ought to be the Companyes losse but wee could by noe meanes understand it soe and have therefore taken Bills of Exch: for all at £15 per head except 30 at Tenn and have left it to the Company to determine the Dispute with the owners abt. those 10 Negroes that could not goe over the Shipps side, the Compa. being only able to determine that point whether they intended upon any pretence whatsoever to allow more than 30 Negroes for the Refuse of that Shipp. . . .[2]

With this wee send the Compa. 8 first bills of Ex'a and 4 first receipts *vizt.*

Tho: Lear on John Hill at 30 daies sight				£140.	
Tho: Colleton on Sr. Peter Colleton at 60 daies				£112.	
Cash for a rec't of Capt. Prissick for Mr. Freres' passage home	£	5.			
For Wm. News receipt for head money of 378 Negroes by the *Arcuna Merch't*	£	18.	18.		
For Capt. North's receipt for Refreshm't for his Negroes	£	8.	9. 6		
For Capt. Atwells rec't for the passage of Arthur Richards and Tho. Burkham	£	10.	—. —	£ 42.	7. 6
				£294.	7. 6
Com'on on said money at 7 per ct.	£	20.	12. 1		
Com'on on £6735 ster. for Capt. Nurses bills at 1½ per ct.	£	101.	0. 6		
				£121.	12. 7
				£416.	0. 1

For w'ch wee pray the Compa. will please to give us Credit . . .

112. John Case to the Royal African Company.[1]

Bence Island, Feb. 26, 1682/3.

If yo'r Hon'rs think fit . . . to employ the *Charles* from this place to Barbados with Negroes they may (God adding blessing to their endeavors) make Two Voyadges in a yeare which would be

[2] Here the agents add that the *Mary* brought two dishonest employees of the company from Cape Coast, Arthur Richards and Thomas Burkham, who were to be sent home with Captain Atwell.

[112] [1]T 70: 16.

farr more beneficiall then to have the negroes lye soe long upon expence of Provision and yo'r Hono'rs running that Hazard in Sending Vessells without advice and giving great'r prizes for their better Dispatch.

113. The Factors of Cape Coast Castle to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, Mch. 20, 1682/3.

. . . Coast not being now soe much cloyed with Interlopers Goods as formerly w'ch gives us Encouragem't wee shall Dispose off o'r Sayes and Perpetuanes . . . the vast quantities that have bin vended by Interlopers of Sayes at 11 and 12 Angles and perpetuanes from 6 to 8 Angles have occasioned yo'r Hono'rs to lye on hand unless wee had Disposed of them to little or noe Profit.

114. Edwyn Stede and Stephen Gascoigne to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbados, the 11th April 1683.

The 28th March Capt. Barton in the *Delight* togeather with Agent Wight arrived herein ab't one mo. time bringing 169 Slaves of 171 taken in at Cuhho, Beson[2] and Rio Grande as alsoe ab't 15 or 16 Tunns of Ellephants Teeth and Wax and ab't £800 Sterling worth of the Cargoe he carried out with him being as Mr. Wight tells us Disappointed of his expectations in the Trade he designed in those parts by reason of a greate Spanish Shipp that had taken in 200 and odd Negroes Just before he came thither and had filled all those parts with all sorts of Goods soe that they wanted nothing and besides that the Portugueze have newly setled a Compa. and Factory there[3] by which the Natives are much kept downe and suppressed in theire way of Trade which made them resolve to buy only for present necessity till things are better adjusted betweene them and that New Compa. or Factory soe that as he would not sell all his Goods neither would he get his Complem't of Negroes for besides that he wanted of his Number designed to be taken in and abt ⅓d part of those he did bring were very small most of them noe better then sucking Children nay many of them did suck theire Mothers that were on

[113] [1]T 70: 16. The factors were Greenhill, Spurway, Master, and Stapleton.

[114] [1]T 70: 16.

[2] Cuhho, possibly Cacheu or Cacheo; Beson, Bassam. These are south of the Gambia, in a region in which the Portuguese more commonly slaved than the English.

[3] For an account of the Portuguese control of the coast see Scelle, *La Traite Négrière,* II. 3-16. Scelle however mentions no Portuguese company of this date. The first company of Cacheo or Cacheu had been established in 1675, to have the monopoly of the commerce of Cacheo for six years. Between its end and 1690, when the next Portuguese company was established, other nations traded at and near Cacheo as frequently as did the Portuguese.

board for all that were Runners he attempted [accompted?] as Negroes some of whose mothers wee believe died on board of shipp and the most part of those small ones not worth above £5 per head. Wee told Ag't White wee wondred to see soe many small Children brought by him for that they were not worth theire Freight to which he replyed they cost not much and the Shipp had as good bring them as nothing she being paid by the month soe wee Delivered him his Due proportion of small and greate and thought it necessary to give the Compa. this Acco'tt that soe they may not blame us for the small Prizes [prices] wee are forced to sell them for when they are truly Informed they are such Pittifull Children and not men and women are Delivered us nor doe wee at any time Complaine of the badnes of the Negroes are brought to us on the Companyes acco'tt but when there is such apparent cause for it that if wee should be silent therein wee should justly deserve theire Displeasure for not giveing them an acco'tt how ill they are dealt with and if the Com'anders of theire Shipps would be soe just to the Compa. to themselves and to us to tell them what ill Negroes the Compa's Factors in Guynie put on them while they first serve the Interlopers with the Choicest of theire Negroes (as Capt. Nurse and others doe Informe us) and by that meanes put none but meane Negroes on board the Compa's Shipps that are not preempted (for the others will take none but thoise lett it Cost the Compa. what it will to procure them) It will evidently appeare to the Compa. that betweene Interlopers and preempted Shipps noe good Negroes are sent to us and very often when the Masters buy theire owne Negroes that wee are to sell they take not much more care for they can charge to the Compa. a like prise for a bad as for a good Negroe for wee are sure they very often come in very badd and poore condition. . . .

115. Sir Thomas Lynch to the Lord President of the Council.[1]

Jamaica, May 6, 1683.

. . . I have also told him (Sir B. Bathurst)[2] that in the last six months we could have sold two or three thousand negroes to the Spaniards, and that, as the Company sent none, I was forced to allow interlopers to supply one hundred and thirty to dismiss the Don, who had waited for them six months.[3] Nor do I hear that the

[115] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 427, "Recd. 7 June 1683. Read at Committee 17 July 1683".

[2] Sir Benjamin Bathurst was deputy governor of the Royal African Company at this time.

[3] On Feb. 22, 1683, Lynch had written to William Blathwayt, that the Spaniard had waited four months and then gone away with 100 negroes purchased from an interloper. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 393.

African Company intends to send a ship, though negroes are much needed and our planters are rich enough to pay for them. Our sloops sell very many, for they are now generally very safe, being well armed and provided with my commission. . . . We were surprised to hear that our friends contended so violently for keeping up the Negro Act.[4] I gave no such directions, and the people will be quite content with the King's order. It is the failure to provide negroes that is the ruin of all. We have lost our chance, for the Dutch have pieced their contract, so now the Governors cannot send, and will not receive, our vessels.[5] The Company's objection about light money would have been answered by saying that the law intended weighty. . . . (French pirates) designed to come eastward to the latitude of Barbados and take the negro ships. . . .

116. The Case of the *Dorothy*.[1]

5'to Octobris 1683

Alicia Potts vidua Relicta et Administratrix bonorum etc. Thomae Potts defuncti, Elizabetha Spike vidua Relicta et Administratrix bono-

[4] In January, 1683, the company petitioned against the act which fixed the price of negroes, and made the planters the judges of what negroes were merchantable. In addition to these grievances, the petition charged that the light weight of Spanish money, which circulated freely in Jamaica, had driven the price of sugar up and caused a one-third loss on Jamaica returns; that interloping ships on the Guinea coast increased the price of slaves one-third; and that masters were refusing to go to Jamaica. For all these reasons the petitioners begged that they be released from the terms of the Order in Council of November, 1680, and that the Jamaica law be disallowed (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 370). The answer made by Jamaica alleged: (1) that the lightness of the money was not new and also that it was no disadvantage to the company, which seldom received its returns in money, and also that light money could always be refused; (2) that the Order in Council was too recent to have affected the price of negroes in Guinea, and that separate traders still found it profitable to sell for £18 per head in Jamaica; (3) and that there were plenty of ships' masters who were still willing to come to Jamaica. The answer also dealt with the volume of debt complained of by the company, charging that this was in part the result of actual corruption on the part of the factors, and in part due to the mismanagement of the company. The total amount was actually small in comparison with the size of the company and the growth of the colony, and Jamaica was known to pay her debts better than the other plantations (*ibid.*, p. 378). On Feb. 14, 1683, at a meeting of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, the argument was heard. "Several members of the Royal African Company attended, Sir Benjamin Bathurst, Sir Dudley North, Sir Benjamin Newland, Sir Peter Colleton, and Mr. Scut. Their petition was read, together with the answer of the merchants of Jamaica. The gentlemen of Jamaica added that light money may be refused in payment, and that, as to the Company's complaints of recent hostile proceedings towards the Company in Jamaica, the Island will always own and acknowledge the Company's charter. The Lords recommend that the Act for rations of negroes be not confirmed, but be kept in operation during the King's pleasure" (*ibid.*, pp. 383-384). This action was communicated to Lynch, Feb. 17, 1683 (*ibid.*, p. 386). The obvious fact that private traders bore none of the heavy charges of the forts and could therefore undersell the company without loss, the colonists ignored here as elsewhere, in their attacks on the company. *Ibid.*, p. 378.

[5] The Consulado had resigned its effort to supply the Spanish colonies with negroes in 1681, and after much consideration and negotiation the contract was given to Don Juan Barroso, acting for or with Baltazar Coymans and Don Nicolas Porcio. Scelle, I. 636-640.

[116] [1] Admiralty Court, Instance and Prize: Libel Files, file 121, no. 97.

rum etc. Johannis Spike defuncti, Thomas Knewstubb pater et Administrator bonorum etc. Johannis Knewstub defuncti, et Anna Bradley vidua domina Johannis Smith defuncti nuper dum vixit ejus apprenticii, nuper nautarum navis vocatae the *Dorothy* (cujus Willielmus Greene nuper fuit Magister) respective defunctorum, contra dictum Willielmum Greene in causa subtraccionis salariorum.

FRANCKLIN. LEE.[2]

Quo die Francklin nomine procuratoris ac ut procurator legitimus dictorum Alicae Potts Elizabethae Spike et Thomae Knewstubb et Annae.

Bradley omni meliori modo necnon ad omnem juris effectum exinde quovismodo sequi valentem dixit allegavit et in hiis scriptis In jure proposuit articulatim pro ut sequitur vizt.

1. Inprimis. That the shippe the *Dorothy* mentioned in the process of this cause, did upon or about the two and twentyth day of November one thousand six hundred and eighty one lye at Anchor in Tilbury hope near Gravesand, being then bound out to Guinia upon the voyage in question, and that the said shippe was then ready to set saile and that upon or about the s'd two and twentyth day of November one thousand six hundred and eighty one Mr. Richard Price one of the owners of the said Shippe did come from London or some other place aboard the said shippe, and did bring or cause part of the outward loading of the s'd shippe to be brought and the same was brought and put aboard the said shippe and afterwards the same was carryed in the said Shippe to the Coast of Guinia and the same with other of her outward loading was there bartered away for Gold and slaves and Elephants teeth and this was and is true publique and notorious and soe much the said William Greene doeth know to be true and hath confessed to be true. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio temporis spatio etc. Et ponit pars ista conjunctim et de quolibet.

2. Item. That the said William Greene at the time of the hiring of the mariners sev'ally named in this Cause did not tell or acquaint them or any of them nor any other the mariners of the said shippe, at the time of hiring them or any of them nor at any other time that the said shippe was to goe to Jamaica, but at the hiring of them and every of them did tell and acquaint them that the said shippe was bound for the Coast of Guinia, and that duringe the time the said shippe was in the port of London, and at the time when she went from the port of London upon the voyage in question, and at, and upon her arrivall upon the Coast of Guinia which was in Aprill one thousand six hundred and eighty one the company and mariners of the

[2] Francklin and Lee were the advocates of the litigants respectively.

said shippe did take and apprehend and soe it was discoursed of among them in the said voyage that the said shippe was bound for Guinia and that the said mariners did not know or were informed, that the said shippe was bound otherwise then to the Coast of Guinia and that the said Wm. Greene the master doeth know beleive and hath confessed soe much to be true. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio temporis spacio etc. Et ponit ut supra.

3. Item. That upon or about the twenty second day of November one thousand six hundred and eighty one, at or about which time the said shippe then lying at Tilbury hope was ready to set saile for the Coast of Guinia, the said Mr. Richard Price being then one of the owners and imployers of the said Shippe, being then come aboard the s'd shippe, at which time the Mariners before named in this Cause and others the Mariners of the said shippe had served and were Mariners of the s'd shippe some two months others for one month or thereabouts or sometime lesser then a month and the s'd Price knowing that the mariners of the s'd shippe before named and others the mariners of the said shippe were hired by the said master by the month and for monthly wages and not by the voyage, to serve in the said shippe did pay unto the said mariners halfe pay by the month as and being hired by the month at and after the sev'all rates by the month at which they were hired for, by the said William Greene, and for a lesser part of a month, and that the said Mr. Price did not then nor at any other time tell or acquaint the mariners of the said shippe or any of them, that the said shippe was bound for Jamaica nor make any mention thereof at all and so much the said William Greene doeth know and beleive to be true and soe much he hath confessed to be true. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio temporis spacio etc. Et ponit ut supra.

4. Item. That the said William Greene did himselfe before the said shippe set saile from Tilbury hope for Guinia acquaint the said Mr. Price, and others the owners of the said shippe or some of them, that he had hired the mariners of the said shippe to serve in the same for monthly wages and monthly pay, and that the said William Greene did never contract and agree with the said mariners or any of them to have and receive their pay at Jamaica and not before for soe many months as they should have served in the said shippe or that the Cargoe of the s'd shippe, which should be taken in and was afterwards taken in at Guinia should be carryed to Jamaica or Barbadoes and soe much the said William Greene doeth know to be true and soe much he hath confessed to be true. Ponit tamen etc. Et ponit ut supra.

5. Item. That whereas it is set forth in the answeares of the said William Greene made in this Cause that the shippe the

Dorothy was not at any time in the voyage in question upon the Coast of Guinia within one hundred leagues of any port or harbour, the truth is that there were not nor are any ports or harbours upon the Coast of Guinia at least not any where any shippes can or doe usually lye and trade, but there were and are roades upon the said Coast of Guinia where shippes have and doe comonly anchor and trade with the natives of Guinia and that the Royall Company of English merchants tradeing to Guinia had and have severall Castles and factories standing and being upon the Coast of Guinia *vizt.* Capcoast or Capcourse Castle soe called or by some such like name standing very near unto the sea, another Castle standing near the said Coast called by the name of Anamaboo or some such like name, and another Castle called Alacra [3] or some such name, and that the manner of trading at Guinia was and is that shipps doe anchor upon the Coast of Guinia there, and there were and are some places there, upon which there were and are four fathoms water, and some six fathoms and some other eight and some other ten fathoms and not more, and that the said places in which the said shippes have and doe usually anchor were and are some about three, some about foure and some about five miles from shoar, and not above, and there the English Shippes have and doe usually trade with the natives of Guinia in bartering away their outward Cargoe and in exchange thereof receiving aboard the said shippes negroe slaves and gold and Elephants teeth and other comodities of that country, and soe and in that manner the said Shippe the *Dorothy* the said William Greene the Master of the said shippe and the agent and supra Cargoe for the owners thereof did trade the voyage in question and did barter the outward Cargoe of the said shippe for gold and negroes and Elephants teeth, and there rec'ed the same aboard the said shippe and soe much the said William Greene the Master doeth know to be true and hath confessed to be true. Ponit tamen de quibuslibet aliis numeris hexapidarum (anglice fathoms) et temporis spacio etc. Et ponit ut supra.

6. Item. That the first place the ship arrived at the voyage in question upon the Coast of Guinia was Ballisor or some such like name and that the ship did anchor there in seaven fathoms water, and within four miles of the shoar, and the next place the ship traded at was Capalone [4] or some such like name, and there she did anchor in five or six fathoms water, and within five miles of the shoar and the next place the ship arrived at upon the Coast of Guinia was called Comenda or by some such like place, and there the said shippe did

[3] Alacra may possibly be an attempt at Accra. The names of these trading points are so distorted that one can scarcely guess at the places meant.

[4] Appolonia ?

anchor in about six fathoms water and about two miles from shoar or Land, and another place the shippe came to upon the Coast of Guinia was called Capcoast or some such like name where the shipe anchored in about five fathoms water, and within two or three miles of the shoar or Land and soe near, that the Governor of the Castle there for the English Company of merchants tradeing for Guinia, understanding the s'd shippe was an Interloper, did fire two or three peeces of ordnance, loaden with bulletts, at the s'd ship, the *Dorothy,* to drive her from trading there, and that the said bulletts came very near the said shippe, and the next place the ship arrived at upon the Coast of Guinia, was called Anamaboo, or some such like place, and the said shippe did anchor in or about ten or eleaven fathoms deepe, in water, and about six miles from the shoar, and another place to which the said shipe arrived in the said voyage upon the Coast of Guinia was called Elampough,[5] or by some such like place where the said shipe anchored in or about four fathoms water, and about two miles from shoar, and in all and every of the said places the said shippe and the said Wm. Greene the master, and the supra Cargoe or agent of the owners of the said Shippe, did sell and barter away the outward Loading of the said shippe carryed in her thither from the port of London or a great part thereof and for the same had and received negroes and gold dust and Elephants teeth and this was and is true. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio numero hexapidarum (Anglice fathoms) et de quolibet alio temporis spacio etc. Et ponit ut supra.

7. Item. That whereas the said William Greene in his answeares made in this Cause doeth answear, that he doeth believe, that by the carelessness of the company of mariners of the said shippe or some of them the gunpowder in the said shippe tooke fire, and blew up and destroyed the said shippe and all her Cargoe except a peece of Cable and Anchor and boms rope the truth is, that the said William Greene doeth believe in his conscience and soe hath confessed that the company of mariners of the said shippe were not in any default therein or that the s'd shippe or her Cargoe was blowne up by their carelessness, and the said party proponent doeth alleadge that when the said shippe was blowne up by gunpowder, there were aboard the said Shippe about one hundred and thirty five negroes, whereof some were men and some were women, and that at the time aforesaid one Nathaniel Mills was aboard the said Shippe, and was Carpenter of the said shippe, and that John Leyton was then second mate of the said shippe and was then aboard the said Shippe, and that one Henry Clerke was then aboard the said Shippe, who was supra Cargoe of the said shippe and was appointed by the owners to barter away the out-

[5] Alampo.

ward loading of the said Shippe and did barter away the same or a great part thereof and invested the same in negroes and gold dust and elephants teeth and that when the said Shippe was blowne up the said John Leyton was then upon the upper deck of the said Shippe, and that the said Leyton and Mills and the said Henry Clerke by the powder takeing fire were all blowne into the seas, being in the night time, and did in order to save themselves get sev'ally upon some broken peeces of the said Shippe, in the sea, and the said William Green being then alsoe blowne by the said powder into the sea did get upon some broken peece of wood of the said shippe, and the said William Greene and the said Leyton and Clerke continued in the sea upon some broken peeces of the said shippe for about five or six hours after they were blowne into the sea and that the said Mills continued in the sea upon some broken peece of the said shippe for about two or three hours and this was and is true. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio temporis spacio etc. Et ponit ut supra.

8. Item. That presently after the said Mills and Leyton were blowne out of the said Shippe into the sea and being sitting upon the pieces of wood upon which they then sev'ally were the said Mills and Leyton were near together and the s'd Leyton and Mills had some discourse and speech togeather and the said Leyton did ask the said Mills if he did know or could tell how the said accident of the blowing up the said shippe did come or to that effect whereupon the said Mills who was then in danger of drowning and had little or noe hope of being saved did then seriously tell him the s'd Leyton that he the said Mills did presently before the blowe was given by the gunpowder by which the said shippe and her Cargoe were blowne up see a negro woman betweene deck of the s'd ship who had fire with her which he did take to be a pipe of tobacco lighted which she had got (the negroes aboard the said Shippe being allowed by the M'r to take tobacco aboard the said Shippe, and the same being allowed by other masters of shippes who take negroes aboard to take tobacco) and that he did observe that she did fling the same pipe lighted from her which as he the said Mills said and as he really beleived did fall into the hole of the said Shippe where the powder was and instantly the shippe thereupon was blowne up, and that it was then in the night time and there was not at that time nor that night any fire left or any Candle-light left burning in the hold of the s'd ship by any of the company of mariners of the said ship and that the mariners of the s'd ship were always very carefull to prevent any danger that might come to the said ship by the powder of the said ship or otherwise. Ponit tamen etc. Et ponit ut supra.

9. Item. That after the discourse of the effect aforesaid which happned betweene the said Leyton and Mills, the said Leyton did

leave the peece of wood on which he then was, and swam away to a bigger peece of wood, of the s'd shippe then in the sea upon which the said William Greene the master then was and got upon the same and there continued with the said William Greene about foure or five hours till they were saved by the natives of the Country and that presently upon his comeing upon the said peece of wood where the said M'r was he the said Leyton did tell the said William Greene what the said Nathaniel Mills had told him to the effect afores'd concerning the accident of blowing up of the said ship as in the next precedent article is alleadged or to that effect. Ponit tamen etc. Et ponit ut supra.

10. Item. That after the said Leyton had swam away as aforesaid from the place in the sea where he had discoursed with the said Mills as aforesaid the said Henry Clerke who was alsoe blowne out of the said ship into the sea and had gotten upon a peece of wood thereof to save himselfe did come near to or was near the place where the said Nathaniel Mills was in the sea, and there had speech and communication with him the said Mills, and the said Nathaniel did then tell the said Henry Clerke, that the accident of blowing up the said ship by powder came as is before alleadged in the eight article of this allegation, and that the said Henry Clerke, and the said William Greene, and John Leyton, being taken by the natives of the country out of the sea about four or five of the Clock in the morning after the said accident happened did then or about that time and afterwards sev'all times or at least once tell and acquaint the said William Greene what the said Nathaniel Mills had sev'ally declared to them concerning the accident of blowing up the said ship and Cargoe was as in the eight article of this allegacion as alleadged, and the same was generally beleived and received soe to be by the company of mariners of the said ship who escaped out of the said ship and were saved, that the said ship was blowne up as was related by the said Nathaniel Mills as is before alleadged. Ponit tamen etc. Et ponit ut supra.

11. Item. Whereas it was and is in fact alleadged on the behalfe of the said Wm. Greene in that cause that the mariners and seamen did without the consent of him the said Wm. Greene or his knowledge remove the gunpowder that was aboard the said ship from one end of the ship to the other about the sixth day of the said month of August 1682 and at or about the ninth day of August the powder by the carelessness of the mariners and seamen tooke fire and did blowe up and destroy the said ship and her Cargoe and ladeing the truth is, that the goods in the said ship being part of her Cargoe which were then aboard her and were then in the place where the said ship lay to be bartered away were under the powder in the hold

of the said ship, and without the removeing of the powder the same could not be taken from thence, and in case the same powder was removed from thence to any other part of the said ship, the same was soe done and removed to that part of the shippe to which the same was removed, by the mariners of the said ship, by the express order, and command, of the said Wm. Greene the Master of the said ship, that soe the goods under the powder might be come at, and bartered away, and soe the same or some of them, were bartered away by the said Wm. Greene and the s'd Henry Clerke, the agent or supra Cargoe of the said owners or some of them, for gold dust and negroes and elephants teeth, or other goods with the natives of Guinia before the said accident of blowing up the said ship happned and soe much the said Wm. Greene doeth know and believe to be true. Et ponit ut supra.

12. Item. That the said Nathaniel Mills did about two or three hours after the relation which he had made to the said John Leyton and Henry Clerke touching the blowing up of the said ship was drowned and did perish in the seas, and was not heard of afterwards nor his body found, and that a youth or boy belonging to the said ship at the time when the said accident happned and who was blowne out of the said shippe with the said Nathaniel Mills had sometime bin with him the said Mills upon the peece of wood of the said ship in the sea upon which the said Mills was, which boy was afterwards saved out of the sea by some of the natives of Guinia in their Carg: did declare that the said Nathaniel Mills was drowned and perished in the sea and the said youth or boy is not yet come from Guinia but was and is there or in some other part beyond or upon the seas and is soe comonly accompted reputed and taken to be. Et ponit ut supra.

13. Item. That the said Henry Clerke some months or weeks before the begining of this Suite at least before the twentyth day of September one thousand six hundred and eighty three, and before the giveing of the present allegacion on the part and behalfe of the said William Greene in this cause did depart out of England for Guinia and gone thither and since that time was not nor is in England and this was and is true. Ponit tamen de quolibet alio temporis spacio etc. Et ponit ut supra.

14. Item. Quod praemissa omnia et singula fuerunt et sunt vera publica, manifesta et notoria etc. unde facta fide petit pars ista jus et justiciam etc.[6]

Potts et alii contra Greene.[7]

FRANCKLIN EXTON.

[6] Endorsed, "*Dorothy*. Alicia Potts vidua et alii contra Guilium Green Magistrum dictae navis. Allegatio per Francklin data, 5° Octobris 1683."

[7] Admiralty Court, Instance and Prize: Libel Files, file 121, no. 105.

Quo die Francklin nomine procuratoris ac ut procurator legitimus dictae Aliciae Potts et aliarum partium agentium omni meliori modo dixit allegavit et in hiis scriptis in jure prosposuit articulatim prout sequitur vizt.

1. Inprimis. That Whereas it was and is in fact alleadged on the part and behalfe of the said William Greene in this Cause, that the said Wm. Greene the Master of the said shipp the *Dorothy* nor any other masters of shipps who take in Negroes on the Coast of Guinia, doe permit any negroes to take tobacco betweene decks of the said shipps, or any other shipps, but doe give libertie for negroes to take tobacco above deck only, and that all mariners who have used, and doe use the said voyage doe know the same to be true, and ought to prevent any negroes, to take tobacco betweene the decks for fear of mischeife that may ensue thereby, and not to permit the same, and in case the accident did happen by the negroe woman takeing tobacco of blowing up the said Shippe, the same ought to be imputed to the carelessness of the Mariners of the said shipp especially during the time that the said William Greene was in such a sad distemper that he could not look after the same—the truth of the fact was and is that at the time when the said accident happned there were aboard the said Shippe one hundred and thirty five negroes, or thereabouts, and that they all did every day take tobacco aboard the said Shippe the voyage in question by permission of the said William Greene the Master, and that the Company of Mariners of the said Shippe were about seaventeene or thereabouts, and noe more, two of which before, and when the said accident happned were ashoar by order of the said William Greene the Master of the said Shippe, or Henry Clerke the supra Cargoe of the said ship both or one of them in order to trade for slaves and other Comodities of Guinia, and it being then about Midnight when the said accident happned, some of the Mariners as is usuall and accustomed for them to doe were asleep haveing first performed their duty in the said ship, and that the Mariners which were of the watch did take all possible care they could in lookeing after the said ship, and her loading—and that it was impossible for the Mariners of the said ship soe to prevent the same but that some of the negroes without their knowledge, might and did and had in the said voyage got tobacco pipes, and haveing tobacco allowed them, did sometymes carry the same betweene the decke, with the pipes in which they had taken tobacco, and the same not being quit out did some tyme there privatly take tobacco in the same, which when any of the company of Mariners did at any time perceive they did take the same away from them, and that Nathaniel Mills perceiving a Negroe woman (as he himselfe said before his death) imediatly before the said accident happned, to have some fire about her betweene

the deck which as he said he conceived to be a pipe of tobacco lighted, did as he said run to take the same away from her but before he could come at her she as he said flung the same away from her, and imediatly the shipp was blowne up, and that if the said William Greene was sick when the said accident happned quod non fatetur etc. yet if he had bin upon the deck, and in health, he could not have prevented the same accident, and that the said accident ought not to be imputed to the Mariners of the said Shipp who were not in any blame therein, and that the said powder being removed by order of the said William Greene the Master, some or one of the Mariners of the said Shippe did some day or dayes before the said accident happned tell him the said Wm. Greene that there might be danger to the s'd Shipp by reason of the removeing the said powder and told the said Greene that he the said Mariner wished (to prevent any danger therein) that the powder were overboard in the sea or to that effect, to which the said Wm. Greene answered let the powder alone in the place to which is removed for it will doe well enough. Ponit tamen etc. Et ponit ut supra.

2. Item. Quod praemissa etc.[8]

117. Protest of the Royal African Company.[1]

October 23, 1683.

Reasons advanced by the Royal African Company why the law of Jamaica fixing the price of negroes at eighteen pounds a head should not be continued. When the Royal Company was convened before the King in November 1680, it agreed to supply three thousand negroes annually at 18 *l.* a head. The Jamaicans turned this into a law, which remains suspended during the King's pleasure. We, the Company, now begged to be released from that agreement, because the terms which were then advantageous are now the reverse. The number of interlopers increases; negroes cost a third to a half more than they did, and are difficult to procure. There is also a loss on

[8] Endorsed, "*Dorothy*. Potts et alii contra Wm. Greene Magistrum ejusdem navis. Allegatio per Francklin data 21° Octobris 1683."

[117] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 525-526, "Unsigned. Endorsed. Recd. 23 Oct. Read 30 Oct. 1683". Relations between Jamaica and the company grew no better during the summer of 1683. In August the planters and merchants asserted that the company had ceased supplying negroes altogether. The Lords of Trade took up the subject once more in October, upon receipt of a petition from the "Planters and Merchants of Jamaica", signed by William Beeston and five others. The petitioners stated that they heard from Jamaica that the company was not supplying sufficient negroes and was unwilling to sell them at the legal price, though other merchants offered from three to five thousand a year at reasonable rates. They asked that if the company was to be allowed to abandon its contract price it be compelled to furnish a sufficient supply, five thousand the first year and three thousand thereafter being suggested (*ibid.*, pp. 471, 474, 512-513). The company's statement of its side of the controversy is here printed.

the exchange from Jamaica. If it be objected that times may improve, we answer that in that case we shall be ready to lower our rates. We are taxed with having failed to supply the stipulated number. We have made provisions in ships and goods for the full quantity, but many ships have been unable to procure negroes, and after lying many months have left with but half their load of negroes, though with cargo all dispersed. Also, we have often lost a half to a third of the negroes shipped. Even if we had procured all the negroes we wanted, many commanders positively refuse to go to Jamaica in consequence of the laws. As to the objection that if our price were not limited, we might, being monopolists, make it ruinous, we answer that we enjoy far fewer advantages than any other joint stock company. Negroes are not only very chargeable and perishable, but it is impracticable to keep any quantity unsold for many days; we must part with them for what we can get. Again, our accounts will show that we have pushed our trade so far and supplied all plantations so fully that our factors, some of them, write to us to desist.[2] If the planters of Jamaica are short of supply it is their own fault. We should gladly have furnished them as well as the rest, but their light money must pass, else there are no payments, and they can charge what they please for their goods, whereas we are limited. If they object that our stock is too narrow, we answer that the Colonies have made it so, for they now owe us over 130,000 *l.* We hope that the King, having incorporated us, will not subject us to terms which must be our ruin. We are envied for our advantages, yet our members have not had so much as interest on their money, though no stock has been managed with more faithfulness and care.[3] Some pretend that if the trade were thrown open, it would be for general advantage. If they consider that the inhabitants with whom we trade are such that no peace or correspondence could be continued with them without forts, and that strong foreign companies, particularly

[2] The company reported for Jamaica the following importation: 1680, 1371 negroes; 1681, 1576; 1682, 1452; 1683, 2919 (Beer, *Old Colonial System,* I. 357). It had sent to Barbados eighteen ships, carrying 6380 negroes between September, 1682, and August, 1683 (*ibid.,* p. 351 n.). These figures, as Beer has pointed out, conflict with various statements from other sources. Lynch had written, on Aug. 29, 1682, that since his arrival (May 14) the company had sent about fifteen hundred negroes. On May 6, 1683, he wrote that it had sent none for six months (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1681-1685, pp. 286, 427; Beer, *loc. cit.,* p. 356, n. 2). In August, 1683, the company reported eleven shipments, amounting to 3460 blacks, made between September, 1682, and August, 1683. In October its report was that it had contracted for 8500, taken 3716, and delivered 3020, between March, 1681, and October, 1683. "None delivered in 1683, and only five hundred in 1682." *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1681-1685, pp. 486, 532.

[3] Up to 1678 the company had been entirely successful, paying, according to Scott, nearly 55 per cent. between 1676 and 1678. This flourishing condition undoubtedly helped to draw interlopers into the trade and gave additional vigor to the arguments for freedom of trade. While it may be true that for a year or two the stockholders had received no dividends, Scott finds that between 1680 and 1692 eight dividends were paid and a reserve was created. *Joint-Stock Companies,* II. 21.

Dutch, are ready to take our forts if we abandon them, they will see their error. The success of a few interlopers may persuade unthinking men, but if the trade were abandoned to them it would soon cease. We beg therefore to be allowed the same liberty as others. Jamaica will profit by it as well as ourselves.[4]

118. Voyage to Congo, 1683-1684.[1]

. . . At the same time the Most Reverend Cardinal Cibo writ us a letter in the name of the sacred college, complaining that the pernicious and abominable abuse of selling slaves was yet continued among us, and requiring us to use our power to remedy the said abuse; which, notwithstanding, we saw little hopes of accomplishing, by reason that the trade of this country lay wholly in slaves and ivory. Nevertheless, meeting together not long after, we joined our addresses to the King of Congo, and count of Sogno, and obtained the favour from them, that the heretics at least should be excluded from dealing in this merchandize; and that especially the English, who made it their chief business to buy slaves here, and to carry them to Barbadoes, an island of theirs in the West Indies, where they were to be brought up in the Protestant religion, so very contrary to ours. This letter was first read by me to the count, and afterwards on a feast-day I made the contents of it known to the people, earnestly recommending to them to have a compassionate regard to so many miserable creatures, their countrymen, that were daily suffered to come under the power of heretics, that would not only enslave them, but likewise pervert the good principles we had instilled in them. I moreover urged, that if there were a necessity for a trade of this kind, they should sooner have to do with the Hollanders, who were obliged to deliver

[4] On Oct. 30 the Lords of Trade and Plantations, having heard both sides of the dispute, recommended that the Order in Council of November, 1680, be repealed, and that the Jamaica act be suspended. The royal company, granted these concessions, was to furnish Jamaica with 5000 blacks the next year, and 3000 every subsequent year, the price to be unspecified (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1681-1685, pp. 530, 536; C. O. 268: 1, pp. 94-108).

[118] [1] "A Voyage to Congo and several other Countries chiefly in Southern Africk, by Father Jerom Merolla da Sorrento, a Capuchin and Apostolic Missioner in the Year 1682, made English from the Italian", in John Pinkerton, *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in all Parts of the World: many of which are now first translated into English* (London, 1814), XVI. 195-311. Father Girolamo Merolla and Father Francesco da Montelione left Naples on their missionary voyage May 5, 1682, but having spent some time in Brazil before they reached Africa it was May 6, 1683, when they landed in Angola (Pinkerton, *Voyages,* XVI. 213). A flourishing missionary station already existed in Angola, and after a few days one of the resident fathers went with the writer to the River Zaire (Congo) in the province of Sogno. Here he had been about a year at the time of which he writes. His account of the progress of the Church in this region is probably worthy of greater credence, since it may be presumed to be largely the result of his own observation, than is his account of the mermaids in the River Zaire.

so many slaves at Cadiz every year, whereby their countrymen might have still the happiness of continuing among Catholics, though in bonds.

I proposed likewise for them to trade in this nature with the Portuguese, rather than the Hollanders; which they would not hearken unto for several reasons.

First, Because they would by no means have that nation establish themselves in their country. Secondly, By reason that they would give them no opportunity to sell their arms and ammunition amongst them: and Thirdly, Because they always under-valued the slaves, and never offered so much as they were worth.

These, with some others, have been the reasons that the Portuguese have never yet been able to get any footing in Sogno.

A year almost past before there was any ship appeared in this country; at last an English vessel came to anchor there. This I immediately advised the count of, requiring at the same time, that if she were really English, she should not be suffered to land any person whatsoever. The count's answer was, that I should be obeyed: but which I observed to be spoke by him with such coldness, that I could easily discover in him a contrary intention; and which I was the more confirmed in, when I reflected upon the profit he was to make, both by the buyer and the seller. All this while the captain of the ship pretended that he would tarry only three days to take in fresh provisions; which being past, he scarcely shewed the least sign of being gone. While he was yet in the river, I happened to go down to the shore to speak with the Mafucca, or Receiver of the Whites. Being but just entered his house, I saw two Englishmen, who I thought had been no nearer than their usual station; they seeing me, drew in, and I turned my back to go out again: but scarce had I reached the threshhold, before I heard a brace of pistol-bullets whiz by my ear. At this being astonished, I looked about, but saw nobody. Then I fell on my knees, returned thanks to heaven for my escape; and afterwards went in again boldly to make my complaint to the master of the house of the villainy, which I suppose was designed me by these Englishmen; but to my great disappointment he returned me neither a compliment nor a resentment.

The day following the before-mentioned captain came to me, but that rather to affront than to confer with me; demanding of me at first sight, "What I had to do to oppose the English trading in that port?" To which I replied, "That pursuant to an agreement between me and the count, all heretics were to be excluded from dealing in slaves throughout the dominions of Sogno, but as to all other matters of traffick they were at liberty." "What do you mean by heretics?"

quoth he. "Is not our Duke of York a Roman Catholic, and chief of our company, from whom I have a full power to trade, where, and in what merchandize I please?" "Granted," said I; but then I alledged further, "That I was sure it was not the intention of that Duke, that Christians should be bought and sold for slaves, nor that such as he (meaning the captain) should be allowed not only to trade, but likewise to rob and infest the shore wherever they came, in like manner as another English captain had done there last year; who, as soon as he had taken in all his lading, fell to wasting the country, and forced away several of the natives into slavery, and killed many others that he could not get away. This (I told him) I would assuredly acquaint the Duchess of York, my countrywoman,[2] with, that the Duke her husband's reputation might not suffer, and such offenders might be published as they well deserved." To this the captain began to reply with great heat, defending both himself and his countryman, the other captain, thinking to overcome reason with noise; and if some people had not come in to my assistance, I know not what might have come on it. I afterwards sent to let the count know, that I should not open the church-doors till those heretics, that were enemies both to our church and him, were gone. This message soon brought the count to our convent, where, when he entered to speak with me, there came in with him only one man, who had a long knife in his hand drawn about four inches out of the sheath: this knife, as he knelt on the ground, he held with one hand on the haft, and the other on the sheath. For the better understanding of this, you must know that whenever the count comes to speak with us, nobody has leave to enter the room with him but the interpreter: and when an extraordinary case requires another's coming in, he must kneel all the while, in like manner as the interpreter is obliged to do. The count began with me very low, endeavouring to convince me, that, considering the many enemies that surrounded him on all sides, he ought to provide himself of arms and ammunition of war, and which he could best do from the European ships that came to trade in his dominions. This and the like he urged with a great deal of cunning, but at length perceiving by my answers that he gained but little upon me, he began to gather up his countenance, and to move his lips quick in order to thunder out some dreadful menaces against me; but which I timely perceiving, started up upon my feet, and prevented his fury with the following words: "The reason," said I to him resolutely, "of my coming into your dominions, was for the service of God, and the salvation of your souls; and in order to that duty incumbent on me, I cannot dispense with the hazarding even of my life, in withdrawing

[2] Mary of Modena. The Italian marriage had taken place in 1673.

so many poor souls from out of the power of Lucifer," (meaning the slaves to be bought by heretics,) "which nevertheless you seem by your arguments to give wholly up to him. Think then, my lord count," continued I, "on your own case in so palpable an act of disobedience; for as for my part, I shall always endeavour to persist in my duty." Having spoke these words, I immediately offered to go out of the room, but the repenting count catching me fast hold by the arm, and changing his countenance almost from black to yellow, would by no means suffer me so to do, crying out, "Hear my reasons first, Father; hear my reasons before you go." Then clapping himself down upon a bench, he fell into a long discourse, but in which I often interrupting him, he at last flew away in a great passion, muttering and mumbling to himself, "That he was the head of the church in his dominions, and that I without him could do nothing; no, not so much as baptize a child." By these and other such like speeches of his, I could easily perceive that he sided with the English, and I was thoroughly convinced thereof afterwards, when he caused proclamation to be made at three of the clock in the morning, to forbid all his subjects throughout the whole Banza to go any more to our church; but this he nevertheless did without laying any penalty on those that disobeyed him, and consequently his subjects being true servants of God, took no manner of notice of his proceeding, but continued to come to church as before. Notwithstanding their good dispositions, I thought myself obliged to excommunicate the count by fixing a schedule on the church-doors, and which I did by an authority sent me from the bishop of Angola. Hence it followed that our slaves that belonged to the offices of the church, as likewise those that served in the convent, immediately forsook me, and that I suppose by instigation of their prince who had withdrawn them, to cause me the sooner to comply. Whilst I yet continued firm in my resolutions, a Dutch ship appeared in the harbour: soon after her arrival the count's secretary brought her captain, according to custom, to me for my benediction, which nevertheless the English captain had neglected to ask; I gave it him, and by those means extinguished part of the fury instilled into the people's breasts by the magicians and wizard against me; for they had made it their business to make the people believe, that I purposely opposed the aforesaid contracts with the Europeans, that their nation might be unprovided of arms and ammunition when their enemies the Portuguese came against them, and which they likewise affirmed I by secret means encouraged. The anchoring this ship in the harbour occasioned the speedy departure of the other; for in less than thirteen days after she hoisted sail and put to sea, carrying away with her about fourteen or fifteen of the

natives of Sogno, besides near a hundred more which the captain said had been sold him by the pagans (pp. 253-255). . . .[3]

Let us now come to other matters not unlike the foregoing. In the fifth year of my mission another English ship happened to come to an anchor in the river: as soon as I perceived it, I went to the count and said, "Behold, my lord, another English ship appears in the harbour!" and at the same time begged of him not to permit any of the men to land, for fear of the like inconveniences that had before happened: he seemed to comply readily with my desires, and promised that none should; nevertheless self-interest blinding him again, he received the accustomed presents, and suffered them to trade again within his dominions, which we would by no means agree to. The captain came with his commission to our convent, and endeavoured to find me out, but could not. In the mean-time, without any further delay, we published a manifesto, that upon pain of excommunication none should presume to sell any slaves to the English: but as to bartering ivory, ebony, or the like with them, they might freely do it. The captain hereupon could get but five negroes, and those he bought before the manifesto was published. He came a second time to my apartment accompanied by a Dutch captain, and with a great deal of submission said to me, "Father, what reason have I given you to deny me, so much to my disadvantage, a free trade in this port, when I have suffered so many hardships, and undergone so great peril in my voyage hither?" To which I courteously answered, "That I would do any thing that lay in my power to serve any Christian, and him in particular, who appeared to be so very civil, but that in this matter I could do nothing without an order from my superior." I told him further, "That though I was against his trading ashore, as being an Englishman, and consequently a heretic, I could not prevent his doing it by sea, and therefore if he could find any to traffic with him he might freely do it." "That is what I would rather have," replied the captain, "for thereby I may trade custom-free. Now I perceive," continued he, "that these brutes," meaning the Negroes, "have always their hands open to receive presents, but when there is any favour to be returned, they immediately shrug up their shoulders and excuse themselves, pretending the missioners will not let them grant it. But why," added he, "did they not explain themselves at first, that I might have saved my present, and sailed about my business elsewhere? It shall go hard, but I will make them know whom

[3] The author, continuing his account of the controversy, relates the providential assistance which he received from an epidemic of smallpox, which speedily brought the native ruler to his knees. The Dutch traders who made their appearance here about this time were a great trouble to Father Merolla, since they were not content with trading but at the same time subtly instilled heretical doctrines into the simple minds of the natives. The English seem to have given the Capuchins no such difficulty as this.

they have to deal with." Then turning to me, he said, "Well, Father, I cannot but thank you heartily for acquainting me with the truth, and let them restore to me what I gave them, and I will be gone. But first," quoth he, "give me leave to present Your Reverence with a barrel of wheat-flour to make your Hosts of, a small vessel of Aqua-vitae, and something else that may lie within the verge of my capacity." I returned him a thousand thanks for his kind proffers, and told him, that though I had occasion for the wheat-flour I would by no means accept it of him, and afterwards having forced a basket of fruit upon him dismissed him. The count having disposed of the present that was given him, could by no means restore it, and besides durst not for fear of excommunication provide him with the slaves he had promised. This so vexed the captain, that taking along with him two slaves, and a little ivory he had got before, he left his house in the night-time, and went immediately aboard his ship; his landlord soon missing him got up betimes, and went after him for his rent, but the captain having caused three Patereroes[4] to be turned against the Negro's boat, dared him to come near him after the following manner: "Come hither, slave", quoth he, "and I will pay you in a certain coin that you very well deserve." After which, bestowing a great many curses on him, he set sail and departed. The count was again excommunicated for his disobedience, but not by a paper fixed up at the church-doors formally, which he took with much patience. Though a Black, he is an absolute prince, and not unworthy of a crown, though he were in Italy, considering the number of his subjects, and large dominions.

Before the Englishman had weighed anchor to be gone, another Dutch ship came into the river, which my companion Father Benedict dà Belvedere perceiving, immediately opposed the landing of any of her men; his reason was that they were heretics, in like manner as the English, and which he confirmed by the heresies the above-mentioned Dutch captain had not long before spread amongst us. I could not well dissent from this opinion of his, nevertheless for quietness-sake I told him, that since we had so luckily got rid of the English, we must of necessity admit of the Dutch, or the people would be apt to rebel; for not caring to trade with the Portuguese for some reasons best known to themselves, they would have nobody else to utter their commodities to, which would prove no small detriment both to the church and the state. He understood me I don't question, but notwithstanding, took little or no notice of what I said, being transported with too great a zeal for the church's good, which had it not been so excessive, might have succeeded better than it did. (pp. 257-258). . . .

[4] Pedereros, spelled in a multitude of ways, were small guns.

119. Sir Thomas Lynch to the Lords of Trade and Plantations.[1]

Jamaica, Feb. 28, 1684.

. . . On the 3rd instant the *Ruby* returned from Carthagena convoying the Spanish ship *St. Thomas* with three hundred negroes.[2] The city was in great confusion over the loss of the two ships [taken by the pirates] and the Governor was embroiled with Don Nicolas Porcio, the Assiento's Agent General.[3] The disorder was increased by Captain Tennant's misconduct;[4] however, they paid the money which the ship and negroes were hypothecated for, 2800 pieces of eight, and they are now returned hither to buy more negroes. They have brought but 2800 pieces of eight for the purpose, either because they could not get the money, or more probably with the intention of borrowing again, so as to compel me to send convoy to protect them, and bring back the merchants' money. Unfortunately we have no negroes nor hope of negroes this long time. There were two miserable ships of the African Company with two-thirds both of blacks and Christians dead; and about ten days since agent Peirson arrived in an interloper of forty guns. He landed two or three hundred negroes at Barbados, of which I am told that the Spaniards bought a hundred and fifty. I shall order the ship to be seized, and shall do my best always, but I know of no expedient but that which I proposed to Sir Benjamin Bathurst for clearing the coast of Africa and America. Being unwilling to offend the Company, I told the Spaniards that I must not buy of interlopers, and Colonel Molesworth threatened to seize them; but the negroes were landed out of port and will pass to the Spaniards by second hands. Besides having given them liberty I cannot retrench it, and were they kept here four or five months and not suffered to buy what they may, this trade would be ended before it is well begun, whereas it is my wish to continue it, at any rate until I receive your orders. It seems to me probable that if we were supplied with negroes, much of this trade would come to this Island, to the advantage alike of the King, the Company, and the nation.

[119] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 594-598.

[2] That is, the *St. Thomas,* convoyed by the *Ruby,* had transported the negroes to Cartagena.

[3] After the death of Barroso, Porcio undertook to carry out the assiento bargain alone, but, on coming to America, he encountered the opposition of the Dutch, who controlled his source of supply, and of the Spanish governor at Cartagena, who was under the influence of the Dutch (I. A. Wright, "The Coymans Asiento, 1685-1689", *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde,* reeks VI., deel I., aflevering 1-2, pp. 23-62). Lynch's letter here printed, with a number which followed this one, gives some idea of the confusion resulting in the West Indies from the quarreling of the rival factions over the Spanish trade. See also Scelle, I. 641-654.

[4] The nature of Capt. Matthew Tennant's misconduct is made clear in the latter part of the letter.

They tell me there is at Rotterdam, Cadiz, and Seville the house of Quayman [Coymans] Brothers, which, with their Company, are the greatest traders in Europe. Last February they contracted with the King of Spain to import eighteen thousand negroes in seven years, but, being strangers, the Assiento was made in the name of Don Juan Barrera del Rozo,[5] an old man of Cadiz; and it was agreed that his son-in-law, Don Nicolas Porcio, a Venetian, should come into the Indies as Apoderado General. Neither of these two last are concerned except in the name, for the Dutch are obliged for the King's dues, that is, for 1,125,000 pieces of eight in seven years. The negroes are to be imported in licensed Spanish ships that equal ten thousand tons, which, taxed at twelve pieces of eight per ton, gives the sum named. The Quaymans have agreed with the West India Company of Holland at 107 pieces of eight per head ready money, and 120 credit. At the same time when this contract was concluded there was in Spain one Abraham Gill,[6] a mongrel Dutch or Englishman, an agent or servant to Mr. John Bawden. This Gill and one Don Diego Magette, a Dutchman, contracted with Porcio for eighteen hundred negroes, twelve hundred of them at Barbados, and the rest here or in any other Colony. These negroes are to be delivered at sixty pieces of eight when received and fifty-eight when delivered; the buyers running the risk of the fifty-eight, the sellers of the sixty. This seemed to Bawden so bad a contract that he has renounced Gill and revoked the credit that he gave him at Barbados. However, they have come here, without money or credit, and, as I have already reported, have been trusted by our merchants. They have punctually repaid the advances, and are now come back, but with so many broils that it is difficult to adjust them. But Magette is now going to England thence to Rotterdam to procure convoy from the States, and thence to Spain to solicit the establishing of the Assiento in some other name than Porcio's. Gill talks of going to Barbados. I promised to

[5] Don Juan Barroso del Pozo. On points where it can be tested, Lynch's version differs somewhat from the facts. Coymans and Company, an Amsterdam company with a branch at Cadiz under Baltazar Coymans, had supplied Porcio with negroes, but the original contract was made with Barroso, and at this time could hardly have been made with the Dutch house. The papers which follow (nos. 123, 132-149, *post*) tell something of the Spanish difficulties over this contract.

[6] In November, Lynch, persistent in his efforts to foster the Spanish trade, wrote to the Lords of Trade concerning this man: "He had agreed for eighteen hundred negroes from Barbados at one hundred and eighteen pieces of eight per head. Bawden thinking this too little has abandoned his agent, so he endeavours to buy negroes here, and probably may get credit for twenty or thirty thousand pieces of eight, and carry away three or four hundred negroes on the Spanish factor's account. They fear that the Dutch cannot supply sufficient, so would gladly draw all or part of that business hither, where they can enjoy advantages not to be found at Barbadoes or Curaçao. Since the affair of Vera Cruz the governors also incline to this, from their opinion that I love the Spanish nation. But all this means nothing unless we have negroes for them. . . . Possibly interest of state and the profit of the Assientistas may induce them to station an agent here, which is a safe place thanks to the two frigates". Nov. 2, 1683, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 535, 536.

try to get what money the Spaniards owe him, for I conclude that he cannot fulfil his contract.[7]

But I must return from this sub-contract to the Grand Assiento. In order to carry it on Porcio sailed on the 9th August from Cadiz with three ships of the Assiento's, the new Governor of Carthagena, Don Juan Pando, being in one. When they arrived off Curaçoa there boarded them Dr. Baltazar Van Becke and Mynheer Van Bell, factors for the Assiento. They offered Porcio a thousand negroes, but while they were disputing about the terms a gust of wind forced the ship to leeward, and so the factors were carried to Carthagena. Then Porcio fell sick and "deliriated", and when recovered was fantastical, and irresolute and impracticable, which provoked the Governor, a prompt and choleric Biscayer, and gave the Dutch factors opportunity to gain him wholly to themselves. Just as they were on the point of breaking, most fatally the privateers arrived on the coast. The Governor took the *Lapaz* and *St. Francisco,* two great ships intended to fetch negroes, and sent them out, where they were lost. This made Porcio rave indeed, because the great stress of the Assiento's business depended on these ships. To pacify the factors the Governor promised 25,000 pieces of eight out of the King's dues; and judging Porcio incapable of acting (as possibly he is) put in Don Gasper Perez, Porcio's servant, and Francisco de Torregruetto in his place, taking from Porcio all the papers, moneys, etc., belonging to the Assiento, and allowing him six thousand pieces of eight *per annum* on condition that he gave these men power to act in his name,[8] pending arrival of orders from Spain. And these men have written to me to favour the captain and the despatch of the ship *St. Thomas,* asking the liberty to buy negroes that I had promised to Porcio, and promising to comply and correspond faithfully.

All this was transacted in Carthagena, while the *Ruby* rode outside. Porcio contrived to send a servant, St. Jago de Castillo,[9] on board the

[7] Gill's own side of his experiences with the assiento he put forward in a petition of Dec. 10, 1684: "I contracted with one Barrosse and Porcio for 4800 negroes, and had already brought about 900 to Jamaica as [in ?] a Spanish ship, but was forced to pay 2000 *l.* to Sir T. Lynch for license to trade with the Spaniards, and another 700 *l.* for the convoy of H. M. S. *Ruby.* I permitted, however, the Spanish Captain to bring some dry goods, though illegally, from Jamaica to Carthagena, and the ship was seized in Jamaica for trading therein. I was present at the seizure and a witness for the Crown, but was imprisoned by Sir T. Lynch, proclaimed a vagrant and idle fellow, and was forced to leave the Island privately, giving 1000 *l.* security, to give the King an account of these oppressions which are to the disadvantage of all his subjects, and especially of the Royal African Company. I beg that the proclamation may be nullified, and that I may be permitted to sue the executors of Sir T. Lynch for recovery of the money and for damages." *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1681-1685, pp. 748-749.

[8] Miss Wright states that Porcio's power of attorney was given to two Dutchmen, Van Belle and Beque (Beck ?). Wright, "The Coymans Asiento", p. 25, n. 3.

[9] St. James Castillo, later a resident of Jamaica, and agent for successive assientists. During the struggle between opposing factions to gain control of the privilege and the property of the assientists, in Jamaica, he represented the interests of Porcio.

frigate, with a present to Captain Tennant. Tennant received him, and also a present of two thousand pistoles from him and from Don Juan Coleman, an Irish priest; but without counting the money put it into his closet and sent an armed boat on shore from the frigate to fetch Porcio himself. The factors, however, informed the Governor, who put Porcio into irons, and by torturing some of his servants discovered the pistoles, and wrote me the letter enclosed to Mr. Blathwayt, on which I desire your instructions. About the 3rd instant the frigate and the *St. Thomas* arrived here. The two Dutch factors asked leave to careen their sloop and hire another to take them to Curaçoa. I readily granted it and treated them civilly; and they seemed wonderfully obliged and talked of buying plantations, negroes, and what not; but I doubt this was only *aegrotat demon,* for they are of a country where nothing binds but interest. At parting they gave me the Governor's letter that charges St. Jago de Castillo for running away, and Porcio for giving him two thousand pistoles of the Assiento's money. On this I gave an order to Captain Tennant to deliver the money to Colonel Molesworth and Captain Penhallow.[10]

I have been cruelly enraged with Captain Tennant for his behaviour in sending for Porcio, breaking orders, dishonouring and embroiling myself, and not delivering the money. First, he pretended that the sum was somewhat short of 1,600 doubloons, then he would not deliver it without St. Jago's order, then he restored but 1,239 pistoles, pretending that St. Jago had given him 360 for his passage, but at last, after twenty or thirty days' hesitation, he delivered the rest that he says he has received. I subsequently ordered the arrest of Castillo [11] to discover what had become of certain other money, but on the day that Captain Tennant paid the 1,239 pistoles he vanished, some say to Porto Bello, some say to Spain. I am extremely puzzled what to do, for we think Porcio inclined to us, and judge that this servant fled to save himself and serve his master. However, to keep the Governor of Carthagena in good humour, I wrote to him that if the Dutch factors would prosecute him criminally I would appoint judges, and that they should have justice, but they asked only that the money shall be secured, which it shall be until the Governor, the factors, or Porcio make it clear whose money it is. I should be glad of your directions in such cases, for I am no lawyer, though I am sufficient to be aware that I ought to have made an example of Captain Tennant. But I would not, for he promises amendment, and I was unwilling to ruin a young man who is sailor enough. Moreover, I was loth to embroil myself further till I had received your instruc-

[10] Feb. 4, 1684, "Orders from Sir Thomas Lynch to Capt. Matthew Tennant, H. M. S. *Ruby*", *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1681-1685, p. 583.

[11] Feb. 26, 1684, "Order of Sir Thomas Lynch to the Provost Marshall of Jamaica", *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1681-1685, p. 590.

tions; and, besides, I could not send him home prisoner, for no merchant ship would take charge of him, and if one did, what security is there for its expenses? If you and the Admiralty will not judge such a case remitted by affidavits, I beg you to consider how competent a court-martial of captains would be.

As to the negotiations, all I can say is that neither Dutch nor Spaniards come here out of kindness to us, but only from necessity and the convenience of our ports, or from the abundance of our negroes. I do not think it possible to keep any contract with the Spaniards, for their ill conduct will ruin any that trust them. Particular Spaniards may be in their senses, but the Government is out of it; and it is possible these Quaymans may find it so. They are said to have advanced five or six hundred thousand pieces of eight, at various ports in the Main, which is to be returned in galleons that are not yet arrived from Spain. Since Spain and France have broken, the trade of the Indies and the navigation to Curaçoa must be very hazardous, and if Holland takes part in the war I think the French should attack Curaçoa again, otherwise it will have little communication with the great trading ports. Altogether, if we can get negroes it is very likely that, let who will have the Assiento, they will come to us for negroes, but they will not come nor find the least credit unless they have convoys, a matter which I beg you to lay before the King. And pray inform His Majesty that, from the hour the frigates are withdrawn, we are ruined. The *Trompeuse* shows what a pirate can do.[12] The privateers are civil to the traders only for fear of the men-of-war, and, if the men-of-war were taken away, they would enter every port and harbour, carry away our men, and intercept the very boats that carry goods about. So that in two years we should be all negroes, the increase of whom and lessening of the whites gives me great apprehensions. . . .[13]

[12] *La Trompeuse,* a French pirate ship, which, after making trouble for a number of slaving vessels on the Guinea coast, had been harassing traffic in the Caribbean. She was captured and burned by the English in 1683. *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1681-1685, pp. 519-521, and index.

[13] Signed, Thomas Lynch. Inscribed, "Recd. 13 May 1684". On June 20 Lynch wrote to the Lord President of the Council that Gill and a companion, Matthew Meverell, with the connivance of James Bank and Roger Elletson, had attempted to seize the Spaniards. To undo as far as possible the unfortunate effect of this, Lynch had published a proclamation permitting the Spaniards to buy negroes. The Spaniards had not returned at the time Lynch wrote, but he thought that might be because there was no sale for negroes at Cartagena. Lynch however admitted that the Spaniards hated the English and would rather the Dutch had their money (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1681-1685, pp. 656-657). Meverell's version was that the *St. Thomas* was a Dutch-built vessel, whose master and owner were Spanish, trading in defiance of the navigation act. So "vastly prejudicial to the people of Port Royal" was her trade that five and twenty sloops had been "obliged to lay up . . . in consequence". May 9, 1673, *ibid.,* p. 629.

120. Edwyn Stede and Stephen Gascoigne to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbados, 15th March, 1683/4.

Wee now alsoe send the Comp'as first acco'tt of Sales of Negroes per Capt. Clarke in which we spent much time to sell them being a sort of Negroes utterly disliked in this Countrey soe that wee were forced to sell many of them at low rates and for long day of pay and had they not bin well chosen Negroes, well provided for in theire Voyage and brought in as good condition as ever wee saw any Negroes brought to this Island, wee should have had a very hard talk to have sold the Midling sort of those Negroes at any rate.

The 28th Feb'ry last Capt. Thomas Browse arrived here in the *Daniel* alias *Elizabeth* bringing 428 Slaves of 530 taken in at Wheda on the Companyes acco'tt.

It is a most undoubted Truth and by experience wee soe find it that the Liberty the Company are pleased to give their Com'rs to sell theire Freight and Com'on Negroes when and where they please after they are divided and deliv'rd to them is a great hinderance to the Sale of both: both useing all possible endeav'rs to sell theire Negroes as well as they can and the Customers take advantage to beat downe the Markett by holding off till they can by that meanes get better penny worths from either then otherwise they could hope for if all were to be disposed off by one Interest. Nor is it a small Detrim't to the Compa. that by this Liberty the Masters of those Shipps forstall the Companyes Market for when a shipp comes in with Negroes wee are forced to stay 3, 4 or 5 daies from selling that soe wee may give due notice of the time of o'r Sales and invite Customers to come, many of which comeing to Towne goe on board the Shipps to see the Negroes in what condition and to informe themselves what sort of Negroes they are. when finding the Capt. at Liberty to sell his Negroes they buy of him rather then to come downe again to buy in a Crowd by w'ch wee not only loose the benefit of o'r Labor and Cost in Sending upp and downe the Countrey to Invite Customers to o'r day of Sales and soe become advancers of anothers Interest, but thereby alsoe loose the advantage of ready mony Customers and bill of Excha. men and none left us to deale withall but ill pay Masters and such as buy but few Negroes at a time which wee look upon as o'r bounden duty to give the Company an Acco'tt off, and submit it to theire consideracion.

Capt. Browse hath 92m of Gold for acco'tt of the Company and owners but noe Teeth.

[120] [1] T 70: 16.

Wee now send the Compa. 8 first bills of Excha. and three first rec'ts *vizt.*

Rich. Seawell on Tho. Henchman at 40 daies		£530.	00.	00
Jos. Harbin and Chas. Pope on Sam. Clay pay'bl 31st May		212.		
Gerrard Hawtaine on Jno. Easton pay'bl per mo. June		30.		
Jno. Wiltshire on Geo. Greene pay'bl ditto		30.		
Edwd. Parsons on Paul Allestree pay'bl dittto		30.		
Cash For Ja. Brownes rec't for head money on 174 Negroes per *Unity* Capt. Thomas Draper		8.	14.	
Ditto for Jno. Crofts rec't in part of Sallary Factor on Doegood		10.		
		£850.	14.	
Comission thereon at 7 per Ct. is		59.	10.	11
To Geo. Skutts 3 bills of Excha. on Ben. Skutts for 825 *l.* each for Negroes per the *Unity* is	£2475			
To Capt. Hen. Clarkes rec't for 128 Negroes in part of Freight at £15 per head is	1920			
	£4395			
Com. thereon at 1½ per Ct.		65.	18.	6
		£976.	3.	5

For w'ch we pray our Acco'tt may have Creditt

. . .

121. Act to Encourage the Importation of Negroes.[1]

Jamaica, April 2, 1684.

An Act for the encouragment of the Royall African Company of England to Import Negros into his Majesties Island of Jamaica.

Whereas his Majesty hath been pleased by his Letters Patents under the great Seale bearing date the 27th day of September 1672 to grant the Sole Trade to Africa from Sally to Cape buon Esperanza to the Royall African Company, And wheras his Majestys Subjects of this Island have made Complaints to [the Committee] that the said Company have not brought into this Island a sufficient quantity of Negros for the supply thereof, whereby there is a great want of them to the great prejudice of his Majestys Customes and the Inhabitants of this Island; To which the said Royall Company have answered and alleaged for reason of their not Importing into this Island the quantity of Negros required the great number of Interlopers who contrary to his Majestys said letters Patents Doe Trade on the Coast of Africa within the Limits aforesaid and freely bring Negros to this Island which doth disable them the said Company from bringing hither that quantity of Negros they otherwise should; Which

[121] [1] *Acts P. C. C.*, II. 64-66. A preliminary draft of this act was formulated by Nov. 14, 1683, shortly after the repeal of the Order in Council of November, 1680. It was sent to the agents of Jamaica on Jan. 22, 1684. On Feb. 28, the planters and merchants of Jamaica complained to the Lords of Trade that so long as this measure was under discussion they could not hope to receive any negroes from the company (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 544, 570, 579, 598, 601). The company, by no means satisfied with the bill proposed, petitioned for further hearings, and succeeded in reducing the number of negroes it was called upon to supply the first year from 5000 to 3000. C. O. 268: 1, pp. 113-117; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 624, 632, 636.

his Majestys Subjects of this Island taking into Consideration and being willing to give all reasonable encouragement to the said Royall African Company to supply this Island with Negro Slaves, Do enact and Declare, and it is hereby enacted and Declared by the Governor, Councill and Assembly and by the authority of the same that it shall not be the practice of any his Majestys Subjects of this Island to encourage any Interlopers nor deale with them for Negros, but whosoever of his Majestys Subjects residing in this Island shall directly or indirectly by himself or any other or by any Covin or fraudulent way or means buy or Cause to be bought in this Island any Negro or Negros brought by any Interloper or any person or persons whatsoever, but such as are therto impowered or appointed by the said Royall African Company from any of the Parts or Coast of Africa which are within the Limits of their Patent aforesaid shall forfeit and pay for every such Negro so bought the sum of ten pounds currant money of this Island, the one half thereof shalbe to our soveraign Lord the King his Heires and Successors for the publique use of this Island, and the other half to him or them that shall first sue for the same in any publique Court of Record in this Island in which no Essoign, Protection or wager of Law shalbe allowed. And this Act to continue in force for one whole year to comence from four months after the day of the passing the same; and if within the said year the said Royall African Company shall have Imported into this Island five thousand Negros then to continue in force for one year more otherwise to cease and determine at the end of the first year. And if the said Royall African Company shall before the expiration of the second yeare have Imported into this Island the Number of Three thousand Negros, then this Act to be in force for one year longer comencing from the expiration of the second year, otherwise to cease and determine at the end of the second year, The true intent and meaning of this Act being that if the said Royall African Company do not bring in the full number of five thousand Negros before the expiration of one year . . . then this Act to cease and determine at the end of one year [and so for 3000 more in the second year]. But in case the said Royall African Company do continue to bring in the full number of three thousand Negros yearly then this Act to continue and be in force from year to year reckoning from the expiration of the first year untill the end of that year wherin the said Company shall have failed to bring in the full number of three thousand Negros . . . Provided always that in consideration of the uncertainty of timeing the arrivall of Negros there, It shalbe understood that the supernumeraries of any yeare shalbe accounted on to the next year and so from year to year to be continued on as long as this Act shalbe in force.

And whereas this Island being of great extent and having many Bayes and Harbours where Interlopers may land their Negros and Dispose of the same to the Inhabitants of this Island in such manner that it wilbe very difficult for any one to prove that any Negros were bought from Interlopers, wherby the true intent and meaning of this Act may be frustrated, It is hereby further declared . . . that if any new Negros be found in the possession of any of the Inhabitants of this Island, and he or she be sued for the penalty appointed by this Act on such as do buy Negros of Interlopers, and that the said Party in whose possession such new Negro or Negros are found cannot prove they have had the said Negro or Negros in their possession for the space of three months before the comencement of the sute for the penalty, nor prove that the said Negro or Negros were Imported into this Island by Persons therto authorized by the said Royall African Company or there sold by the said Companies Factors, that then it shall be taken for granted, they were Imported by Interlopers, and the Party or Partys in whose possession the said Negro or Negros were found to pay the penalty by this Act Imposed.

122. The Case of the *Richard and Margaret*.[1]

12 No'r 1684.

Briscoe et alii contra navem le *Richard and Margaret* cujus Abrahamus Williams est magister.

Barret. Exton.

Quo die Exton nomine procuratoris ac ut procurator legitimus praefati Abrahami Williams omnibus melioribus et efficatioribus via modo et juris forma necnon ad omnem quemcunque juris effectum dicit allegat et in hiis scriptis in jure proponit articulatim prout sequitur.

1. Imprimis, that the s'd shipp the *R'd and Margarett* whereof Abraham Williams is now M'r was designed upon an Interlopeing voyage to the West Indies and the same was knowne to the s'd Tho: Briscoe and others of the s'd shipps Company Marriners of the s'd shipp and that they knew that there was dang'r in tradeing there the same being contrary to the Charter of the African Company and in case the s'd shipp should be there taken by any shipp or by any port belonging to the s'd Company or where they could procure the same to be seized the same would be confiscated et ponit communem divisionem et de quolibet.

2. Item that the s'd shipp soe tradeing with in the Limitts of the Charter to the s'd Affrican Company the M'r of the s'd shipp died

[122] [1] Admiralty Court, Instance and Prize: Libel Files, file 121, no. 192, pt. 1.

and Tho: Briscoe tooke upon him to be M'r and command'r of the said shipp and there were taken on board sev'all Negroes and other goods and the s'd Tho: Briscoe the then M'r with foure others of the shipps Company did on or about the 2d day of June 1683 take the shipps boate and goe on shoare and left not a sufficient number of the shipps Company on board to look after the s'd shipp and Negros or blacks and never returned to the s'd shipp againe although staid there above a month et ponit de quolibet alio numero nautarum et quolibet alio tempore.

3. Item that it is [not?] customary for a Mast'r of any shippe being in those parts and haveing such a Cargoe to goe on shoare upon any occasion whatsoever and especially when any negroes were on board and that the s'd shipp did stay in expectation of the s'd Briscoe the Mast'r and the other men untill the sixth day of July following to the hazard of the s'd shipp and Ladeing and the s'd Company remaineing on board for want of the Mast'r and the said foure other Marriners and alsoe for want of water were forced to put into Jamaica and the s'd shipp and ladeing was there taken and seized and by the Governor there afterwards confiscated and condemned and declared to be forfeited et ponit ut supra.

4. Item that the s'd shipp being soe seized confiscated and condemned the s'd Richard Walter now owner did buy the s'd shipp of the Governor of Jamaica and really and bona fide pay for the same et ponit ut supra.

5. Item quod praemissa etc.

THO: EXTON.[2]

Briscoe et Rogers contra navem the *Richard and Margarett* ac contra Richardum Walter proprietarium dictae Navis.

BARRETT. EXTON.[3]

Quo die Barrett nomine procuratoris ac ut procurator legitimus dictorum Brisco et Hodges omni meliori modo necnon ad omnem quemcunque juris effectum exinde quovismodo sequi valentem dicit allegat et in hiis scriptis in jure proponit articulatim prout sequitur vizt.

1. Imprimis that the said Thomas Brisco and John Bradley together with Thomas Curtis, Eliathim Tolman, and Samuell Whillett did at Tobago take the long boat and goe on shoare to hire a sloope to carry the Negroes to Barbadoes, to Mr. Richard Walter the own'r and m'r merchant of the sayd shipp, the shipp being fowle and leakey and not being able to gett to Barbadoes, and were cutt of or

[2] Endorsed: "*Richard and Margaret.* Thomas Briscoe et socii contra eandem. Allegatio per Exton data 12 Nov. 1684".

[3] Admiralty Court, Instance and Prize: Libel Files, file 121, no. 194.

taken by the natives at Tobago, Hocque fuit et est verum etc. ponit tamen etc. Et ponit communem divisionem et de quolibet.

2. Item that sixty odd Negroes were sent in a sloope to the said Mr. Walter at Barbadoes and he or his order received them and the last Mr. Master Abraham Williams before the shipp was seized at Jamaica did send the rest of the Negroes and all the gold and other lading to Collonell Freeman and Mr. Kelly to Portomorant [4] for the own'rs use who received the said Negroes and all the gold and other lading for the said Mr. Walter the own'r, hocque fuit et est verum etc. ponit tamen etc. Et ponit ut supra.

3. Item that the said Collonell Freeman and Mr. Kelly or one of them have paid all the rest of the marrin'rs and Seamen left on board the said shipp theire whole wages due to them, hocque fuit et est verum etc. ponit tamen etc. Et ponit ut supra.

4. Item quod praemissa etc.[5]

123. Baltazar Coymans to the King of Spain.[1]

Sire: Don Baltazar Coymans, administrator of the contract relative to negroes, says that having asked permission to clear a vessel, called *El Profeta Daniel,* for the introduction [of negroes], which is anchored in the Bay of Cadiz, the captain of which is Juan Escholt, your Majesty was pleased to order that he should propose [for this

[4] Port Morant is on the southern shore of Jamaica.

[5] Endorsed: "*Richard and Margaret.* Briscoe et Hodges contra eandem. Allegatio per Barret data 2 Nov. 1684".

[123] [1] Archivo General de las Indias, 153-7-7-18A. The selections from the Archives of the Indies were made with the aid of Miss Irene A. Wright; the translation was done by Dr. James A. Robertson and Mrs. Fanny R. Bandelier. The abundance of Spanish papers dealing with the slave trade can be surmised from the fact that the documents here printed are but a small part of those dealing with a single episode in the administration of the contracts by means of which Spain gained her supply of black labor. On July 3, 1684, Franz Schoonenbergh, Dutch envoy extraordinary to the Spanish court, complained to the Council of the Indies concerning the administration of the assiento under Nicolas Porcio. This complaint, undoubtedly made at the instigation of Baltazar Coymans, stated that Porcio's debts were unpaid and that his creditors looked to the Dutch West India Company for their payment. This was seriously injuring the credit of the company. These charges the Council of the Indies was directed by the Spanish king to investigate. After some consideration the council reported that satisfactory terms had been arranged between Porcio and his creditors and that the Dutch were acting in bad faith. Porcio's agents seemed to be amply supplied with money but were encountering the opposition of the Dutch, who were doing all in their power to ruin the assientist, even enlisting in their service the Spanish governor of Cartagena, and spreading about word that Porcio was of unsound mind. The belief of the council was that the erring governor should feel his Majesty's displeasure and that the Dutch should learn that their efforts were of no avail (*ibid.,* 153-7-10). In October, 1684, Coymans presented to the Spanish king a memorial complaining further of Porcio. This he followed in February with a statement of the terms on which he was willing to administer the assiento until Porcio's contract should have expired. He apparently succeeded in convincing the council of the unfitness of Porcio, for an agreement was reached shortly after this by which Porcio was relegated to the position of agent to Coymans (Wright, "The Coymans Asiento", pp. 24-28). The letters which follow relate to the first vessel sent out under the new contract. The first letter here printed is undated but was acted upon in a council meeting of Mar. 13, 1685.

purpose]a vessel manned by a Flemish or Dutch crew, in accordance with the terms of the concession; but on account of the great delay which would result from having vessels come from Holland, owing to the ice which it is said has commenced to form, and since the lading of the abovementioned ship has been completed, and since it is very advisable to advance the introduction [of negroes] in the service of your Majesty, in order that this may have effect:

He entreats your Majesty to be pleased to grant him permission for the aforesaid ship to make one voyage only for the said introduction, the ship being manned by a Flemish and Dutch crew as agreed; that Don Pedro de Oreytia, president of the Casa [de la Contratación] take part in the inspection of this crew; that the aforesaid Juan Escholt be appointed captain of the said vessel with the approval of the said Don Pedro de Oreytia, both of them [Coymans and Oreytia] committing the charge of the ship to him. If this be done in this wise and he be given the proper dispatches for clearing the said ship he [Don Baltazar] will be greatly obliged.[2]

124. Pedro de Oreytia to Francisco de Amolaz.[1]

. . . Two days ago I was given a letter from your lordship in which the council ordains that I am to inspect the tonnage and clear a vessel which Don Baltazar Coymans is sending out, informing me (at the same time) that the contract relating to negroes is in his care. I at once complied with the order and I am told that the vessel will sail on the day after tomorrow and as soon as she is gone I shall inform your lordship about the manner in which the order of the council was executed . . .

Cadiz, March 18, 1685.

125. Pedro de Oreytia to Francisco de Amolaz.[1]

. . . I have gathered very special information concerning the person of Captain Juan Escholt [and I am told] that everybody knows him and considers him as a man of tested courage and very worthy of all confidence, and not only all these opinions are in his favor, but Count de Aguilar also knows him and [knows that] he was anxious to serve his Majesty, and señor Don Francisco Lorenzo de San Millan agrees with all this. I must therefore tell your lordship that he is

[2] This is followed by a minute from the council meeting of Mar. 13, 1685, giving permission to the *Prophet Daniel* to sail after the ship, crew, and captain had been inspected.

[124] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-7-18B. The elaborate introductions and conclusions of these letters are omitted. Endorsed: "Council, March 27, 1685: Let this information be awaited, in order to know when he left and how it was executed."

[125] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-7-18C. The first paragraph of the letter repeats the directions of the council meeting of Mar. 13.

well suited for the purpose. This captain was born in the city of Lubeck, a Hanseatic city in Germany. He was married and took up his citizenship in Amsterdam. He had two brothers who were in his Majesty's service in Flanders, one of whom, called Marcos Escholt, captain of a regiment of Germans, was killed in the defeat at Valenciennes, 1677. The vessel called *El Profeta Daniel* is a frigate of war, built in Hamburg. It has a crew of 160 men, all sailors and soldiers, carries 58 pieces of artillery, 14 stone mortars, and the ammunition corresponding to them.

As I have to leave for Seville at once, señor Don Francisco Lorenzo de San Millan remains in charge of the inspection of the crew and to see to it that everything is carried out as the council ordains and as it is set forth in the contract relating to negroes. I have sent an order to Seville that Don Juan Cruzado de la Cruz, the chief pilot and ship gauger, is to come down here at once to gauge the vessel. The necessary assistance will be given in every way so that this vessel may make its voyage with the speed that is desired, taking all the proper precautions. May God guard your lordship as many years as possible.[2]

CADIZ, March 24, 1685.

126. FRANCISCO LORENZO DE SAN MILLAN TO FRANCISCO DE AMOLAZ.[1]

Dear sir: I place myself at the command of your lordship and I solicit very fervently your grace, entreating your lordship to favor me by granting it to me and to command whatever might be to the service and pleasure of your lordship and this out of my affection and as one of your servants I solicit on this day.

On Thursday, the 6th day of this month, when the strong east wind which blew occurred, and when the ship called *El* [*Profeta*] *Daniel* (which is to take part in the negro trade in the interest of Don Baltazar Coymans, administrator of that contract), could have been made ready to sail, we went to take the measurements of the vessel, for which work I was personally present aboard the vessel. According to the measurements taken in compliance with the regulation for war ships, the vessel is of 509¼ tons burden, and for merchant vessels 424¼ tons. Therefore, advising that the vessel is provided with everything it needs and is ready to proceed immediately on her voyage,

[2] On Mar. 25 Francisco Lorenzo de San Millan wrote to Amolaz that he was executing the orders regarding the clearance of the vessel. Only a small proportion of the letters exchanged over the sailing of the *Prophet Daniel* are here printed, but enough are presented to show the nature of the Spanish supervision of the assiento.

[126] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-7-18E. Endorsed: "Council meeting of April 17, 1685. Received, and that he is to continue with everything he mentions according to the orders given."

I shall now pass on to the inspection and survey of the crew, in the way his Majesty ordains.

I am also looking after the work on the pontoon and the finishing of the careening, of which I am reporting to your lordship as I have also done to the president, Don Pedro de Oreytia, who, for the time being, is in Seville. May God Our Lord guard your lordship the many years I desire and as is needful.

CADIZ, April 8, 1685.

127. PEDRO DE OREYTIA TO FRANCISCO DE AMOLAZ.[1]

Captain Juan Escholt, commander of the vessel called *El Profeta Daniel,* sailed with negroes to Cartagena and Porto Bello by virtue of the orders of the council: and since he carries aboard his vessel the flag of his Majesty, he wishes to obtain letters patent in case he should meet with pirates on the voyage or in one of the ports at which he touches. What I can affirm is that this man is a man of great courage and circumspection and he seems very devoted to the service of his Majesty. Will your lordship please to report [this] to the council, which will then order what it may consider best. May God guard the person of your lordship the many years I desire.[2]

SEVILLE, April 13, 1685.

128. REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE INQUISITION TO THE KING.[1]

Sire: In minutes of December 1 and 24 of the year 1672, on the occasion of the contract of negroes which the Grillos owned on the island of Curaçao, occupied by the Dutch, and other landings made in the port of Cartagena in the Indies by other ships, which put in there under different pretexts, and especially those which say that they belong to some of your Majesty's armed fleets which are called the Guard of the Indies, this council represented to your Majesty the serious peril which might occur if those men were allowed to penetrate inland, on account of the injuries their sects and religious errors

[127] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-7-18F.

[2] Endorsed: "Council held on April 17, 1685. The council having seen and examined this letter about the petition made by Captain Juan Escholt, your excellency having ordered it, agrees that although this matter should be brought before the Assembly of War, your excellency is herewith informed that under no circumstances will the council of its own dictate consent that he is to be given the privilege or grant he requests. Council, April 30th, 1685. He is to be answered to the effect that it has not been considered advisable to grant this petition, the more so after learning what he has written later on about this captain". On Apr. 24, 1685, Oreytia wrote: "The vessel called *El Profeta Daniel,* of which Juan Escholt is captain, and which is about to take part in the traffic in negroes, sailed on Wednesday last, the 18th of this month at sun rise and with favorable winds. With regard to this it will not be necessary to grant him the letters patent he had claimed. My idea in proposing it was to find out whether the man possessed much courage and experience and his willingness to oppose the pirates [he might encounter]." *Ibid.,* 153-7-7-18J.

[128] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-7-19 I.

might arouse among the natives contrary to the purity of our Holy Catholic Faith and your Majesty's service; your Majesty was petitioned [in these minutes] in order to prevent this to be pleased to permit the inquisitors of Cartagena and other tribunals in the Indies to be ordered as a duty to proceed against the English and Dutch in accordance with law and without restriction of any kind, as the tribunal proceeds against your Majesty's subjects and other residents of the Indies.

Your Majesty, in view of this representation and the advice of the Council of the Indies on this matter, with your customary holy zeal was pleased to make the following decision.

I agree with the opinion [of the council] and have ordained that an answer be given to the Council of the Indies in accordance therewith, and I do likewise to the Council of the Inquisition, but vessels that are forced to put into port must be excepted from this rule, because the agreements set forth in the articles of peace must be observed.

Having heard that a few Dutchmen are trying to make a contract for the negro trade in the Indies, and that, in order to carry on the business of trading there, they will try to penetrate inland—from which will arise against our religion those troubles that can be imagined, since those who will accompany the negroes, as aforesaid will be of the Dutch nation, and since the Grillos are permitted to have only one interpreter—the fear of injury may be augmented because of the savageness and weakness of those natives, especially of those inland; and since they find it necessary to stop [for purposes of trade] in many towns very far distant from the tribunal, and no aid can be given promptly because of the great distance, the Bishop Inquisitor General and the council are of the opinion that their first obligation is to entreat your Majesty that, in case any contract is made with the Dutch, you will please to ordain that all necessary orders be provided and issued for the utmost care of the conservation and purity of our Holy Catholic Faith, because one can very justly fear that if the negroes come by way of the Dutch, they may be greatly imbued with doctrines and errors and that if they be allowed to penetrate into the interior they might pervert many of these natives, and that this council should advise the inquisitors to exercise special vigilance. Your Majesty will ordain what seems best to your royal service.

MADRID, April 13, 1685.[2]

[2] Endorsed: "At the meeting of June 7 of the year 1686, I have adopted the resolution which will come before the council." On Apr. 16 his Majesty sent to the Duke of Medina the following decree: "Inasmuch as the Council of the Inquisition has heard that several Dutchmen are trying to make a contract relative to negro trade in the Indies, it represents in the enclosed consultation what was put forward for the greatest protection of the purity of our Holy Faith. Let this be examined in the Council of the Indies, and tell me what the council's opinion is with regard to its contents" (Arch. Ind., 153-7-7-19). It should be remembered that the Council of the Indies had taken, as it believed, adequate precautions to protect the faith of the negroes. On Feb. 10, 1685, it issued the following order: "Let an order be given to Don Baltazar

129. Francisco de San Millan to Francisco de Amolaz.[1]

On the 16 of this month I inspected the vessel called *El Profeta Daniel,* captain Juan Escholt, which is about to sail for the Indies at the expense of Don Baltazar Coymans of the contract and trade of negroes (the administration of which trade he assumed) and with an interpreter I examined the Flemish and Dutch crew with which the vessel is manned, and I listed them all, with their names, personal description, filiation, and nativity. Great care has been taken to prevent the ship from carrying merchandise and to this effect I went down into the hold personally with the officials. I inspected that, the places between decks, and the staterooms, and notified them that the vessel was to sail immediately as soon as the inspection was ended and they were provided with all the necessaries for this voyage. They carried this order into effect on Wednesday the 18th at sunrise, when they set sail and within a short time they were lost sight of. The necessary documents were given to the attorney of Don Baltazar Coymans by virtue of the orders of the Council [of the Indies] and in reference to the said visit of inspection, both the said attorney and the captains agreeing to comply with the obligation not to make more than this one voyage and to return to this port and then to substitute in place of one of the two naval ships which were granted him, another ship which is his own. For the present the above is all I have to report to your lordship, whom I entreat to keep me in your good grace and remember to command me [always]. . . .

Cadiz, April 22, 1685.

130. Order of the King of England in Council.[1]

April 29, 1685.

Whereas his Majesty hath been informed that notwithstanding the severall Injunctions that have been signified from time to time to the Governors of his Majestys Plantations in America for the due observance of the Acts of Trade and Navigation, Yet neverthelesse that

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Coymans through the secretary's office to the effect that on the vessels which are to sail to his factories in Africa to buy negroes, ten discalced Capuchins are to be taken to the colonies. They are to be assigned to the vessels at the expense of the aforesaid Don Baltazar, who shall provide for their support in their respective colonies and also the customary ration and they shall be maintained in the said colonies" (Arch. Ind. 153-7-7-10). A royal decree of Mar. 25, 1685, confirmed this provision.

[129] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-7-18I. Much the same information was contained in a letter of Apr. 16, by the same writer. *Ibid.*, 157-77-7-18G.

[130] [1] *Acts P. C. C.,* II. 81. In response to a petition from the company, James II. issued a proclamation, similar to that of Nov. 30, 1674, against interlopers. In this he spoke of the trade as "of late disturbed by several ill disposed Persons who preferring their private profit before the Publick Good, have . . . in a Clandestine and Disorderly manner, Traded into those Parts". *Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society,* XII. 137-139; *Acts P. C. C.,* II. 80.

forrein vessells have Traded in those Parts, For the prevention wherof it is this day Ordered by his Majesty in Councill, that the Captains of such of his Majestys Shipps as shall be sent into America do seize all vessells belonging to strangers and forreine vessells not made free, which they shall finde trading or attempting to Trade there Contrary to the said Acts in order to their prosecution pursuant to the Lawes in that behalf, with this exception onely, that such Spanish vessells and ships imployed by Spaniards as shall come to Buy Negros at Jamaica or Barbados be permitted so to do, and that the said ships and persons may have free admission and liberty of bringing either money or Goods of the product of the Spanish Dominions in America, and to carry away from the said Places such negros as shall be agreed for provided they do nothing otherwise contrary to the Acts of Navigation and the Lawes Established on those Islands. Wherof Samuel Pepys Esqre. Secretary of the Admiralty is to take notice, and to cause all such Instructions to be given to the said Captaines of Shipps as shall be requisite for the said purpose.[2]

131. Lieutenant Governor Hender Molesworth to William Blathwayt.[1]

Jamaica, May 15, 1685.

Ten days ago arrived Don Baltasar Beck, a Dutch gentleman bred in Spain, bearing the royal cedulas of the King of Spain in favour of Don Baltasar Coymans—to whom the King has committed the sole management of the Assiento—for the introduction of negroes into the Spanish Indies, and for taking of all effects whatsoever out of the hands of Porcio and his Agents.[2] This was done on a suggestion that Porcio was wholly incapable of carrying it on for want of money; but from all that appeared here, the want was not of money, but of negroes. Having communicated his powers to me, he desired me to secure both the person of Porcio's agent and all effects in his hands belonging to the Assiento; to which I answered that this was impossible except by due process of law, that the Island itself was a kind of prison, which he could not leave nor send goods from without authority, and that I could not judge of the validity of his powers until I knew how they had been respected by the King of Spain's

[2] On the same day that this order was issued letters were sent to the governors of the plantations ordering strict observance of the acts of navigation, the letters to Barbados, Leeward Islands, and Jamaica instructing the governors to make an exception in the case of the Spanish trade in negroes (*Acts P. C. C.*, II. 81). In 1687 the Lords of Trade found it necessary to recommend another order, this time against the importation of negroes from Curaçao. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1685-1688, pp. 398, 404.

[131] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1685-1688, p. 44.

[2] See Scelle, *La Traite Négrière*, I. 657-675; Wright, "The Coymans Asiento". The cedula issued Mar. 25, 1685, cancelled all previous grants and directed that legal protection be granted to the Coymans against Porcio. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1685-1688, p. 45.

Ministers in the Indies. He thought this reasonable, not doubting to hear soon of the ratification of his powers in the proper quarter. Meanwhile the two parties kept making demands and protests, etc., complaining each that I was partial to the other, though I did my best to be indifferent. Beck tries to make me believe that he is come, not so much to take away the business, as to establish it on a better foundation, and that he hopes to hear from London of a contract with the Royal African Company, acknowledging (as is true) that the negro-trade could not be driven so advantageously for the Assiento from any port in the Indies as from this. I told him that he would not want encouragement. He then made the following proposal as absolutely essential for the settlement of a trade here, *viz.*, that Coymans should be protected, as he was by the Spanish King's letters in the Spanish Indies, from any suit by Porcio for debts due to him. I answered that I could deny my King's justice to no one, but that I would write him [home?] for instructions, and meanwhile would do what I could to protect him against the creditors of the Assiento. I beg for instructions, and hope that my conduct will be approved. . . .[3]

132. Résumé of the Origin of the Introduction of Slaves into Spanish America.[1]

Résumé of the origin of the introduction of negro slaves into the Indies and the need there is of them in those provinces. From the book entitled *Norte de la Casa de la Contratación de las Indies,* by Don José de Veytia, it appears that a few years after the discovery of the Indies, it was found that the work in the mines and the cultivation of the fields could not be mastered by the Indians, and, in order to help them, it was resolved to bring some slaves over from Europe, such as negroes, but excluding Berbers and mulattoes and, from among the said negroes, those called "Gelofes" [Jolloffs?], who were considered as haughty and rebellious. Among other orders Veytia notes that by a cedula of July 16, 1550, the Casa de la Contratación was ordered not to allow any more negro slaves to go to the Indies from the Levant, for it was understood that some of these were descended from the Moorish race, or else had contact with them, and that it did not seem advisable that people of that sort should be taken to countries where the faith had been so recently planted, even if they were of the negro race of Guinea.

[3] Enclosures which went with this letter were: (1) grant of the assiento by the King of Spain to Don Balthazar Coymans, Madrid, Mar. 25, n. s.; (3) same, dated Mar. 5; (4) similar grant, ordering that Coymans be given legal protection against Porcio, Mar. 25; (5) order revoking all previous rights granted to Barroso and Porcio, Madrid, Mar. 15, 1685, printed. *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1685-1688, p. 45.

[132] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-11, not dated.

It was also decreed that no Spanish-speaking negro [*negro ladino*] was to be taken to the Indies, all negroes who had been for one year in Spain or Portugal being considered as such, for they would cause the loss of the new negroes [*bozales*] by ill advice.

As time went on, and the work in the fields and in the mines increased, a still greater lack of laborers became evident: and, as the appreciation of the negroes increased and a good market was found for them, the number of those brought in continued to grow and at the time permits for this trade were being granted in Spain the price paid per capita was already as high as 30 ducats and a duty of over 20 reals. Those of the purchasers who were unable to pay cash in Seville obligated themselves to pay 40 ducats in the Indies and a duty of 30 reals instead of 20, this being the duty pertaining to the crown of Castile, and with respect to the crown of Portugal, another duty had to be paid there, as well as entrance duty in the Indies.

The duty payable on these licenses continued to grow in such a way that this gave rise to the formation of asientos to transport shiploads of negroes, and the income derived from these asientos was considered so steady that annuities were established which were publicly proclaimed by a crier in the manner of the revenues of the duties on import and export, or of the excise. The first asiento was the one provided by the decree of January 30, 1595, with Pedro Gomez Reynal,[2] for a term of nine years. He was allowed to ship 4250 slaves per annum, it being assumed that about 3500 of these would reach their destination alive and having the characteristics and conditions stipulated in the treaty. Inasmuch as Reynal died before executing his asiento, Juan Rodríguez Cutiño continued at the head of it from 1601 to 1609 under the same terms.

After this these rights were administered at the account of his Majesty till the year 1615, when a new asiento was made with Antonio Rodríguez de Rivas and this asiento lasted until 1622 and within this term 29,574 slaves were shipped.

After the year when the latter contractor died, the administration of this right was placed in charge of the tribunal of the Casa de la Contratación and the kind of contracts made with several people who obligated themselves to barter a certain number of negroes was called *avenças*.

This was followed by another asiento with Manuel Rodríguez Lamego, which ended in the year 1630. After an accounting had been rendered to his Majesty, the latter ordered the tribunal of the aforesaid Casa to adjust the *avenças*, until Don Luís del Alcazar, factor

[2] For a detailed account of all these contracts, see Scelle, *La Traite Négrière*, vol. I., *passim*.

of the Casa, arrived, who had been appointed as administrator. In 1631 an asiento was made with Melchor Gómez and Cristóbal Méndez de Sosa: but after the rebellion of Portugal no other treaty was made and several years went by without an asiento being made, until the year 1662, when one was made. This was under charge of Domingo Grillo and Ambrosio Lomelin, who obligated themselves for seven years to introduce 3000 slaves per year, paying at the rate of 100 pesos per *pieza de Indias*[3] or in all 300,000 pesos. They were to build several vessels, in addition to the rest of the conditions and qualifications expressed in their asiento, which was approved by decree of his Majesty dated July 31, 1662. By another decree, dated September 5, 1668, his Majesty approved the agreement made with regard to the aforesaid transaction of several lawsuits and the provision they promised to make in Flanders over and above the two years granted them to continue the introduction of slaves, as was their obligation. They obtained a continuation of another two. Then they had in all four years, which were to terminate on March 1, 1674, in the course of which they were to complete the number of negroes which they had failed to introduce in the first seven years of the asiento. They were to live up to the agreement and [to a further stipulation] that during the said four years of the continuation they could not introduce negroes anywhere else.

By a decree of December 28, 1674, the Queen Mother, our lady (being at the time ruler of these kingdoms), was pleased to approve the instrument of the asiento made with Antonio García and Don Sebastián de Silice for five years for a payment of 450,000 reals of 8, for the right of introducing 4000 *piezas* of negro slaves into the Indies, with the qualifications and under the condition contained in the instrument of the contract, which was made with regard to it, but this did not become effective for lack of credit.

Later, on account of lack of funds and of credit on the part of the said Antonio García and other partners in the asiento which had been made with him, it was placed in charge of the Consulado of Commerce of the city of Seville, with whom an instrument was drawn up, which was approved by his Majesty in the decree of February 10, 1676, obligating themselves to introduce ten thousand tons which is equal to as many other permits for five years, at 2000 tons, annually, paying 112 pesos and a half per ton, which altogether amounts to 1,125,000 pesos, payable in the Indies in three voyages of the respective galleons, on each one of these voyages paying one-third, and a gift of 100,000 pesos more as a thank offering, in cash, besides advancing 150,000 pesos on account of the first payment, and comply-

[3] For *pieza de India* see the introduction, p. 106n.

ing with all the rest of the qualifications and conditions contained in the aforesaid asiento.

Upon the expiration of the term of five years, a new asiento of negroes was made with Don Nicolas Porcio, by power of attorney from Don Juan Barroso y Pozo, his father-in-law, a resident of Cadiz. In a decree dated January 31, 1682, his Majesty deigned to approve the instrument which had been drawn up in respect of the asiento during the time of the other five years, for the amount of 1,125,000 pesos, payable in the same form as had been agreed to with the said Consulado of Commerce, together with all the other conditions agreed to then, adding several more from the asiento made with Domingo Grillo and Ambrosio Lomelin and others named in this instrument.

Lately an agreement was made with Don Baltazar Coymans, to assume the administration of this asiento for the term fixed with the said Don Nicolas Porcio and upon finishing this term, for another two years at his own account and risk, and with all the qualifications agreed upon with him. He also obligated himself by a separate asiento to furnish 200,000 escudos of his own, 50,000 of which were to be paid at once for the purchasing of four frigates for the royal navy, the remaining 150,000 escudos to be paid in 12 equal monthly payments in the state of Flanders, the first one of these payments to be payable on November 1, 1685.

A copy of each one of the asientos referred to, from the time one was committed to the care of Domingo Grillo, up to the present time, is enclosed with this Résumé and whatever is said about them is what has taken place with regard to the form adopted for the introduction of the said negro slaves and the making of asientos of negroes. As far as the need of negro slaves in the Indies is concerned, there are enclosed two consultas of the council—one of April 28, of the year 1674, in which an account was rendered to the Queen Mother, our lady (who at the time was ruler of these kingdoms), of the news received from the envoy of Portugal, as to whether negroes could be taken from the factories of that kingdom with whom to supply the Indies and how important it was that orders should be sent to the envoy to make arrangements for men to go and barter in the said factories and to attempt to arrange by asiento at Lisbon the duties on the negroes. About this her Majesty deigned to decree the following:

The necessity of availing ourselves immediately of the revenue which this operation might yield, because of the importunities of the present necessities of the monarchy, permits of no delay in the negotiations proposed by the council—especially since it is certain that they can not get along without negroes in the Indies; and it is to be believed that those who are not allowed to enter through us, will be taken in by others. Therefore, on this account, and because the

method of single licenses is not considered a good one, I order the council that it try to make a hard and fast asiento without any delay whatever in regard to the introduction of negroes, and to inform me of what is done in this regard and what is best so that this matter may be concluded with that haste that is fitting, for this is what I have decided on.

The other consulta is dated May 24, 1679, complying with an order by his Majesty, ordering the council to deliberate upon the best course to pursue in case they were to trade with the English, for the negroes whom they were accustomed to buy for the Indies from the Dutch might be had from the English at first hand and at more convenient prices. The council stated its opinion as to what it considered best in the matter and his Majesty was pleased to state the following:

I am informed of and I agree with the opinion [of the council] and with regard to the fact that all nations have negro factories merely to derive profit from their sale, and that there is great need of them here for the Indies, the council will consider whether there might be some way of establishing our own factories.

With regard to the order of his Majesty, that he be informed whether meetings of theologians and jurists have been held to determine whether it is licit to buy them as slaves and make asientos for them and whether there are any authors who have written on this particular question and to mention their names, no record has been found in the offices of the secretary regarding this matter, except the one meeting held lately at the lodging of the president, Don Vicente Gonzaga, which was attended, besides other officials, by Messrs. Don Luis Cerdeño and Don José de Veytia and the Minister Cornejo, but as this meeting is so well known, what was done is not discussed here; moreover the original reports of the meeting are in the hands of his Majesty, who asked for them as soon as the vote had been taken, and a memorandum of them is in possession of the fiscal.

133. Minutes of the Council of the Indies.[1]

Summary of what occurred in connection with the conveniences or inconveniences which might result from the treaty of administration, which was made with Don Baltazar Coymans in regard to the introduction of negro slaves into the Indies. . . .[2]

[133] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-10.

[2] Here follows a review of the negotiations which had been going on, with some details omitted in earlier accounts. On coming to the conclusion that the management of the assiento might well be withdrawn from Porcio's charge, the council sent one of its members secretly to Coymans, apparently to learn upon what terms he would take it. Shortly after this he presented a proposal to introduce negroes amounting to 3000 tons in shipping annually, to pay 200,000 escudos to the Spaniards, 50,000 of which were to be used to pay for frigates to be built in Holland. After some consideration it was agreed that the contract was to be given to him despite the fact that he was of the Dutch nation and therefore a heretic. Since he would take the contract on no other terms two warships manned by Flemish and Dutch were to be sent to the West Indies. An agreement following these terms was drawn up and sent to Coymans.

His Majesty was pleased to say in his royal order of May 4, 1684:

As it is advisable to investigate all that happened with regard to the contract for negroes granted for the Indies, I have resolved to form a committee, consisting of you, Don Vicente Gonzaga, Don Gil Castrejón, Don Antonio Ronquillo, and Don Toribio de Mier, of the Council of Castille, Don Luis Cerdeño and Don José de Veytia of the Council of the Indies, and Father Cornejo of the Order of St. Francis. And I ordain that you are to call a meeting for Sunday, the 6th day of the present month and to take thither all the consultas and documents touching this matter that may be necessary, and that they be examined with special care and that a report be given me immediately of what comes out and your opinion.

The meeting having taken place in accordance with this royal order, a consulta was held on that same sixth day of the month, and the report was made to his Majesty that at the said meeting Don José de Veytia had presented the recommendation made by the Bishop of Sigüenza, confessor of his Majesty, which originated this meeting, the contents of this recommendation being to the effect that the Nuncio of his Holiness had proposed a modification of the contract relative to the asiento of negroes which had been made with a Dutch heretic, because of the inconveniences and risks likely to befall religion in the dominions of the Indies, if this contract were allowed to be carried out as agreed. His Holiness being apprised of the contract, he ordered him [the nuncio] to make the most suitable recommendations in order to prevent [the said risks]. [He said] that he had started to make an investigation and in consequence thereof had spoken about it to his Majesty: but upon finding that his admonitions had no apparent effect, he considered it his duty to repeat the assertion that of all the intellectual and prominent persons with whom he had spoken about this contract, not one spoke well of it, neither as it concerned the state and political situation nor in its connection with the interests of his Majesty, and, what was no less important, in its relation to the safety of matters pertaining to religion. . . .[3]

As for the religious question which seemed to be the principal issue on which his Majesty ordered them to express their opinion, the committee unanimously declared that they had no doubt with regard to this matter, nor could they possibly have any. . . .

First, the intercourse was lawful when there was no danger of perversion; and this could not be feared even remotely, for, although the administration of the contract was entrusted to Dutch persons, this present manager had to reside in these realms [Spain], the business dealings were to be handled by Catholics, and if any Dutch trader

[3] The objections to the contract were carefully considered. The committee then reported to his Majesty that the contract was most favorable to the interests of the king and of the public, that Coymans had already set about fulfilling its terms, and that it would hardly be possible to cancel it.

had to assist tradesmen in their dealings, they were to obtain the advantages of such an one who had never had any business experiences in the Indies. Although many heretics of different sects have gone to the Indies, not one of them has ever tried to introduce his creed there. In case any such should go there, measures had been taken and orders had been given to the officials of the Inquisition, to punish them through their tribunal if they trespassed the permission granted them. The Faith was so firmly rooted in the Indies, and especially at ports where transports with negro slaves had to put in, that it could safely be said that it could not be more assured in the ports of Castile. There were no Indians at these ports nor even at a great distance from them, among whom they might, on account of their ready compliance, introduce their erroneous beliefs; and they cannot go into the interior of the country, because of the prohibitions in the laws of the Indies. As many cautions as possible were taken with regard to the two warships allowed to be manned by Flemish and Dutch crews in order to prevent these men from going ashore and from having any intercourse whatsoever with the Catholics. . . .[4]

Third, [the intercourse was lawful] since it was certain that the Indies could not be maintained without negroes, because the lack of Indians has made it necessary that they be supplemented by making use of these people both for the labor of the estates, and for service in the families, as it is impossible to obtain Spaniards or creoles who are willing to do this kind of work; also the Dutch own the factories whence the negroes are brought. The public reason for maintaining those realms makes the trading lawful, because the Catholic could purchase from the infidel what was distinctly for necessary use, and not only the purchase is lawful, but also the delivery of the goods by the same hand, especially when, notwithstanding the many efforts made, no Spaniard could be found who was willing to take the asiento, inasmuch as the Consulado, which alone could handle the trade and which had done so before, refused it. Wherever the public weal is concerned, intercourse and trading are not only permitted but also the alliance with and use of armed auxiliaries, even of heretics, in defense of those domains proper, in case assistance cannot be obtained in any other way, as has been done in many instances in the past.

Great care has been taken in this contract, not only to safeguard everything concerning religion, but so great stress was laid on this that the Dutchman with whom the matter was arranged was made to take ten Capuchin monks to his factories in order to instruct the negroes in our Holy Faith. He obligated himself to take them, to sup-

[4] Secondly, intercourse is lawful when there is no cause for scandal. In the trade under consideration there could be no such cause, since it granted no greater intercourse than was already permitted in Italy and Spain.

port them, and allow them to preach in public, a stipulation never before included in any asiento, and one which it was believed would not be allowed, as it was totally opposed to their [*i. e.*, the Dutch] religion.

These arguments were so weighty that, since the Nuncio was the one who first raised the question, as stated in the consulta of the Bishop Confessor, Señor Don Luis Cerdeño was ordered to go to inform him [*i. e.*, the Nuncio] of the motives which caused the contract to be executed. Upon receiving this information, the Nuncio replied that he was convinced.

Lastly, a matter that admitted no compromise to the most scrupulous investigation, was that the Council of the Inquisition, which applies itself with so great zeal to keeping our Holy Faith untouched and pure, upon notice of the asiento made with the Grillos, and of the permission for a foreign interpreter which had been granted in this asiento together with the introduction of other Englishmen and Dutchmen, advised his Majesty that it would be proper to issue the fitting warnings lest any spark be introduced prejudicial to the religion, by ordering the inquisitors to proceed against infidel foreigners who raised any disturbance, in the same manner in which they proceeded against Catholics who committed any crime against the Faith. His Majesty was pleased to come to such a resolution. If the Inquisition had found restriction or harm to religion in the contract it would have opposed it. That body took the same action in the consulta which it gave his Majesty on April 13 of that year with regard to this contract, when it represented to his Majesty that if the contract were to be executed, orders should be issued for the exercise of the greatest care in the preservation and purity of our Holy Faith. Since this tribunal is the one to decide all points of religion, its representations attest in every way the decision of the committee. . . .[5]

Until now no reply to this consulta has been received.

By decree of July 5, 1685, his Majesty was pleased to order the Council of the Indies to inform him at once concerning the advantage of the negroes in America and what damage would follow in case they could not be had; whether there had been held any meetings by theologians and jurists to decide whether it was considered lawful to buy them as slaves and form asientos for them; whether there were

[5] The report here reviews the communications which had been received from the Council of the Inquisition. This body had referred at great length to objections which it had made in 1672 against the introduction of negroes by way of Curaçao, and to the provisions that had been made to prevent any religious heresy from gaining entrance to the Spanish-American ports. At the present time, under the projected contract with the Dutch, there was great danger that the negroes might themselves be perverted on the voyage across the ocean, and might carry false doctrines to the natives of the interior. This the Council of the Indies regarded as highly unlikely, since the Dutch were interested only in their profits and would interfere in no way with the faith of their captives. These captives could be landed only at four ports in the new world, in all of which they would find representatives of the Church.

any authors who had written about this particular matter and who they were; and then were to state all other private information, that the council might have on hand or might acquire, with all other documents belonging thereto; all of which they were to place as soon as possible in his royal hands.

Complying with this order, the council made a consulta for his Majesty on August 21 following, stating that its information on this matter consisted of two points.

First. What is the advantage America derives from the fact that negroes are brought there and what are the damages that would follow if they did not have them?

Secondly. Whether any meetings had been held by jurists and theologians to determine whether the traffic in negroes was lawful and to make an asiento for them; and whether there were any writers who discussed this point.

As to the first, the introduction of negroes into America is not only desirable, but absolutely necessary, for reasons expressed in the consultas, several of which dwell more particularly on this matter.

From the absolute need of these slaves, the fatal consequences which would result from not having them were easily deduced, for if they are the ones who cultivate the haciendas, and there is no one else who could do it, because of a lack of Indians, and where Indians were to be found they would not be forced to render personal services, it would follow that if a prohibition were issued to discontinue bringing them, the food needed for the support of the whole kingdom would cease to be produced; the landed properties, the main wealth of which consists chiefly of negro slaves, would be lost, and America would face absolute ruin. This was experienced when the kingdom of Portugal separated itself from the Spanish crown,[6] for since [then] the asientos had lapsed and the bringing of negroes from Cape Verde and the factories owned by the Portuguese in Africa had ceased, and although certain permits were issued, they were not half enough to provide America where great poverty was suffered in consequence. It was then, in order to repair the loss, because the public weal demanded the support of those dominions, that the asiento was made with Domingo Grillo, slaves were provided, and immediately the benefit of their introduction was felt. Everything else connected with this question and deemed useful was considered.

With reference to the second point, as to whether there had been a meeting of theologians and jurists to consider whether it is lawful to purchase negroes as slaves and make asientos of negroes, on the question as to whether this slavery is permitted, there are many authors who discuss it, such as those noted in the above-mentioned

[6] Portugal's freedom from Spain was achieved in 1640.

consulta (who, however, are not named here in order not to lengthen this abstract). The council is therefore of the opinion that there cannot be any doubt as to the necessity of those slaves for the support of the kingdom of the Indies, and as to the importance to the public welfare of continuing and maintaining this procedure without any change; and with regard to the point of conscience, its probability because of the reasons expressed, the authorities cited, and its long-lived and general custom in the kingdoms of Castile, America, and Portugal, without any objection on the part of his Holiness or ecclesiastical state, but rather with the tolerance of all of them. This is what it seemed appropriate to the Council of the Indies to represent to his Majesty. After his Majesty had examined it, he was pleased to decide:

It is well.

134. Instructions to Sir Philip Howard as Governor of Jamaica.[1]

November 25, 1685.

. . . You are to give all due encouragement and Invitation to Merchants and others who shall bring Trade unto Our said Island, or any way contribute to their advantage, And in particular to the Royal African Company of England.

And as We are willing to recommend unto the said Compa. that the said Island may have a constant and sufficient Supply of Merchantable Negroes at moderate Rates in Money or Commoditys, Soe you are to take care that payment bee duly made and within a competent time according to their Agreements.

And whereas Wee are informed that permission is granted from Spain for the Shipping of that Kingdom to come to Our Island of Jamaica to buy Negros, which Trade will probably bee of considerable advantage to Our subjects, and particularly to the Royal African Compa.; Our Will and pleasure is That, for the encouragement of the said Trade, you take especial care that such Shipps or persons as shall come to that Our Island bee civilly treated and receive all fitting encouragement in their design of buying Negroes. Provided they doe nothing contrary to the Act of Navigation or the Laws establisht in that Our Island; and that the said persons may have free admission of bringing in either Money or Goods of the product of any of the said Countrys. And Wee doe strictly require that noe other Duties or Impositions be exacted or demanded for the Blacks and Goods more than the Law doth appoint. And you are Likewise upon the coming or departure of Any Shippe to or from Our said Island to buy or carry away such Negroes, to order them to bee convoyd by Our

[134] [1] C. O. 138: 4, pp. 319-342.

frigates as far as you shall find conduceing to their Security, and encouragement of that Trade.

And it being represented unto us, that the said King of Spain hath granted power to Balthazar Coymans to Trade under a Patent formerly granted to Nicholas Porcio for Importing Negros into the Spanish West Indies, And to take possession of the Estate of the said Porcio for the benefit of his Creditors, And that the said Coymans hath impowred Diego Maget to settle in Our Island of Jamaica in order to continue the Negro Trade with Our subjects in that Island; You are therefore to permit the said Magett to have the free benefit of the Law and to Countenance him and all others concerned in the said Grant from the King of Spain in their proceedings there soe far forth as may consist with the encouragement of the Negro Trade in that island. . . .

SUNDERLAND.[2]

135. INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN THOMAS WOODFINE.[1]

LONDON, the 10th December 1685.

According to our Agreement with you and your owners as obliged by Charter party (to w'ch Wee require yo'r due regard for what is to be performed on yo'r part) Wee have laden aboard your Shipp *Sarah Bonadventura* a Cargoe of Goods Consigned yourself proper for the Trade of Africa, Windward of Cabo Corsoe Importing £1906: 7: 6*d.* wherein yo'r owners are interested. You are therefore to firm bills of lading for what Goods are for our acco'tt or Permission laiden aboard yo'r said Shipp. And with the first good opportunity that God shall send, sett sail and apply as near to Cape Mount on the said Coast as yo'r Shipp can conveniently come where and at all Places of Trade on the Graine,[2] Quaqua and Gold Coasts (except at our Factoryes) before you arrive att Cabo Corso, You are to use yo'r best skill and endeavo'rs to dispose of the said Cargoe for Gold, Elephants Teeth, Mallagetta or what else is vendable in Europe. And when you have disposed of the said Cargoe or such part thereof as you find will sell in the time agreed for yo'r Stay in those parts, then sail to our Factory at Cabo Corsoe Castle and render our Agent Generall and Councill there a true acco'tt of the Disposall of the said Cargoe. You are also to deliver them the severall Goods Wee have Consigned them by yo'r Shipp according to bill of Lading from whome you are to take aboard for our Acco'tts Five hundred and fifty Negroes if they have or can procure them, within the time that you shall agree to stay on that Coast for them (without charging the

[2] Robert Spencer, second Earl of Sunderland, was principal Secretary of State.

[135] [1] T 70: 61, "Instructions to Captains, 1685-17000".

[2] The Grain or Pepper Coast extended from the River Sestos (or Sestro) to Cape Palmas. The Ivory, Quaqua, and Gold coasts were eastward from it.

Company Demorage and when laden stear away for Jamaica and deliver the Negroes to Coll. Hender Molesworth, Mr. Charles Penhallow and Mr. Walter Ruding . . . our Factors there. But to prevent the damage w'ch might accrue to yo'r owners by yo'r long stay on the Coast, if Negroes should be scarce and cannot in fit time and at reasonable tearms be Procured on the Gold Coast Wee have laden a Cargoe of Goods (such as you approved of) proper and fitt (Consigned yo'r Selfe) for the Purchase of the said Number of Five hundred and fifty Negroes on the Coast of Ard[3] w'ch Wee expect and require that you husband the best you can for our advantage, And if our Factors on the said Coast can further yo'r dispatch that you doe by them as directed in Charter party. But in case you have yo'r whole Number of Negroes from the Gold Coast you must then leave the said Cargoe with our said Agent and rest of the Councill, or such part thereof in proportion to the Number of Negroes you receive from thence or the Windward Parts.

Having purchased yo'r said Complement of Negroes or such part of them as you think Convenient for yo'r Shipp to carry Signe bills of lading for them for our Acco'tt and proceed to Jamaica aforesaid and deliver them to our said Factors from whom you are to Receive two third parts of yo'r Freight, in the said Negroes by lott and a Certificate to us for the Remainder.

And if any mortallity should happen among yo'r Negroes in yo'r voyage, Wee require for our Satisfaction that you send or bring home a Certificate under yo'r Mates and Chirurgeons hands testifying the Time of the Death of such as shall happen to dye, for Wee shall allow of none, but what are soe certifyed to be dead. . . .[4]

You are every night to enter what goods that day you sold, and for what, that yo'r Actings may be cleare for our Satisfaction in case of yo'r mortality this voyage (w'ch God forbid) and for that purpose Wee now deliver you a booke signed by our Dep'ty Govern'r.

Wee wish you a good voyage and rest Your loving Friends etc.

BENJA. BATHURST, Sub: Gov'r
JACOB LUCIE Dept'y Gov'r.
JOHN BENCE
WM. HUSSEY
PETER JOYE
FRANCIS HOPEGOOD
ROBT. WILLIAMSON
JOHN MORGAN
ABRA: HILL
WM JUATT
GEORGE BONN
RICHARD CRADOCK
JOHN SHORT

[3] Ardra.

[4] The omitted paragraph closely resembles that in the instructions to Captain Kempthorne, May 4, 1686, beginning, "The Lawes having asserted", no. 136, below.

136. Instructions to Captain Samuel Kempthorne.[1]

London, the 4th May 1686.

You are with the First Opportunity of Wind and Weather that God shall send after receipt hereof, to Sett Sail with your Ship the *Loyall Factors* from the River of Thames, and make the best of your way to the Coast of Angola in Africa, and on Arrivall there, use yo'r utmost endeavours to dispose of the cargoe of Goods, wee have laden aboard your Shipp amounting to £1143: 12 *s*: 0 *d*. for the Purchasing of 300 Lusty and Sound Negroes and Provitions for them, according to Charter party to which wee expect you duely conforme, and with the Surpluse of the said Cargoe,[2] buy what Elephants teeth you can for our Acco'tts. Wee have likewise laden another Cargoe of Goods importing £173:17: for the buying Elephants teeth, wherein you and your Own'rs are conserned as agreed in Charter party.

Having finished your business on the Coast of Angola you are to direct your course to Jamaica where God sending you safe to arrive deliver the Negroes to Hender Molesworth Esq'r, Mr. Charles Penhallow and Mr. Walter Ruding our Factors there who will pay you two thirds of your Freight out of them, and give you Certificates for the remainder.

Wee expect that you bring or send home a certificate under your Mates and Chirurgions hands to testifie the Death of all Negroes that shall happen to dye in the voyage specifying the time of their Death, for wee will not allow of any for dead but what are soe certified.

Herewith you have a booke signed by the Dep'ty Gov'r in which you are daily to enter what Goods you Barter and what you receive for them, Signing the Same every Night for our Satisfaction, in case of your Mortality this voyage, (which God forbid). Give the Company full advises of your proceedings by all Opportunitys.

The Lawes having asserted his Maj'ties right to grant Charters and to punish any Subjects that shall presume contemptuously to violate his Prerogative therein, Wee have by vertue of his Maj'ties Charter given you a Commission to Seize Interlopers, and doe expect and require in Conformity to your Charter Party, that you put the same effectually in execution against all vessells and Persons you shall meet with, and find trading on the Coast contrary to his Maj'ties said Grant according to the Instructions Signed by our Secret'ys. And for your encouragement vigorously to execute the said Commission, the Royal African Company doe hereby engage their Stock to keepe and Save you harmlesse for what you shall act agreeable thereto, and grant you one fourth part of what prizes you shall seize and be condemned. And wee have ordered our Factors in the Plantations to Secure you against

[136] [1] T 70: 61.

[2] Despite the complaints made of the increasing price of negroes on the coast, they were evidently not expected to average £4 per head.

any trouble may happen to you for executing the said Commission. We wish you a good voyage. Yo'r Loving Friends etc.

Benja. Bathurst Sub. Gov'r.	Jeremy Sambrooke
Gab. Roberts. Dep'ty Gov'r.	William Langhorne
Wm. Turner	Wm. Des Bouverie
Hen: Tulse	George Bonn
Jacob Lucie	Fraun Hopegood
John Short	William Juatt
John Morice	Robt. Williamson
John Morgan	Sam'll Stanier
Rich'd Cradock	John North
John Pery	

P: S. If you meete any of these Interlopers that are to Strong for you, soe that you cannot take them, yett you shall doe well to enquire as much as you can who is the Master and from whence the Ship was Sett out and what is her Lading and who are the Owners or Imployers and what is the Name of the Ship and what other perticulers you can learne that may helpe us to a further discovery at their returne, and that no thing be forgott or lost of the discovery you make, lett all be plainely and fairly written in your Journall.

137. Royal African Company: Extracts from the Black Book.[1]

The 16th March 1685[7 ?] [2]

Vide a letter from the factors at Jam'ca Dated the 2d Nov. 1686. On the 16th Ult. arrived the *Sarah Bonadventure* from the Gold Coast and Ardra with 250 very indifferent Neg'rs the remainder of 530 taken aboard. Capt. Tho. Woodfine her former Commander dyed about three daies before they Sailed from Ardra and one Thomas Attwell the Chief Mate Succeeded him as Master who Stopt at Barbados in his passage hither where wee Suspect he landed Some of his choicest Neg'rs but of that wee have yet noe certeine proof. About which Collo Molesworth hath writt to Collo. Steede to make some Enquiry and to advise you of it.

Out of the 250 Neg'rs Imported Attwell Endeavored to conceale 49 which were all hid in the hold and other private places of the shipp. at the first comeing on board but 2 daies after his arrivall he privately conveys 11 ashoare about two howers before day of which wee haveing some information and of the place where they were landed went imediately and seized them and soone after goeing aboard and telling

[137] [1] T 70: 1433, "Black Book of the Royal African Company of England from February 10, 1685, to July 28, 1702".

[2] The date of the entry in the Black Book is Mar. 16, 1685, which is probably a mistake for 1687, since the letter which is entered is dated Nov. 2, 1686.

the Ma'r what wee had done (carryeing with us two waiters which remained on board till after the day of sale) he did confess that he had 38 more in the Shipp which he would willingly have sold privately for Capt. Woodfines Widdow being as he sayes purchased with her husbends Goods but were all then produced unto us.

Notwithstanding Capt. Tho. Woodfine's many Oathes and protestacons both from himself and Shipps Company that he did not privately convey ashoare any Neg'rs last Voyage yet wee have some reason now to believe the persons that he employed haveing since his death confessed that they sold 18 for him to the Spaniards which were the Neg'rs wee formerly advised you in our Letter by him, that wee had in Suspition the Truth of which (notwithstanding the strict Enquiry wee then made) wee could not find out, those very persons that he employed at that time Voweing to us and offering to sweare that the Neg'rs they sold to the Spaniards were sent them out of the Country where they had bin a long time and belonged to severall people who ordered them to be left at theire house to be recruited and well fed before they were sold but wee feare it's too late for us now to recover any Satisfaction for them. Upon our Discovery of those Neg'rs that were privately landed wee demanded of Attwell what Gold belonged to you and the Own'rs but he told us he had none and Shewed us Agent Nurse and the rest of the Comnells [*sic*] receipt for it but being willing to be farther Satisfied what else was on board wee demanded to see what was in the Capt's chest where wee found the severall parcells mentioned in the enclosed paper under Attwells owne hand but wee beleiveing by the severall markes as well as the M's Information that most of it belonged to Agent Nurse and the other Factors at Cape Coast and that they might have had liberty from you to send home what they got in Gold or anything else, forbore the seizeing it but if you approve not of it the said paper will oblige Attwell to be accomptable to you for it.

Wee had almost forgot to advise you that upon Attwells first arriv-all he informed C. P.[3] that he had a Negroe man aboard which was sent him by Agent Nurse but he not being well satisfied in the thing refused him and [he] goes included in the Number wee sold for the Company and for which wee have given rect's.[4]

[3] Charles Penhallow.

[4] The agents were not always as severe as in this ruling. "Capt. Kempthorne had a Negroe man and 2 small boyes which he shewed us and said they were not purchased with your Goods but were given him by the King of Angola in returne of a present he had made him which wee beleiveing would not take any thing for theire Freight considering the care he took in bringing your Goods in soe good condition, but refer him to you to deale by him about it as you think most convenient". Mar. 18, 1687, Jamaica factors to the company, T 70: 1433, p. 13.

138. The Council of the Indies to the King.[1]

Sire: By a decree of October 16 last, handed to the Marques de los Velez, your Majesty is pleased to state:

The Council of the Inquisition having made the enclosed report of a consultation after examining the one made by the Council of the Indies which accompanies it, and after the memorial touching the treaty for the introduction of negroes into those dominions (also enclosed) had been rendered at the same time in behalf of Don Nicolas Porcio, I have determined that in order that this matter might be examined and discussed as its seriousness and importance demand, a committee be called in your lodging, attended by you, namely, Marques de los Velez, Don Juan de Andicano, Don Luis de Salcedo, Don Juan de Tordecillas, of the Council of Castilla, Don Juan Lucas Cortes, Don Lope de Sierra Osorio, Don Francisco Camargo of the Council of the Indies, and Doctor Don Mateo Lozana, curate of the parish church of San Miguel of Madrid, and after having examined all these documents and after due consideration of the clauses therein contained, you advise me on what comes out and your opinion, I ordain that this be executed as stated.

In the execution of this order, the committee of officials above mentioned having been called together for November 29 last and the decree above mentioned having been read, the reports of consultation accompanying it were read. . . .[2]

In a paper from Don Manuel Francisco de Lira, dated November 1, 1686, your Majesty remitted to the Marques de los Velez a consulta of the Council of the Indies of October 25, of that same year (so that it might be examined by this committee), accompanied by a letter from Cardinal Portocarrero in which, by order of the Congregation of Cardinals of Propaganda Fide[3] which he says he has received, he notes the perils which he fears might befall the integrity of the religion, if the trading in negro slaves should be continued in the Indies through the intermediary of the Dutch. The council states that it has nothing to add to this comment and to what it expressed in its report of May 24, 1685, which includes another one

[138] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-7-57. In the margin are written the names of the members of the committee, with the note, "Let the assembly give me its opinion in order that I may try Porcio in justice".

[2] On Apr. 13, 1685, the Council of the Inquisition had formally protested against a contract with the Dutch. To the protest the Council of the Indies had replied that every precaution was being taken to safeguard the faith of the negroes. This response his Majesty sent to the Council of the Inquisition. Not satisfied, the council appealed to the board of censors, and was told by that board that the bargain with the Dutch was neither licit nor honest. The Dutch being "a sagacious people whose principles were malign", the negroes would certainly be corrupted. The Council of the Inquisition therefore insisted that the contract be declared void. In the section here omitted, which describes this interchange, occurs a reference to negotiations with the Dutch West India Company. Miss Wright calls attention to the fact that though this was the first time this company had officially appeared in the dealings with Coymans, nevertheless the Council of the Indies must have known that it was not dealing with Baltazar Coymans alone, but with John Coymans and Company of Amsterdam as well, and that to deal with John Coymans was in effect to deal with the Dutch West India Company and its sponsor the States General. Wright, "The Coymans Asiento", p. 28.

[3] The Congregation of the Propaganda was established by Gregory XV. in 1622, as one of the chief administrative agencies of the Church.

of the sixth of the same month and year, issued by the special committee which your Majesty ordered to meet in the home of Don Vicente Gonzaga . . .[4]

From all these reasons proposed by one or the other of these tribunals, and from the careful consultation held concerning them, this committee, considering how much would be risked in case the perils which are feared so zealously and in so Catholic a manner should occur (which God forbid), and believing that the Council of the Indies bore them in mind when it approved the contract, would not dare to give an opinion which might oppose such authorized statements. Although the greatest safeguards, which seemed at that time sufficient to prevent the perils which it was feared might result from the trade with the infidels, were provided, not without grave sorrow does experience teach the ministers who compose the committee that not even those safeguards nor the very severe penalties provided by the laws of the Indies are sufficient to abolish the trading and commerce of the foreign nations, even without so natural a pretext as the treaty provides, and that, despite the assignment of the four main ports for the trade, since communication of news from one port to the other by means of smaller vessels cannot be controlled, such vessels will introduce all the unregistered negroes they please into the coves and inlets along the coast, and transport them into the interior wherever they can obtain the ends most suitable to them and most damaging to us, availing themselves of the carelessness of the governors, or of their permits, palliated by a necessary or enforced arrival in port [on account of accident at sea], although such transgressions are improbable because of the complicity of the one who ought to punish them or because of having to depose the one who assists them. And since the introduction of Mohammedan slaves into America is forbidden on account of the danger which lies in their intercourse with the Indians, with still greater reason should the intercourse with heretics be watched, who are so well versed in their perverse dogmas and who moreover are so close to their own islands that they attain by inducement the greater increase of their dominions and a numberless following of their erroneous creed. Despite the fact that it was agreed in the treaty that the negroes who were to be introduced should be new ones, brought directly from the African islands where [the Dutch] do their bartering, and while it is to their greatest interest to make as quick a transportation as possible, still they without fail stop with their armed vessels at Curaçao and hold fairs where they exchange the new negroes for rascals trained by their masters and who are

[4] At this meeting the committee met the protests of the Bishop of Sigüenza against the assiento with the contention that negroes were absolutely necessary to the American colonies and that permission to trade with infidel nations was the only means by which they could be obtained.

unhealthy, drunkards, and otherwise full of vices and perhaps already instructed in the precepts of their erroneous teachings. Only a small number of these would suffice to cause the damage which is so justly apprehended. Although one should be persuaded to the contrary, the trade with infidels which is regularly permitted in all Catholic courts (for the faith is so innate among all their inhabitants that suspicion is far removed) and the universal blessing of peace united with so inviolable and absolute a security dispense with the prohibition in those courts, yet it is most religiously observed in the Indies.

Assured by these superior principles the judgment of this assembly is to the effect that your Majesty should be pleased to declare the contract with Don Baltazar Coymans and Company for the introduction of negroes into America null and void for the time of his own obligation as well as while he acts as administrator for the unexpired term of Don Nicolas Porcio's contract, giving the necessary orders to this end, that they be given justice with as little delay as possible, concerning any credits they might hold against the treaty, and that a prompt settlement should be made of all the claims they are able to prove.

The committee does not proceed to advise your Majesty on the second point, namely whether or not Don Nicolas Porcio should be heard before a court of justice, but awaits the resolution your Majesty may deign to issue on this point. A rule should be provided for the measures to be taken with regard to his claim, to the course of the treaty, and to the safety of the assets, in order to settle promptly what may be proven to be due the exchequer and the rest of the creditors. The committee entreats your Majesty to give this matter the earliest and most reserved dispatch in order to obtain the cargo[es] in the ports of the Indies before suspicions are aroused and they succeed in hiding them.

The Licentiate Don Lope de Sierra, although he agrees that, for the motives given, the contract be declared null and void, hands in a separate opinion, which accompanies this decision, so that upon examining it all, your Majesty may ordain what seems best.[5]

MADRID, March 5, 1687.

[5] The minority report which accompanied this statement was a cogent presentation of the arguments against the position taken by the Council of the Inquisition: (1) Its action resulted in part from an episode which had occurred under the Grillo contract, not the present one. (2) The petitioner against the contract was a friend of Porcio and influenced by that friendship rather than by zeal for the Faith. (3) The Dutch were in the slave trade purely for profit. There was far greater profit in the sale of new negroes than in the sale of experienced slaves, therefore there was no danger that they would substitute the latter for the former. (4) At the ports of entry it was not possible for heretic crews to come in contact with native Indians, hence there was no danger that the natives would be corrupted. Therefore, since all the arguments were without foundation, the report of the Council of the Inquisition deserved no consideration. Nevertheless the contract with Coymans should be annulled, not because it was made

139. The Royal African Company to Captain John Low.[1]

London, 20 Sept. 1687.

You having desired to have the carrying the Black boy Charles to his Freinds upon your shipp the *St. George* we consent to it (god sending you wel to returne) we expect that you take account or give us some other good Proofe of his delivery. He being, as we are Informed sonne to the Messuca of Cabenda who is brother to the King of that Country and is in greatest authority under him whereby hee is able to doe us much prejudice or Furtherance in our Trade for which reason is our Desire to please him. He trusted his sonne to Capt. Seys, but what Instruction he had about more then to deliver him to us we know not, Capt. Seys having Been ill ever since he Came over but we understand by other Masters that have since been on that Coast that his father expects him back we have therefore Clothed and sett him out in such Maner as we are advised may be acceptable to his freinds w'ch we recomend to you[r] Managem't soe as may not only be advantagious to your Selfe but allsoe to our futer Trade in that place soe wishing you a good Voyage.[2]

140. Instructions to Captain Robert Barrett.[1]

London 25th October 1687

. . . and when you have disposed of yo'r Cargoe or such part thereof as you shall find will sell in the time agreed for your stay in those parts then saile to our factory at Cabo Corsoe Castle and render our three Cheif Merchants there a true accompt of the disposal of the said Cargoe and deliver them what goods you have remaining of the said Windward Cargoe together with the said Gold, Ellephants teeth etc. and you are to deliver them the severall Goods wee have consigned them by your ship according to the bill of Lading from whome

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with a heretic but because it had been obtained by trickery and fraud on the part of Coymans and had already been made the cover under which he had smuggled a large amount of merchandise into Spanish American ports.

[139] [1] T 70: 61. Instances of the visits of young Africans to England or to countries of Europe are not unusual in this century or the next. Barbot tells of one Emanuel, who was carried to Holland and there set free. He travelled in France and Portugal, then returned to his native land, where he became a governor at Portudal. This negro had been carried from Africa as a slave; but another black of whom Barbot writes was sent by his father from Bissam, on a sort of informal diplomatic mission to Portugal, where his baptism was made a great ceremony. One's faith is slightly shaken in the authenticity of these accounts by the fact that Barbot names both his European visitors Emanuel. Barbot, "Description of Guinea", Churchill, V. 425, 428.

[2] Roberts, subgovernor, and George Bonn (or Boun), deputy governor, signed this, along with Bence, Stanier, Morgan, Niccolls, North, Ashby, Dashwood, Cooke, Short, and Juatt.

[140] [1] T 70: 61. Captain Barrett's vessel was the *Dolphin*. His instructions for his early trading resemble those given to Capt. Thomas Woodfine, Dec. 10, 1685, save in one particular. Captain Barrett was directed to buy on the Windward Coast, before he reached Cape Coast Castle, 20 negroes, who were to be guards to those purchased later.

you are to take a receipt or receipts for the same under their hands and if you have not purchased the full Number of 20 Negroes they will make up that numb'r for which and for the Negroes Provisions you must give them bills of Lading.

Wee have laden another Cargoe of Goods consigned to Mr. Pettey Wyborne and Mr. Henry Stronghill at Whidah for the purchasing of 210 Negroes for the use of the Royall African Company of England which you are to deliver to him or them by such proportions as he or they shall first put the Value in Negroes aboard your Ship and your men and boats are to be assisting in Landing the Goods and Receiving the Goods as hath been accustomed, but if at your arrivall you find them both deceased or gone away then you are to use your utmost endeavours to purchase the Remaining Negroes mentioned in Charter party with the Cargoe of Goods Laden aboard you for that purpose and it must be your care to view well the Negroes that they may be sound and Merchantable between the ages of 15 and 40 and that the Major part be males. It is for your safety that Wee order you in Charter party to take in 20 Gold Coast Negroes for Guardians which you must carefully doe, and Receive the other 210 from Mr. Pettey Wyborne and Mr. Henry Stronghill at Whidah, you are to signe bills of lading at Cabo Corsoe for 20 Negroes you take in there consigned to our Factors, Mr. Henry Carpenter and Mr. Thomas Belchamber [2] our Factors at Nevis.

And at Whedah alsoe signe like bills of Lading for 210 Negroes you take in there consigned as afores'd to Nevis . . . from whome you are to Receive two third parts of your Freight in Negroes by Lott and a Certificate to be for the Remainder: the Compa. not having of Late had any good satisfaction of the purchasing and disposing of our Negroes doe order that all Negroes as they are brought aboard shall be taken Notice off and Numbered by the Master, the Mates, and Boatswaine, Chirurgeon, and Carpenter, or soe many of them as shall be aboard, and dayly entered into the bookes signed by our Sub: Gov'r: or Dep'ty Gov'r: and that the said Officers doe signe the bookes as often as any Negroes come aboard, and that all said Negroes brought aboard be Expressed in bills of Lading to be signed by the Comander and witnessed by some of the said officers before they weigh anchor and one or more bills of lading to be left with our Factors ashoare if there be any, or with the next ship that is to follow to be sent to us. And that the Negroes be mustered within 14 days after setting saile and soe from 14 days to 14 days all the voyage untill their arrivall and that every Muster be entered into the said

[2] Belchamber was in 1679, it will be remembered, supporting interlopers, even to the extent of employing violence in their behalf. See no. 84, *ante,* and Higham, *The Leeward Islands,* pp. 162-163.

booke by the said Officers And if any Mortality shall happen amongst your Negroes in yo'r Voyage wee require for our satisfaction that you send or bring home a Certificate under yo'r Mates and Chirurgeons hands testefying the time of the death of such as shall happen to dye, for Wee shall allow none but what are soe certifyed to be dead.

You are every Night to enter what goods that day are sold and for what that your actings may be clear for our satisfaction in case of your Mortallity this voyage (which God forbid) and to that purpose wee now deliver you a booke signed by our Sub: Gov'r: or Dep'ty: Gov'r:[3]

141. Opinion of the Spanish Fiscal concerning the Assiento.[1]

The fiscal has examined the credentials of the States General and the memorial, both of which the envoy extraordinary of the Prince of Orange has placed in the royal hands of his Majesty, in order that the agreement celebrated with the Coymans and the Company of the West Indies with regard to the contract for negroes may be fulfilled, at the same time referring to specific representations which the envoy will make in regard to the matter. However, as until now the latter has done nothing special as is apparent from these documents, the fiscal can only discuss the point of the representation made by the States General, which is prejudicial to what has been agreed in the contract as well as to the interests of his Majesty therein; for since this contract was made with a private individual who, for its filfillment, pledged his person and his wealth, he obligated himself to render account and settlement to the creditors of the previous contractor, renouncing his personal rights and subjecting himself to the jurisdiction of the council. No report reached here that the contract was being discussed with the Dutch West India Company, or that that company or the States General had any part in this enterprise. It would seem that if attention were paid to these representations as representing the interests of the States General, the contract would be rendered null and void, as this fact would alter its nature and character; for never would it be possible to accuse the contractors, or demand an accounting of them, or force them to settle interests, or punish them for any violation of contract which they or their factors might commit, without being necessarily exposed to the States General's coming to the defense on every such occasion, claiming the same interest and

[3] The usual paragraph relating to interlopers follows.

[141] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-7-61. Don Baltazar Coymans died on Nov. 8, 1686. This deprived the Amsterdam house of Coymans of a representative trusted by the Spaniards and increased the difficulties of administering the assiento. In November, 1687, the Dutch envoy extraordinary had protested in behalf of John Coymans and the Dutch West India Company against Spanish intervention, supporting his protest by a request from the States General that he be given a hearing. Wright, "The Coymans Asiento", pp. 52-53.

occasioning thereby, beside the loss, that, since it would become a state matter in accord with their desire, it would be reduced to the last motive: the judicial *litis pendencia*. The very memorial of the envoy sustains this judgment, when he expressly states that the States General make this representation because it concerns the reciprocal welfare of the royal service of his Majesty and the common interest of both parties and the cultivation of the good understanding which their masters always profess. It is therefore the opinion of the fiscal that if these perils should impress the council the latter should please discuss them with his Majesty so that he, bearing them in mind, may feel able to reply to the States General that, since Coymans has complained that the contractor of negroes owed him a considerable sum of money and that he had other creditors, he therefore petitioned the administration of the contract with the same qualifications and conditions under which the other enjoyed it, binding himself to everything he had agreed to with his person and wealth and to render account with payment and to be subject, both himself and his commissioners, to the penalties incurred by violation, without the West India Company or the States General intervening in this contract, for since these latter cannot be accused in this way under this subjection and agreement, it would not appear just to have them admitted to such intervention; and that to this moment everything agreed upon has been maintained with these individuals, with great amplification, with the sole purpose of maintaining the equilibrium of justice which, in Spain, is kept both with its own subjects and with foreigners; and that the same course will be followed in the future provided Messrs. Coymans, their factors, and administrators comply on their part with what was agreed.[2]

MADRID, November 23, 1687.

142. INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN JOHN WOODFINE.[1]

LONDON the 16th February 1687/8

Wee have thought fitt to Inclose herein our Letter to be delivered to the King [of] Cacongo itt is in answer to a Letter we Received Dated in Molimbo[2] 15th July 1685 written in Portuguez and Signed Micom for the King of Cacongo to acquaint us that by the Death of

[2] On Nov. 29, 1687, the Council of the Indies reviewed the present status of the assiento. On the death of Baltazar Coymans the Amsterdam house of Coymans, with the support of the Dutch West India Company and the States General, had taken over the administration of the contract, appointing John Carcau as a Spanish agent. To this the Council of the Indies objected, since the original bargain had been made with an individual and Spain was not yet ready to admit that the States General had any share in the assiento. Arch. Ind., 153-7-61.

[142] [1] T 70: 61.

[2] Molimbo, south of Loango, in the Congo region, was largely controlled by the Portuguese.

the former King he now was Governor of that Countrey and that he would give Traders all simillar Usuage and Courtesie and not Longer hold up the old Customes w'ch in Truth are very high and advances the Price of Slaves alsoe the Governo'rs: all along the Coast of Angola From all hands we find are faulse and Imposing on all Comanders and itt is there Common Practice that when a Shipp hath aboard the greatest part of her Slaves that instead of a Speedie Dispatch they will hold Slaves to gett a higher price and more Custome then att first agreed for w'ch is very unjust and their unkind usuage makes us much Neglect them. Capt. Browne is the onely Person that tells us of any kin[dn]ess Showne to any of our Comanders w'ch was by the said King of Cacongos Mifuca in Safely Conveying aboard what goods we had ashore when the King of Loando [3] Armie came downe upon them for w'ch Civillity we returned him our Thankes and being the Substance of the Letter writt for him Imports Kindesse. we desire you to put itt upon him what he will doe by abaiting of Customes and the Prices of Slaves to encourage us to send Shipps to his Countrey and pray alsoe Consider his power how farr he is able to keepe his word with us and soe farr as you find may be done to our advantage we pray you to treate with him and take from him such assurance of his fidellitie thereto as he can give and the Like you may favor us with in dealing with the other Governo'rs and where you find itt may be realie a futur service to us wee would have you to present Severall things under mentioned laden on board you for that purpose and Seperate from your Cargoes for Trade and if you cannot meete with Termes that in prospect May Deserve our Present Wee desire you to bring them home to us Wee wish you a good Voyage and rest. GAB. ROBERTS Sub: Governor.[4]

143. FRANS SCHOONENBERGH TO THE MARQUES DE LOS VELEZ: A SUMMARY, 1688.[1]

True and very brief summary of what is happening at the present time in regard to the condition of the contract of negroes; reasons why the administrator of that contract avoids replying to the demands

[3] Loando, sometimes St. Paul de Loando, was south of the Congo, the cetnre of the Angola slave trade. Loango, also on the coast south of the Equator, was north of the Congo.

[4] These instructions were also signed by Thomas Nicolls, Samuell Dashwood, Thomas Heatly, Wm. des Bouverey, John More, Jacob Lucie, Peter Joye, John Cooke, Joseph Woolfe, Wm. Hussey, Edward Colston, Robt. W'mson, Abr'a Hill, and John Verney.

[143] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-11. The summary was sent on July 4, 1688. By this time the Spanish opponents to Coymans had gained control of the administration of the assiento, and his representative Carcau was imprisoned. The protest against the interference of the government in the execution of the contract came from the Dutch envoy rather than from the house of Coymans in Amsterdam or the imprisoned representative of the firm. From the summary one surmises that Porcio had succeeded in enlisting sufficient support to threaten the interest of the Dutch merchants.

of Porcio and others; injuries that his Majesty will receive from the intervention that has been placed; and the way in which this business may be managed from now on.

The administrator of the contract omitted to present himself to contradict the intervention and Porcio's demand:

First: Because in the contract made with Don Baltazar Coymans, his Majesty has agreed and pledged his royal faith and word to supply him in every possible way during all that time that the contract has yet to run. The intervention being determined on without any reason which the administrator might give, broke this agreement and he would become a criminal if he proceeded afterward to contradict the intervention and reply to Porcio's demand.

Second: That were the administrator to make the said reply and contradiction he might fear to injure the administration and Don Baltazar Coymans for whom he serves as administrator, in the interest that he [Coymans] and his property have therein, and in a sum of over 260,000 pesos which the contract and Porcio owe him (of which there is documentary proof), as well as the security for all of Porcio's debts, for all those of consideration that Porcio has under the contract, the said Don Baltazar Coymans made himself liable for by giving him credit; for had he not done so, no person would give him anything for the contract. This security and credit appear in the documents held by Porcio's creditors. These prove that Don Baltazar was the only person interested in the contract through his obligations and credits: and that Porcio would not have sent a single ship to the Indies unless through the intervention of Don Baltazar's aid has always been well known.

Third: The administrator feared also to prejudice himself with the Dutch West India Company with regard to the old and new obligation which it has in the contract and his administration as well as in the obligation of the other persons interested in the company which are still owing, so that the administrator might not have to suffer with such persons through any miscarriage that could not be blamed on him.

Fourth and most important: That the administrator ought not to make said reply and contradiction, for he had been advised not to do it by Don Juan Coymans and Company, to which he must render account, and which has aided the new administration with regard to the old obligations which it holds in the contract; and these subjects have an especial aversion to lawsuits and to avoid them abandon any business whatever, especially those of this kind which cannot continue if there be the least rumor.

The injuries that his Majesty receives from the intervention that has been made and Porcio's appeal, are many: First: all the injuries

which are received by the administration and those interested in the administration, which extend to those whom the administration has represented to his Majesty in a memorial of May 5 this year.

Second: the amount of the duties on shipments of negroes which failed to be introduced because of the said intervention; the distrust that is engendered because of the intervention; and the consequences of the loss it occasions; and that money which his Majesty was to continue to receive in cash has entirely disappeared because of the said intervention.

Third: the loss which must be considered in the long time that must elapse before the contract can regain the direction it had because of the lack of confidence engendered toward it by those persons who might again have to make pledges, and which they find it necessary to secure by mortgage and do so secure them in order to pass them.

The status that can be given to the administration of the contract of negroes under present conditions in order that it may regain its former force and credit, will be considered as follows:

To declare that said administration be placed in care of Don Juan Coymans and Company, he being the brother of Don Baltazar Coymans to whom the administration was granted—and that said Don Juan Coymans appoint a person to exercise it, and that he alone have obligation to render his account at the end of receipts and disbursements; and that it be in his possession, delivering it at the order of his Majesty, with which he shall have complied with his duty. That his Majesty and his officials take charge of the collection of what money may be at that time in the Indies, from the factors and persons who hold it and cause the said factors to render account just as the administration does in Spain, in order that which one is most satisfactory to his Majesty and to the administration might be known.

In this way, Don Juan Coymans and Company, grateful for this confidence, will put forth their best efforts to bring about the constant introduction of negroes with the greatest haste possible, and he only can succeed in doing it.

Besides the above, if necessary, and in order to avoid the senseless scuffle which has increased the disaffection and envy which follow this enterprise, especially that the administrator is a foreigner of this or that rank, assurance will be obtained from the said Don Juan Coymans that the person whom he may appoint for that purpose be a vassal of your Majesty and one approved by him; also that the administrator report beforehand to the council all the factors who should be appointed for the Indies, and these shall not exercise that duty without the approval of the council. This also means that his Majesty will also have information regarding these subjects and will be better

satisfied with them and with their rendering of accounts as has been said, and of the procedure of the administration, etc.[2]

144. John Coymans and Company to Manuel Coloma.[1]

Your Excellency: As your excellency was pleased to favor us by writing to the Marques de los Velez about the reasons we had for trying to obtain the settlement due us, of the 200,000 escudos, which we paid for the asiento pledged by my brother, Don Baltazar Coymans, we acknowledge that the remonstrance made by your excellency, produced the effect, that lately his Majesty deigned to ordain that the petitions formulated by the envoy extraordinary, Don Francisco de Schoonenbergh, were to receive an answer, and the States General have sent to us (to the members of the West India Company as well as to ourselves for the part which concerns us) a copy of the official communication, which the constable of Castile wrote to the said envoy extraordinary containing the resolution adopted by his Majesty. As we are placing this in the hands of your excellency, we shall not expand on its contents but together with it, in a separate report, we hasten to inform your excellency of the reasons which prompt us and which may eliminate those the constable thinks fit to maintain.

It being indisputable that what we claim is due us, and that by right we could adopt the means which we can and must make use of in order to attain the full settlement, therefore we once more hasten to place these reasons before the great understanding of your excellency, hoping that your excellency will be pleased to favor us by seeing that the settlement be not delayed and that we shall not be obliged to obtain and put into execution the means which in any instance would only serve to disturb the cordial understanding existing between his Majesty and their lordships the States [General], since those all powerful ones will concur and protect us as their subjects.

We also bring to the attention of your excellency the fact, that whatever is assumed in the reply and resolution of his Majesty to the effect that it is possible to continue the asiento with the intervention placed on it is quite contrary to what is actually happening, because Don Francisco de Rivas, factor in Panama, and Don Juan Francisco

[2] The Dutch reply to the protests of the Spanish government maintained that there could be no possible objection to the States General taking a hand in the affairs of the assiento, since it was the business of that body to protect the interests of all its subjects. It further contended that the Spanish government had violated the contract with Coymans, which exempted the property of foreigners from seizure and provided for the payments of all debts due to him. The fact that he had died should have made no difference whatever in the conduct of the bargain, as the original instrument provided for the continuance of the business under a successor in case of his death. The interference of the Spaniards had disrupted the administration of the assiento and had left the Dutch with no alternative but to obtain what was their due by any means in their power. Arch. Ind., 153-7-8-47C.

[144] [1] Arch Ind., 153-7-8-47B. Coloma was Spanish minister at the Hague.

Massis, factor of the asiento in Cartagena, have written us that it is impossible to continue the course of the asiento with the intervention by officials who mingle their own private interests [with it] and embarrass everything. Therefore, despite the fact that at the present time there are five or six thousand *piezas* [*de Indias*] negro slaves on the island of Curaçao and that Don Juan Carcau, general manager of the asiento, is in those seas with two warships, the *Rey Baltasar* and the *Santiago de la Victoria,* and the frigate *Santa Rosa,* which left Cadiz bound for America with the register of the Casa de Contratación y Comercio de las Indias and which might be used for the transportation of the aforesaid negro slaves to ports of the Indies, we can assure your excellency that all this has been embarrassed on account of the intervention placed on the asiento. Hence the company finds itself with the pledge contracted and with five or six thousand negroes on the island of Curaçao, Don Juan Carcau facing the considerable expenditure for two warships of 50 cannons and 120 men each and a frigate of 20 cannons, not counting the salaries of the factors, whom he is obliged to keep at all the factories, while we are unable to collect what pertains to us for the expenditures we have made, inasmuch as the asiento is deprived of its resources by stopping its operations, and the resources in the Indies, as well as in Cadiz, are embarrassed because of the intervention. The one to lose most is the royal treasury of his Majesty for there is no doubt but that the negro slaves referred to would have been introduced and the royal treasury would have collected 500,000 pesos in tonnage dues: but now everything is exposed to a total loss, and moreover, in one way or the other, means will not be wanting to introduce the negroes into the Indies, without paying duties. Your excellency, with absolute truth, may report that all this is just as we say and that the people in Spain should disabuse themselves [of delusion], and that as long as the intervention is not lifted no further step will be taken to carry on the enterprise and that we shall be forced to take action by claiming the settlement which by right is ours, and that the one to lose most will be the royal treasury.

Your excellency is pleased to favor us and it is for that reason that we are going into details in informing you with all our characteristic frankness and zeal, which we have shown to good purpose on the occasion of the settlement of the 200,000 escudos. We trust that your excellency may be pleased to intercede in order that a settlement may be made with us and, if your excellency so ordains, we shall await a reply and in the meantime we remain, with all resignation, subject to the obedience of your excellency's orders, praying that God may protect the most excellent person of your excellency many and most happy years.

AMSTERDAM, November 30, 1688.

145. John Coymans to Manuel de Belmonte.[1]

Dear sir: As your lordship will have understood from the burgomaster-president what steps were taken in order to obtain the settlement of our part in the contract of negro slaves, and that everything will be suspended until we know what the good offices may produce which Don Manuel Coloma has offered to use [in our behalf], I have nothing to add to this, except to place in the hands of your honor a copy of the letter I wrote to the aforementioned envoy extraordinary, and also a copy of the summaries which will serve to dispel the arguments contained in the royal resolution handed to his excellency, the envoy extraordinary Don Francisco Schoonenbergh. And since his excellency, the Marques de los Velez has been pleased to write to your lordship in his letter dated November 4, to the effect that his excellency is pleased to help our cause and [to say] that he will contribute to expediting it as soon as possible in such a way that we may obtain satisfaction, we entreat your lordship to put us at the feet of his excellency, assuring him of our submission to whatever may be to his greatest service, and that we implore his excellency to be pleased to give the last stroke to this business, as its course is interrupted and there is no possibility of a continuation unless the intervention be lifted. We should be exceedingly sorry to be obliged to avail ourselves of means which might disturb the amicable intercourse and understanding now existing between his Majesty and the States General, and therefore we expect from the magnanimity of his excellency a favorable resolution without any further delay and beg to remain at the service and command of your lordship. At this your house, December 6, 1688.

146. Manuel de Belmonte to the Marques de los Velez.[1]

Your Excellency,

Sir: The twelve magistrates of this city of Amsterdam have sent me word by the burgomaster-president, stating, that they are obliged to protect the interests of Don Juan Coymans and Company and that they would very greatly regret, if the settlement which they consider is fully due them, were delayed, because in such case they would be under the unavoidable necessity of providing the means that might contribute to its attainment [*torn*].

Your excellency, so that this settlement may not be delayed, I have taken the liberty of assuring them full payment, as your excellency has ordered me to do and Don Juan Coymans has written me the enclosed note, accompanying the papers that were sent with it. I am placing them all in the hands of your excellency, trusting that your

[145] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-8-47A. Belmonte was Spanish resident in Amsterdam.
[146] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-8-47.

excellency may be pleased to order that I be advised as to what I shall answer to the letters of the magistrate. . . .

AMSTERDAM, December 6, 1688.

147. ADDRESS OF THE COUNCIL AND ASSEMBLY OF JAMAICA TO THE KING AND QUEEN.[1]

July 26, 1689.

We think it our duty to make known to you the state of this Island by the late Governors [2] and the usage of the factors of the Royal African Company towards the planters. Though some thousands of negroes have been imported by the Company into this Island, pursuant to the instructions of King Charles, within the past six years, yet few of these have fallen to the planters' share; the factors, of whom Colonel Molesworth was one, grasping all into their own hand by countenancing none but their own creatures. Before the Assiento was settled here the royal frigates were employed in convoying shiploads of the choicest negroes to the Spaniards. After it was settled, the negroes were picked to suit the Spaniards, the factors and their particular friends still reaping all the benefit, the Dutch factors for the Assiento allowing these gentlemen 35 per cent.; and now it is feared that the Dutch have quite taken the whole trade from us. Lists were published of the sharers in the 35 per cent., as though it were a public concern, but most of them were favorites or servants of the factors, and the most eminent merchants get but small sums. Thus foreigners get the best of the negroes, and we only the refuse at £22 a head.

Again, when planters have gone on board to buy negroes, their ready money has been refused because it was not pieces-of-eight. The factors have received several thousand pounds for interest, and sometimes the interest has exceeded the principal. When planters have agreed with masters of ships for their freight and commission, the factors have threatened not to load sugar on their ships and have forced them to forego the bargain. An act provides that two planters shall always be joined to two merchants for the equal lotting of the negroes, but they have always appointed their own creatures to this time. The Duke of Albemarle demanded from the factors of the African Company a list of the debts due from the planters, that it might be seen whether the Island was indebted for such vast sums as the Company represented. Colonel Molesworth promised a perfect list in a few days, and on a second demand Captain Ruding also promised the same. His Grace reminded him of the promise but was

[147] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1689-1692, pp. 106-107.

[2] At the close of Sir Thomas Lynch's administration in 1684 the lieutenant governor, Hender Molesworth, acted as governor until the arrival of Albemarle in 1687. His short service (1687-1688) was followed by that of Sir Francis Watson, lieutenant governor and a Jamaica planter.

answered that the list could not be furnished without the Company's orders. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that it is not the planters but the factors' favorites who are the debtors. Heretofore the Company's factors used to ship home their debts in produce of the Island, but now that the factors have fallen into a private way of trade this is no longer done. In one parish it is well known that not £2000 is due to the Company, yet it can easily be shewn that £4000 has been lost by buying refuse negroes of Jews and beggarly sub-brokers, who buy sick negroes at £8 or £10 a head; so that scarce a third of the negroes bought by the planters from the Company are now alive. It is now near nine months since the Duke's happy arrival, and we have had but one small ship from the African Company, and we know not when to expect another. In St. Jago del Castillo's answer to Don Nicholas Porcio in the Court of Chancery here it will be seen that sundry sums were paid in 1684-1685 to the Governor, Captains of frigates, and the factors of the Company. Sir Thomas Lynch in fact voided King Charles's grant that negroes should be delivered to us at £17 a head; and thus it is that several planters have been ruined and forced to leave the Island. We beg therefore a repetition of King Charles's order that we may be provided with good negroes at reasonable rates. We would ask you to consider the difference to trade and the customs if all the negroes that died on the planters' hands in the past six years had lived and worked. At a moderate computation a full third of the net proceeds of our produce passes into the Royal Exchequer.[3]

148. Accounts of the *Arminian Merchant*, 1689-1691.[1]

London the 11 December 1689.

Invoice of goods Laden aboard the "Arminian Merch't" Capt. John Hosea Command'r for accompt of the Royall African Company of England Bound for Cabo Corso Castle and other places for the purchasing Negroes att s'd Place or to Leeward thereof And consigned unto the s'd Capt. John Hosea att all Places to windward of the River Volta and to Leeward of s'd River to Capt. Percy Wyborne or to the s'd John Hosea according to the s'd companies instructions vizt.

		£	s.	d.
Cowries, 46 Barrells [details given amounting to]				
97 cwt. 1 qr. 16 lb. att £4. 10. 6		440.	14.	
Brass basons, 1 cask, 173 basons, 2 att £7		14.		
Callawapoose, 1 case, 50 pcs., att 16 *s.*		40.		
Chintz, 2 cases, 200 [pieces] Kaddy Chintz, att 5 *s.* 6*d.*		53.	6.	8
Longcloath, 2 bales, 1 case, 70 white Longclo. att 30 *s.*	£105.			
2000 Rangoes att 24 *s.* per ct.	£ 24. 0. 0			
234 Ozs. Corrals att 3*s.* 2*d.*	£ 37. 1. 0			
		166.	1.	

[3] At the foot: "Oath of Ralph Knight that he was present when the address was voted, and was commissioned to bear it. Sworn 12 July 1689. Signed Ralph Knight."

[148] [1] T 70: 916, p. 40, "Invoice Book Outwards of the Royal African Co., No. 11, From Feb. 13, 1688/9 to Dec. 15, 1692".

[*Accounts*—continued:]

			£	*s.*	*d.*
Brought forward			714.	1.	8
Trunks, 20 Nets, att 16 *s.*			16.	0.	0
Perpetuanoes, 1 bale, 25 pcs. at 23 *s.* 3 *d.*			29.	1.	3
Sayes, 1 case, qt. [quantity] 20 pieces, att 39 *s.* 6 *d.*			39.	10.	0
Brandy, 1 hhd.			11.	15.	
Iron Barrs, 126 cwt. 25, att 13 *s.* 6*d.*			85.	4.	1
			895.	12.	0
On the amount of the aforegoing goods in this cargo 1½ per cent in consideration of Extraordinary charges			13.	8.	8
For customs and all other charges			16.	5.	5
			925.	6.	1
Provisions for the Negroes					
2 hhds. qt. 128 gall's Eng. spirritts:	18.	7. 0			
5 puncheons Bisquett qt. 14. 3. 3	7.	7. 9			
7 hhd. qt. 36. 3. 21 Beefe 3 barrill	55.	10. 0			
1 puncheon qt. 3 Tobacco	16.	16. 0			
1 hhd. qt. 20 gross Tobaccoe pipes	1.	0. 0			
2 hhds. Beans ca 25 *s.*	2.	10. 0			
2 hhds. qt. 18 bush'l salt	2.	5. 0			
38 quarters Beanes	45.	10. 0			
For charges of shipping	12.	0. 0	161.	5.	9
			£1086.	11.	10

LONDON the 26 June 1691.[2]

Acco't Sales of Negroes by the "Arminian Merch't" Capt. John Hosea Command'r for acco't of the Royall African Company of England.

	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	£	*s.*	*d.*
Sold Joseph Holdersby to pay in Aprill	1		1		40	0	0
" Eliza Ramsay " " " 3 months		1			18	—	—
" John Phillips " " " ready money	2				45	—	—
" John Newsam " " " 6 months	1				26	—	—
" William Dotten bills of the shipp	13		1		333	—	—
" Jonathan Walke to pay 15% money rest in 6 ms.	2	2	1		82	—	—
" Edmond Scrope " " in 3 months	3	2	1	1	130		
" Joseph Kirle " " ready money	2	1			40	—	—
" Nicholas Handmary to pay ready money	1	1			35	—	—
" Phillip Scott " " in 6 ms	2				46		
. . .							
[Total][3]	172	99	12	8	5138[4]	10	
Delivered to Capt. his Comision Negroes	9	6	1				
Ditto on acco't of freight according to charter party	71	44	6	3			
	252	149	19	11			

[2] T 70: 945, "Invoice book homewards, From March 23, 1690—Sept. 6, 1692".

[3] There precedes this total a list of 90 similar purchases, no purchase being of more than 12 slaves, several of only one.

[4] Apparently intended as the equivalent in Barbadian currency of the items shown above, in sterling.

[*Accounts*—continued:]

	£	s.	d.
Charges on sd Negroes *vizt.*			
To Cash paid for mustering the Negroes, bringing the Gold a Shore and afterwards Deviding the Negroes		12.	6
paid for 4400 qtl. Potatoes at 7/6 per cent.	16.	10.	0
paid for Lymes		19.	7½
paid for 100 last Fish		17.	6
paid for Plantines		5.	0
pd. for Boate Hire to carry on board the Potatoes att severall Times		17.	6
pd. for provision with wine brandy and sugar att Sale	19.	17.	0
pd. for Seven days boate hire aboard and ashore att Sale	1.	15.	0
	41.	14.	1½
Commission money att 7 per cent	2.	16.	10½
	44.	11.	0
To accot. of the Royall African Comp'y of England for the nett proceeds carried thither without our projudices five thousand Ninty three pounds nineteen shillings curant money of Barbad.	5093.	19.	0

Memorand. the four negroes was found aboard vizt. two boys and 2 girles which was owned by the Master and Mates.

The usuall Affidavitt.

Barbados 27th Feb. 1690.

149. Marques de los Velez to the King of Spain.[1]

Madrid, May 12 (?), 1690.

Sire: By a decree of your Majesty of the 20th of last March, addressed to me, the Marques de los Velez, your Majesty is pleased to state:

I refer to you the three letters of Don Manuel Coloma and two memorials by the Envoy Schoonenbergh, which are herewith enclosed, all of them concerning the asiento of negroes made with the firm of Coymans, in order that you may examine them and after obtaining the opinion of such members of the committee appointed to consider the matter as seems desirable to you, you may at once, without loss of time, enter into conference with Schoonenbergh and discuss with him the means of adjustment most suited to my service, in order to avoid complaints by the Dutch and to the greatest satisfaction of the interested parties. You shall consult with me on the conclusions you may have reached, in order that I may take the proper action.

In obedience to what your Majesty was pleased to order me, I convoked a meeting of the members of the committee which your Majesty has assigned in matters touching the asiento of negroes, as it seemed to me that after conferring with them and having their

[149] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-7-9, "Private session about the treaty of negroes. Report to his Majesty." On Apr. 4, 1689, the committee into whose hands affairs pertaining to the assiento had passed reported that Porcio's claims, not those of Coymans, were to be maintained. The West India Company thereupon opened a market for negroes in Curaçao. A renewal of Coyman's request for the 200,000 escudos advanced by him to his brother caused the re-examination here printed.

opinions, I could with greater assurance, inform your Majesty what was discussed in this matter.

At this meeting the decree above referred to and the documents accompanying it were examined, the originals being returned into the keeping of your Majesty. These documents consist of three representations made by the Envoy Schoonenbergh through the Constable of Castile, minister of state, who was assigned to hear this envoy, the first of these petitions dated November 9, 1689, accompanying a letter of the States General of Holland to his Majesty, written at the Hague on September 21 of the same year. The second one was dated January 9 of the present year, and the third and last was dated March 12 last, and enclosed a second letter from the States General, dated January 21 of this year.

The two letters by the States General and the representations presented by their envoy extraordinary, aim solely to present a claim for damages suffered by the West India Company and the firm of Coymans, from the intervention imposed on the administration of the asiento of negroes which was under the management of Baltazar Coymans, for the account and risk of Nicolas Porcio, principal contractor as well as creditor (which he was supposed to be) of large amounts supplied for operation of the asiento. They state that not only were these amounts left unsettled, but they had increased through losses and deaths which had occurred among a large number of slaves they brought to the island of Curaçao, to be sent from there to the Indies, a thing they had not dared to do on account of the remarkable occurrence of the intervention. This damage involved them in new and bigger claims both against the exchequer and against the asiento itself when they least expected it, the royal word of your Majesty having been pledged for the safety of the operation of their administration. They conclude by asking for a settlement of the amounts to their credit (which they supposed to be very much increased), transgressing so far as to give to understand that if this were not granted them they would find the means to take it.

At the same time three letters, written by Don Manuel Coloma, his Majesty's minister to the Hague, were read, dated respectively, January 3 and 17 and February 14 of the present year. The contents of the first two letters confine themselves to referring to the continued demands made on him by the firm of Coymans and by the Dutch West India Company with regard to the credits they claimed to hold against the asiento, and to the declaration made by him both of the justifiable motives which preceded the installation of the intervention and the rehabilitating of Porcio and of your Majesty's just displeasure because of the lack of moderation in the representations made through the envoy extraordinary at this court about the inter-

ests referred to, a settlement of which had been attempted, giving him to understand that orders had been issued to the pensionary-general to write a strong rebuke to that minister, which, it was assured had been done.

The last letter of Don Manuel notes that at a meeting which he had with those States on February 4 of this year, the president of the meeting had declared to him that the West India Company had stated to them and shown clearly its interest in the asiento of negroes of Nicolas Porcio, to whom the firm of Coymans doing business at Amsterdam had advanced large sums (as did the company as well); that he must support their rights and ask the States to do the same with your Majesty; and that they requested him [Don Manuel] to interpose his good offices so that your Majesty might show them justice and settle with them. To this he [Don Manuel] replied that the States had been poorly informed about the fact, as the West India Company desired to have a share in the asiento of negroes, which it could not have directly or indirectly, and no less with regard to the rights of the Coymans. If the latter were legitimate creditors of Porcio and would appear at the right time and in the proper manner, they would be heard and justice would be administered to them in accordance with the customary rectitude of your Majesty's courts. He had informed the States General of what was taking place, and since later the matter had again been broached to him, he would make it evident by the summary of the lawsuit which was discussed in the special committee appointed by your Majesty to consider this asiento and the claims of Coymans, who was interested with Porcio as a private individual. Having put aside his legal right and submitted to that of your Majesty's magistrates, from which he could make no objection, for apparently his rebellious spirit was put on for the purpose of disquieting that company by interposing himself with the States; and although because of that he was legitimately debarred from being heard in justice, still your Majesty's merciful graciousness would extend mercy to him so that he might be heard in accordance with the justice which existed for the parties to a suit. He advised that on that very day he had delivered over all the papers and the declaration which he had made relative to this matter. He entreated your Majesty to favor him and order what should be done.

In view of the abovementioned representations and letters from the States General and their envoy extraordinary to this court and the contents of the information reported by Don Manuel Coloma, the committee reports to the lofty understanding of your Majesty that the complaints propounded are without justification although upheld by superficial reasons which aim to give body to a fantasy. For, if the credits they claim to hold against the asiento are certain, they ought

to offer them as a lawful plea to this committee which your Majesty was pleased to appoint for their determination. With regard to the credit against Nicolas Porcio who (touching what he has proven in the committee) has just as great claims and rights against Coymans who managed the asiento for four years at his own account and risk, taking for his own use whatever it produced. This liquidation of credits should be continued in the usual way within legal terms without their trying to become plaintiffs instead of defendants, or judges instead of litigants, threatening that they will take justice into their own hands. The committee leaves the decision on this immoderate representation to the sober deliberation of the Council of State, whom it chiefly concerns; and only goes on to execute what your Majesty orders it to make manifest. According to the contents of the last letter of Don Manuel Coloma the two letters of the States General enclosed in the report of the meeting which Don Manuel had with them are earlier, and earlier than the presentation of the abstract of what took place with regard to this matter and the defense offered therein. After these dispatches, apparently no positive reply was given by the said States, from which one must morally infer that having recognized the equity of what had been done, they calmed down, and, should this not be the case, it is to be hoped that they will give that answer after their investigation. It is the opinion of the committee that your Majesty ought to order that Don Manuel Coloma on his part should insist on an answer, giving them to understand repeatedly that in your Majesty's great equity and graciousness and through the equity with which your tribunals proceed the subjects of those States may be certain of receiving fair judgment without a difference being made in favor of the natives of these realms, provided they justify their interests by regular means. That through the constable an answer is to be given to the envoy extraordinary Schoonenbergh, stating that your Majesty is awaiting a positive answer from the States General to the proposition made to them through his minister by the committee of February 4 last in which he concurred and the abstract and other documents which he showed them relative to the moderate procedure on the part of your Majesty's officials with regard to this matter, believing that if they are convinced of the truth, they should induce their subjects to pursue the method of petitioning justice for that which by right belongs to them, as has been so often declared to them by your Majesty, who will look after their interests with that consideration that will maintain the most sincere relations with them.

In order to curtail somewhat the ardent zeal of this envoy the committee considers it best not to execute this business with him until the mail for the north has left which carries to Don Manuel

Coloma the orders I have proposed, provided your Majesty is pleased to approve them.

Your Majesty after examining all this will order what seems best.[2]

150. Systema Africanum: or a Treatise, discovering the Intrigues of the Guiney Company, 1690.[1]

It being every true English Man's Concern, to endeavour, to the utmost of his power, the Honour and Welfare of his Country, and to stir up all good Men, in this Juncture of time, to put thereto their helping hand, by representing to the Parliament jointly and severally, the great Inconveniences which this Nation lieth under, by the many Violences committed upon their Fellow-Subjects in general upon the Coast of Africa by the Royal African Company. And because I am experienced in their Intrigues, and a Sufferer by their Arbitrary Proceedings, I will cast in my Mite with others who have laboured under the same Oppression, and drunk of the same Cup of Afflictions. . . .

And first having monopolized all the Coast of Africa from Sally in South Barbary . . . to Cape de Bona Esperanca, . . . Which vast Tract of Coast is lockt up from none but the Subjects of England, but, in a manner, free to all Strangers, as French, Dutch, Portuguese,

[2] In 1692 the Spanish government agreed to name a committee which should arbitrate between Coymans and Porcio. Wright, "The Coymans Asiento", pp. 60-61.

[150] [1] *Systema Africanum: or a Treatise, discovering the Intrigues and Arbitrary Proceedings of the Guiney Company, and also How prejudicial they are to the American Planters, and Woollen, and other English Manufactures: To the visible Decay of Trade, and consequently greatly Impairing the Royal Revenue, which would be infinitely Encreased, provided Merchants and Mariners were Encouraged, who can discover several Places not yet Known, or Traded unto, by the African Company.* Together with a True Account of their Fortifications. Humbly Submitted to Their Majesties, and to the Consideration of Both Houses of Parliament, By William Wilkinson Mariner (London, 1690). "The Epistle to the Reader. The following Treatise is written by a Person well Experienced in the Affairs of Africa, having, for many Years, frequented those Coasts, as well the parts belonging to the English, as those which appertain to the Portuguese, French and Dutch." The writer goes on to say that he intends to set forth the abuses practised on the interlopers and the servants of the company, the ruin of the trade, and the dishonour of the nation. One phase of the history of the Royal African Company can from this point on be followed in Stock, *Proceedings and Debates,* vol. II.

With the Revolution of 1688 all outstanding charters were nullified. This forced the company into a struggle for legal sanction of the monopoly rights which heretofore it had always possessed. As a result, a war of petitions and counter-petitions began, which, with some interludes, continued until 1750. The question was brought before Parliament by a request from the company in January, 1690 (repeated in March and October), for leave to offer a bill confirming its rights. The company emphasized its protection of trade, its encouragement to manufactures, its grants of credit to the plantations, its addition to the wealth of the nation and the revenues of the crown. Merchants and planters of Jamaica and Barbados, interlopers who had suffered at the hands of the company, woollen manufacturers, clothiers, cutlers petitioned against a monopoly. On Nov. 26, 1690, a hearing was granted and a bill introduced, against which the company promptly petitioned (Stock, II. 16-45 *passim*). The pamphlet, extracts from which are here printed, was written, as the author says, to influence the result of this struggle against a renewal of the monopoly privilege. With it should be read the committee report presented to the House of Commons by Sir Peter Colleton, Nov. 26, 1690. *Ibid.,* II. 32-35.

Danes and Hamburghers, who, to the great detriment of this Nation in several Respects, carry the greatest part of the Traffick to their respective Habitations, which might come directly for England, if this Inconveniency were removed.

And this is not all the Evil which we suffer by this Charter, but the Trade of the several Manufacturers of the Growth of England is most wretchedly impaired, Lands undervalued and laid as it were neglected. The Merchants enhanced,[2] the Artificers ruined, the Shipping and Navigation discouraged, the Poor distressed for want of Employment, the Trade decayed; and consequently that Branch of the Royal Revenue, whose Lustre depends upon the greatness of Trade, is visibly decayed.

Let us descend to Particulars, relating to the Actions of the Royal Company, and their Agents abroad in Africa, who, by vertue of this Charter, oppress their Fellow-Subjects, by taking their Ships, imprisoning and starving their Seamen, illegally condemning the said Shipps and Goods without any Jury, and converting the said Ships and Goods to their own use.

To this, add the Injuries committed upon those persons which miserably fall under their power, as the breaking open their Chests, and rifling their Writings, concealing and hiding their Books of Accompts, to the end that such poor men may forever be incapacitated of redressing the Disorders, or of making up their Accompts without their Employers here in England. If after such Cruelties they escape with their Lives to return home, which few do, by reason of the barbarous usage of their persons by the Agents of the Company aforesaid, who have often declared, That they will shew more mercy to a Turk, than to an Interloper, as they term those of the King's Subjects which Trade upon the Coast of Africa without their Licence, which proves the undoing of many a good Subject, the loss of many good Seamen, and the ruin of many good Families in England, who were harassed with the hardships of Imprisonment, and want of Sustenance, which is ever accompany'd with Sickness.[3]

To this, add the continual Upbraidings of the Agents, that at length, sinking under their Afflictions, are forced to take up in the Company's Service, to shun the Dangers which threaten them every way, that is, the want of present Subsistence, and the hardships of Imprisonment, whilst they refuse to serve the Royal Company. . . .

Whereas if a Free Trade were granted to the Subject, it would raise a desire in the great Undertakers, and Money'd Men, to prepare

[2] "Reduced" is here inserted with pen.

[3] Among the petitions presented during the spring of 1690 were two complaining of the imprisonment on the coast of the crews and officers of private vessels, the *Henry and Mary* taken in 1683, and the *Alligator,* in 1686. Stock, II. 22.

considerable quantities of Goods, and build many Ships, which by consequences would encourage the Ingenious Artizans to make up store of Manufactures of all sorts, and many Thousands of Poor would be employed, which at present want Bread; and Men of design would be every where seeking to improve their Talent. And first of all, as to the Manufactures of the Growth and Product of England, as Cloth, Bays, Says, Perpets, Serges, Bridwaters,[4] Iron, Brass, Copper, Tin, Lead, Glass, Felts, Shoes, English Spirits, Knives, and infinite others would be Daily Exporting, to the great Encouragement of all Men; for by this means Lands would bear a better Price, yea, more Rent, and each Man's Industry would be upon the stretch to outdo his Fellow; and instead of 100,000 *l.* worth of Goods, which are now Exported in a Year, we should have Four Times the Quantity Exported, which, without all peradventure, would infinitely Increase, according to the Encouragement given.

And I hope that the Persons concerned in these several Manufactures, and whose particular Grievance and Concern this is, will not be wanting to make their Addresses to their Majesties, and this present Parliament, for a Redress of these Abuses, they being sensibly wronged hereby, and particularly the Serge-Workers, who by these proceedings are debarred the Vent of their Manufacturers, the Subject not daring to Buy being debarred of the privilege of Transporting the said Commodities to that part of the World which Expends most, that is, to the Coast of Africa; and by this means the Publick Vent of Serges is in a manner lost, and the Sale limited by the Royal Company, who are but one joint Stock, and by this means screw up the Tradesmen to a limited Quantity and Price, Length, Breadth and Weight, and allowing but just what they please for them, which many Poor Persons are obliged to take, though not capable of maintaining the Workmen, yet for the Causes aforesaid, are by their present want of Money obliged to take what they can get, to the great disheartning of such Undertakers, and the utter Ruin of that once Flourishing Trade.

And the same Measures are to be taken by those whose Trade consists in the Manufactures of Iron, Tin, Copper, etc. whose Interests it is to promote the Publick Exportation of those Commodities, being of the Growth and Manufacture of this Land, and do lie under the same Circumstances as the Serge-Workers do. . . .

Or, If we consider Trade of Negro Servants, which proves so Advantageous to the Western Plantations in the several Islands of America, as well as that Continent whose chief Commerce is Sugar, Tobacco, Indico, Ginger, Cotton, and Dying Stuffs, which are the

[4] Bridgewater, a kind of English cloth, named from the town in which it was first manufactured.

Natural Product of this New World, whose Penury or Plenty lies indispensably upon the Trade of Negro Servants from Africa, which the Royal Company manage with more than an ordinary Sight for their own Advantage, taking Care that the Planters shall never be furnished with Negroes sufficient to follow their Business with Satisfaction, and Imposing what Prizes they please, and do Trust but Six Months; for which they exact such an Interest, that they in a manner sweep away the profit of their Labours; so that altho' the Planter's Industry be never so great, yet he shall not be able to effect his Designs, because his Hands are thus bound by the Company; yet I am sure that if the Planters were furnished with Negroes from Africa, Answerable to their Industry, that Four times the Sugar, Indico, Cottons, etc. would be Imported every Year; then let every Rational Man judg, If this would not be infinitely more Advantageous to the Kingdom in general.

And to such a heighth is the Pride of this Company grown, that they presume not only to Oppress the Subjects abroad, but likewise to Lord it over them here in England, by Imposing 40 per Cent. upon such as with their License Trade to Africa, as Samuel Shering, and others, now in London, can Witness, who paid them the Value aforesaid, for a Permission to Trade at Angola, a Place in Africa, and remote from any of their Castles and Factories, and in the Portuguese Territories, which is both hurtful to Traffick, and prejudicial to the King's Prerogative and Revenue, it being a part of Religion to pay Tribute to Cesar; but I never heard of any Law or Gospel, to oblige Men to pay Tribute to the African Company. . . .[5]

We will now speak of the Forts and Dwelling-places which the Royal Company pretends to have on the Coast of Africa, and I will begin with that of James Island in the River of Gambia, which is the first Fort they have on the Coast of Africa. The Walls about 12 Foot high, having 4 Flankers to the 4 Winds, whereof those to the North and West are kept in good order, having 6 Guns apiece mounted; the other two seldom in order, and between Factors and Soldiers, 40 men.

They have likewise two Platforms of 6 Guns apiece lately repaired, but unfit for service, there being no shelter for those men which play those Guns, they being exposed to the Enemy.

Fresh Provisions, Wood or Water they have none, but what is daily brought from the Continent, which the Negroes hinder them when they please; so that this is all the Fortification or Footing which the Company have in all this Trackt of Coast from Sally to Gambia, by Computation 1200 miles.

[5] The author lists the French forts as Arguin, St. Louis, Goree, and Albreda.

From Gambia to Siera Leona, is about 360 miles, where they have a sorry House, with 12 men, and sometimes not eight; and 14 or 16 Guns laid without any manner of Art, but open to the Enemy.

From Siera Leona to Sherbro, is about 36 miles, where they have a small House without any Guns, and 4 or 5 men.

From Sherbro till you come to Succunde, they have not the least Footing, which is about 740 miles.[6]

At Succunde they have a small House of Thatch with 2 men, and no Guns.

From Succunde to Comenda, is 18 miles; they have there a Thatcht Hovil with 3 men, and no Guns.

From Comendo to Cape Coars, is 20 miles, where they have a Castle, with about 40 Guns mounted, and about 100 Soldiers: But the English have not had it above 5 [25][7] years' for it was taken from the Dutch by Sir Robert Holmes. The Dutch lost this Fort for want of men to defend it, having lost their men by Sickness, and the Mortality which hapned amongst them that year. But chiefly by the help of the Danes, and the Natives, under whose protection the English landed their Guns and men, which caused the Surrender of that place: But Admiral Stoaks the foregoing Year having been before it, and the Natives at that time not inclined to favour the English, they returned *Re Infecta*. By which it appears, that the Natives are the best Bulwark to defend any Hold the English have upon those Coasts; and for want of the Natives good will, Cormanteen Castle was taken by the Dutch in the Year 1664, and they have it in possession to this day.

From Cape Coars to Anamabo, where they have lately built a small Fort of 6 or 8 Guns, and 10 or 12 men, and is from Cape Coars 12 miles.

From Anamabo to Agah, where they have a small Fort with 6 or 8 men, and is about one mile distant.

From Agah to Acra, where they have a small Fort with 16 Guns, and about 20 men; the Dutch having a better Fort, and more Guns in the same Town, and within Musquet shot; and as well here, as all the Coast along, can command the English Force. And 'tis manifest the English Security is founded in the Interest they have with the Natives, who will not suffer the Dutch to interrupt them, their Policy teaching them to invite all Nations to come and Trade freely with them, causing such as have any Forts or Factories amongst them, to keep at peace one with another. The Danes preservation is a good Instance of this, whose Castle may at any time be taken by

[6] Sir Peter Colleton's report to the House of Commons gave 600 miles, which is nearer the truth. His summary of the testimony against the company somewhat modifies these statements. Stock, II. 35.

[7] The figures in brackets have been inserted in the pamphlet with pen.

the Dutch from Castle de Mina, but the Natives will not suffer it to be done, these places being distant about 70 miles.

From Acra to Papa, and so to Ardah, where they have a thatcht House, and 2 white men, is about 200 miles.

From Ardah to Binin is about 120 miles, where they have a thatcht House, and about 5 men.

From Binin to the furthest part that they have any Trade to, but no Footing House or Castle, being the Rivers of Congo and Loango, and is about 900 miles.

And so to Angola, a Portuguese City, and all the Coast as far as Cape Bona Esperanca, which they have included in their Patent, not having Fort or House, or any Footing or Trade, being 1600 miles.

Thus you see how the vast rich Coast of Africa is managed by the Royal Company, who, in effect, do not occupy 300 Leagues themselves, and, at best, do but go halfs with the French in that which they seem to have. And this is evident enough, for notwithstanding their Fort of Gambia, the French not only Trade in that River, but likewise hinder the Company from Trading in the River's Mouth, witness James Jobson now in London, who was sent by Agent John Costle in the Year 1680, or 81, to trade with the Companies Sloop with a Cargo fitted for the Coast of Jually, and Portudaly, was taken by a French Ship of 10 or 12 Guns, and carried up to Gorey, and there detained Prisoner for the space of 42 days or more, it not being in the power of the English to demand their Liberty, to the discredit of the Nation, and the ruin of Trade.

Again, Benedict Stafford, the following Year, being by the same Agent commanded to go and trade upon the Coast aforesaid (at Portudaly, which is the River's Mouth of Gambia) was taken by the French, and carried up to Gorey, and detained during their Agent's pleasure.

Again, in the Year 1687/8 a Sloop, commanded by Samuel Lee, called the *Mary,* was sent to Trade by the Companies Agent A. C. [Alexander Cleeve] which the French having Notice of, went in search of the said Sloop, and having found her in the River of Geba, set upon her with their Long-boat only, and a few small Arms. . . .

In Fine, the French have so pestered those Northern parts, that the English are in continual apprehensions of losing their Royal Fort of Gambia, and not without some reason; for the French are always better provided of Men, Ammunition and Arms than they are, and not able to make any considerable Resistance, did they not depend on the friendship and assistance of the Negroes.

By this time I hope the Parliament will be undeceived by the Pretences wherewith the Royal Company endeavour to Lull the Nation asleep, by suggesting strange things of their Force in Africa.

Let us now speak something of the great Charge which they pretend they are at in keeping their Forts, and herein you shall see with what Injustice the Royal Company Acts towards their own Servants, and this is worth your Observation.[8]

It is generally believed, that the Royal Company do allow to every Soldier Twenty Shillings, and to every Seamen Twenty Seven, or Twenty Eight Shillings, which is a most notorious Untruth, for altho' they promise as aforesaid, yet it is most certain that the Wages paid Men in Africa will not amount to above Five Shillings and Nine Pence, or Six Shillings at most, for Twenty Shillings sterling pro rato, that is, according to the Price of Goods between London and Guiney, *viz.*

London.

One Blew Shirt Value Two Shillings and Eight Pence.
One Pair of Shoes Value Two Shillings and Nine Pence.
One Quart of English Spirits Value Four Pence.
Which in all comes to Five Shillings and Nine Pence.

Africa.

One Blew Shirt Value Nine Shillings.
One Pair of Shoes Value Nine Shillings.
One Quart of English Spirits Value Two Shillings
Which in all comes to Twenty Shillings

Now let any Rational Man judg what Expences the Company are at to keep Seven Houses and Four Forts with less than Two Hundred Men, which they pay off at lesser Rates than the Bankrupts in London Compound with their Creditors, and what security they can propose in this their Weakness from so powerful a Rival as their Neighbours the French are; to say nothing of the Dutch, Portuguese, and other Nations, who go snacks with them for the Trade of those parts; and what pity it is that a Coast of about Five Thousand Three Hundred Miles should be thus slighted and kept under by the Company, who are not able to manage one Quarter thereof themselves, it being impossible to furnish that Trade with so limited a Stock as One Hundred Thousand Pounds sterling per Annum, when as if the matter were regulated, as is done by the Turkey Company, the Trade of Africa would consume Six times the quantity of Goods. . . .[9]

Consider I pray what has been said in this short Treatise, wherein the Truth hath been said without Prejudice, only designing to serve his Country.

[8] The company reported to the committee of the House of Commons that it had eight forts on the coast, which cost between £19,000 and £20,000 a year.

[9] The author then dilated on the unwholesome climate and the high death-rate of the English on the coast.

And withal to shew the World how far the Royal Company are from being what they pretend to be.

What Inconveniences they by their Charter bring upon this Nation.

What Opportunities and Advantages they give the French, and other Nations, to our own Ruin. . . .

But as I have laid this Foundation, in representing these Disorders, I hope God of his Mercy will favour this Nation, by putting into the Hearts of our Gracious King William and Queen Mary, together with the present Parliament now Assembled, like another St. George, to Defeat this African Monster, or like an other Alexander, to Cut in pieces with his Victorious Sword this Enchanted Gordian-Knot for the good of these Nations.

151 Petition to the House of Commons.[1]

April 21, 1690.

A Petition of divers Clothiers of Suffolke and Essex, and others, employed in the Woolen Manufacture of Says, and Stuffs, was read; setting forth, That the Petitioners enjoyed an open Trade for the Woolen Manufactures of Says, when Trade was free for all Merchants to send their Ships to Guiny; whereby there was so quick a Vent and so good Prices given, that the Petitioners were encouraged to carry on the Making of far greater Quantities of Says and Stuffs; which gave Employ to many Thousands of Inhabitants of the County; But that now, and for some Years past, such their former Trade is restrained, their Goods under-priced and left upon their Hands, if not sold, for what Prices the Company, trading to Guiny, will give for them; who, being the alone Buyer, and none else suffered to export the said Goods, the Petitioners are forced to sell at the Rates they are pleased to allow; whereby great Quantities of the Petitioner's Goods lie upon them; by which Means (having no other Sale than as aforesaid) they must be forced to lay down their Trades; the Effect whereof is too manifest in the Ruin of many poor Families, and the Tradesmen dealing in, and living upon, the Woolen Manufactures: And praying, That the said Trade may no longer be restrained; but that all Merchants may have Freedom to export them, many being ready to buy, and encourage the Petitioners in making such their Manufactures, had they Liberty, and Freedom of Trade.

[151] [1] *Commons Journals,* X. 382; a similar petition of Oct. 21, 1690, is to be found in the *Journals,* X. 448. Those given in this work are sufficient to make clear the character of the appeals which were made to Parliament for increased freedom of trade and to illustrate the widespread ramifications of the African trade in English industry.

152. Charles Penhallow and Walter Ruding to the Royal African Company.[1]

Jamaica per mo. July 1690.

On the 14th ulto arrived here The Shipp *Hanah* with 359 Negros the remainder of 400 taken in on the Coast of Arda Where Capta. Danvere the Master dyed and Mr. Tebitt the Chief Mate succeeded him in the Comand, On the Arivall of this Shipp St. James Castello desired to have the Negros in part of his Contract with You. A Coppy of which wee rec'd in Yo'r Letter But this Shipp being Sent out Long before any Such Contract was made, Wee were of Opinion that the Compa. never intended this Shipp Should be Included in that Agreement. However to supply St. James's present Occasion as alsoe to Gratifie the Country (w'ch the Governor [2] recomended to us it being the first Shipp of Negros that Arived Since his taking the Government upon him) Wee Concluded to putt them all into Lotts as formerly and that St. James Should have the Greatest part of them all att the same rate the Rest were sold to the Country, Which he willingly Consented unto with this provisoe that wee Would by the first Opportunity advise you what wee had done and in Case You Should Consent that those Negros, Should be taken in part of his Contract that then the Overplus of the Mony he paid more [than] that Contract menc'one Should be Refunded, About w'ch pray lett us have Yo'r Orders by the first Opportunity.

153. Cornelius Hodges to the Royal African Company.[1]

James Island Sept the 16th 1690.

. . . The Manner and Reasons for the Merch'ts purchasing Gold and Carring it into the Moores Cuntrey as they doe are thes following

[152] [1] T 70: 17, "Abstracts of Letters from Dec. 14, 1687, to Nov. 10, 1693."

[2] On July 6, 1690, Governor Inchiquin had written to the Lords of Trade that the company had sent out but one cargo, of 300, which may have been the cargo of the *Hanah*. Later the company itself complained that it had been able to send out but a scant supply because of the embargo of the previous year. It was not possible for the African vessels to adjust their sailings to the time of the convoys and therefore the company asked permission to send ships as occasion might require (Sept. 11, 1690, "Memorandum of the African Company to the Lords of Trade", *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1699, p. 610). The "account of ships sent out by the Royal African Company", of Dec. 21, 1691, indicates that their activity well-nigh ceased with the Revolution of 1688: in 1685, 38 ships; in 1686, 32; in 1687, 24; in 1688, 24; in 1689, 9; in 1690, 6; in 1691, 3.

[153] [1] T 70: 17. On Mar. 11, 1689, Cornelius Hodges was sent by John Booker, agent of the Royal African Company at James Island, up the Gambia River, to learn what he could of gold mining in the interior. This was one of the few attempts made by the company to learn something of the interior of the country whose littoral it occupied. In his explorations he gleaned a little knowledge of the slave trade of the inland, though he, like Jobson seventy years before him, was less interested in traffic in the natives than in gold. He passed about 225 miles beyond Barracunda, then turned back to that point and left the Gambia to travel by land to the Senegal. On July 14, 1689, he reached the Camberdoo River, a branch of the Senegal. Here he was detained for some months by his inability to obtain supplies, the entire country suffering

In the first place It is to be understood that Merch'tts and Bittcheereen Esteeme Nothing Riches more then Slaves and Cows. I doubt not But yo'r Hon'ors are Sincible the quantity of Slaves that Are brough[t] down Annually by them are Considerable but we never find that in a Thousand they [bring] Either woman boy or Girle but in Generall Men Slaves such as they Know not what to doe with all, Either through Stubborness or feare of theire Runi'g, Otherwise [than] to bring them to us to sell, for the which haveing Received Goods [they] Return'd up through the Countreys of Comberdoo Commanna and Bamboo where the[y] Purchase gold as being Light and Saife to Carry and the Most Exteemed of anything at Tarra [Jarra ?] [2] where they carry it to purchase Slaves—Men Slaves which they purchase for Sale they buy for 1 Ounce, Boys and Female Slaves w'ch is for theire owne use 2 oz and sometimes more accoding to there features.

A farthor Reason is this such as Carry any Europian Goods pays such Customs both by the way and att Tarra that Though they buy theire Slaves verry Cheape yett they find In [they?] turne to A verry small acco'tt. Still another Inconvenience for them with Europian Goods as thus before they Can purchase Slaves they must turne theire Goods Into Coathes and with those Cloathes purchase Salt of the Moores who Brings It above 1100 Miles on Camells and will Truck it for no oth'r Soart of Commoditi then Cloathes Gold and Slaves. aft'r haveing purchased Salt they truck it for Slaves w'ch is the Reason that many times before they can dispatch the Goods of 4 or 5 Slaves that It Costs them ½ as much for Lodging and provisions. But he that Goes with 500 Oz of Gold paye Noe Customes and may turne it Into what Comodity he pleaseth In Less than Two Dayes. . . .

After I had binn some small time in the Countrey understanding that a Greate part of the Gold of those parts was Conveyed Over the River of Sannaga [3] Into the Moores Countrey to Tarra w'ch I know to be Onely Mart for Slaves in all these Wast'm p'ts of Affrica I fitted 13 men with a Reasonable Cargoe and sent them to the Aforesd Tarra. It being bett'r than 300 Miles nearer E N E from Yafara to make Inspection Into the Countrey that I mought be sattisfied of y'r way of dispossall of the Gold and Purchasing the Slaves for the Moores as well as they are Supplyed with Slaves from thence. After they'r Passing a Greate Many Difficulties they arrived were they found the place to be Built with Stone and verry Neare as Bigg as the

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from famine. The following passage explains why the natives carried their gold to the Moors, that is, north of the Senegal, rather than to the English. For the entire letter sent to the court of assistants of the Royal African Company see Thora Stone, ed., "The Journey of Cornelius Hodges in Senegambia, 1689-1690", *English Historical Review,* XXXIX. 89-95.

[2] All these places are between the Gambia and the Senegal rivers, perhaps 300 miles from the coast.

[3] Senegal.

City of Lon'd within the Walls. . . . Now the Famine haveing almost Frustrated all Hopes of any Good in these parts made some what the more Willing to Goe, and Accordingly the 9th Jan'ry I sett forward. Now the Bitcherren's of Cadjada began to play theire parts Bravely Saying that Since I was not Sattisfied with understanding the Gold trade, but that I must make Inspection into the Slave trade I should pay Dearly for my Experience for before I Could Cross the River of Sanaga w'ch is about 90 miles from Yalara Nearest E the place were I Crossed over called Canjure Some 6 or 7 miles below the Falls they had Raised forces and besett me B'times to destroy me. . . .[4] So that finding though by chance I mought gett Saife to Tarra Yett I found It Impossible to gett Safe Back for as yett I had not gott into the Emperors dominions Soe upon a Farther Consideration thought it more discreet to Returne with what they had Left me than to proceed and Never returne Soe the next Morn I began my Journey Back and by Noone Crossed the River of Sannaga here Called the Black sea being Come to this Place I thinke It Requisitt to Give Your Hon'rs a Short acco'tt how the French manages Affaires here As thus the River is one of the most Delightsome Spationest Considering how high it Runs that Ever I have Seene but att no time Navigable so High Except in the Mo. of Aug'st and sume part of Sept and Though unknown to the French there is severall fine Swaches that a vessell mought Ride all the yeare Long Inn. For this 4 Yeares Last past the French with a Greate deale of Trouble and vast Expence in Customs has Come up to a porte within 20 Miles of Canjure Called Darremane[5] and though they have Come with 2 vessells as Last yeare in 6 or 7 days has dispatched and Return'd but gives the Same prices or verry Neare what we give at Jellefree[6] the French If once they gett a True understanding of the trade of those parts may with a greate deale of Ease Frustrate us of the Greatest part of o'r Trade for Slaves and Raise thrice the Quantity that wee doe.[7]

154. Earl of Inchiquin to the Assembly of Jamaica.[1]

July 30, 1691.

I understand, by a message I sometime since received from you, that you had once read and passed a bill for raising a duty of forty

[4] The writer no sooner escaped from this danger and crossed the river than he was attacked by three or four hundred armed men, and would have lost his life had not some Mohammendan priests come to his rescue.

[5] Dramanet, to which the Mandingoes brought slaves. A French report on the commercial value of this inland region had been published by Chambonneau, director general of the French Senegal Company in 1688. Stone, "Journey of Hodges", in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIX. 89.

[6] Gillifree.

[7] Of the French development of the gold trade Hodges has little fear, so bitter is the enmity of the natives who control it toward them. His return, arduous because of the famine, was accomplished safely and he reached Barracunda July 4, 1690.

[154] [1] *Interesting Tracts relating to Jamaica* (1800), p. 236.

shillings per head on negroes exported. . . . The first is absolutely repugnant to the commands I have received from the king, and should it pass, would, in my judgment, be highly prejudicial to the kingdom of England and this island, it being the greatest blow that can be given to trade, which is the life of this place, and I am bound to encourage and protect, and will do it. . . .

155. Petition of John Gardner and Letitia Bawdon.[1]

[January 23, 1692/3 ?]

To the Right Hon'ble the Lords Spirituall and Temporall in Parliament Assembled.

The humble Petition and Appeale of John Gardner Merchant and Dame Letitia Bawdon Widow and Executrix of S'r John Bawdon [2] dec'd from an Order made in the Court of Exchequer on Saturday the 7th Day of May last, and from a Decretall Order made in the said Court the 13th Day of June last, both Orders made in a Cause there depending between the Pet'es Appellants P'l'ts and the Royall Affrican Compa. of England Def'ts and from a final Decree made in the said Cause on the 24th day of November last.

Sheweth

That yo'r Pet'r Gardner and the Testator S'r John Bawdon being interested in severall Plantations in the West Indies and haveing most absolute Occation for Negroes from Guinea and other Places in Affrica, to be imployed in, and for the necessary Support and Carrying on of the said Plantations and Trade in the West Indies Your Petitioner and the said Testator did for the Support of the said Trade and Plantations send severall Ships att severall times to trade first to the Coast of Affrica and there to take in Negroes, and soe to proceed to the West Indies. But the Company's Agents pretending the Company had the Sole Trade in those parts of Affrica did take and seize the said Ships and Goods, sometimes before their Arrivall in Affrica,

[155] [1] House of Lords MSS., calendared in Hist. MSS. Comm., *Fourteenth Rept.*, App. VI. (*MSS. H. of L.*, 1692-1693), pp. 314-315. See *Lords Journals*, XV. 195, 231; Stock, II. 69. John Gardner, a London merchant and private trader, was the signer of a petition from the sugar planters in 1690 (*ibid.*, II. 43). In March, 1694, he was one of the witnesses examined by a committee of the House of Commons which was investigating the state of the African trade (*ibid.*, pp. 91-92); on Dec. 10, 1695, he presented to the Commons a list of vessels captured by the French between Guinea and the West Indies (*ibid.*, p. 135 n.). His own losses he reported as £13,300. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

[2] Possibly the Sir John Bawden, or Baudon, who some years before had brought suit against Captain Billop for the seizure of negroes from the *Providence* (see this work, vol. III., New York; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 441). Sir Thomas Lynch, in writing to Blathwayt in 1683, referred him to a Colonel Bawden for further information of the pirate Van Horn (*ibid.*, p. 394). On Nov. 3 of that year the Committee of Trade and Plantations called for his attendance as one concerned in the Leeward Islands. *Ibid.*, p. 537.

and sometimes upon their Arrivall in Affrica, and sometimes after the said Ships had taken in Negroes and were sailing from Affrica towards the West Indies, and converted them all to the Companys the Def'ts *Viz.*, by force, and contrary to Law (as Your Petitioners are advised) And Your Petitioner Gardner and the Testator Applying themselves thereupon to the Def'ts They the said Company Justified the same and absolutely refused to let Your Petitioner and the Testator Trade to the Costs of Affrica for Negroes, unless they would pay them 30 *li* and 4 *li* per Cent. for Permission money, and take a Lycence from the said Company to Trade in Affrica and alsoe to take the Companys Goods and Merchandizes here att such Rates as the Company should impose upon the same or otherwise that they would Grant noe Lycence att all.

That the Trade of the West India Plantations not being any wayes to be carryed on, or the Plantations preserved without Negroes from Affrica, and the Appellant Gardner and Testator (in those dayes) not being able to Right themselves att Law, Your Petitioner Gardner and the said Testator were enforced to comply with the Company in what Termes soever they then imposed, and accordingly did take Lycences to Trade, and paid 30 and sometimes 40 *li.* per Cent permission money to the Company and Carryed from hence to Affrica such Goods as the Company thought fitt to let the Appellant and Testator have, and paid such prises for them as the Company thought fitt to impose And particularly the Appellant and Testator did about June 1688 take a Cargoe of Goods from the Company to Trade with to Affrica for Negroes in the Ship *John* and thereupon the Company made a Bill of Particulars and prises thereof and therein lett downe and demanded 425 *li* odd moneys for Permission money and Oblidged your Petitioner Gardner and Testator with Sureties to enter into a Bond of 3000 *li* and odd pounds penalty Conditioned for payment of 1504 *li.* 6 *s.* 7 *d.*, into the said Company wherein was included the said 425 *li.* odd moneys Permission money.

That the Company, the better to Colour their designes, use to take Articles and Charter parties from the persons to whom they gave Lycence, and therein insert what facts they thinck fitt, and contrary to the very Truth of the matter, And alsoe took security for and have exacted, and received from your Petitioner and Testator severall other Great Sumes of money for Lycence or Permission money to Trade to Affrica.

That the said S'r John Bawdon being Dead Your Petitioners did prefer their Bill in the Court of Exchequer to have a Discovery and Account of the Ships and Goods seized by the Companys Agents and Particularly the Ship whereof George Nanter was Master and to have an Account of the permission money soe unjustly received, and

to be relieved against the said Bond and the permission money therein contained and in all other the premisses, to part of which said Bill (*Vizt.*) to such part as demanded a Discovery Account or Releife touching the Ship whereof George Nanter was Master and the Goods and Negroes taken by the said Companys Agents and to all charges touching the seizing and disposeing of the said Ships and Goods the said Company Pleaded the Statute of Limitations which Plea was allowed by the Court by the said Order of the 7th of May last, and the Residue of the said Cause proceeding to hearing the Court of Exchequer att the hearing were not pleased to Relieve the Petitioners as to the permission money but declared they would not Intermeddle with the same And Decreed Your Petitioner to Account for the whole 1504 *l.* 6 *s.* 7 *d.* without haveing any Abatement for the permission money in the said Bond, or haveing any Account for the other Lycence or permission money soe unjustly exacted as aforesaid.

By which Orders and Decree Your Petitioners humbly conceive themselves agreived.

First in That the said Plea of the Statute of Limitations was allowed by the Court though the matters in Demand were transacted upon and beyond the Seas and being alsoe matters of Account And transactions between Merchants And the Plea itt selfe being very insufficient Informall and Wanting proper averment.

Secondly In that the said Court of Exchequer did not Relieve Your Petitioners against the said Frauds Impositions and Practices of the said Deft's and against the said Lycence or Permission money but left Your Petitioners Remediless therein.

Wherefore Your Petitioners most humbly Appeale from the said Orders and Decree unto Your Lordships in Parliament And humbly pray Redress therein from your Lordships in this most Supreme Judicature according to the Usuall method of proceedings in Appeales before Your Lordships.[3]

[3] The Lords, having listened to the reading of the petition, called for the answer of the Royal African Company, which was delivered Feb. 1: "In 1688 the Company made an agreement with Gardner and Sir John Bawdon touching the ship *John,* of London, whereof William Portlock was Master, for a trading voyage to Africa, and an account was adjusted, before the ship left Gravesend, concerning the cargo bought of the Company, amounting to 1504 *l.* 16 *s.* 7 *d.,* for payment whereof in 18 months Gardner, Sir John and Portlock gave a bond of 3008 *l.* 13 *s.* 0 *d.* Only 500 *l.* has since been paid, and that not before August 1690. Sir John having died, and Appellants refusing to pay the rest, Respondents sued Gardner upon the bond, and obtained judgment. Appellants then brought their Bill in the Exchequer. The Court, after allowing Respondents' plea of the Statute of Limitations with regard to the ship whereof Nanter was master, proceeded to hear the Cause on 13 June, and referred it to the Deputy Remembrancer to certify what was due upon the bond, and to take a distinct account of the elephants' teeth and gold laden on the ship *Swan.* The Report, being heard, was ordered to be reviewed by allowing the Appellants their share in some gold, which was the produce of part of the windward cargo of the *Swan* outwards, and saving Respondents harmless against the other owners and partners of the ship in that respect. The Deputy Remembrancer accordingly certified 777 *l.* 6 *s.* 6 *d.* due to

156. William Hardringe and Nicholas Prideaux to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbados the 11th Feb'ry 1692/3.

. . . Upon The first of Novemb. arrived here the *Sept.* Capta. William Parrish with Six or Seven Hundred Negroes taken in the most Part at Whida the said Did also dispatch Capta. Chantrells Sh'p from the Gold Coast with foure hundred gold Coast Slaves who Meetting amongst the Islands with Some french Privateeres was taken and Carried to Martineco. Capta. Bell also an Interloper was Taken to the Leward of Acra after a Sharp Dispute and was brought to anchor by the French but the Cable being Shott in the Fight the Sh'p rann ashore and was Lost and almost all the Negroes. Capta. Parrish dyed the Second or third daye of the Sale of his Negroes. the whole ship came out as we have bin Certainley Inform'd at fourteen Pounds per Head one shill. more or Less. the Negroes were very Young, but wanting victualls were Reduced to Greate Poverty which we the Rather advise of, that The Compa. may Give Strict Orders to y'r Mast'rs not to Stint theire Negroes in Victualls and for as much as Corne is not at all Times to be Procured it may much Conduce to the Good of the Voyage to but [put] in a good Quantity of Beanes at home which Provision is Found verry Serviceable and more nurishing then Corne but in this wee only humbly offer our Oppinions upon the discourses we have Heard on this Subject. . . .[2]

According to the first Intentm'tt, we cannot omitt to add our Second Intreaties to the Compa. to Revoke the Power Given our Governors to Sell the negroes by Inch of Candle[3] which will Prove a most Pernissious evill to Theire Concernes by being Bound up and all Interlopers left at theire Liberty. But more espetially if the Spannard Should Trade here againe as we hope they may in Time,

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Respondents, and the Court on 24 Nov. confirmed his Report and ordered payment. The Orders and Decree are just and equitable. Pray that the Appeal may be dismissed with costs. Sealed with the Company's seal. Endorsed as' brought in this day". *MSS. H. of L.*, 1692-1693, p. 315.

The company's answer was endorsed: "John Gardner and Letitia Bawdon, Pet., *v.* Affrican Company, made 23 Janu 1692. Febry 15th 1692, heard by Mr. Gardner for himselfe and the Lady. Ordered that the petition be dismissed and the decree affirm'd". The case was heard Feb. 11, 1693, and on Feb. 15 petition and appeal were dismissed and the orders of May 7, June 13, and Nov. 24 were affirmed. Stock, II. 69, 72, 74.

[156] [1] T 70: 17.

[2] The company seems to have followed this advice about provisioning the negroes. On Nov. 10, 1698, an Order in Council grants to the African Company leave to export beans for supplying their negroes in transportation. *Acts P. C. C.*, II. 326.

[3] That is, by auction, bids being received while the candle burned an inch. This method of sale is encountered on the Continent in the eighteenth century, but seems never to have been a favorite one in the West Indies.

from the Late Encouragem'tt that is Given by the Late act [4] upon which Mr. Scroope went downe to Informe and Invite them hether, and we hope his designe will have a good Issue. Negroes are now much wanted and if either or both the Shipp[s] that touched at Madera come here we hope will find a good Sale.

157. Voyage of the *Hannibal*, 1693-1694.[1]

. . . After my return to England,[2] I was for some time destitute of employment, until my ever honoured patron and benefactor, Sir Jeffrey Jeffreys, Knt.[3] out of his extraordinary generosity and good will to me, understanding that the ship *Hannibal* of four hundred and fifty tons, and thirty-six guns, was to be sold, gave me orders to buy her. Having done this he was pleas'd to deposit the money for her out of his own pocket; and after, by his interest, to bring in his worthy brother, John Jeffreys, Esq., Sam. Stanyer, Esq., then sub-governor of the African company, and some other eminent merchants, to be part-owners with me, and then to recommend me and the ship to the royal African company of England; from whom, upon his account, I found acceptance: Being entr'd into their service, on a trading voyage to Guiney, for elephants teeth, gold, and Negro slaves; and having the needful cargoes on board, wherewith to purchase them, as well as supplies of merchandize, stores, etc., for the company's castles and factories; my business being compleated at London, I took boat for Gravesend the fifth of September in the evening, and got on board

[4] The reference is to a Barbados act of Aug. 2, 1692: "Whereas heretofore the Subjects of the Kingdom of Spain, have been permitted to trade here, and to buy and purchase Negroes; which Trade hath been in some measure restrained by an Act of this Island, or by some clause or clauses thereof, laying a Tax or Duty on such Negroes so bought and purchased, which said Act long since expired: To the intent therefore that the same may be manifest and made known, Be it enacted and it is hereby enacted and declared by his Excellency, Colonel James Kendal, Captain General and chief Governor of this and other the Caribbee-Islands, the Honourable the Council, and General Assembly of this Island, and by Authority of the same, That the said Act, and all and every Act and Acts of this Island, and all and every the Sentences, Clauses and Penalties therein contained, which did lay a Tax or Duty, on any Negro or Negroes, so bought or purchased by any Subjects of the King of Spain, shall be and are hereby declared absolutely null, void and of none effect; and that the said Subjects of the King of Spain, may have free liberty of trading to this place for Negroes as aforesaid; and that no Tax or Duty shall be laid upon or required from them for such Negroes as shall be by them bought for the future". *Acts passed in the Island of Barbados* (1764), pp. 127-128.

[157] [1] "A Journal of a Voyage made in the *Hannibal* of London, Ann. 1693-1694, from England, to Cape Monseradoe, in Africa; and thence along the Coast of Guiney to Whidaw, the Island of St. Thomas, and so forward to Barbadoes. With a Cursory Account of the Country, the People, their Manners, Forts, Trade, etc.", by Thomas Phillips, commander of the said ship; from Churchill, *Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1732), VI. 173-239. Astley, *Voyages and Travels* (II. 387-416), contains an abstract of this account.

[2] The author introduces his narrative by a brief account of his capture by the French and detention in France just before this voyage.

[3] One of the influential London members of the Royal African Company, concerned in trade to Virginia. See this work, vol. III., Virginia.

about eleven at night, with money to pay my men their river-pay, and one month's pay advance-money, as per agreement (p. 173). . . .[4]

Until the fifth of October, in the morning, we had fair weather, smooth sea, and a small gale of wind at S.S. W. which towards evening veer'd about to the S.E. and E. and invited us and the rest of the outward bound ships, in the Downs to go to sea;[5] of which those for Guiney were, the *East-India Merchant,*[6] of thirty guns, Capt. Thomas Shurley commander; the *Hannibal* of thirty-six guns, Thomas Phillips, for the gold coast; the *Mediterranean* of twenty-four guns, Capt. Daniel, for Angola; the *Jeffrey* of twelve guns, Capt. Somes, for the Bite; the *Fortune* of twelve guns, Capt. Hereford, for Angola; and the *Eagle* packet boat, Capt. Perry, for Gambo and the coast. We having agreed among ourselves, that Capt. Thomas Shurley, who had been long acquainted with the Guiney trade should give sailing orders, shape the course, and carry the light, we came on board to unmoor our ships, and about eight were under sail (p. 174).[7] . . .

[*Dec. 23.*] We found the other two vessels to be one Gubbins an interloper come from Barbadoes, chiefly laden with rum, to trade for gold and slaves, of which I bought about 500 gallons of him cheap and sold it to good advantage; the other vessel was the *Stanier* sloop, with Mr. Colker on board her, who was agent of Cherborough,[8] and came thence to trade along the coast for teeth (p. 190). . . .

The 28th came in here [9] Capt. John Soans, in the *Jeffrey,* and having supply'd himself with some wood, water, and rice, set sail again

[4] The vessel carried as passengers thirty-three employees of the African Company, who were to be delivered at their forts.

[5] Bad weather overtaking them, they did not leave the Downs until Oct. 25.

[6] The *East-India Merchant* had recently delivered a negro cargo in Jamaica. On Jan. 7, 1692, Walter Ruding, one of the company's factors, wrote that the cargo of the *East-India Merchant,* Captain Shurley, just sold, had amounted to £6982 5 *s.* 11 *d.* above the freight. T 70: 17.

[7] Details follow concerning the weather, navigation, and incidents of the voyage. The most serious mishap was an encounter with a French man-of-war in which five of Phillips's men were killed and thirty-two wounded. Among the wounded was a brother of Phillips, a lad of sixteen. On Dec. 2 they reached Santiago, one of the Cape Verde Islands, under Portuguese control. Here Phillips put in for water and provisions, and had an interview with the governor of the island, who desired payment for the provisions in money: "I gave him to understand that I had none of that, nor was it customary for merchant ships to carry monies with them to purchase necessaries, having either credit where they come, or effects to raise money with, more especially in my voyage to Guiney, where we had good factories, and where our European coins were not passable" (Churchill, VI. 186). On Dec. 23, steering along the shore close to Cape "Monserado" (Mesurado), he saw three vessels, one of them the *East-India Merchant,* badly shattered by a storm. Phillips went at once to the rescue of the vessel, explaining, "my best friend Sir Jeffry Jeffries, Knt. and some others of my worthy owners, as well as the royal African company being deeply concern'd in her". From this time until the *Hannibal* sailed for Barbados the two vessels remained together.

[8] Sherbro.

[9] Cape Mesurado. Of this spot Phillips writes: "Cape Mounseradoe is about sixteen leagues distant from cape Mount. . . . Here is a store of good rice, and cheap, which they brought us in abundance . . . The chief commodity we traded for was rice, of which I bought about five tuns, paying mostly for it in booges or cowries, which are the goods they chiefly esteem, for a pint of which we could buy 30 lb. of rice. The other goods they approved of were iron bars and red Welsh plains; but they had

for the Bite, on Thursday the 3d of Jan. having left me a packet of letters directed to Sir Jeffrey Jeffreys to be forwarded to Europe with the first conveniency. Agent Colker set sail for Sherberow, on the 5th, and Gubbins in the Barbadoes interloper, the same morning for the gold coast, by whom I sent letters to the African companies three chief merchants at Cabo Corce castle, signifying my agreement with the company to slave upon the gold coast, and bespeaking their diligence in procuring what numbers they could for me against my arrival there, with what else was needful: I was forced to stay here ten days after I had compleated my business for Capt. Shurley to refit his ship, which at length being done, we both set sail with the morning breeze, on the 9th of Jan. 1693/4 for the coast: The negroes of this place, express'd a great affection for the English, and as much hatred to the French; two of them took Capt. Shurley's and my name, assuring us their next sons should be call'd so (p. 194). . . .

[*Monday, Jan. 15.*] At ten we were off the river Sino, about twelve leagues from Sanguin,[10] which is easily known by a tree making like a ship with a top-sail loose; from whence came several canoes aboard us with pepper, or, as they call it, Malagetta, which is much like our India pepper, and, for ought I know, as good. It was brought in ozier baskets. I bought 1000 weight of it at one iron bar (value in England three shillings and six pence) and a dashy of a knife or two to the broker. The reason of our buying this pepper is to give our negroes in their messes to keep them from the flux and dry belly-ach, which they are very incident to (p. 195). . . .[11]

[*Wed. to Mon., Feb. 4.*] Being anchor'd he [12] sent his boat aboard us, with a private commission from king William, whereby he appear'd to be a Dutch privateer, tho' a trader upon the coast, where he had been above nine months up and down without being able to dispose of all his cargo; he was lately come from Angola, the Captain's name was William Fleming, the master's name Stephen Waterman, the ship's name *Jacob Hendrick*; she had 16 guns and 42 men; the Capt. was sick; they advis'd us that Capt. Gubbins and his doctor in the Barbadoes-Interloper were dead; that the country was all in wars; that there was little gold upon the coast, by reason the negro-traders could not bring it down in safety, the passages and roads being stopt;

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nothing considerable to trade with us for them. We bought some fowls of them . . . we also purchas'd some limes, wild oranges, pine apples, and two or three small goats" (Churchill, VI. 191). Here Phillips supplied himself with water and wood.

[10] Sanguin River, "where the Grain or Malagetta coast begins". Sino was a short distance from Sestos. The coast from this point on is described in much detail by Barbot. Churchill, V. 136-138.

[11] For Barbot's description of Guinea pepper, see *ibid.*, V. 132.

[12] The captain of a near-by ship at which the *Hannibal* had fired, taking it for a French vessel. On the voyage down the coast Captain Shurley, Phillips's brother, and several of his men were taken sick. On Jan. 17 his brother died. On Jan. 25 and 26, Phillips lay off Bassam, trading for gold. Here natives came out in canoes, promising slaves, but the promise was not kept. Churchill, VI. 196-198.

and that the negroes had taken the Danes fort [13] at Accra, kill'd one of the factors, and much wounded the other. . . .

[*Mon. to Wed., Feb. 6.*] Here were above a dozen Dutch interlopers at this time trading upon the coast, notwithstanding all the Dutch are prohibited that trade, except the ships belonging to their Guiney company, who have orders to fight and take by force of arms the said interlopers where-ever they meet them upon the coast, who upon such capture become as much prize as any declar'd enemy, the ship and goods being confiscated to the use of the said company, and the men made prisoners in the dungeon at the Mine; and if I mistake not, the captain and other principal officers condemn'd to die (p. 199). . . .

[*Thur. Feb. 14.*] . . . By this canoe [14] [from Cape-Coast Castle] I received a letter from our agents, advising me to dispose of as much as I could of my cargo before I came there, where there was no trade nor gold, by reason the country was all in wars; and that there was no probability of procuring any number of slaves upon the gold coast (p. 201). . . .[15]

[*Feb. 16.*] we fill'd some water here,[16] got a little wood, and some cancy-stones, for our slaves to grind their corn upon; and no trade presenting, we parted thence the 19th for Succandy (p. 202). . . .[17]

[*Feb. 27.*] The castle of Cabo Corce is the chief of all those our African company have upon this coast, and where their agents or chief

[13] Christiansborg castle. The Danes had had a lodge or factory here since the middle of the century. Through the treachery of a factor the castle was surrendered to the Portuguese in 1679, to be regained by the Danes in 1682 or the beginning of 1683. It was held by them until the natives seized it in 1693, to which capture Phillips here refers. Bosman stated that the Dutch helped the Danes to regain it on this occasion (William Bosman, *Description of Guinea,* 1721, pp. 59-60). There are pictures of Christiansborg in *Laegen Paul Iserts Breve fra Dansk Guinea* (Copenhagen, 1917), pp. xviii, 8, 141, 142.

[14] The *Hannibal* was anchored at Axim, about two miles from the Dutch fort, and had been entertaining on board the Dutch factor, Mr. Rawlinson, who was frightened into hasty departure by the sight of the canoe here mentioned.

[15] Rawlinson, recovering from his fear that the canoe contained the Dutch fiscal, come to examine into his affairs, returned to the ship, and invited Captains Shurley and Phillips and Mr. Buckridge to have dinner with him the next day. This gave them an opportunity to inspect the town and view a native dance. Phillips observes that this is the best and cheapest place to buy the canoes used in slaving at Whydah, "they being very scarce and dear to leeward". Resuming their leisurely way down the coast, they passed the Brandenburg fort, Great Friedrichsburg, and Cape Three Points, and anchored at Dixcove Feb. 16. Churchill, VI. 201-202.

[16] Dixcove. The English had begun a fort here in 1691, after a dispute with the Brandenburgers over possession of the location. It was not completed until 1697. Claridge, *The Gold Coast,* I. 127.

[17] According to their charter-parties from the Royal African Company, Sekundi was the last point at which to dispose of their windward cargoes, of which they had £3000 apiece, and had not yet bartered away £200 each. Here they found the factor, Johnson, insane. Here, also, the *Eagle* joined them and they learned that Captain Perry was dead. On the 21st they sailed to Shama, or Chama, and Ampeny Point, half way between Elmina and Cape Coast Castle. Along the coast they had some trade in gold but found the natives afraid to trade with them because of their awe of the Dutch, who held Commenda near by and were trying to destroy the English trade, being, as Phillips wrote, "very insolent upon that coast". Churchill, VI. 203.

factors always reside, to which all the other factories are subordinate. This castle has a handsome prospect from the sea, and is a very regular and well contriv'd fortification, and as strong as it can be well made, considering its situation, being encompass'd with a strong and high brick wall, thro' which you enter by a well-secur'd and large gate facing the town, and come into a fine and spacious square wherein 4 or 500 men may very conveniently be drawn up and exercis'd. It has four flankers which have a cover'd communication with each other, and are mounted with good guns. . . .[18]

In this castle the agents and factors have genteel convenient lodgings; and as to the soldiers, I believe there are not better barracks anywhere than here, each two having a handsome room allow'd them, and receive their pay duly and justly in gold dust once a week for their subsistence. The castle has in all about forty guns mounted, some of them brass, and commonly 100 white men in garrison, with a military land officer to discipline and command them under the agents (p. 204). . . .[19]

I also carried there on account of the African company, muskets, niconees, tapseals, baysadoes, brass kettles, English carpets, Welsh plains, lead bars, firkins of tallow, powder, etc. None of which did answer expectation, being forc'd to bring back to England a great part of them; and those we sold were at a very low rate (p. 206) . . . .[20]

At Cabo Corce we took in part of the Indian corn order'd us for the provision of our negroes to Barbadoes, the allowance being a chest which contains about four bushels for every negro. It is charg'd the company at two achies per chest, and bare measure; but we could buy better of the blacks at an achy and ½, and heap'd measure. Here is some palm oil, but it is cheaper at Whidaw, tho' the island of

[18] Here is omitted a lengthy account of the cistern which supplied the fort and occasional visiting vessels with water. The space which Phillips gives to the account is some indication of the importance of the water supply in all the English stations. Lack of it was considered the greatest weakness of James Fort, in the Gambia.

[19] The *Hannibal* landed thirty soldiers for the Royal African Company, all in good health, though two months later nearly half of them had died. The company kept here three merchants, who at this time were Joshua Platt, William Ronan, and William Melrose. Phillips's stay of 29 days gave him time to observe food, buildings, gardens, as well as to trade in gold. He tells of a school maintained in the castle to teach the small black children of the town to read and write and "so prepare them to be made christians". Mr. Clayten, chief of Fort Royal, once the Danish Fort Frederiksborg, died while he was there, and John Rootsey, a Barbadian who had come out on the *Hannibal* or the *West Indian Merchant,* was appointed to the place (Churchill, VI. 204-207). The Danish Fort Frederiksborg had been delivered to the Royal African Company in 1685, and renamed Fort Royal. In 1699 the old fort was torn down and a new one built.

[20] Here follows a description of the method of trading for gold. Up to this time Phillips's trade had been entirely for teeth and gold.

St. Thomas is the cheapest place, and where there is most plenty of it (p. 208) . . . .[21]

[*Apr. 26.*] . . . and after dinner I went ashore to Mr. Searle the factor here,[22] to know where and when we should send for the corn assign'd us here by the chief merchants at cape Corce, there being not enough to supply us there, and therefore were to call for the rest at this place, and Aena [Accra?], to compleat our quantity of 700 chests each. Mr. Searle immediately order'd what quantity he had to be delivered us whenever our boats came for it, and entertain'd us very lovingly till night when Capt. Shurley and I went on board. Animabo lies in the Kingdom of Fantine, is a pretty large town; the negro inhabitants are accounted very bold and stout fellows, but the most desperate treacherous villains, and greatest cheats upon the whole coast, for the gold here is accounted the worst, and the most mix'd with brass, of any in Guiney; it lies about 4 leagues to the East of Cabo Corce. Our castle is pretty strong, of about 18 guns, where we were very kindly entertained by Mr. Searle some days, and by Mr. Cooper at Aga on other days. Aga is a small thatch'd house, about half a mile to the east from Animabo, on the sea-shore, having little or no defence except a few muskets (p. 209). . . .[23]

May the 12th. . . . Here [Accra] [24] Mr. John Bloome the factor order'd us the remainder of our corn, to compleat 700 chests apiece, which we got aboard, fill'd some water, and had pretty good trade (p. 211). . . .

May the 19th. Steering along shore within three leagues, with fine easy gale, we spy'd a canoe making off towards us, whereupon we lay by and staid for her; when she came aboard the master of her brought in three women and four children to sell, but they ask'd very dear for them, and they were almost dead for want of victuals, looking like meer skeletons, and so weak that they could not stand, so that they were not worth buying; he promis'd to procure us 2 or 300 slaves

[21] At Cape Coast the two vessels landed their cargo for the castle, amounting to about three hundred tons of goods each, disposed of what they could of their windward cargo, and after two months sailed for Anamabo, passing the Dutch Fort Nassau and the English establishment at Anashan on the way.

[22] Anamabo.

[23] Shurley and Phillips remained at Anamabo till May 2, taking in 180 chests of corn and two boats of water. Here they entertained and were entertained by Mr. Fasleman, the Dutch governor of Cormantine; here Henry Nurse, third mate on the *East-India Merchant* and eldest son of the African agent who built the fort at Sekundi, died; and here, Phillips wrote, "I had two little negroe boys presented me here by our honest factors, and two before at Cape Corce, with good store of Muscovy ducks, and other fresh provisions" (Churchill, VI. 210). May 4-9 the two captains spent at Winneba, with Mr. Nicholas Buckridge, the company's factor. At this place they procured canoes for their slaving at Whydah. *Ibid.,* pp. 210-211.

[24] "Acra fort has about 20 guns, but a thin garrison, not consisting of above 12 white men; it is in form square, having a bastion or flanker at each angle, on which the cannon are mounted. . . . The Dutch fort of 16 guns, lies about musket-shot from ours, much higher, so that it looks into our fort, and would be able to do it a great deal of mischief in case of war" (*ibid.,* p. 213). Captain Shurley died during the stay of the vessels at Accra.

if we would anchor, come ashore, and stay three or four days, but judging what the others might be, by the sample he brought us, and being loth to venture ashore upon his bare word, where we did not use to trade, and had no factory, we sent him away, and pursu'd our voyage; besides that we were upon the Alampo coast, which negroes are esteem'd the worst and most washy of any that are brought to the West-Indies, and yield the least price; why I know not, for they seem as well limb'd and lusty as any other negroes, and the only difference I perceiv'd in them, was, that they are not so black as the others, and are all circumcis'd, which no negroes else upon the whole coast (as I observ'd) are: The negroes most in demand at Barbadoes, are the gold coast, or, as they call them, Cormantines,[25] which will yield 3 or 4 *l.* a head more then the Whidaws, or, as they call them, Papa negroes;[26] but these are preferr'd before the Angola, as they are before the Alampo, which are accounted the worst of all. . . . .

May the 21st. This morning I went ashore at Whidaw, accompany'd by my doctor and purser, Mr. Clay, the present Capt. of the *East-India Merchant,* his doctor and purser, and about a dozen of our seamen for our guard, arm'd, in order here to reside till we could purchase 1300 negro slaves, which was the number we both wanted, to compleat 700 for the *Hannibal,* and 650 for the *East-India Merchant,* according to our agreement in our charter-parties with the

[25] Coromantines, or Kormantines, the name applied in the West Indies to the negroes from the Gold Coast, many of whom came from Cormantine, east of Anamabo. Bryan Edwards says of them, "They sometimes take to labour with great promptitude and alacrity, and have constitutions well adapted for it", a sufficient reason for the high degree of favor with which they were regarded both in the West Indies and in the continental colonies (*Hist. of the West Indies,* third ed., 1794, II. 63). On the occasion of an uprising in Antigua Christopher Codrington wrote to the Board of Trade a description of these negroes: "They are not only the best and most faithful of our slaves, but are really all born Heroes. There is a difference between them and all other negroes beyond what 'tis possible for yr Lordships to conceive. There never was a raskal or coward of that nation, intrepid to the last degree, not a man of them but will stand to be cut to pieces without a sigh or groan, grateful and obedient to a kind master, but implacably revengeful when ill-treated. My Father, who had studied the genius and temper of all kinds of negroes 45 years with a very nice observation, would say, Noe man deserved a Corramante that would not treat him like a Friend rather than a Slave, and all my Corramantes preserve that love and veneration for him that they constantly visit his grave" (Dec. 30, 1701, *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1701, p. 721). See also this work, vol. III., Rhode Island.

Oronooko, Mrs. Aphra Behn's romantic hero, was a Cormantine. Of his country she wrote: "Coramantien, a Country of Blacks so called, was one of those Places in which they found the most advantageous Trading for these Slaves, and thither most of our great Traders in that Merchandize traffick; for that Nation is very warlike and brave; and having a continual Campaign, being always in Hostility with one neighbouring Prince or other, they had the Fortune to take a great many Captives; for all they took in Battle were sold as Slaves; at least those common men who could not ransom themselves. Of these Slaves so taken, the General only has all the Profit; and of these Generals our Captains and Masters of Ships buy all their Freight." *Works,* V. 133-134.

[26] Whydah, Fida, or Juda, was near the centre of the Slave Coast. The Popo or Pawpaw negroes came from the region round Great and Little Popo, on the Slave Coast near Whydah.

royal African company; in procuring which quantity of slaves we spent about nine weeks. . . .

Our factory [at Whydah] lies about three miles from the sea-side, where we were carry'd in hamocks, which the factor Mr. Joseph Peirson, sent to attend our landing, with several arm'd blacks that belong'd to him for our guard; we were soon truss'd in a bag, toss'd upon negroes heads, and convey'd to our factory (p. 214). . . .[27]

Our factory built by Capt. Wiburne, Sir John Wiburne's brother, stands low near the marshes, which renders it a very unhealthy place to live in; the white men the African company send there, seldom returning to tell their tale: 'tis compass'd round with a mud-wall, about six foot high, and on the south-side is the gate; within is a large yard, a mud thatch'd house, where the factor lives, with the white men; also a store-house, a trunk for slaves, and a place where they bury their dead white men, call'd, very improperly, the hog-yard; there is also a good forge, and some other small houses. . . . And here I must observe that the rainy season begins about the middle of May, and ends the beginning of August, in which space it was my misfortune to be there, which created sicknesses among my negroes aboard, it being noted for the most malignant season by the blacks themselves, who while the rain lasts will hardly be prevail'd upon to stir out of their huts. . . .[28]

The factory prov'd beneficial to us in another kind;[29] for after we had procured a parcel of slaves, and sent them down to the sea-side to be carry'd off, it sometimes proved bad weather, and so great a sea, that the canoes could not come ashore to fetch them, so that they returned to the factory, where they were secured and provided for till good weather presented, and then were near to embrace the opportunity, we sometimes shipping off a hundred of both sexes at a time.

The factor, Mr. Peirson, was a brisk man, and had good interest with the king, and credit with the subjects, who knowing their tempers, which is very dastard, had good skill in treating them both civil and rough, as occasion requir'd; most of his slaves belonging to the factory, being gold coast negroes, who are very bold, brave, and sensible, ten of which would beat the best forty men the king of Whidaw had in his kingdom; besides their true love, respect and fidelity to their master, for whose interest or person they will most freely expose their own lives. . . .

As soon as the king understood of our landing, he sent two of his cappasheirs, [30] or noblemen, to compliment us at our factory, where

[27] Phillips here interpolates an account of the method of travelling in hammocks.

[28] Here is omitted the record of what was apparently the author's first encounter with mosquitoes.

[29] The first service which the factory rendered was to house the goods which were brought ashore at night, too late to be carried to Phillips's own warehouse.

[30] Caboceers.

we design'd to continue, that night, and pay our devoirs to his majesty next day, which we signify'd to them, and they, by a foot-express, to their monarch; whereupon he sent two more of his grandees to invite us there that night, saying he waited for us, and that all former captains used to attend him the first night: whereupon being unwilling to infringe the custom, or give his majesty any offence, we took our hamocks, and Mr. Peirson, myself, Capt. Clay, our surgeons, pursers, and about 12 men, arm'd for our guard, were carry'd to the king's town, which contains about 50 houses (p. 216). . . .[31]

We returned him thanks by his interpreter, and assur'd him how great affection our masters, the royal African company of England, bore to him, for his civility and fair and just dealings with their captains; and that notwithstanding there were many other places, more plenty of negro slaves that begg'd their custom, yet they had rejected all the advantageous offers made them out of their good will to him, and therefore had sent us to trade with him, to supply his country with necessaries, and that we hop'd he would endeavour to continue their favour by his kind usage and fair dealing with us in our trade, that we may have our slaves with all expedition, which was the making of our voyage; that he would oblige his cappasheirs to do us justice, and not impose upon us in their prices; all which we should faithfully relate to our masters, the royal African company, when we came to England. He answer'd that the African company was a very good brave man; that he lov'd him; that we should be fairly dealt with, and not impos'd upon; But he did not prove as good as his word; nor indeed (tho' his cappasheirs shew him so much respect) dare he do any thing but what they please . . .[32] so after having examin'd us about our cargoe, what sort of goods we had, and what quantity of slaves we wanted, etc., we took our leaves and return'd to the factory, having promised to come in the morning to make our palavera, or agreement, with him about prices, how much of each of our goods for a slave.

According to promise we attended his majesty with samples of our goods, and made our agreement about the prices, tho' not without much difficulty; he and his cappasheirs exacted very high, but at length we concluded as per the latter end; then we had warehouses, a kitchen, and lodgings assign'd us, but none of our rooms

[31] They were conducted to the presence of the king, with much hand-clapping and many obeisances on the part of the caboceers.

[32] Here follows an account of the repast which the king set before them, and of his loud expressions of grief on learning of Captain Shurley's death, Shurley having, so the king maintained, promised to bring him many gifts on this voyage. The grief changed to anger and charges of bad faith against his guests when he was assured by Captain Clay that the cargo contained no silks, muskets, or pictures intended for him. Churchill, VI. 217.

had doors till we made them, and put on locks and keys; next day we paid our customs to the king and cappasheirs, as will appear hereafter; then the bell was order'd to go about to give notice to all people to bring their slaves to the trunk to sell us: this bell is a hollow piece of iron in shape of a sugar loaf, the cavity of which could contain about 50 lb. of cowries: This a man carry'd about and beat with a stick, which made a small dead sound (p. 217). . . .

Capt. Clay and I had agreed to go to the trunk [33] to buy the slaves by turns, each his day, that we might have no distraction or disagreement in our trade, as often happens when there are here more ships than one, and the commanders can't set their horses together, and go hand in hand in their traffick, whereby they have a check upon the blacks, whereas their disagreements create animosities, underminings, and out-bidding each other, whereby they enhance the prices to their general loss and detriment, the blacks well knowing how to make the best use of such opportunities, and as we found make it their business, and endeavour to create and foment misunderstandings and jealousies between commanders, it turning to their great account in the disposal of their slaves.

When we were at the trunk, the king's slaves, if he had any, were the first offer'd to sale, which the cappasheirs would be very urgent with us to buy, and would in a manner force us to it ere they would shew us any other, saying they were the Reys Cosa,[34] and we must not refuse them, tho' as I observ'd they were generally the worst slaves in the trunk, and we paid more for them than any others, which we could not remedy, it being one of his majesty's prerogatives: then the cappasheirs each brought out his slaves according to his degree and quality, the greatest first, etc. and our surgeon examin'd them well in all kinds, to see that they were sound wind and limb, making them jump, stretch out their arms swiftly, looking in their mouths to judge of their age; for the cappasheirs are so cunning, that they shave them all close before we see them, so that let them be never so old we can see no grey hairs in their heads or beards; and then having liquor'd them well and sleek with palm oil, 'tis no easy matter to know an old one from a middle-age one, but by the teeths decay; but our greatest care of all is to buy none that are pox'd, lest they should infect the rest aboard. . . .

When we had selected from the rest such as we liked, we agreed in what goods to pay for them, the prices being already stated before

[33] "I could hardly stand or go to the trunk without assistance, and there often fainted with the horrid stink of the negroes." Phillips complained of violent pain in his head during most of his stay on the coast. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

[34] Reys Cosa, or slaves of the king. Phillips, engaged in the English trade, Barbot, in the French trade, and Bosman, in the Dutch, all traded on the coast at the end of the seventeenth century and all have left somewhat detailed descriptions of the processes of trade which make possible a comparison of their trade and their dealings with the natives.

the king, how much of each sort of merchandize we were to give for a man, woman, and child, which gave us much ease, and saved abundance of disputes and wranglings, and gave the owner a note, signifying our agreement of the sorts of goods; upon delivery of which the next day he receiv'd them; then we mark'd the slaves we had bought in the breast, or shoulder, with a hot iron, having the letter of the ship's name on it, the place being before anointed with a little palm oil, which caus'd but little pain, the mark being usually well in four or five days, appearing very plain and white after.

When we had purchas'd to the number of 50 or 60 we would send them aboard, there being a cappasheir, intitled the captain of the slaves, whose care it was to secure them to the water-side, and see them all off; and if in carrying to the marine any were lost, he was bound to make them good, to us, the captain of the trunk being oblig'd to do the like, if any ran away while under his care, for after we buy them we give him charge of them till the captain of the slaves comes to carry them away: These are two officers appointed by the king for this purpose, to each of which every ship pays the value of a slave in what goods they like best for their trouble, when they have done trading; and indeed they discharg'd their duty to us very faithfully, we not having lost one slave thro' their neglect in 1300 we bought here.

There is likewise a captain of the sand, who is appointed to take care of the merchandize we have come ashore to trade with, that the negroes do not plunder them, we being often forced to leave goods a whole night on the sea shore, for want of porters to bring them up; but notwithstanding his care and authority, we often came by the loss, and could have no redress.

When our slaves were come to the seaside, our canoes were ready to carry them off to the longboat, if the sea permitted, and she convey'd them aboard ship, where the men were all put in irons, two and two shackled together, to prevent their mutiny, or swimming ashore.

The negroes are so wilful and loth to leave their own country, that they have often leap'd out of the canoes, boat and ship, into the sea, and kept under water till they were drowned, to avoid being taken up and saved by our boats, which pursued them; they having a more dreadful apprehension of Barbadoes than we can have of hell, tho' in reality they live much better there than in their own country; but home is home, etc: we have likewise seen divers of them eaten by the sharks, of which a prodigious number kept about the ships in this place, and I have been told will follow her hence to Barbadoes, for the dead negroes that are thrown over-board in the passage. I am certain in our voyage there we did not want the sight of some every day, but that they were the same I can't affirm.

We had about 12 negroes did wilfully drown themselves, and others starv'd themselves to death; for 'tis their belief that when they die they return home to their own country and friends again.

I have been inform'd that some commanders have cut off the legs and arms of the most wilful, to terrify the rest, for they believe if they lose a member, they cannot return home again: I was advis'd by some of my officers to do the same, but I could not be perswaded to entertain the least thought of it, much less put in practice such barbarity and cruelty to poor creatures, who, excepting their want of christianity and true religion (their misfortune more than fault) are as much the works of God's hands, and no doubt as dear to him as ourselves; nor can I imagine why they should be despis'd for their colour, being what they cannot help, and the effect of the climate it has pleas'd God to appoint them. I can't think there is any intrinsick value in one colour more than another, nor that white is better than black, only we think so because we are so, and are prone to judge favourably in our own case, as well as the blacks, who in odium of the colour, say, the devil is white, and so paint him (pp. 218-219) . . . .

The present king often, when ships are in a great strait for slaves, and cannot be supply'd otherwise, will sell 3 or 400 of his wives to compleat their number, but we always pay dearer for his slaves than those bought of the cappasheirs, his measure for booges being much larger than theirs, and he was allow'd accordingly in all other goods we had.

For every slave the cappasheirs sold us publickly, they were oblig'd to pay part of the goods they receiv'd for it to the king, as toll or custom, especially the booges, of which he would take a small dish-full out of each measure; to avoid this they would privately send for us to their houses in the night, and dispose of two or three slaves at a time, and we as privately would send them the goods agreed upon for them; but this they did not much practise for fear of offending the king, should he come to know it, who enjoyns them to carry all their slaves to be sold publickly at the trunk with his own; sometimes after he had sold one of his wives or subjects, he would relent, and desire us to exchange for another, which we freely did often, and he took very kindly (pp. 219-220). . . .[35]

[35] The pages here omitted, all relating to Whydah, describe many native customs, and give the account promised by Phillips at an earlier point, of a war waged by the Akanna (called by the author Arcany), an inland people designated by Phillips as "the best traders to our ships and castles", against the Fetu people, who had refused passage to the Akanna through their territory. According to Phillips, the Dutch were the instigators of the Fetu policy, they desiring to absorb the Akanna trade. The English supported the Akanna, even to the extent of sending them arms and a few soldiers. Joined by the people of Sabo, they were victorious, and named a new king of the Fetu, whom they forced to swear allegiance to the Royal African Company. This ceremony Phillips witnessed while he was at Cape Coast Castle. Churchill, VI. 224-225.

After we are come to an agreement for the prices of our slaves, ere the bell goes round to order all people to bring their slaves to the trunk to be sold, we are oblig'd to pay our customs to the king and cappasheirs for leave to trade, protection and justice; which for every ship are as follow, *viz.*

To the king six slaves value in cowries, or what other goods we can perswade him to take, but cowries are most esteem'd and desir'd; all which are measur'd in his presence, and he would wrangle with us stoutly about heaping up the measure.

To the cappasheirs in all two slaves value, as above.

The usual charges here which we pay at our departure when we have finish'd our trade, in any goods that remain, are

One slave value to the captain of the trunk for his care of our slaves while there; one slave value to the captain of the sand for his care of our goods; one ditto to the captain of the slaves who conducts them safe to the sea-side; one ditto to captain Tom the interpreter, for his trouble; one ditto for filling water; half a slave, or as much cowries as the cavity of the bell can contain, to the bell-man.

Besides all which our factory charges, victualling the negroes after bought till they get aboard, and hire of porters to bring up the goods from the sea-side, which is seven miles at least, and the stoutest fellow would not bring above two bars of iron at a time, and make but one trip in a day, took up great quantities of our cowries, we paying these last charges in nothing else but these shells.

The best goods to purchase slaves here are cowries, the smaller the more esteem'd; for they pay them all by tale, the smallest being as valuable as the biggest, but take them from us by measure or weight, of which about 100 pounds for a good man-slave.

The next in demand are brass neptunes or basons, very large, thin, and flat; for after they have bought them they cut them in pieces to make anilias or bracelets, and collars for their arms legs and necks.

The other preferable goods are blue paper sletias, cambricks or lawns, caddy chints, broad ditto, coral, large, smooth, and of a deep red, rangoes [36] large and red, iron bars, powder, and brandy.

With the above goods a ship cannot want slaves here, and may purchase them for about three pounds fifteen shillings a head, but near half the cargo value must be cowries or booges, and brass basons, to set off the other goods that we buy cheaper, as coral, rangoes, iron, etc. else they will not take them; for if a cappasheir sells five slaves, he will have two of them paid for in cowries, and one in brass, which are dear slaves; for a slave in cowries costs us above four pounds in England; whereas a slave in coral, rangoes, or iron, does not cost fifty shillings; but without the cowries and brass they will take none of the

[36] Arrangoes, English cloth.

last goods, and but small quantities at best, especially if they can discover that you have good store of cowries and brass aboard, then no other goods will serve their turn, till they have got as much as you have; and after, for the rest of the goods they will be indifferent, and make you come to their own terms, or else lie a long time for your slaves, so that those you have on board are dying while you are buying others ashore; therefore every man that comes here, ought to be very cautious in making his report to the king at first, of what sorts and quantities of goods he has, and be sure to say his cargo consists mostly in iron, coral, rangoes, chints, etc. so that he may dispose of those goods as soon as he can, and at last his cowries and brass will bring him slaves as fast as he can buy them; but this is to be understood of a single ship: or more, if the captains agree, which seldom happens; for where there are divers ships, and of separate interests, about buying the same commodity they commonly undermine, betray, and out-bid one the other; and the Guiney commanders words and promises are the least to be depended upon of any I know use the sea; for they would deceive their fathers in their trade if they could.

Sayes, perpetuanoes, knives, old sheets, pewter basons, muskets, etc. which are the best goods on the gold coast for gold, are in no esteem here; for they would have four perpetuanoes for a slave, which at prime cost in England, came to 4 *l.* 15 *s.* so of the rest, especially salempores or fine callicoes, of which they would have four for a slave, which were charged to us by the African company at six pounds first cost; so that it was great loss to send such goods; for we could buy for ten ounces of good coral, 300 in number of good red rangoes, or fourteen bars of iron, which did not come to above forty-five shillings, as good a slave as for four pieces of calicoes that cost six pounds Sterling.

The only money they have here are these cowries or shells we carry them, being brought from the East-Indies, and were charg'd to us at four pounds per cent. of which we gave 100 lb. for a slave; as soon as the negroes have them, they bore holes in the backs of them, and string them on rushes, 40 shells on each, which they call a foggy; and five of such foggys being tied together, is call'd a galina, being 200 shells, which is their way of accounting their shell-money (pp. 226-228). . . .

The canoes [37] we buy on the gold coast, and strengthen them with knees and weather-boards fore and aft, to keep the sea out, they plunging very deep when they go against a sea. . . . those that are most fit for the use at Whidaw, are five hand or seven hand canoes; of which each ship that buys many slaves ought to carry two, for they are very incident to be staved by the great sea when they overset, and

[37] All carrying to and from the ship was done in canoes.

here is none for supply, and without them there is no landing or coming off for goods or men: The canoe-men we bring from Cape Corce being seven in number, of which one is boatswain, and is commonly one of the most skillful canoe-men in Guiney. . . . their pay is certain and stated, half of which we pay them in gold at Cape Corce, and the rest in goods when we have done with them at Whidaw; 'tis also customary to give them a canoe to carry them back, and cut up the other for fire-wood, unless an opportunity offers to sell it, which is very rare. They lost us six or seven barrels of cowries, above 100 bars of iron, and other goods, by the over-setting of the canoes in landing them, which we could never recover, or have the least satisfaction for, but were forced to give them good words, lest they should, in revenge, play us more such tricks; we kept two men ashore here constantly to fill water, which lay and eat at the factory, which fill'd our small hogsheads in the night, and roll'd them over the sand to the sea-side, ready to raft off in the morning, before the sea breeze came in, which is the only time, we having no other way to get it off but by rafting, and in halling off to the longboat the great sea would often break our raft, and stave our cask, whereby we lost a great many. The longboat was chiefly employ'd in bringing water aboard, which we started into our butts in the hold, and sent the small cask ashore again next morning, of which we had two gangs on purpose; we had a little deal yaul which did us great service in bringing off cows, hogs, slaves, letters, etc. from the canoes, with only two boys in her: When our slaves are aboard we shackle the men two and two, while we lie in port, and in sight of their own country, for 'tis then they attempt to make their escape, and mutiny; to prevent which we always keep centinels upon the hatchways, and have a chest full of small arms, ready loaden and prim'd, constantly lying at hand upon the quarter-deck, together with some granada shells; and two of our quarter-deck guns, pointing on the deck thence, and two more out of the steerage, the door of which is always kept shut, and well barr'd; they are fed twice a day, at 10 in the morning, and 4 in the evening, which is the time they are aptest to mutiny, being all upon deck; therefore all that time, what of our men are not employ'd in distributing their victuals to them, and settling them, stand to their arms; and some with lighted matches at the great guns that yaun upon them, loaden with partridge, till they have done and gone down to their kennels between decks: Their chief diet is call'd dabbadabb, being Indian corn ground as small as oat-meal, in iron mills, which we carry for that purpose; and after mix'd with water, and boil'd well in a large copper furnace, till 'tis as thick as a pudding, about a peckful of which in vessels, call'd crews, is allow'd to 10 men, with a little salt, malagetta, and palm oil, to relish; they are divided into messes of ten

each, for the easier and better order in serving them: Three days a week they have horse-beans boil'd for their dinner and supper, great quantities of which the African company do send aboard us for that purpose; these beans the negroes extremely love and desire, beating their breast, eating them, and crying Pram! Pram! which is Very good! they are indeed the best diet for them, having a binding quality, and consequently good to prevent the flux, which is the inveterate distemper that most affects them, and ruins our voyages by their mortality: The men are all fed upon the main deck and forecastle, that we may have them all under command of our arms from the quarter-deck, in case of any disturbance; the women eat upon the quarter-deck with us, and the boys and girls upon the poop; after they are once divided into messes, and appointed their places, they will readily run there in good order of themselves afterwards; when they have eaten their victuals clean up, (which we force them to for to thrive the better) they are order'd down between decks, and every one as he passes has a pint of water to drink after his meat, which is serv'd them by the cooper out of a large tub, fill'd before-hand ready for them (p. 229). . . .

When we come to sea we let them all out of irons, they never attempting then to rebel, considering that should they kill or master us, they could not tell how to manage the ship, or must trust us, who would carry them where we pleas'd; therefore the only danger is while we are in sight of their own country, which they are loth to part with; but once out of sight out of mind: I never heard that they mutiny'd in any ships of consequence, that had a good number of men, and the least care; but in small tools where they had but few men, and those negligent or drunk, then they surpriz'd and butcher'd them, cut the cables, and let the vessel drive ashore, and every one shift for himself. However, we have some 30 or 40 gold coast negroes, which we buy, and are procur'd us there by our factors, to make guardians and overseers of the Whidaw negroes, and sleep among them to keep them from quarrelling; and in order, as well as to give us notice, if they can discover any caballing or plotting among them, which trust they will discharge with great diligence: they also take care to make the negroes scrape the decks where they lodge every morning very clean, to eschew any distempers that may engender from filth and nastiness; when we constitute a guardian, we give him a cat of nine tails as a badge of his office, which he is not a little proud of, and will exercise with great authority. We often at sea in the evenings would let the slaves come up into the sun to air themselves, and make them jump and dance for an hour or two to our bag-pipes, harp, and fiddle, by which exercise to preserve them in health; but notwith-

standing all our endeavour, 'twas my hard fortune to have great sickness and mortality among them.

Having bought my compliment of 700 slaves, *viz.* 480 men and 220 women, and finish'd all my business at Whidaw, I took my leave of the old king, and his cappasheirs, and parted, with many affectionate expressions on both sides, being forced to promise him that I would return again the next year, with several things he desired me to bring him from England; and having sign'd bills of lading to Mr. Peirson, for the negroes aboard, I set sail the 27th of July in the morning, accompany'd with the *East-India Merchant,* who had bought 650 slaves, for the island of St. Thomas, with the wind at W.S.W. (pp. 229-230). . . .[38]

We supply'd ourselves with some Indian corn, figolas, or kidney-beans, plantins, [39] yams, potatoes, cocoa-nuts, limes, oranges, etc., for the use and refreshment of our negroes, at the following rates, *viz.*

Indian corn at two alcars per dollar.

Figolas or kidney beans, at dollars three per chest, which would contain near four bushels.

Plantins at dollars two and a half per thousand, by tale.

Yams, which are great large roots, and eat very sweet, much like potato in taste, at dollars 25 per thousand, by tale.

Cocoa-nuts at dollars 10 per thousand nuts.

Limes, oranges, limons, bananas, etc. for little or nothing (p. 232). . . .

Having completed all my business ashore in fourteen days that I lay here, yesterday in the afternoon I came off with a resolution to go to sea. Accordingly about six in the evening we got up our anchors, and set sail for Barbadoes, being forc'd to leave the *East-India merchant* behind, who could not get ready to sail in nine or ten days; which time I could not afford to stay, in respect to the mortality of my negroes, of which two or three died every day, also the small quantity of provisions I had to serve for my passage to Barbadoes (p. 234). . . .[40]

[38] On Aug. 9 Phillips commented on his need for wood, water, and provisions, and added that his slaves were dying fast; on the 12th he anchored at São Thomé, put all his negro men into irons lest they should swim ashore, and interviewed the governor of the island. Here he took water from a brook which crossed the island, "which to my taste and apprehension seem'd very good, tho' the distempers and mortality that afterwards happen'd among my men and slaves, made me suspect it did partake of some of the malignity of the island thro which it runs". Phillips obtained wood here as well as pork and other provisions, all of the best quality and very cheap. Churchill, VI. 232.

[39] According to Miss Mary Kingsley, the coarse bananas of the West Coast were called plantains. When used for food on the Middle Passage they were sometimes dried.

[40] Here follows a table giving daily observations of wind, weather, and the course of the vessel. Phillips reckoned it 4075 miles to Barbados. Early in the voyage, fearing that his provisions would become exhausted, he limited the men to "short allowance of provisions, and to two quarts of water per man per day, boiling our provisions in salt water". It is difficult to see why Phillips failed to provide ample provisions unless he found it impossible to barter the goods he carried for food. He makes no mention of such difficulty save at Santiago.

We spent in our passage from St. Thomas to Barbadoes two months eleven days, from the 25th of August to the 4th of November following: in which time there happen'd much sickness and mortality among my poor men and negroes, that of the first we buried 14, and of the last 320, which was a great detriment to our voyage, the royal African company losing ten pounds by every slave that died, and the owners of the ship ten pounds ten shillings, being the freight agreed on to be paid them by the charter-party for every negroe deliver'd alive ashore to the African company's agents at Barbadoes; whereby the loss in all amounted to near 6560 pounds sterling. The distemper which my men as well as the blacks mostly die of, was the white flux, which was so violent and inveterate, that no medicine would in the least check it; so that when any of our men were seiz'd with it, we esteem'd him a dead man, as he generally proved. I cannot imagine what should cause it in them so suddenly, they being free from it till about a week after we left the island of St. Thomas. And next to the malignity of the climate, I can attribute it to nothing else but the unpurg'd black sugar, and raw unwholesome rum they bought there, of which they drank in punch to great excess, and which it was not in my power to hinder, having chastis'd several of them, and flung over-board what rum and sugar I could find (p. 236). . . .[41]

The negroes are so incident to the small-pox, that few ships that carry them escape without it, and sometimes it makes vast havock and destruction among them: but tho' we had 100 at a time sick of it, and that it went thrō' the ship, yet we lost not above a dozen by it. All the assistance we gave the diseased was only as much water as they desir'd to drink, and some palm-oil to anoint their sores, and they would generally recover without any other helps but what kind nature gave them.

One thing is very surprizing in this distemper among the blacks, that tho' it immediately infects those of their own colour, yet it will never seize a white man; for I had several white men and boys aboard that had never had that distemper, and were constantly among the blacks that were sick of it, yet none of them in the least catch'd it, tho' it be the very same malady in its effects, as well as symptoms, among the blacks, as among us in England, beginning with the pain in the head, back, shivering, vomiting, fever, etc. But what the small-pox spar'd, the flux swept off, to our great regret, after all our pains and care to give them their messes in due order and season, keeping their lodgings as clean and sweet as possible, and enduring so much

[41] Here Phillips relates his difficulties with one of his sailors, William Lord, who deserted him in Barbados, to ship on a New England frigate which had been fitted by Barbados merchants for the Madagascar slave trade, or possibly a piratical raid in the Red Sea. The form of the author's reference to the Madagascar project makes it evident that he accepted it as an entirely legitimate enterprise. Churchill, VI. 207-208.

misery and stench so long among a parcel of creatures nastier than swine; and after all our expectations to be defeated by their mortality. No gold-finders can endure so much noisome slavery as they do who carry negroes; for those have some respite and satisfaction, but we endure twice the misery; and yet by their mortality our voyages are ruin'd, and we pine and fret our selves to death, to think that we should undergo so much misery, and take so much pains to so little purpose.

I deliver'd alive at Barbadoes to the company's factors 372, which being sold, came out at about nineteen pounds per head one with another (p. 237). . . .[42]

158. Representation of Gilbert Hetchcott and John Gardner.[1]

To the Hon'ble the Com'ee to whom the consideration of the Petition in the name of the Royall African [Company] of England is referred.

Gilbert Hetchcott and John Gardner of London Merchants haveing been summoned by this Hon'ble Committee to offer what they have to alledge against the Petition of the said Company humbly represent to this Hon'ble Comittee.

That wee are advised that at present there is noe African Company in being for that the said Company stand Actually dissolved by an Act of this present Parliam't. That while they were a Company they acted very Illegally and Oppressively.

1. By Stoping shipps outward bound and bringing them up from Gravesend when they were loaden and ready to Sail, and had paid all Duties and were cleared according to the Laws of the Land and deteining such Shipps until the Masters and owners had given Bonds on Great Penalties not to Trade on the Coast of Guiny to the great Damage of the Merchants and overthrow of many of their Voyages.

2. By seizing many Shipps with their Merchandizes in the open Sea and in ports in a Hostile manner, whereby severall lost their lives.

3. By setting up arbitrary Courts of Judicature in Foreigne parts and trying the validity of their Actions by their owne Agents.

[42] At Barbados, which Phillips considered a most unhealthful place, he reports the death of 18 of his own men and of 20 masters of vessels while he sojourned there. As return cargo he took on board 700 hhds. of sugar, at 9 and 10 *s.* per hundred weight for the muscovadoes, and 11 for the clayed; cotton at 2 *d.* per lb.; and ginger at 8 *s.* per cent. He sailed for England Apr. 2 under convoy, as a French squadron was reported to be lying in wait for merchant vessels near Martinique (Churchill, VI. 237-238). On the voyage home Phillips was taken ill and lost his hearing, an affliction which eventually sent him into retirement in Wales for the rest of his life. This therefore recounts his last voyage.

[158] [1] Br. Museum, Harleian MSS. 7310, ff. 207-209.

4. By Imprisoning Masters of Shipps and others taken in the said Shipps and not suffering them to come out, untill by Petition they had owned their pretended Crime and promised not to comitt the like again and keeping some in Prison untill they had given Bond they would not prosecute the Company in England and withholding the Wages and keeping the wearing Cloathes of the Masters and Seamen.

5. By makeing the Governors of the Plantations (who are Judges of the Courts of Equity) their Factors for selling their Negroes and recovering in their Debts, by which meanes no releife could be had ag't their Oppressions.

6. By unreasonably Screwing and mulcting the Masters of Shipps and Seamen that went in their Service and by Starting differences with most people with whom they dealt, and refused to referr them to any but those of their own Company, which the persons concerned were forced to submitt to rather then contend at Law with their Joynt Stock.

7. By exacting of others 30 and 40 per Cent for Lycence to Trade and oblidging the persons soe Lycenced to buy their goods of the Company at their own rates notwithstanding which one that did pay the Company 40 per Cent. for Lycence to Trade was forced to take down the Companys Colours and pretend he was an Interloper or Free Trader or the Natives would not suffer him to Trade.

All which considered, if such a Monopoly should be established, wee presume the Persons who have been of the Company have less reason to expect soe distinguishing a Favour should be shown to them above all other their Majesties Subjects who have an equall right to the Trade, and hope they have done nothing to Forfeit it. But while wee consider not our own private Interest but that of the Nations wee are humbly of Opinion that it is much more for the advantage of the Kingdome in Generall that the said Trade be Free to all in a regulated Company whereby every one that Trades will contribute equally to the publick charge and wee further Add.

1. That when the Trade was open much more of our English Manufacture was sent to and vended on the Coast of Guinea then since it was managed by the late Company insomuch that then the Dutch and other Nations began to decline the Trade

2. That when the late Company began to monopolize the whole Trade some sorts of our Woolen Manufactures proper for that Trade fell 20 and 30 per Cent to which the sellers were forced to submitt there being no other buyers.

3. That if the Trade were open and Free to all, it would encrease to a considerable degree and much more of the manufactures of this Nation would be exported thither then has been done by the late

Company and other Nations would hardly be able to carry on the Trade.

4. That it is more for the advantage of the Nation that the Woolen Manufactures be bought by many then by one buyer only.

5. That there are many places where the late Company have had noe Trade to which private and particular Persons would report.

6. That the Forts and Factories on the Coasts are nothing neer soe considerable as they pretend and that they can hinder none from Tradeing out of the reach of their Gunns.

7. That one man of Warr would be a greater Protection and Security on that Coast to the Trade then all the Forts.

8. That wee humbly conceive that it may be made appear Forts and Castles are not necessary for the preserveing the Trade to Affrica, but if they shall be thought necessary they togather with the whole Trade may be better maintained both in Warr and Peace by an easy contribution of Persons Tradeing in a Regulated Company then by a Joynt Stock

9. That the Forts and Castles may be not only maintained but paid for by chargeing 10 per Cent. or some reasonable Imposition on the Trade, and allowing persons that should advance money thereon Interest till the said imposition shall repay what the Forts shall be reasonably valued at.

10. That a great part of the Trade to Affrica is for Negro Servants which are sent to the English Plantations by whose labour all the West India Comodities as Sugar Indigo Cotton Ginger Tobacco etc. are produced.

11. That the Plenty and Cheapness of Negroes would enable the English Collonies to produce the said Comodities Cheap so as to outdoe other Nations.

12. That the late Company have not supplyed the said Plantations with Suffitient numbers of Negroes and haveing the Sole Trade have sold at what rates and imposed what Termes they pleased on the Planters whereby they have been greatly discouraged and other Nations by that meanes have gained ground upon the English w'ch otherwise they could not have done, and whereas formerly the English have supplyed France and Holland with great quantities of Sugar etc. those Nations now furnish themselves for the most part from their own Plantations.

13. That the Plantations have brought great Riches to this Kingdome by not only furnishing Sugar, Indigo, Cotton, Ginger, Tobacco, etc. to our own consumption which was formerly brought in from abroad, but supply great quantities to other Nations and would be enabled to doe much more and much cheaper were the Trade to Affrica

Free and open whereby the Nation would be yet more enriched, and not only the Navigation and number of Seamen but their Majesties Revenue greatly increased.

All which Particulars respecting *Vizt.*

1. The Dissolution of the late Company.
2. Their evill practices
3. The advantage it will be to the Nation to have many buyers of our Woolen Manufactury and much greater Quantities exported.
4. The Advantage it will be to the Plantations to have Negroes cheap by being brought by many and not one only.
5. The Increase of our Navigation
6. The Great [gain to] [2] the Revenue of the Crowne

Wee doubt not to prove to the Satisfaction of this Hon'ble Committee if they shall think fitt and please to allow a Reasonable time. Feb'y 1693.[3]

159. A Petition to the House of Commons.[1]

February 19, 1694.

A Petition of the Clothiers, in and about Witney in the County of Oxon, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, That, by reason of the great Difficulties and Disturbance occasioned by Interlopers who trade to Africa, the Royal African Company of England have been much discouraged in their Trade to those Parts; whereby the Petitioners, who have their chief Dependence on the said Company, are so much impoverished, that, unless some speedy Relief be given, they cannot subsist in their several Employments: And pray-

[2] Here had been bracketed "gain", "gaining", and several other experiments, all crossed out.

[3] Endorsed, "Mr. Gardner and Mr. Hetchots paper. Feb. 13, 1693/4".

[159] [1] *Commons Journals,* XI. 100. On Jan. 1, 1691, the Royal African Company presented a petition against the African bill then under consideration (Stock, II. 45). Apparently Parliament did not revert to the subject from that date until Jan. 24, 1694, when the company again petitioned, this time for the introduction of a bill granting to it its old monopoly rights (*ibid.,* II. 88). Meanwhile the assembly of Barbados had formulated its grievances against the company: aside from the general objection to monopoly and the complaint that foreign nations were driving the English from Africa, it charged more specifically that incorporation of a monopolistic company had reduced the number of vessels engaged in the negro trade, had lessened the king's customs, and had diminished the supply of negroes in the islands, which in turn had injured the sugar trade (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1693-1696, pp. 200, 207). The petition of the company, the action of the Barbados assembly, and the usual petitions for and against the company's monopoly which followed every appearance of the African question (one of which is here printed) were referred for committee consideration, and on Mar. 2, 1694, the committee made an extended and informative report to Parliament of the testimony from both sides, presenting at the same time a series of resolutions. These were considered but the session closed without the passage of a measure (Stock, II. 90-95); rough notes of a debate are to be found in Harleian MSS. 7310, ff. 211-229, labelled "Mr. Harley's Minutes", Mr. Harley being chairman of the committee of the Commons which considered the African trade.

ing, That the Traffick of the said Company may be protected in such manner as the House shall think meet.

160. The Case of the *Avarilla*.[1]

10 Dec. [*1694*]. The case of the owners of the ship *Avarilla,* burthen 350 tons. The said ship was, in September 1694, permitted by the Government to go to Guinea in the service of the Royal African Co., manned with 60 men and 30 guns, and from thence intended to Barbadoes and Virginia. In June 1695 she arrived at Barbadoes with her freight of negroes, having by the providence of God not buried one man, nor had one man sick during the voyage to that place. But, immediately upon her arrival there, Capt. Doyley, commander of his Majesty's ship the *Bristol,* pressed fifteen of his seamen and in 3 days after Capt. Massam, commander of a small frigate, pressed six men, upon which seven or eight more deserted the ship, for fear, as is supposed, of the same usage. There remained then on board but four common seamen, besides boys and about twenty officers; and, upon consultation, they thought it not safe to proceed to Virginia, being so disabled, but to determine their outward bound voyage at Barbadoes, the master there disposing of his negroes, and lading home from thence to London. But, finding his number of men insufficient to navigate his ship and make any reasonable defence in case of an attack, thought it advisable to redeem four of his men of the captain that pressed them, at five pounds per man, and withal gave to the captain of the *Bristol* ten pounds to convoy him clear of the Leeward Islands. In his passage home to England, in company with eleven sail more, was met by two French privateers in Soundings, and, after a fight of three hours, in which the captain and six more were killed and six or seven wounded, the said ship and four men were taken, to the loss of the interested in that single ship of above twenty-five thousand pounds. In all probability, had he had his complement of men, he might have escaped, the two privateers not exceeding him together in number of guns, but were encouraged to assault him by his insufficiency to defend himself. This is the third ship that some of these gentlemen have lost by pressing their men at sea and in foreign parts.

Arthur Bailey.[2]

[160] [1] *MSS. H. of L.,* 1695-1697, II. 97-98; *Lords Journals,* XV. 609, 611, 615.

[2] The owners of the *Avarilla* had made their first complaint of impressment in 1689, when she was carrying tobacco from Virginia. On this occasion she was captured by the French because of her lack of seamen (Stock, II. 11-12, 60-61). On Dec. 13, 1695, after Bailey had testified that both Captain Massam and Captain Doyley had pressed his men, his complaint was sent to the Admiralty, which replied on Dec. 17, that the matter would be inquired into as soon as Captain Doyley, then commander of the *Bristol,* had returned from the West Indies (*Lords Journals,* XV. 611, 615; Stock, II.

161. Losses reported by the Royal African Company.[1]

(i) *African Company's Paper.*

Dec. 10, 1695.

Anno 1689. Losses since the War	Valued at Prime Cost, as per Invoice. £	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Taken by the French on the north parts of Guinea, ships and cargoes	8,620	4	2			
In the						
Hare, in Guinea	500	0	0			
Alexander	961	1	0			
Maryland a[t]	117	10	0			
North Sound Nevis	265	7	0			
Unity, at Sierra Leone and Sherbro	2,809	15	11			
Loyal Factor	476	6	5			
Happy Conclusion	455	19	3			
Friends' Adventure	628	17	5			
William and John	1,594	3	0			
				16,428	17	9
				[16,429	4	2]
Anno 1690. Losses since the War						
In the						
Two Friends, a[t] Barbadoes	528	14	0			
Seaflower a[t]	1,225	16	4			
Blossom Jamaica	350	0	0			
Swan, a[t] Montserrat	312	0	0			
				2,416	10	4
Anno 1691. In the						
Berkeley Castle, and goods in her, a[t] Barbadoes	1,844	19	9			
Guinea frigate, and her cargo	9,359	17	0			
Ann and Mary	1,662	7	7			
Lisbon Merchant	1,777	9	0			
Elizabeth	242	17	9			
Insiquin	180	10	0			
				15,068	1	1
Anno 1692. In the						
Scipio	312	5	6			
Advice Barba-	3,966	2	5			
3 Brothers does	865	15	11			
Loyal Steed	2,720	5	0			
Caesar	2,276	14	2			
Benjamin	583	2	2			
Mediterranean Jamaica	227	16	0			
James	997	2	5			
3 Brothers, a[t] Antigua	527	7	3			
				12,476	10	10

136, 137, 140, 143). The embargo and the danger of impressment added greatly to the usual difficulties of the company, even though the government seemed disposed to allow to its vessels sufficient seamen to keep the trade alive. In 1693 the *Katherine* was granted 30 seamen, one-third of them to be foreigners, and one-fifth of the whole landsmen, to look after the negroes (*Acts P. C. C.,* II. 219, 221, 222). On June 15, 1693, the company was given permission to send six ships, with 200 men, and stores for the coast and merchandise for the purchase of negroes. *Ibid.,* p. 223.

[161] [1] *MSS. H. of L.,* 1695-1697, II. 79-81. The paper here presented was laid before the committee of the whole House in response to a request from that committee for a statement of the losses of the company.

[*African Company's Accounts*—continued:]

		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Anno 1693. In the							
Carolina, a[t] Jamaica		1,195	0	0			
Richard and James	Antigua	228	10	0			
Blossom	Antigua	241	5	0			
Vintage	Antigua	382	0	0			
Diamond and in Capt. Dolberry, 325 NK of Gold		10,230	0	0			
Antelope		740	0	0			
Ann, Capt. Thomas Leech, in the north parts of Guinea:—							
tons.		£	s.	d.			
32 of Gum		2,264	10	0			
45 of Teeth		9,000	0	0			
25 of Wax		2,500	0	0			
125 of Wood		7,500	0	0			
and in gold, etc.		2,000	0	0			
		23,264	10	0			
					36,281	5	0
Anno 1694. In the		£	s.	d.			
Tiger		2,532	4	1			
Bridgetown	Jamaica	658	15	9			
China Merchant	Jamaica	2,656	16	11			
Henry and William	Jamaica	1,104	1	0			
African		4,000	0	0			
Eagle ship, and goods in her		1,366	13	2			
William	Barbados	677	18	5			
Biscay Merchant	Barbados	455	1	5			
Prosperous	Barbados	184	10	1			
Bilboa Factor	Barbados	453	18	10			
William and Mary	Barbados	650	8	0			
Hopewell	Barbados	737	19	8			
Shield		1,190	11	9			
3 Brothers, Montserrat		377	2	0			
Agreement, Antigua		568	10	3			
					17,719	11	4 [*sic*]
The French descent at Jamacia					20,000	0	0
The re-taking Senegal and Goree					20,000	0	0
1695. This year, by a separate paper[2]					29,500	0	0
					£169,890	16	4

Signed, by order of the African Company, WARWICK YARD, accountant.

(m) *13 Dec. African Company's amended Paper, adding dates to their previous Paper (i) above (see MS. Min., 10 Dec.), as follows:*[3]

An account of the Royal African Company's losses from March 1695 to October 1695:

	£
The *Three Brothers,* Capt. Hudson, taken by a French man of war on the north part of Guinea, in April, 1695. . . .	3,000
The *Return,* Capt. Reeves, taken between Old Calabar and Barbadoes, in May	4,000
The *Guinea* Galley, Capt. Piles, taken by two privateers near Cape Clear the 1st of August, and carried into Brest. . . .	1,650

[2] The separate paper (i') is not reproduced, as the information which it contains is also given in "m", which follows.

[3] *MSS. H. of L.,* 1695-1697, II. 87-88.

[*African Company's Accounts*—continued:]

	£
The *Avarilla,* Capt. Robinson, taken by two privateers off Scilly the 23 August [4]	7,000
The *Deborah and Martha, Reformation, Providence,* } taken by two privateers off Scilly the 23 Augt.	4,000
The *Joan,* } Both taken in the Channel, much about the same time, the *Joan* from Barbadoes and the *Eagle* from Antigua	
The *Eagle* }	
By several ships from the Leeward Islands, of which no invoice yet come to hand	10,000
	£29,650

Signed, For the Royal African Company of England, SAM. HERON Secty.[5]

162. PETITION TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.[1]

Dec. 29, 1696.

A Petition of the Clothworkers of the Town of Shrewsbury, in the County of Salop, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth,

[4] "The occasion of the loss of this ship was that great part of her men were pressed out of her at Barbadoes, from whence she was returning to England." *Ibid.,* p. 81, paper "i".

[5] "Delivered this day, and read in Select Committee on 14th, where these losses, except the first two, were referred to the Admiralty for explanations. MS. Min., 13 Dec.; Com. Book, 14 Dec." These, be it noted, were losses sustained since the war. Some years later the company stated its entire losses by war as £400,000 (Davenant, "Reflections upon the Constitution and Management of the African Trade", in *Works,* V. 157). The next year the company reported to the House of Commons its outstanding debts as follows:

Barbados	£ 38,254	5	6
Nevis	3,177	1	0
"	22,055	15	8
Mountserrat	3,602	13	4
Antigua	2,545	19	4
Jamaica	53,571	05	0
	£123,206	19	10

The assets, exclusive of these debts, were £286,751 7 *s.* 3 *d.,* of which £40,000 was represented by the African forts. The company's own debts amounted to £113,788 7 *s.* 8 *d.* Stock, II. 184-185.

[162] [1] *Commons Journals,* XI. 636. The usual petition from the African Company for a bill settling the trade to Africa was brought in soon after the opening of the session of November, 1694, with petitions in opposition to the request from Barbados and Jamaica. The committee reported resolutions on Feb. 14, 1695, but there the matter remained (Stock, II. 101-103, 108-109). Before Parliament convened in the autumn of 1695, the company presented to the king a petition which was to be laid before the House of Commons for consideration (Nov. 16, 1695, Sir William Trumbull to the Duke of Shrewsbury, *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1695-1696, p. 103). The claims of the Royal African Company were once more put forward during the discussion of the establishment of a Scottish company for trade with Africa, and Jamaica found opportunity to present her need for open trade (*MSS. H. of L.,* II. 3, 13, 15-19; Stock, II. 140 n.). In January, 1696, the company again asked that the trade be established by legislation, maintaining that it could not carry it longer without help. Petitions for and against open trade followed, among them petitions from the planters of Virginia and Maryland, and a bill was introduced, but too late in the session for enactment (Stock, II. 145, 160-170). In the session convening Oct. 20, 1696, the question was again up and a bill was once more introduced. The council and assembly of Barbados and the agents of the island depicted its sad state and asked for the relief of free trade, the company made a brief statement of its financial condition, and numerous petitions were presented, among which were the two here printed. *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1696-1697, pp. 61, 217; Stock, II. 179, 181-185.

That the Royal African Company labouring under great Difficulties, for want of haveing their Trade secured to them against Interlopers, the Petitioners, who have their Dependence on the said Company, will be impoverished for want of Employment, without some speedy Relief: And praying, That the Traffick of the said Company may be preserved in such manner as the House shall think fit. . . .

A Petition of the Weavers in and about Kidderminster, in the County of Worcester, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, That the Petitioners, and many Hundred Families in Worcestershire, who have their chief Dependence upon the African Company, must go a begging, in case the Trade to Africa be not secured to the said Company from Interlopers: And praying, That the said Trade may be preserved to the said Company. . . .[2]

163. Memorandum to the Royal African Company.[1]

York-Island, in the River Sherbrow,

January the 17th, 1697/8.

Some extracts of such written testimonies as have been transmitted to the Royal African Company, concerning several abuses committed by the separate traders at or near the River Gambia, on the north coast of Africa.

Memorandum, that on the 9th day of this instant, the ship *New London,* Mr. Robert Ford commander, and the ship *Empress,* Mr. Henry Pitman commander, came both into the said river.

[2] During these years the controversy continued outside Parliament as well as within it, and assertions made in petitions to the House of Commons were often answered in pamphlet form as well as by counter-petitions. One of the sharp dissensions throughout the controversy concerned the effect of an incorporated monopoly on the woollen industry, the company contending that it contributed greatly to the growth of that industry, while a pamphlet of 1695 maintained that before the incorporation Suffolk had exported 25,000 cloths a year to Africa, while two years after the incorporation the number was but 500 (*Reflections upon the East Indy and Royal African Companys*). Latimer's dictum on the African exports of the clothworkers and weavers, "in fact [they] were insignificant", was probably not far from the truth. John Latimer, *History of the Merchant Venturers,* p. 179.

These petitions, along with two for an open trade received the same day, were referred to the committee of the whole which was considering the bill (Stock, II. 186). Throughout January and February, 1697, consideration of African trade continued. On Mar. 11 the company stated that it could no longer maintain the trade and asked that those who were actually trading be called upon to bear the expense. Nevertheless the session ended without action. Stock, II. 187, 190, 202, 203.

[163] [1] Charles Davenant, "Reflections upon the African Trade", in *Works,* V. 170-171. Davenant's defense of the privileges of the company belongs to the controversy of 1709, but that part of his evidence which pertains to the period before 1698 is here printed. In ch. I. of the "Reflections" he presented testimony to the abuses committed by the separate traders in the Gambia region.

The same dispute over monopoly privileges that harassed the Guinea Company also went on during these years, in connection with the East India Company; see *A Letter to a Friend concerning the East India Trade* (1696, B. M., Harleian MSS. 7310); *A Treatise concerning the East-India-Trade: being a most Profitable Trade to the Kingdom, and best Secured and Improved by a Company and a Joint Stock* (1696).

The ship *Empress* came within a league of our factory, and there anchored. Captain Ford, with his ship the *New-London,* came only to Bob-Island, and not farther up; however, he went in his boat up to Matthew Skinner's, the chief wood-factor here, and staid three days: at his return he stopt here, asked how we all did, and so went on board the ship *Empress,* and then on board his own ship the *New-London,* where, upon his arrival, he and his company combined together, and seized and secured to the number of 16 men, natives of the country, and put them in irons, with an intent to carry them into the West-Indies; moreover, they killed two other men, which so incensed the whole country, that several hundreds of people flocked and bodied on this factory, with an intent to cut us all off; so that we, being in jeopardy of our lives, were forced to take to the great house, and every man to stand to his arms in his own defence. Some then on board negotiating for us, were taken, and put us also to the log for a time: and all this occasioned by the aforesaid Captain Ford, who himself not only seized our Blacks, but the Blacks, for his default, seized and secured our white men. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands,

HENRY PITTMAN.
RICHARD LILLY.
URIAN PULFORD.

We, who have hereunto subscribed, attest this to be a true copy of the original now before us,

MAURICE MATTHEWS, Clerk
THOMAS WILLIAMS.
ROBERT BEERE.
JOHN BRIDGMAN
HUMPHREY LOWE.

164. AT OLD CALABAR, IN 1698.[1]

The ship *Dragon* traded there in April, for two hundred and twelve slaves, men, women, boys and girls, the ship being but a hundred tuns burden; a hundred and two men, from forty to forty eight copper bars per head; fifty three women, from twenty eight to thirty six of the same; forty three boys, from twenty to forty bars; and fourteen girls from seventeen to thirty, according to their age and constitution, for the following goods.

Iron bars seven hundred and seventy one; copper bars four hundred and fifty two; rangoes seven hundred and thirty; beads five hundred and forty six pounds, four pounds making a bunch; pewter tankards fifty two; basons No. 1, thirty six; No. 2, twenty six; No. 3,

[164] [1] Barbot, "Supplement", Churchill, V. 464-466.

forty two; No. 4, forty seven; linen two hundred and twenty yards; knives ninety six; brass bells, No. 1, eight hundred and forty one; No. 2, sixty two; No. 3, sixty nine; No. 4, fifty six. These goods reduced to copper bars, as follows.

	Copper Bars
One bar iron	4
One bunch of beads	4
Five rangoes	4
One tankard	3
One bason, No. 1	4
The other numbers less in proportion.	
One yard of linen	1
Six knives	1
One brass bell, No. 1	3
The other numbers less in proportion.	

Purple copper armlets, made at Loanda de S. Paola, in Angola, are a very good commodity here, and at Rio del Rey; and the Portuguese carry a great quantity of them.

Paid for provisions here: forty baskets of plantains, sixty copper bars; twenty copper bars to duke Aphrom for game; sixty to king Robin for the same; twenty to captain Thomas, at Salt-Town, for the same; twenty to captain Thomas at the watering-place, for the same. . . .[2]

165. Governor Sir William Beeston to the Board of Trade.[1]

Jamaica, July 5, 1698.

Since my last the business of settling Sir [St.] James Castillo, as the factor of the Portuguese African Company for the Assiento,[2] has been concluded, and the merchants have sold that factor three hundred negroes to be delivered at Vera Cruz, the money to be returned on the merchant's risk. As there are still several French pirates roving about these seas, they applied to me for one of the King's ships to escort the negroes and bring back the money, which at first I was unwilling to do; but considering that it was upon the first settling of that trade, that the money would go to England, that the ships lay idle in port, and that the men would be more healthy at sea than in harbour, I allowed the *Foresight* to go with them. She sailed about ten days since, and I hope will be back in five weeks.[3]

[2] Eight similar items follow.

[165] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1697-1698, p. 320. After the coming of William III. to the throne Parliament had made an effort to obtain the direction of colonial affairs but had succeeded only in removing them from the Privy Council to a new Board of Trade and Plantations, to be appointed and controlled by the crown. For this board William issued the first commission May 15, 1696, and henceforth references to the Board of Trade, the Lords of Trade, or the Lords Commissioners of Trade refer to this body. Andrews, *British Committees,* p. 113.

[2] See introduction, p. 107.

[3] Endorsed, "Recd. 23 Sept. Read 20 Oct. 1698".

166. An Act to Settle the Trade to Africa.[1]

[July 5, 1698.]

I. Whereas the Trade to Africa is highly beneficial and advantagious to this kingdom, and to the Plantations and Colonies thereunto belonging: and whereas Forts and Castles are undoubtedly necessary for the preservation and well carrying on the said Trade And whereas the Forts and Castles now on the said Coast of Africa have been, and are, maintained at the sole Cost and Charge of the present Royal African Company of England toward which Charge it is most reasonable that all Persons tradeing to such Parts of the said Coast of Africa, as are herein after limited and appointed should contribute; Be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled and by the Authority of the same That from and after the Four and twentieth Day of June in the Year One thousand six hundred ninety and eight the said Royal African Company their Successors and Assigns by and with their Stock, and Duties herein after appointed to be paid, shall maintain, support and defend all such Forts and Castles as the said African Company now have in their Possession or shall hereafter purchase or erect for the Preservation, Improvement and well carrying on the said Trade and those Forts and Castles from time to time and at all times hereafter as occasion shall require shall supply with Men Artillery, Ammunition and Provision, and all other Necessaries and incident Charges whatsoever.

II. And the better to enable the said Royal African Company, their Successors and Assigns, to maintain the said Castles and Forts and for the Preservation and well carrying on the said Trade to and for the Advantage of England and the Plantations and Colonies thereunto belonging: Be it further enacted That it shall and may be lawfull to and for any of the Subjects of His Majesties Realm of England as well as for the said Company from and after the said Four and twentieth Day of June to trade from England, and from and after the First of August One thousand six hundred ninety and eight from any of His Majesties Plantations and Colonies in America, to and for the Coast of Africa between Cape Mount and the Cape of Good Hope, the said Company and all other the said Subjects answering and pay-

[166] [1] *Statutes of the Realm,* VII. 393-397; 9 and 10 Wm. III. c. 26. The persistent company presented a petition Jan. 16, 1697, and another in March (Stock, II. 187, 190, 202). Petitions against its request followed, but it was over a year later before the bill here printed was actually introduced in the House of Commons (Feb. 12, 1698). It received the royal signature July 5. Its legislative progress can be followed in Stock, II. 216-245, *passim.* As is usual with compromises, it satisfied neither side, and the conflict broke forth again ten years later, as the time for the expiration of the act approached.

ing for the Uses aforesaid a Duty of Ten Pounds per Centum ad Valorem for the Goods and Merchandize to be exported from England or from any of His Majesties Plantations or Colonies in America to and for the Coast of Africa between Cape Mount and the Cape of Good Hope and in proportion for a greater or lesser Value in Manner and Forme as herein after expressed.

III. And for the better collecting such Duty, Be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid That the Master, and Owner or Freighter of every Ship or Vessell intending to sail or trade between Cape Mount and the Cape of Good Hope aforesaid, at one of the Chief Custom-Houses in England or in such of His Majesties Plantations or Colonies from whence such Ship or Vessell is to sail shall make Entry of the Name of such Master and the Name of such Ship or Vessel and the Burthen thereof soe freighted or intended to sail or trade between Cape Mount and the Cape of Good Hope aforesaid Fifteen Days before any such Ship or Vessel shall be cleared from any such His Majesties Custom-Houses; And that the owner or Exporter of such Goods and Merchandise intended to be shipped or put on board every such Ship or Vessel so entred for a Voyage to the Coast of Africa as aforesaid, shall at one of the said Custom-Houses make Entry upon Oath as is herein after expressed, of the Quanti[ti]e, Quality, and the true and full Value of all such Goods and Merchandise to be shipped or put on board every such Ship or Vessel so entred and shall sign such Entry by him, them and every of them so made; And at the time of such Entry and Oath made shall pay or cause to be paid the Duty aforesaid to the Collector or other chief officer (for the Time being) of His Majesties Customs at such Custom-Houses as aforesaid, who is and are hereby authorized impowered and required to demand and receive such Entries and such Duties, as aforesaid, to and for the Use of the said Company and to pay or cause to be paid the said Duty to and for the Use of the said Company in manner as herein after is expressed; and that all such Goods and Merchandize exported from England to the Colonies and Plantations in America and from thence exported for the Coast of Africa shall be deemed and valued at noe more than the true and reall Value of what they cost in England.

IV. And that the said Oaths may be the more duely administred, Be it further enacted, That the Collector or other Chief Officer as aforesaid residing in or near such Ports or Places from whence such Shipps or Vessel is or are to be cleared shall and are hereby required and impowered before the said Ship or Vessel shal be cleared to administer the Oaths following: and every Master of every such Ship or Vessel at clearing, shall make Oath in the Words following: *vizt.*

I A. B. do swear That the Manifest or Particular now by me given in and signed to the best of my knowledge and beleif doth contain specify and expresse all the goods Wares and Merchandizes which are laden or intended to be laden or put on board the Ship or Vessel called the whereof I A. B. am Master for this Voyage to Affrica. So help me God.

V. And every Owner or Exporter of Goods to be shipped on board every such Ship or Vessel upon Entry thereof shall make Oath in the Words following:

I A. B. Do sweare That the Entry by me now made and signed doth contain and specifie all the particular Quantities Qualities and true and full Value of all the Goods Wares and Merchandizes therein expressed or to be shipped on board the Ship or Vessel called the whereof is Master for the Voyage she is now to proceed on to Africa. So help me God.

VI. And that when and as often as any Goods or Merchandizes are or shall be exported from the Colonies and Plantations to Africa, as aforesaid, that were there imported from England, the said Owner or Exporter of such Goods and Merchandizes so exporting the same shall also swear That to the best of his Knowledge and Belief such Goods and Merchandizes so entred were imported from England into that Colonie or Plantation and that the true and real Value thereof, as cost in England, is fully expressed in the said Entry: And that the said Master and one of the Owners or Freighters of every such Ship or Vessel so entred as aforesaid at the time of such entry or before the said Ship or Vessel shall be Cleared at the Custom-house shall give Bond to his Majesty his Heirs and Successors to the Value of such Ship and Lading, That the said Ship or Vessel shall (Wind and Weather permitting not being hindred by other unavoidable Accidents) sail directly to the Coast of Africa between Cape Mount and the Cape of Good Hope aforesaid and from thence shall directly return to and unlade in England or in one of his Majesties Colonies or Plantations aforesaid: and the said Collector or Chief Officer of the Custom-house aforesaid, for receiving the said Entries and Duty as aforesaid and administrating the Oaths by this Act appointed to be administred, is and are hereby directed and appointed to take such Bond as aforesaid and to keep in a Book or Books a particular Account, seperate and distinct from the Custome-house Accounts, of all such Entrys made and Duties paid and payable to and for the Use of the said Company as aforesaid And on Demand made by the said Company or any Person or Persons by them for that Purpose appointed shall render and deliver or cause to be rendred and delivered to the said Company or their Assigns a true and fair Duplicate of all such Entries and Oaths made and signed

and Bonds given and Moneys paid by the Person or Persons so swearing signing and paying the same and shall pay or cause to be paid to the said Company or their Assigns, all such Sum and Sums of Money by him or them so received, or to be received as aforesaid, deducting the Sum of Five Pounds for every Hundred pounds accounted for and paid to the said Company and so in proportion for a greater or lesser Sum, received for and on the behalf of the said Company, in Recompence for his or their Trouble.

VII. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That from and after the Four and twentieth Day of June One thousand six hundred ninety and eight it shall and may be lawfull to and for any of the Subjects of his Majesties Realms of England as well as the said company to trade from England or any of his Majesties Plantations or Colonies in America to the Coast of Africa between [Cape] Blancho and Cape Mount, answering and paying a Duty of Ten pounds per Centum ad valorem for the Goods and Merchandize to be exported from England or any of his Majesties Plantations or Colonies in America to and for the Coast of Africa between Cape Blancho and Cape Mount and in proportion for a greater or lesser Value and answering and paying a further Sum and Duty of Ten pounds per Centum ad valorem Redwood only excepted, which is only to pay Five pounds per Centum ad valorem, at the Place of Importation, upon all Goods and Merchandize (Negroes excepted) imported into England or any of His Majesties Plantations or Colonies in America from the Coast of Africa between Cape Blancho and Cape Mount aforesaid: And every Master and Trader sailing and trading or intending to sail and trade from England or from any of his Majesties Plantations or Colonies aforesaid between Cape Blancho and Cape Mount aforesaid shall make the like Entry and Oath and give the like Bonds as is before directed for Masters and Traders touching the Trade between Cape Mount and Cape Good Hope and upon such Entry and Oath made as aforesaid shall Pay the Duty aforesaid, in like manner as is directed for the Duty to be paid by Traders trading between Cape Mount and Cape Good Hope aforesaid: And the Collector or Chief Officer of his Majesties Chief Custom-houses in England, or any of his Majesties Plantations from whence such Ship or Vessel shall be dispatched, are and is hereby impowred and required to take such Entrys and Bonds and administer such Oaths and receive such Duties and on Demand made by the said Company and on their Behalf to pay the same to the said Company or their Order for the Uses as before directed and every other Matter and Thing to do *mutatis mutandis* as is and are herein and hereby directed and appointed, touching Masters, Owners and Traders trading or intending to trade between Cape Mount and Cape Good Hope; and

that all Goods and Merchandize (Negroes excepted) that shall be laded or put on board any Ship or Vessel on the Coast of Africa between Cape Blancho and Cape Mount, and shall be imported into England or into any of his Majesties Plantations or Colonies aforesaid, shall answer and pay the Duties aforesaid and that the Master or Chief Officer of every such Ship or Vessel that shall lade or receive any Goods or Merchandize (Negroes excepted) on board of his or their Ship or Vessel between Cape Blancho and Cape Mount shall upon makeing Entry at any his Majesties Custom-houses aforesaid of the said Ship or Vessel or before any Goods or Merchandize be landed or taken out of the said Ship or Vessel (Negroes excepted) shall deliver in a Manifest or Particular of his Cargo and take the following Oath: *vizt.*

I A. B. do swear That the Manifest or Particular now by me given in and signed to the best of my Knowledge and Belief doth contain, signifie and express, all the Goods Wares and Merchandizes (Negroes excepted) which were laden or put on board the said Ship called the during her Stay and continuing on the Coast of Africa between Cape Blancho and Cape Mount whereof I A. B. am Master.

VIII. And that the Owner or Importer of all Goods and Merchandize (Negroes excepted) which shall be brought to England or any of his Majesties Plantations from any Port of Africa between Cape Blancho and Cape Mount aforesaid shall make Entry of all such Goods and Merchandize at one of his Majesties Chief Custom-houses in England or in such of his Majesties Plantations where the same shall be imported with the Collector or other Chief Officer of the Customs there, upon Oath, and sign the same, of the Quantity Quality and true Value of all such Goods and Merchandize as they are worth to be sold at the Place of Importation and pay the Duty for the same as aforesaid; And the Collector or other Chief Officer of his Majesties Custom-houses in England or in any of his Majesties Plantations where every such Ship or Vessel shall arrive are and is hereby impowred and required to take the Entries and Manifests and administer the Oaths and take and receive the Duties aforesaid and on Demand made by the Company or on their behalf to Pay the same to the said Company or their Orders for the Uses afore directed and shall render and deliver to the said Company or their Assigns a true and fair Duplicate of all such Entries and Oaths made and signed as aforesaid.

IX. Provided always, The said Collector or Officer shall deduct for his or their Trouble Five Pounds for every Hundred Pounds for all the Duties ariseing and to be received by vertue of this Act, excepting what Duty shall arise from the Exports and Imports of

the said Royal African Company, which shall be exempted from the said Allowance Any thing in this Act contained to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding: And that the said Company and their Successors shall give and render a particular Account in Writing of all the Moneys by them received and also by their Exports and Imports ariseing for the Duties aforesaid and how and in what manner they have disposed and laid out the same yearly within Three Months after the Expiration of every Year unto the Cursiter Baron of the Court of Exchequer; and the said Cursiter Baron of the Court of Exchequer is for the better Discovering the Truth of such Account hereby impowred to examine such Person or Persons as they judge necessary upon Oath touching the Articles or Particulars in such Account expressed or as many of them as the said Cursiter Baron of the Exchequer shall think fit: and that all Goods or Merchandizes (Negroes excepted) which shall be brought from any Part of Africa between Cape Blancho and Cape Mount aforesaid which shall be unladen or landed before Entry made and signed and Oath of the true and real Value thereof Made and the Duty paid as aforesaid shall be forfeited or the Value thereof.

X. And for the True Performance of the Payments Duties and Directions in this Act ordained; Be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid That every Ship or Vessel which shall contrary to the true Intent and Meaning of this Act sail from any Port or Place in England or from any of his Majesties Plantations or Colonies in America to or for the Coast of Africa as aforesaid without being duly entred, Oath made, and Bonde given, as herein before is directed shall be forfeited, or the Value thereof, and every the Goods and Merchandize which shall contrary to the true Intent and Meaning of this Act be put on board any Ship or Vessel whatsoever sailing from England or from any of His Majesties Plantations or Colonies in America to the Coast of Africa as aforesaid before due Entry be made of the said Goods and Merchandize and of the Value thereof and the Duties paid for the same as is before directed, such Goods and Merchandize shall be forfeited or the Value thereof and that every Ship and Vessel and all and every the Goods and Merchandizes therein or belonging or appertaining to any of his Majesties Subjects that shall sail or be conveyed from any other Part or Place than from England or his Majesties Plantations and Colonies to the Coast of Africa as aforesaid shall be Forfeited.

XI. And be it further enacted, That one third part of all or any of the Forfeitures aforesaid, shall be to the Use of his Majestie, his Heirs and Successors, One other third part to and for the Use of the said Company and their Successors to be applyed for the Maintenance of the said Forts and Castles, and the other Third part to

and for the Use and Benefit of him or them that shall inform and sue for the same.

XII. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That for the recovering and obtaining all and every the Forfeitures and Penalties by this Act inflicted it shal and may be lawfull to and for all and every Person and Persons whatsoever to sue for the same or any Part thereof in any of his Majesties Courts of Record of this Kingdom or in any of his Majesties Plantations or Colonies in America, by Bill Plain Information or otherwise, wherein no Essoign, Wager of Law or Protection shall be allowed, nor any more than one Imparlance.

XIII. Provided nevertheless, That if any Ship or Vessel trading to the Coast of Africa and the Goods exported therein shall be cast away or otherwise lost or destroyed before such Ship or Vessel shall arrive at her Port or Place of Delivery then the Proprietors or Exporters of the said Goods and Merchandize in such Ship or Vessel so lost or destroyed as aforesaid shall, upon their sending any other Ship or Vessell to the Coast of Africa be allowed so much as was paid to the said Company for the Goods and Merchandize so lost as aforesaid, Any thing herein before contained to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding.

XIV. Provided always and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid That all Persons being the natural born Subjects of England trading to the Coast of Africa as aforesaid and paying the Duties by this Act imposed, shall have the same Protection Security and Defence for their Persons Ships and Goods by from and in all the said Forts and Castles and the like Freedom and Security for their Negotiations and Trade to all Intents and Purposes whatsoever as the said Company their Agents Factors and Assigns and their Ships and Goods have, may or shall have, and that all and every Person and Persons trading to Africa and paying the Duties as aforesaid may and are hereby impowred at their own Charge to Settle Factories on any part of Africa within the Limits aforesaid according as they shall judge necessary and convenient for the carrying on their Trade without any Lett Hindrance or Molestation from the said Company, their Agents Factors or Assigns, and that all Persons not Members of the said Company so trading and paying the said Duties as aforesaid shall, together with their Shipps and Goods, be free from all Molestations Hindrances Restraints Arrests Seizures Penalties or other Impositions whatso[e]ver from the said Company, their Agents Factors or Assigns, for or by reason of their so trading, Any Charter Usage or Custom to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

XV. Provided always and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if any Goods or Merchandizes which shall be exported

for the Coast of Africa and shall have paid the Duties due and payable by this Act shall be brought back again to England or to any of his Majesties Plantations it shall and may be lawful to export the same Goods again for Africa without paying any Duty, Oath being first made by Two credible Persons not having any Property in such Goods that the same Goods have already upon their first Exportation paid the Duty by this Act imposed, and a true Copy of the Entry of such Goods made upon the former Exportation thereof being first produced and attested upon Oath of Two Credible Persons as aforesaid.

XVI. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all the Duties and Impositions ariseing and collected and paid by virtue of this Act shall be and are hereby appropriated wholly to the Maintenance of the Forts and Castles on the Coast of Africa and now are and hereafter shal be in the Possession of the said Royal African Company and for keeping them always in good condition and well Repaired and for the providing Ammunition and all needful warlike Stores and a sufficient Number of Soldiers to defend the same and for paying the said Officers and Soldiers belonging to them and to noe other use or purpose whatsoever, and that a just and true account of the said Duties and laying out of the same for the Uses above mentioned shall be kept in a Book or Books for that purpose which Book or Books shall lye open at the African House scituate in London to be perused at all seasonable times by all Persons trading to Africa; and that an account shall be stated and made up yearly and every Year at Michaelmas or within Twenty Days after and be recorded in the Court of Exchequer.

XVII. Provided always and be it enacted and declared by the Authority aforesaid, That no Duty imposed by this Act shall be Required levyed or collected in England or any of the Colonies aforesaid for any Gold or Silver imported from Africa but that the same may be Landed without Entry or Declaration thereof, Any [thing] in this Act contained to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

XVIII. Provided always, That nothing contained in this Act shall be interpreted to hinder or exclude any Person or Persons from Trading to that part of Africa commonly called Barbary extending Southerly as far as Cape Blancho.

XIX. And whereas by an Act of Parliament made in the Fifth and Sixth Years of the Reign of His present Majestie and the late Queen Mary among other things it was enacted, That no other Copper than what is made of English Oar only should be exported, which proving very prejudicial to the Trade of England by enabling Foreigners to export Copper much cheaper than it can be Carryed from England, Be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid That it shall and may be

lawful, to and for any of His Majesties Subjects to export from England all such Copper Barrs as hath or shall be imported into England from foreign Parts and upon Exportation shall draw back all Duties, or vacate the Securities, paying the half of the Old Subsidy, as is usual in other Commodities.

XX. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no Governor or Deputy Governor of any of his Majesties Colonies or Plantations in America or His Majesties Judges in any Courts there for the time being nor any other Person or Persons for the use or on behalf of such Governor or Deputy Governor or Judges from and after the Nine and twentieth Day of September One thousand six hundred ninety eight shall be a Factor or Factors, Agent or Agents for the said Company, or any other Person or Persons for the Sale or Disposal of any Negroes and that every Person offending herein shall Forfeit Five hundred pounds to the Uses aforesaid to be recovered in any of Mis Majesties Courts of Record at Wes[t]minster by Action of Debt, Bill, Plaint or Information wherein no Essoign, Protection, Privilege or Wager of Law shall be allowed nor any more than one Imparlance.[2]

Provided that this Act shall Continue and be in Force Thirteen Years and from thence to the end of the next Sessions of Parliament and no longer.[3]

[2] "Since mine of 13 October the Act for settling the Royal African Company has reached us, at the end whereof is a clause that no Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, nor Judge in any Court shall be factors for them or for any others in the sale of negroes. This has put us in such disorder that I see nothing but that law and justice must cease among us and therewith the King's authority, if there be no officers to support it. Several of them have resigned already, and the rest, when they please, will make it an argument that they serve in those offices for no reward, and therefore not knowing how soon their friends in England may consign them a ship of negroes, they will not part with that which is a sure profit for that which is nothing but trouble and expense. Besides it frightens them all that an information shall lie against them in Westminster Hall, where any envious people may inform against them and judgment may be given against them before they know of it, which no man will hazard. . . . They [the assembly] have also continued the duty on . . . exported negroes, though for eight months only" (Dec. 5, 1698, Governor Beeston to the Board of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1697-1698, pp. 567-568). Before replying to this the Board of Trade asked the opinions of the agents of the plantations as to whether the clause had actually worked inconvenience in the colonies. Cary, agent of Nevis, thought not. The agents of Barbados expressed hearty approval of the clause: "when men in great authority are factors they are apt to make use of their powers to promote the advantage of their employers. As a matter of experience, when factors or agents of the African Company in Barbados have been members of the Council there, and one was Lieut.-Governor, the condition of those who had dealings with them—in effect the whole island—was made much worse and gave rise to complaints, which, we believe, was one reason for the Parliament's passing the said clause" (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1699, pp. 456, 458). On Oct. 12 the Council wrote to Beeston simply that the clause could be changed only by act of Parliament and that the other plantations seemed to approve of it. *Ibid.,* p. 461.

[3] With the passing of this act private traders, who had been more or less restrained up to this time, were able to enter into open competition on the African coast. Labat, writing of the effect of the change, said:

"It is scarce possible to conceive what a Number of English Vessels this Permission brought to the Gambra, and what Confusion it occasioned in the Trade. Each Captain out-bidding the other to get the sooner loaded, the Price of Negros at Jilfray rose to

167. A Voyage to New Calabar, 1699.[1]

The thirteenth of January 1698-9, we sail'd from the Downs.

Twenty fifth [February], we anchor'd before Sestro river; there we staid till the twentieth of March, getting in wood, water, rice, malaguette, fowls, and other refreshments and provisions, etc. . . .

Eighth [April], anchor'd before the Prussian fort, Great Fredericksburgh,[2] at Tres-Pontas.

The Prussian general receiv'd us at his fort very civilly, but told us, he had no occasion for any of our goods; the trade being every where on that coast, at a stand, as well by reason of the vast number of interlopers and other trading ships, as for the wars among the natives, and especially that which the English and Dutch had occasion'd on account of a black king the English had murder'd, which must be the king of Commendo before mention'd in this supplement,[3] and that the armies had actually been in the field for eight months, which stopt all the passes for merchants to come down to the forts,

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forty Bars a head; so that the Mercadores or Mandingo Merchants would no longer sell their Slaves either at Barakonda, or Guioches, to the French or English Company for the usual Price of fifteen or seventeen Bars, but chose to come down the River, tempted by the great Profits made, which sufficiently compensated their Trouble. By this Means the Servants of the French and English Companies were forced to sit idle, and wait patiently to see the Issue of this ruinous Commerce. Between January and June, 1698, these separate Traders exported no fewer than three thousand six hundred Slaves, by which Means they overstocked the Country with more Goods than they could consume in some Years. Nothing could be more imprudent than the Conduct of the English Company, who had better have received nothing from the Parliament for the Reparation of their Fort, than have accepted this Benevolence of Ten per Cent. on Conditions wholly destructive to their Trade, as appears from the extravagant Rate to which the Price of Slaves was risen. It was easy to see their Intention was to ruin the French Company, without reflecting, that, while they hurt them but a little, they ruined themselves intirely." Astley, *Voyages and Travels,* II. 78.

The effect of this legislation on the number of negroes sold in the West Indies was immediately noticeable in Jamaica:

	Barbados	Jamaica	Nevis
1698	477	313	151
1699	486	797	217

In none of the three islands was there a noticeable drop in price; in Nevis there was a marked increase, the average price in 1698 being £21 1*s.*, in 1699, £30 3*s.* C. O. 388: 10, H 105.

[167] [1] "An Abstract of a Voyage to New Calabar River, or Rio Real, in the Year 1699, taken out of the Journal of Mr. James Barbot, Super-Cargo, and Part-Owner with me, and other Adventurers of London, in the *Albion-Frigate,* of 300 Tons and 24 Guns, a Ten per Cent. Ship", "A Supplement to the Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea", in Churchill, *Voyages and Travels,* V. 455-466. To the "Description of Guinea" which Barbot had written in 1682 he added here all the information which he could collect from correspondence and the accounts of travellers, and also an account of a voyage made to New Calabar by his brother James in 1699, and one made to the Congo by his nephew James in 1700 (*ibid.,* V. 423). After John Barbot's service on the coast for the French company he apparently spent some time in London, as an independent trader. Ten-per-cent. ships was the term applied to those ships not belonging to the company, which paid a duty of ten per cent. for the privilege of trading on the coast, according to the terms of the act of 1698.

[2] The Brandenburg Fort Friedrichsburg, about three miles east of Axim, was built about 1682. It was described as "a handsome fortress, mounted with about forty guns" and was said to have the most beautiful gate on the coast.

[3] Churchill, V. 441.

to trade; that it was expected there would be a battle speedily, betwixt them; that the Hollanders, a people very jealous of their commerce at the coast, were very studious to have the war carried on among the blacks, to distract as long as possible the trade of other Europeans, and to that effect were very ready to assist upon all occasions the blacks, their allies, that they might beat their enemies, and so the commerce fall into their hands.

On the tenth [April], a small Portuguese ship anchor'd by us, the master a black said he had been but three weeks from St. Tome, and that about three months before he saw there four tall French ships coming from the coast of Guinea, loaded with slaves, mostly at Fida; one of them commanded by Chr. Damou. Those ships were sent by the French king with a particular commission, to purchase slaves in Guinea, to indemnify the freebooters of St. Domingo, for their pretensions to the booty taken formerly at Cartagena by Mess. de Pointis and du Casse,[4] in lieu of money; and thereby engage them to return to St. Domingo, and push on their settlement there, which they have abandon'd; it being agreed to sell them the slaves, at no more than two hundred and fifty livres, per each Indian piece at St. Domingo, which accordingly has made them return to their settlements there. Those ships had been forc'd to give near fifty crowns a piece,[5] at Fida; slaves being then pretty thin at that place, and in great demand.

The blacks there, through malice, had diverted the channel of the fresh water ashore, to hinder us taking any, of which we complain'd to the Prussian general, who thereupon gave orders to let us have water.

He lent us some of his bricklayers, to set up our copper aboard,[6] for our slaves before hand.

The Portuguese master begg'd our protection to convoy him safe to cape Corso, in his way to Fida, fearing the Hollanders at Mina, who, whenever they can, force all Portuguese ships to pay them a very high toll, for the permission of trading at the coast.

We have abundance of our men sick, and several already dead, the weather being intolerably scorching hot, and we can hardly get any provisions for them, but a few goats very dear: we had from the Portuguese, one goat, one hog, and seven chickens, for five akies in gold.

[4] Jean du Casse (1646-1713) was well acquainted with the African trade when, in 1691 or 1692, he was made governor of Santo Domingo, for he had visited the African coast in the service of the French Admiralty, had been director of the French Senegal Company, and a governor on the West Coast, where he contributed to the prosperity of Arguin and Goree.

[5] The value of the French crown was about $1.10.

[6] The large boiler used on board ship for cooking. It was customarily set up and repaired by bricklayers.

Here we perceiv'd that above an hundred pounds worth of horse-beans, we had bought at London, for subsisting our slaves in the voyage, were quite rotten and spoil'd, for want of being well stow'd and look'd after ever since.

On the seventeenth of April, we were before Mina Castle and found seven sail in the road, three or four of them tall ships; among which two frigats, each of about thirty guns, and a hundred and thirty men, cruizers at the coast; who had taken three interlopers of Zealand, one of which carried thirty-six guns, who having made a brave resistance, the commander was to be try'd for his life. One of the frigats having been already two years at the coast, was ready to return home, with a thousand marks of gold (pp. 455-456). . . .

We found no corn there [Cape Coast], every body telling us it was very dear at the coast.

On the twenty-first [April], we set sail, saluting the castle with seven guns, and anchor'd at Anamabou; where we purchas'd with much trouble, and at a very dear rate, a quantity of Indian wheat, and sold many perpets, and much powder: we paid three akies for every chest of corn, which is excessive dear; but having lost all our large stock of horse-beans, were forc'd to get corn at all rates. Here the blacks put a great value upon perpets, in painted wrappers; oil-cloths with gilt leads, with large painted arms of England.

The tenth [May], we sent the boat to Anischan, at east, for fewel; and bought her loading of billets at three akies for each hundred, very dear wood. . . .

The twenty-sixth, as we work'd our small bower aboard, both cable and buoy-rope breaking, we were forc'd to sail, leaving the anchor behind, which was hitch'd among the rocks at the bottom; and having purchas'd sixty-five slaves along the Gold Coast, besides gold and elephants teeth, saluted the three European forts, each with nine guns; and steered east south-east, for four or five leagues, then south-east by east for twenty-eight leagues, towards New Calabar, to buy more slaves (p. 456). . . .

[June 23].[7] Our man reported, that the ship we could see within the river was English, commanded by one Edwards, who had got his complement of slaves, being five hundred, in three weeks time; and was ready to sail for the West-Indies: and that he would spare us an anchor of about eleven hundred weight, which rejoiced us much.

He reported farther, that as soon as the blacks could see our ship off at sea, they immediately went up the river to buy slaves, besides a hundred and fifty that were actually at Bandy town when he left it; and that king William had assur'd him, he engag'd to furnish five hundred slaves for our loading, all lusty and young. Upon which, we

[7] The vessel reached Calabar June 18, but did not enter the river. Instead, the longboat was sent up.

consulted aboard with the officers, and unanimously agreed to carry up the ship, if possible, for the greater expedition (p. 458). . . .

On the twenty fifth [June] in the morning . . . we went ashore also to compliment the king, and make him overtures of trade, but he gave us to understand, he expected one bar of iron for each slave, more than Edwards had paid for his; and also objected much against our basons, tankards, yellow beads, and some other merchandize, as of little or no demand there at that time. The twenty sixth, we had a conference with the king and principal natives of the country, about trade, which lasted from three a-clock till night, without any result, they insisting to have thirteen bars of iron for a male, and ten for a female slave; objecting that they were now scarce, because of the many ships that had exported vast quantities of late. The king treated us at supper, and we took leave of him. . . .[8]

The thirtieth, being ashore, had a new conference, which produced nothing; and then Pepprell, the king's brother, made us a discourse, as from the king, importing, He was sorry we would not accept of his proposals; that it was not his fault, he having a great esteem and regard for the Whites, who had much enriched him by trade. That what he so earnestly insisted on thirteen bars for male, and ten for female slaves, came from the country people holding up the price of slaves at their inland markets, seeing so many large ships resort to Bandy for them; but to moderate matters, and encourage trading with us, he would be contented with thirteen bars for males, and nine bars and two brass rings for females, etc. Upon which we offered thirteen bars for men, and nine for women, and proportionably for boys and girls, according to their ages; after this we parted, without concluding any thing farther.

On the first of July, the king sent for us to come ashore, we staid there till four in the afternoon, and concluded the trade on the terms offered them the day before; the king promising to come the next day aboard to regulate it, and be paid his duties. . . .

Our pinnace returned at night from Dony, brought a slave for ten bars of iron and a pint tankard; and a cow and a calf, which cost a hundred and fifty rings.

The second, heavy rain all the morning. At two a-clock we fetch'd the king from shore, attended by all his caboceiros and officers, in three large canoes; and entring the ship, was saluted with seven guns. The king had on an old-fashion'd scarlet coat, laced with gold and silver, very rusty, and a fine hat on his head, but bare-footed; all his attendants showing great respect to him: and since our coming hither, none of the natives have dared to come aboard of us, or sell the least thing, till the king had adjusted the trade with us.

[8] They continued to higgle over prices on the 27th and 28th. On the 29th they did not go ashore.

We had again a long discourse with the king, and Pepprell his brother, concerning the rates of our goods and his customs. This Pepprell being a sharp blade, and a mighty talking black, perpetually making sly objections against something or other, and teazing us for this or that dassy, or present, as well as for drams, etc. it were to be wish'd, that such a one as he were out of the way, to facilitate trade.

We fill'd them with drams of brandy and bowls of punch till night, at such a rate, that they all, being about fourteen with the king, had such loud clamorous tattling and discourses among themselves, as were hardly to be endured.

Thus, with much patience, all our matters were adjusted indifferently, after their way, who are not very scrupulous to find excuses or objections, for not keeping literally to any verbal contract; for they have not the art of reading and writing, and therefore we are forced to stand to their agreement, which often is no longer than they think fit to hold it themselves. The king order'd the publick cryer to proclaim the permission of trade with us; with the noise of his trumpets, being elephant's teeth, made much after the same fashion, as is used at the Gold Coast, we paying sixteen brass rings to the fellow for his fee. The blacks objected much against our wrought pewter, and tankards, green beads, and other goods, which they would not accept of.

We gave the usual presents to the king and his officers; that is,

To the king a hat, a firelock, and nine bunches of beads, instead of a coat.

To captain Forty, the king's general, captain Pepprell, captain Boileau, alderman Bougsby, my lord Willyby, duke of Monmouth, drunken Henry, and some others, two firelocks, eight hats, nine narrow Guinea stuffs.

We adjusted with them the reduction of our merchandize into bars of iron, as the standard coin, *viz.*

One bunch of beads, one bar. Four strings of rings, ten rings in each, one ditto. Four copper bars, one ditto. One piece of narrow Guinea stuff, one ditto. One piece broad Hamborough, one ditto. One piece Nicanees, three ditto. Brass rings, ditto. And so pro rata, for every other sort of goods.

The price of provisions and wood was also regulated.

Sixty king's yams, one bar; one hundred and sixty slaves yams, one bar; for fifty thousand yams to be deliver'd to us. A butt of water, two rings. For the length of wood, seven bars, which is dear; but they were to deliver it ready cut into our boat. For a goat, one bar. A cow, ten or eight bars, according to its bigness. A hog, two bars. A calf, eight bars. A jar of palm-oil one bar and a quarter.

We paid also the king's duties in goods; five hundred slaves, to be purchased at two copper rings a head.

We also advanced to the king, by way of loan, the value of a hundred and fifty bars of iron, in sundry goods; and to his principal men, and others, as much again, each in proportion of his quality and ability.

To captain Forty, eighty bars. To another, forty. To others, twenty each.

This we did, in order to repair forthwith to the inland markets, to buy yams for greater expedition; they employing usually nine or ten days in each journey up the country, in their long canoes up the river (pp. 459-460). . . .

The fifth [August], the king sent aboard thirty slaves, men and women; of which we pick'd nineteen, and returned him the rest.

The sixth, the king came aboard with four slaves, which, with the nineteen others of the day before, made twenty-three, for which we paid him two hundred and forty seven bars, three of the women having each a child. We allowed him for twenty four heads in specie, a hundred and twelve bars, in Rangoes ten bars, in beads forty six bars, in copper fifty one bars, and in Guinea stuffs twenty eight bars.

Thus from day to day, from this time to the twenty ninth of August following, either by means of our armed sloop making several voyages to New Calabar town, and to Dony, to purchase slaves and provisions; and by the contract made with the king, and his people of Bandy town, and circumjacent trading places; we had by degrees aboard six hundred and forty eight slaves, of all sexes and ages, including the sixty five we had purchased at the Gold Coast, all very fresh and sound, very few exceeding forty years of age; besides provisions of yams, goats, hogs, fowls, wood and water, and some cows and calves. As for fish, this river did not afford us any great quantity, which was a great loss to us, being forced to subsist the ship's crew with fresh meat from land, at a great charge, it being here pretty dear, and most of our salt meat being spent, and have but for three months more of sea-biskit left in the bread-room. Several of our sailors are tormented with cholicks, and some few dead (p. 460). . . .[9]

168. The Factors of Cape Coast Castle to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, 5th March, 1699.

With submission to your honours, it is no wonder the 10 per cent. men made voyages, when at the same time we have little or no busi-

[9] On July 22 John Grazilhier, with the sloop, made a trading excursion along the coast to New Calabar, gathering up slaves for the cargo. He returned to the ship on July 31, with nearly 100 slaves. He took on a fresh cargo of trading goods, and repeated his trip in August. At the same time Mr. Barbot was trading on other parts of the coast.

[168] [1] Davenant, *Works,* V. 183-184. Chapter II. of Davenant's "Reflections on the African Trade" contains what evidence Davenant could collect on the abuses inflicted

ness, which is customary in all parts of the world where ships resort to, unless their cargoes are consigned to some factor, or others on shore; for natives and inhabitants will never come to a factory or ship to lay out their money, when they can b[u]y goods 30 per cent. cheaper on board a ship than can be afforded in either of the former. The 10 per cent. men, for the most part, sold perpets at six ackeys each, and so proportionably the rest of their merchandize.

169. Captain Matthew Wilson to the Royal African Company.[1]

King's Town, Whidah, 26th June, 1699.

We arrived the 31st of May, having purchased 215 negroes. The cargo, with what has been disposed of on the Gold-Coast, will fall very short of our complement, the King playing tricks with us, as likewise with other ships that are here. When we came to pay him, he raised his price from his first agreement, being grown very haughty and proud since Whidah has been attended with so many ships.

170. Negotiations between M. André Brue and Mr. Corker.[1]

Memoir of Mr. Corker, November 10, 1699.

I. That the French Company should enjoy the same Liberty of Trade in the Gambia they had before the War, *viz.* the Right only

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on the company by the separate traders on the Gold Coast. Those ten-per-cent. men or separate traders, now allowed by the act of 1698 to trade on the coast after a payment to the company, could no longer be described as interlopers. The factors signing this letter were Nicholas Buckridge, Howsley Freeman, and Samuel Wallis.

[169] [1] Davenant, *Works,* V. 183. Capt. Wilson was master of the company's vessel *Edward and William.*

[170] [1] Astley, *Voyages and Travels,* II. 79. Astley's account, taken from Labat's rendering of Brue's papers, explains the negotiation between Brue and Corker by the difficulties into which the company had been plunged by the act of 1698. In order to meet the competition of the ten-per-cent. men Croker "established new Factories up the Gambra, and at Jereja, where his Company had none before. He also made Settlements at Joval and Portudali; and to bring over the Damel, or King of Kayor, to the English Interest, sent his Clerks with Goods to his Court, with Orders to sell them at an under Value, and make exorbitant Presents to that greedy Prince; who, after making them dance Attendance from Place to Place, as he had done before, sent them away without a Payment, glad to escape in a whole Skin. Not content with this, General Corker sold the Company's Goods at as low a Price as the Interlopers; and by Force hindered the French Company's Ships from trading up the Gambra, stopping some of their Vessels, and firing upon others, for sailing without his Passport. In a Word, he shewed a great Enmity to the French on all Occasions. In the End, he discovered his Error, and saw plainly, that the Consequence of the Parliament's laying open the Trade, would be the Ruin of the Company's Affairs; and that the separate Traders, selling their Goods at so low a Price, would spoil all Commerce on the Gambra. He wrote to his Principals, that it was better to quit the Ten per cent. and repair Fort William at their own Charges, than to be obliged at last to abandon it for want of Trade. He resolved at the same Time to accomodate Matters with the Sieur Brue, proposing an Agreement, by which the Price of Goods should be regulated between the two Companies, who should unite to maintain their Trade to the Exclusion of Interlopers, as soon as the English Parliament should repeal the Act of 1695 [1698] in their favour. For this End he sent an Officer to the Sieur Brue, November 10, 1699, with his Compliments, and to propose the Concordate, as set forth in the following Memoir."

of trading to Albreda and Jereja [Joar ?]; and of having Factories at those Places, to live in good Correspondence with the English Company's Servants as before.

II. That, as the English Company had always Settlements at Joal and Portudali before the War, they should still enjoy the same Privileges.

III. That the French Sloop of the Sieur Desnos being only stopped, should be restored on the Sieur Brue's Order: That this Seizure was only made, because the said Desnos, under Pretence of going to Ghikar to recover the French Company's Debts, had carried on an illicit Trade, and had the Insolence to insult the English General, by threatening to destroy his Fort.

IV. That, as so many Ships came yearly on Commission from England to the Coast, it was at that Time impossible to settle a Tariff for Slaves, but that it should be regulated as soon as the English General received the Company's Orders.

V. That the English Royal African Company were forbidden to molest the separate Traders, who act by Authority from Parliament, which requires the Company to aid and assist them as much as lies in their Power.

Answer of M. André Brue.

I. That, by the Peace of Ryswick, it was agreed, the Conquest made on either Side should be restored, and all Matters settled as before the War broke out: That before the War the English Company's Trade was wholly confined to the Gambia, whereas that of the French extended by Charter from Cape Blanco to the River of Sierra Leona: That the French Company had always claimed a Right to trade in the Gambia jointly with the English, having always held Factories at Albreda and Jereja: That the French had certainly an equal Right to trade up the Gambia with the Portugueze and English Interlopers: That it was the mutual Interest of both the Companies to unite in a free Trade; and to regulate a Tariff for their Goods, which, by their Power, they might oblige the Negros to observe, who could then no longer take Advantage of their Misunderstandings.

II. That the English Company's Commerce being limited to the Gambia, it was not reasonable to propose settling Factories at Joal and Portudali, which was incroaching on the Rights of the French Company.

III. That Sieur Brue hopes, from General Corker's Equity, that he will restore to the Sieur Marchand, the French Company's Storekeeper at Albreda, the Sloop and Effects seized-on trading up the Gambia, according to the Inventory delivered by the said Marchand:

That with Regard to the Sieur Desnos, the Sieur Brue would have done Mr. Corker the Justice due to his Character, if he had asked it of him, and had already recalled Desnos to answer for his Conduct; but he intreated for the future, that he would forbear violent Methods, contrary to the Law of Nations, and which could only serve to break the good Correspondence and Harmony he desired to cultivate.

IV. That he earnestly wished the General would represent to his Company the Necessity of fixing a Tariff for the Price of Slaves, which should be the same for both Nations, and enjoining their respective Officers to observe it.

V. That, with all Deference due to the English Parliament, he would Venture to say, it was unjust to give a Liberty to separate Traders to the Prejudice not only of the English Company, but the French, whose Interests on this Occasion were the same.

The Sieur Brue concluded with exhorting Mr. Corker to write pressingly to the Company, to use their Interests to suppress the Licences of the separate Traders; assuring him, that he would write to his Principals to unite in laying this Matter before the English Parliament.[2]

171. Description of the Coast of Guinea.[1]

. . . Till within these two last years the chief factors of Mouree and Cormantyn [2] had also the advantage of the slave trade of Fida and Ardra, which turned to some account, and was indeed more advantageous to them than the gold trade; the commerce there being at so low an ebb, that without the mentioned slave-traffick they could not live up to the part which the dignity of their posts required, without suffering by it. But since some ill-meaning men have prepossessed

[2] Not long after this attempt to establish friendly relations between the two companies on the basis of their common enmity to the ten-per-cent. traders, Corker was recalled and his place was taken by Mr. Pinder. Active hostilities between France and England for a time interrupted Brue's attempted efforts at reconciliation, but in 1705 the companies reached at least a temporary agreement. See this work, vol. II., 1705.

[171] [1] *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea, Divided into the Gold, the Slave, and the Ivory Coasts,* etc., "Written originally in Dutch by William Bosman, Chief Factor for the Dutch West India Company at the Castle of St. George d'Elmina. And now faithfully done into English." The account was written in 1701, the Dutch edition published in 1703, a French edition in 1705, the same year that the first English version was published. William Bosman served the Dutch West India Company on the African coast, during which time he wrote a series of twenty letters dealing with the history of European settlements on the coast, and describing native customs.

[2] Fort Nassau at Mouree had been the chief place of residence of the Dutch before they captured Elmina. The natives there were obliged to pay one-fifth of their captures of fish to the Dutch factors who governed the town. The Dutch fort at Little Cormantine, Fort Amsterdam, had been taken from the English by De Ruyter in 1665 (Bosman, ed. 1721, p. 51). Bosman concludes his description of the Dutch and English forts on the Gold Coast by the statement that the two nations had there equal power, that is, none at all.

the directors of the company in prejudice of them, by urging that by this means they became too rich; for which reason, they have thought fit to entrust the slave trade to the masters of the ships, which they send thither: the consequence of which time will discover; but for my part I don't expect they will find it conduce much to their interest; for the commanders of ships, though very expert in all sea affairs, yet being unacquainted with the negroes, will not be able to succeed very well: besides that some of them are of such a boorish nature, that they hardly know how to preserve the honour of the company amongst the negroes. I would not here be understood to speak of them all, for there are several men of very good parts amongst them: but the difference occasioned by this new practice will clearly appear with respect to the other Europeans trading hither; and I cannot believe it will turn to the advantage of the company (pp. 96-97). . . .[3]

The remaining trade of these people consists in slaves; which are also bought up by the mentioned negroes: but most of them are transported thence by the English, French and Portuguese ships. Sometimes the slave trade here proves very advantageous, especially about the village Lay.

It sometimes happens that when the in-land countries are at peace, here are no slaves to be got: So that the trade of this place is utterly uncertain; and it only serves to touch at in our passage this way, without depending on any thing from it (p. 327). . . .

The inhabitants of Popo, as well as those of Coto, depend on plunder and the slave trade; in both of which they very much exceed the latter; for being endowed with a much larger share of courage, they rob more successively [successfully] and consequently by that means encrease their trade: Notwithstanding all which, to fraight a ship with slaves, requires some months attendance.

In the year 1697, in three days time I could get but three slaves; but they assured me that if I would have patience for other three days only, they should be able to deliver me one or two hundred. I seemed to approve their proposal, but went on board under pretence of fetching some goods ashore which they desired, and immediately weighed anchor and set sail for Fida; where I was informed that their incursions succeeded so well, that they returned with above two hundred slaves; which, for want of other ships, they were obliged to sell to the Portuguese.

[3] Bosman's reference is to the inhabitants between Ponni and the River Volta on the Slave Coast, a portion of the country which he calls Lampi. Part II., from which the remaining selections are taken, is entitled, "A Description of the Slave Coast of Guinea. To which is added a Just Representation of the Slave Trade, and a General Account of the Slave Coast, the Country of Ardra: Together with a Circular Tour made by the Author in the Year 1698 to the Rio de Gabon, Cabo-Lopez di Consalvez, the Islands of St. Thome and Annaboa and his Return to the Gold Coast".

This nation is more than ordinary fraudulent and thievish. It is their common practice to assure the merchant or factor that they have a stock of slaves, only to draw him on shoar; which having done they never part with him without having fleeced him, and besides detained him several months.

The Portuguese are cheated by them more than any nation; notwithstanding which they cannot avoid trading with them by reason they are loaded with such sorry goods, that they can scarce get slaves any where else.

In 1698, I found a Danish ship there, which was obliged to wait a longer time to deal for five hundred slaves, than I spent in trading for two thousand at Fida: during which time they met with such ample proofs of their villanous nature, that I don't believe any of that nation will venture thither again.

A year or two before this, they dealt in the same manner with an English ship, and besides cheated him of some of his goods; but he coming thither again in my time, recovered his damages in the following manner: As soon as he had dropt anchor before Popo, some of the great men, amongst whom was the king's son, came on board him; all which he clapt in the Bilboa's: from whence he did not discharge them till he was first re-imbursed and had obliged them to pay a summ besides.

In the reign of this king's brother, this nation was more easily dealt with, for when he had done his business, he would not suffer his subjects to impose on the Europeans. In his time one of our companies ships in eleven days dealt for above five hundred slaves; but that is not what is likely to happen again: For that nation is at present so fraudulent, that undeniably every person that deals with them must be more or less cheated (pp. 333-335). . . .

They [4] are so diligent in the slave trade, that they are able to deliver one thousand slaves every month, if there are no ships at Jakin, which is subordinate to great Ardra, and situate but three miles below Fida; which makes a very sensible alteration; for the King of Great Ardra, through whose territories most of the slaves are obliged to pass, when the ships are there, to favour his own subjects, very commonly shuts up all the passes to Fida by a very strict prohibition; upon which his subjects are obliged to deal by stealth with those of Fida (against whose king he is an irreconcilable enemy) which yet they continually do, seeming not much concerned at their king's disputes. Notwithstanding which, trade doth not flourish so well as when the King of Ardra leaves commerce open betwixt his subjects and those of Fida (pp. 343-344). . . .

[4] The natives of Whydah.

The Hollanders were in my time extraordinary well treated here [Whydah], for the king provided them better than all other nations, and frequently sent them a double portion; but since the captains of ships have managed the trade here, I am informed our nation is treated by the king with very small distinction; for which these masters of ships are solely to blame; for they being utterly ignorant of the manners of the people, don't know how to treat them with that decency which they require; and the natives here being very judicious, have doubtless lessened their former esteem for them: Upon which ground I dare prophetically averr, that they will certainly ruine the slave trade here, and so manage it that every body shall be obliged to pay dearer for slaves than usually. But having touched on this subject in the seventh letter, I shall quit it at present; as also that I may not anger the sailors, who fancy they understand the slave trade as well as we our selves: But since I have so often mentioned that commerce, I shall describe how it is managed by our factors here.

The first business of one of our factors when he comes to Fida, is to satisfie the customs of the king and the great men, which amounts to about 100 pounds in Guinea value, as the goods must yield there. After which we have free licence to trade, which is published throughout the whole land by the cryer.

But yet before we can deal with any person, we are obliged to buy the king's whole stock of slaves at a set price; which is commonly one third or one fourth higher than ordinary. After which we obtain free leave to deal with all his subjects of what rank soever. But if there happen to be no stock of slaves, the factor must then resolve to run the risque of trusting the inhabitants with goods to the value of one or two hundred slaves; which commodities they send into the inland country, in order to buy with them slaves at all markets, and that sometimes two hundred miles deep in the country: For you ought to be informed that markets of men are here kept in the same manner as those of beasts with us.

Not a few in our country fondly imagine that parents here sell their children, men their wives, and one brother the other: but those who think so deceive themselves; for this never happens on any other account but that of necessity, or some great crime. But most of the slaves that are offered to us are prisoners of war, which are sold by the victors as their booty.

When these slaves come to Fida, they are put in prison all together, and when we treat concerning buying them, they are all brought out together in a large plain; where, by our chirurgeons, whose province it is, they are throughly examined, even to the smallest member, and that naked too both men and women, without the least distinction or modesty. Those which are approved as good are set on one side;

and the lame and faulty are set by as invalides, which are here called mackrons. These are such as are above five and thirty years old, or are maimed in the arms, legs, hands, or feet, have lost a tooth, are grey-haired, or have films over their eyes; as well as all those which are affected with any veneral distemper, or with several other diseases.

The invalides and the maimed being thrown out, as I have told you, the remainder are numbred, and it is entred who delivered them. In the mean while a burning iron, with the arms or name of the companies, lyes in the fire; with which ours are marked on the breast.

This is done that we may distinguish them from the slaves of the English, French or others; (which are also marked with their mark) and to prevent the negroes exchanging them for worse; at which they have a good hand.

I doubt not but this trade seems very barbarous to you, but since it is followed by meer necessity it must go on; but we yet take all possible care that they are not burned too hard, especially the women, who are more tender than the men.

We are seldom long detained in the buying of these slaves, because their price is established, the women being one fourth or fifth part cheaper than the men. The disputes which we generally have with the owners of these slaves are, that we will not give them such goods as they ask for them, especially the boesies (as I have told you, the money of this country;) of which they are very fond, though we generally make a division on this head in order to make one sort of goods help off another, because those slaves which are paid for in boesies cost the company one half more than those bought with other goods. The price of a slave is commonly—

When we have agreed with the owners of the slaves, they are returned to their prison; where from that time forwards they are kept at our charge, cost us two pence a day a slave; which serves to subsist them, like our criminals, on bread and water: So that to save charges we send them on board our ships with the very first opportunity; before which their masters strip them of all they have on their backs; so that they come aboard stark-naked as well women as men: in which condition they are obliged to continue, if the master of the Ship is not so charitable (which he commonly is) as to bestow something on them to cover their nakedness.

You would really wonder to see how these slaves live on board; for though their number sometimes amounts to six or seven hundred, yet by the careful management of our masters of ships, they are so regulated that it seems incredible: And in this particular our nation exceeds all other Europeans; for as the French, Portuguese and English slave-ships, are always foul and stinking; on the contrary ours are for the most part clean and neat.

The slaves are fed three times a day with indifferent good victuals, and much better than they eat in their own country. Their lodging-place is divided into two parts; one of which is appointed for the men the other for the women; each sex being kept a-part: Here they lye as close together as is possible for them to be crowded.

We are sometimes sufficiently plagued with a parcel of slaves, which come from a far in-land country, who very innocently persuade one another, that we buy them only to fatten and afterwards eat them as a delicacy.

When we are so unhappy as to be pestered with many of this sort, they resolve and agree together (and bring over the rest of their party) to run away from the ship, kill the Europeans, and set the vessel a-shore; by which means they design to free themselves from being our food.

I have twice met with this misfortune; and the first time proved very unlucky to me, I not in the least suspecting it; but the up roar was timely quashed by the master of the ship and my self, by causing the abettor to be shot through the head, after which all was quiet.

But the second time it fell heavier on another ship, and that chiefly by the carelessness of the master, who having fished up the anchor of a departed English ship, had laid it in the hold where the male slaves were lodged; who, unknown to any of the ships crew, possessed themselves of a hammer; with which, in a short time, they broke all their fetters in pieces upon the anchor: after this they came above deck and fell upon our men; some of whom they grievously wounded, and would certainly have mastered the ship, if a French and English ship had not very fortunately happened to lye by us; who perceiving by our firing a distress'd-gun, that something was in disorder on board, immediately came to our assistance with chalops and men, and drove the slaves under deck: Notwithstanding which before all was appeased about twenty of them were killed.

The Portuguese have been more unlucky in this particular than we; for in four years time they lost four ships in this manner (pp. 363-365). . . .

For which reason [5] one barren year occasions an incredible famine here; and sometimes free-men here have sold themselves for victuals; others set their slaves free, perfectly discharging them of their slavery, because they could not keep them in victuals. An English ship, which was here at that time, got his whole shipfull of slaves, without parting with any other merchandize than victuals, with which he very luckily had abundantly provided himself.

[5] The reason was that the surplus of grain raised at Whydah was sold each season, rather than stored for the future.

When he had fill'd his ship full of slaves, he went to the Portuguese islands, where he afresh stor'd himself with provisions for his goods (pp. 391-392). . . .

All sorts of ships, which have been to fetch slaves, touch here [6] or at the other Portuguese islands in order to take in refreshments, except only our company's vessels, which avoid it (I believe) out of a groundless jealousie, that when our masters of vessels come to these islands, they should drive a clandestine trade to the prejudice of our company; but in reality at Annaboa, the chief of these isles, nothing else is to be gotten but bare refreshments as well for our own people as the slaves: And of what assistance and advantage this would be to our company, I leave to those who have experienc'd it only to determine.

It is morally certain, that so many of the slaves would not sicken and dye, if they were sometimes furnished with refreshments. But the directors of the company are otherwise informed, on what grounds I know not. But perhaps the reason why our vessels do not touch here, may be either unknown or unfit to be known by me; and leaving it so I come to Rio de Gabon (p. 400). . . .

172. Petition of Merchants trading to Africa and the Plantations.[1]

February 17, 1700.

In carrying on the trade to Africa to purchase gold and other commodities, and to procure negroes for the Plantations, several sorts of East India manufactures are exported. The certificate by the chief magistrate of the goods having been landed, required by clause 2 of the Bill, cannot be procured on the coast of Africa, where the trade is carried on by boats coming off from the shore with gold, elephants' teeth and negroes, and taking our commodities in exchange. In many places for several hundred miles there are no English merchants residing, nor any chief magistrate under whose seal such certificate can be procured. Pray they may be under no greater difficulties in their trade, which is so beneficial to this nation, than according to the method now practised at the Custom House, whereby Petitioners are obliged to make oath that the foreign goods they export shall not be landed again in England.

[6] Principe (Prince's Island), one of the three Portuguese islands.

[172] [1] *MSS. H. of L.*, IV. 94. "Signed by John Brown and 38 other persons. Endorsed as read this day and rejected. MS. Min. No entry in the L. J." The petition was presented in connection with a bill for the encouragement of manufacturing, which prohibited the use of the East India silks and calicoes. *Lords Journals*, XVI. 519.

173. The Factors at Gambia to the Royal African Company.[1]

Gambia, March 4, 1700.

. . . The whole trade of the river is in the hands of the ten per cent. ships, who are here at present, seven in number, some from Carolina, and the rest from England, who daily encrease the price of slaves in this river, which is very prejudicial to your interest.[2] Before Mr. Gresham's decease, our factory at Joally was insulted by the King, who seized 7 or 800 bars cargo, upon account of one slave taken away from him unpaid for, by one Captain Smith, a ten per cent. ship trading in this port, and then bound to the river for further trade; which slave being afterwards returned by Mr. Gresham, yet denied the return of our goods: so that we stand in fear of settling a factory there, which is a considerable loss to your honours, it being the chiefest support to the fort we had hereabouts. . . .

174. The Board of Trade to the King.[1]

June 28, 1700.

In obedience to your Order in Council, June 13, we have considered the petition of William Bird, etc., and humbly report that the *William and Jane*[2] was belonging to your Majesty's subjects and had licence

[173] [1] Davenant, *Works,* V. 175-176. The factors were Nathan Piles, Thomas Rayner, and Richard Oakley.

[2] Complaints were already coming from the plantations, though the act opening the trade had been in force but two years. On Jan. 5, 1700, Sir William Beeston, governor of Jamaica, wrote to the Board of Trade: "Another fatal thing to the settling and increasing these Plantations is the merchants of London have never left soliciting against the Royal Company under pretence they would supply negroes more plentiful and cheap, till they have gotten them out and themselves in, and whereas the Royal Company usually supplied negroes at £22 and £24 per head and gave 6, 8, and 12 months' credit, now the Merchants sell for £34 per head and give no credit at all." *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1700, p. 19.

[174] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1700, p. 386, enclosed in a letter from the Board of Trade to James Vernon, secretary of state, with the request that since it concerned the general subject of English trade it be laid before the king. The Council had reported to the king on June 12 that it had examined the two complaints contained in a memorial from the French ambassador: (1) that the English attempt to trade in the River Senegal, which is French territory; (2) that they obstruct French trade in the Gambia. The English company denied the first; as to the second, it contended that the trade up the Gambia belonged solely to the English. The Council, having heard these statements, expressed the opinion that the French should refrain from trading in the Gambia, and that the trade along the coast should be kept free and common to both nations. *Ibid.,* p. 336; see also p. 352.

[2] The specific case which had brought this matter up was that of the *William and Jane,* a ten-per-cent. or licensed ship trading for negroes at Portudal, which had been seized by the French Mar. 1, 1699, and condemned as prize by the French Admiralty. The English, unwilling to accept exclusion from this part of the coast or to resign hopes of restitution for this vessel, protested, and a long diplomatic correspondence followed. In response to a request from the owners of the vessel, William Bird and others, the Lords Commissioners of Trade undertook to examine the English contention that the vessel was pursuing a lawful trade (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1700, pp. 338-339, 346). After examining the reasons put forward by the French Senegal Company for seizing the ship and the answer of the Royal African Company, the board sent to the king the representation printed here.

from the African Company according to the late Act of Parliament, and in pursuance of her lawful voyage was trading for negroes at or about Porta Dally [3] on the coast of Africa, but was violently assaulted and taken by some French, since owned therein by the French Senegal Company, brought into France and condemned as prize. Upon application of the owners to the African Company touching the right of your Majesty's subjects to trade on the said coast of Guinea, the Company answer that by their charter and by their customary trading, they have and always had right to trade in the countries of Porta Dally and Joally, having frequently, and as often as they found it [to] their interest, traded considerably thereto with their vessels without molestation from any persons whatsoever, except in times of war, and except two vessels seized upon by the French in Porta Dally, 1680, 1681, and carried to Goree, but were afterwards by them released and full satisfaction made to the Company for the same. The French Ambassador's Memorial, communicated to us by the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Jersey, Jan. 16 last, owns the right of the English to trade along the coast, and propose(s) that the English and French should unite to exclude the Dutch from interloping there.[4] The coast of Africa supplies great numbers of negroes for your Majesty's Plantations, and especially of that sort which are most fitting for your Majesty's Colony of Virginia. Whereupon we are humbly of opinion that your Majesty may be graciously pleased to insist upon the restitution of the said ship and damages, and to give such orders as your Majesty shall think fit to prevent the like violence on your Majesty's subjects for the time to come.[5]

175. James Vernon to the Earl of Manchester.[1]

Whitehall, July 8/19, 1700.

My Lord, . . . The French Ambassador staid a Day or two after him [King William], but he embarked yesterday in the River. Before

[3] Portudal.

[4] "The French Company of Senegal complain that the English Company established in the River Gambia, far from being grateful for the care with which they have executed the Treaty of Ryswick, by giving back the Fort they had taken from the English during the last war, and from uniting with them as their interests demand against the interloping Dutch, try to stop the French Company from entering the River Gambia, though the French have always had the right of entry and also had a habitation on the banks of this river. The English Company wishes to trade in the River Senegal, where they have never had a station. The two companies would have come to blows if the French had not hoped to obtain justice in Europe. I beg the Earl of Jersey to send orders to the English Company to restore things to the footing on which they were before the war." Signed, Tallard (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1700, p. 30). Camille Tallard, marquis de Baume d'Hostun, was French ambassador to England 1698-1700.

[5] The next day the Privy Council referred to the Board of Trade the papers relating to the seizure. The board asked for proofs that the vessel had a right to trade at the place where it was seized. See the "Reasons of the Senegal Company for confiscating the *William and Jane*", and the "Reply to the above", *ibid.,* 1700, pp. 338-339, 346.

[175] [1] *Memoirs of Affairs of State: containing Letters, written by Ministers employed in Foreign Negotiations from the Year 1697 to the latter End of 1708,* published by

he went, I spoke to him about a Ship called the *William and Jane* which was seized by the French trading to Port Dally or Joally, on the Coast of Africa, between the River Senegal and Gambia. I know your Excellency has sollicited the Restitution of it, but without effect hitherto, it having been referred to the Commission of Trade. I inclose their Report, which has been laid before His Majesty, and by His Command I spoke to the French Ambassador, that he would procure Right to be done us. He has promised, that he would represent the Case as strongly as he could; how he will have performed it, your Excellency will best judge. I desired him to consider, that there is a Concern of seven Thousand Pound: that our trading on that Coast was never questioned but once before, two Ships being then seized by the French, but upon our Complaint they were both released, and full Satisfaction was given. I hope they are as well disposed to do us Justice now, and that the good Understanding between us may not only appear by the late Treaty,[2] but by all other Acts of Friendship, and a mutual good Treatment of the Subjects on both sides. I hope the Count de Tallard does us that Right to let it be understood, with what Readiness all Dispatch is given to whatever he has to sollicit. . . .

176. Earl of Manchester to James Vernon.[1]

Paris, July 24, 1700.

Sir, I Was in hopes not to have heard any more of the Ship *William and Jane,* since I cannot see any likelihood of Success, and whatever Count Tallard has promised, he will do it in such a manner that we cannot expect much good from it. Mr. Stanyan [2] is acquainted with the whole matter, and I must also refer you to the Papers, which I sent to Lord Jersey, where you will see I have not been wanting to press it as far as it was possible. I should be glad nevertheless to have a Copy of Mons. de Tallard's Memorial of the 16th of January last, wherein he owns the Right the English have to trade on that Coast, which they absolutely deny here. And as for the two Ships that

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Christian Cole, Esq., some time Resident at Venice (London, 1733), p. 168. The Earl of Manchester had but recently arrived in Paris as ambassador, taking the place of the Earl of Jersey, who returned to England to become Secretary of State for the Southern Department, an office which he resigned in June for that of Lord Chamberlain. The later correspondence was with James Vernon, commissioner of prizes 1693-1705, and from May 2 to Nov. 5, 1700, sole Secretary of State. Manchester had written to Jersey on May 12, reporting that he had endeavored to induce M. de Torcy, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, to reverse the French judgment which declared the *William and Jane* a prize, but in vain. *Ibid.,* p. 130.

[2] England had signed the second partition treaty, to which reference is here made, on June 11, 1699, the other nations in the months following.

[176] [1] Cole, *Historical Memoirs,* pp. 171-172.

[2] Abraham Stanyan, in 1699 appointed clerk to the Council extraordinary. In 1702 he became secretary to the Earl of Manchester.

were released, they never were brought into France, neither could we learn the Names of them. The African Company [3] here is supported by the greatest Men at Court, and it is easy enough to find Arguments for a Case the French have ever disputed, and as yet it is not settled; and I am of opinion, that when they have not taken our Ships, the Reason always was, that they were too strong for them, as this very Ship was, had she not been surprised, very able to defend herself. I will see what effect Mons. de Tallard's writing will have, and I will continue to do what I can in it. I do remember that the last time I spoke of it, I shewed Mons. de Torcy the ill Consequences that this might have on another occasion, since it would be a warning for our Ships to defend themselves; that what was our Case now, might be theirs another time. All the Answer he made me was, that if so, it would only be a Dispute between this Company and that of England, and could not engage the Crowns. I told him, I wished it did not, and that he would agree that all the ways should be taken to prevent it. To repeat the many Arguments we had upon that Subject, would be endless. . . .

177. James Vernon to the Earl of Manchester.[1]

Whitehall, July 18, 1700. O. S.

My Lord, . . . I have Directions from the Lords Justices to send you the inclosed Petition and to desire you will procure the Petitioners what Relief you can. This seems to be the same Case with the *William and Jane*. The Ship [2] has been seized in or near the same place, on the Coast of Africa, upon the same Pretence of being an unlawful Trader, and confiscated to the Senegal Company. I suppose they intend to proceed against her in the same manner, in some Court of Admiralty; for I suppose the Company has not that Privilege, by their Charter, to seize what Ships they please, and convert them to their own use without Process, or giving the Owners an Opportunity to defend their Rights. If Judgment be given, I think it adviseable, that an Appeal be brought in both Cases according to the Treaty. Thus our Right may, upon so solemn a hearing, be either asserted or given up: for otherwise the Consequence, your Excellency foresees, will be unavoidable, that People must be left to a lawless State on that Coast, and he that is strongest must have the Trade;

[3] The Senegal Company of France, created in 1696. For an account of this company see introduction, p. 96.

[177] [1] Cole, *Memoirs*, pp. 174-175. On July 28 Manchester wrote to James Vernon that he understood that the ship under consideration had already been condemned. It had been brought into France as a prize, the French declaring that the English had no right to trade on the coast. *Ibid.*, pp. 173-174.

[2] Doubtless the *St. George*, mentioned by name later.

and when such a Hearing is ordered, our African Company will think fit to concern themselves a little more than they are said to have done hitherto for those that are Permission-Ships [3] tho' they have all the Right to that Trade by Act of Parliament that the Company can have, paying them that states Allowance for their Licence. Yet as the Company opposed their being admitted into this Privilege, while the Act was passing, so the Merchants think they are careless what becomes of their Ships, provided their own be secured. But when the Point of Right must come to be determined, they will consider how far they are concerned in it, and I don't accuse them that they have hitherto been wanting herein. But I give this hint, by what I have gathered from the Persons, who came to me about the *William and Jane*.

I send your Excellency the Copy of Mons. Tallard's Memorial, which you writ for. I take notice of an Expression in it, which says the English and French Companies ought to join, and drive the Dutch Interlopers from the Coast. I take the meaning of it to be, that all Ships, which do not belong to one or other of those Companies, ought to be treated as Interlopers:[4] but that is giving a very wrong name to Ships that trade thither under an Act of Parliament, which are now admitted to the said Freedom of Trade that the Company has. The Act of Parliament was made for the good of our Plantations, that they may be furnished with Negroes in greater plenty, and at a cheaper rate by the Merchants supplying them, upon paying an Acknowledgement to the Company, or fetching them in their own Ships; and if these are to be looked upon as Interlopers, and be confiscated, whenever they are overpowered, the Act is made insignificant, and the Plantations will be put into a worse Condition than they were before. Since this Controversy is likely often to recur, and being a matter of such consequence, I think it ought to pass through all its Forms; and the rather, since the Senegal Company is so befriended at Court, Tryal ought to be made how far it influences in Judgment. When a final Sentence is given, His Majesty must consider whether His Subjects must acquiesce in it. . . .[5]

[3] The ten-per-cent. ships.

[4] Nothing in the wording of the French memorial as we have it explains why Vernon should have thought the term "Dutch interlopers" applied to separate traders of all nations. It is true however that Brue, and probably the French Company as a whole, were bitterly opposed to the English ten-per-cent. ships and would gladly have driven them from the coast had it been possible.

[5] On July 25, 1700, O. S., Vernon wrote to Manchester: "I shall forbear saying any more concerning our ships, that have been seized on the Coast of Guinea, 'till I see in what the African Company justify their Right to that Trade. I asked Mr. Prior, whether the Case of the *William and Jane* had undergone an Appeal. He thinks it has not, but it rests upon the Sentence given in the inferiour Court. He is of your Lordship's opinion, that a Review of the sentence will have little effect; and the rather, since Mons. Ponchartrain will preside, when the appeal comes to be heard, who, he hears, is very much interested in that Company: but I think that Reason should not discourage

178. Earl of Manchester to James Vernon.[1]

Paris, August 4, 1700.

Sir, I Have yours of the 18th of July, O. S. with a Petition of one Daniel Johnson [2] taken on the Coast of Africa. It is certainly the same Case as that of the *William and Jane.* I have inclosed the Reasons, which the Senegal Company gave for condemning her as a Prize, and Mr. Prior [3] can give you the whole Proceedings. I fear this will have the like Fate: nevertheless I do intend to give in a Memorial. I cannot tell by the Petition, whether the Ship was brought to Havre de Grace, or sold where it was taken. Besides, the Master should, on his landing, have made a Complaint to the Admiralty Court there, and entered his Depositions; and if he had not there Justice done, he might appeal, as may also the Persons concerned in the *William and Jane,* if they please: but then they must send some Person to follow it at Havre de Grace, or at the Admiralty of that Province. All I can do is to assist them at Court, for generally the Proceedings are not at Paris; besides, there is a considerable Expence, which I suppose they cannot expect I should be at, and great Attendance. I do own, that if we ever had a Right to trade on the Coast, it ought to be settled if possible; but you will see by the Papers inclosed, that they say we have none, and by their Charter, etc. this King has granted them this Coast of Portudal, exclusive of all Persons whatsoever. So that, if this be Matter of Fact, there is no doubt, but upon the Senegal Company's producing this, they will have Judgment for them in all the Courts of France. I take it, that it does concern very much our African Company to take care of this Matter, in case they would preserve this Trade: but I am rather of opinion, they do not intend it, and as much as I can see, they have very seldom traded there; and as for the River of Gambia, the French do not dispute our Right. The Extract of Count Tallard's Memorial is a Complaint in those Parts, and has no relation to the Coast of Portudal. I should be glad to know if any of our African Company's Ships do trade on that Coast; and if so, whether they have not Leave of the Senegal Company here or if their Ships are taken, etc. I thought

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any from bringing an Appeal. An interested Man does not always care to appear so in publick Judicature: but there his Reputation is a Counter Ballance to his Interest, which will help to keep off a determination against a well-grounded Title. If our Company are not well assured they have such a one, I would have no body be further troubled in this Matter. That we shall better see, when their Reasons are drawn up." Cole, *Memoirs,* p. 183.

[178] [1] Cole, *Memoirs,* p. 182.

[2] A Daniel Johnson was engaged in the slave trade for the company early in the eighteenth century. See this work, vol. III., South Carolina.

[3] Matthew Prior had returned to England from a brief sojourn in Paris and an audience with Louis XIV., in November, 1699. Apparently he had not been on the Continent since that time. L. G. W. Legg, *Matthew Prior,* pp. 116-117, 121.

it proper to enlarge on this Subject, that you may see how the Case stands, and I need not tell you how high they are here in a Case, where they seem resolved to assert. This should not make me decline any thing that is possible to do, in case the Parties concerned would take right Measures, and would follow it as they ought: but to speak plain, they are for saving their Money, insomuch that the Captain of the *William and Jane* could hardly obtain what was sufficient for his own Expence here. They should employ some Merchant here, that is acquainted with the Proceedings of this Country, and who on all Occasions might apply to me. . . .[4]

179. James Barbot's Voyage to the Congo River.[1]

[August 28, 1700.]

. . . Soon after the pinnace return'd aboard,[2] with two blacks of the country, who spoke broken Portuguese, and assur'd us they had a great quantity of slaves to dispose of, at the town of Songo or Sony,

[4] Manchester wrote again on the 7th and the 11th, feeling slightly encouraged. He had learned that Dutch, Danes, and Portuguese were making the same complaints and that M. de Torcy was growing uneasy over the situation. Nevertheless, two French ships were then ready to sail, with orders to seize all vessels upon the coast (Cole, *Memoirs,* pp. 185, 187). On the 14th he wrote that he had given in a memorial on the *St. George,* but could not tell whether to press for an answer until he knew what the African Company was planning to do (*ibid.,* pp. 191-192). On Oct. 13, he wrote: "I cannot see more by the Answer of the African Company, than that they assert they have a Right to trade on those Coasts, which they deny here, and I do perceive the French have all along taken our Ships; and tho' some may have been released at Gorea, yet whenever they were brought hither, we never had any Satisfaction. I will see what can be done, tho' I am almost persuaded they will make none. The only way that is left, is to serve them in the same manner." On Dec. 15: "As to the Owners of the *William and Jane*; one Arthur, a Merchant here, had Orders to follow that matter; and upon Enquiry whether an Appeal did lie, they do assure me that what has passed in that Case does not admit of it. The whole Proceedings were before the King in Council, and were adjudg'd by him for the Senegal Company here; so that there is nothing more to be done, or to be expected from hence, they still insisting that none have a Right to trade on those Coasts but themselves; which I ordered my Secretary to tell the Person that was employed for them." *Ibid.,* pp. 220, 262-263.

The English had not confined themselves entirely to negotiations. The *Rochester,* Captain Mayne, was sent to defend English shipping in the neighborhood of the Senegal, and the captain sent word to Brue that he was directed to obtain restitution for the *St. George.* Brue replied by sending to him a copy of the action of the Council of State by which the *William and Jane* had been declared lawful prize in spite of the fact that it had paid the ten per cent. duty. The *St. George,* since it had not paid the duty, had even less claim for consideration than had the former, and could scarcely maintain on any pretext whatever that it was a lawful trader. Astley, *Voyages,* II. 82, citing Labat.

[179] [1] "An Abstract of a Voyage to Congo River or the Zair, and to Cabinde, in the Year 1700", by James Barbot, jr., supercargo, and John Casseneuve, first mate, in the ten-per-cent. ship *Don Carlos* of London, from "A Supplement to the Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea", by John Barbot, in Churchill, *Voyages,* V. 497-522. James Barbot was a nephew of John, the author of the "Description", who had never visited this region of the African coast, and takes his material from Dapper, Carli, Merolla, and other travellers and geographers, as well as from the two journals here cited. It is not always possible to discern the point at which he ceases to quote his nephew's journal, and introduces other material.

[2] The *Don Carlos,* which sailed from the Downs Apr. 8, 1700, was now in the Congo River. The master had a short time before gone ashore in the pinnace.

the ordinary residence of the prince or earl of that name, lying about five leagues inland from this point; and that there were only an English and a Dutch ship at Cabinde,[3] which had almost got in their compliment of slaves (pp. 502-503). . . .

Our master and mate in the pinnace, conducted by two or three blacks of Sony point, got up the creek of Sony twelve miles, rowing all the day; and being set ashore, walk'd about six English miles by land to the town, and were kept there a pretty while, before they could speak with the prince: at last being admitted to audience, according to the custom of the country, they presented him with six yards of fine chints, which he received favourably, and presently order'd a hen to be dress'd and serv'd up in a sorry pewter dish, to treat them. In the discourse the black prince, or count, hearing the captain say, he was come to trade for slaves, ask'd him, Whether he would take due care that those slaves should be instructed in the christian faith; and whether he had waited on the Portuguese Padre there, which was requisite should be done: and so dismissed him, after presenting him with a goat and six hens.

The captain return'd aboard at eleven at night, accompanied with Manfouge, that is, the receiver of the Whites, Manchingue, and Mananbache, three men of quality, sent by the prince to inspect our goods aboard, the mate being left at Sony as an hostage for them.

The thirtieth [August], those persons examined all the goods, and liked them very well; at dinner they fed on bread and cheese, it being friday, and consequently a fast for Roman Catholicks, the prince of Sony and all his court being such; and maintaining there two Portuguese friars, or the order of Bernardins, one of whom was but lately dead. Those noble blacks wore long beads and a cross, with some Agnus-Dei at their neck.

At three in the afternoon they return'd to Sony, the captain accompanying them thither, in order to treat with the prince; but could do nothing, the said prince telling him, that neither he nor his subjects could well trade with him for slaves, unless he had first satisfied the Portuguese Padre, pretending it was not in his power, to let him purchase slaves in his territories, without having obtained his license to that effect. The captain was forced to comply, tho' with much reluctancy at first.

The Padre, when he waited on him, hearing of his design, started some difficulties; alledging chiefly, that the English carried the slaves to Barbadoes, to the hereticks, where he was sure the poor wretches should never be instructed in the christian faith: whereupon the cap-

[3] The bay of Cabinda is a short distance west of the mouth of the Congo. The town was on the north shore of the bay, the trading factory on the south shore.

tain shew'd him his commission,[4] but the father not understanding English, desired to have it render'd into the Portuguese or Latin tongue, which none there could do, and so the father seemingly consented to his request.

Then the prince of Sony order'd the same three gentlemen blacks, adding to them his secretary, who could read and write Portuguese, and by his post of far greater dignity than the three others, to return aboard the ship, to examine yet more nicely the nature of our cargo, and to return him an exact account forthwith.

These being arriv'd aboard, were entertained as well as we could; and we drank with them their prince's, the father's, and their own healths successively and separately, and each health was saluted by firing of five guns.

They staid aboard till the second of September, and then returned to Sony, with a certain quantity of our merchandize, to store the lodge we were to set up there, on the assurances they gave us, that in two months, or ten weeks at farthest, we might there buy five hundred slaves; and upon this persuasion we had our lodge settled, being a house in Sony, contrary to the usual custom there, to settle the lodge near the creek, or river of Sony.

The fifth, they persisted to settle the price of slaves at eight pieces a man, and seven for a woman slave; and for boys and girls proportionably, according to their age and strength; but fearing what did happen afterwards, that these Sony blacks, being bigotted to their Padre's opinion, as to the use of the slaves, would only amuse us,[5] we sent our long boat to Cabinde, to observe the trade of slaves there; having been told by a black, who spoke indifferent good English, and shew'd some certificates of British commanders of trading ships, of his good-nature, and readiness to serve the nation, that we should have a more ready dispatch, at Cabinde, than there, he could but advise us to send a message to the duke of that country, as he stil'd him (pp. 503-504). . . .

The first mate left as factor at our lodge at Sony, sent us word, there was no likelihood of any trade till we had adjusted with the prince the price of slaves, and the standard of our merchandizes; as also the king's customs.

Whereupon the fifteenth [September], Mr. Casseneuve went up to Sony town, and there first waited on the Portuguese friar, and presented him with some small refreshments of Europe, (such as they were, after a five months passage thither) which he received with

[4] The destination of the *Don Carlos* seems to have been Jamaica, but the fact that the captain considered his commission one which would satisfy the fear of the negro prince suggests that the ultimate destination of the negroes was to be Spanish America. The *Don Carlos* actually stopped at Barbados, for there James Barbot died.

[5] *I. e.,* trick us.

great satisfaction, and return'd him his present; being some fine sweet oranges and bananas, and treated him with wine.

Then he waited on the prince, who was sitting on a great chair, his head newly shav'd and naked; having a kind of black cloak over his shoulders, but very short; and a clout of the same black stuff as his cloak about his middle; his legs bare, but slippers on his feet. When Casseneuve enter'd the room, he made a sign to him with his hand, to sit down opposite to him; after some discourse concerning trade, he call'd for a large pot of palm-wine, which he caused to be presented to him, after drinking himself in a great silver cup, on a plate instead of a salver. . . .

We privately agreed with the prince about the trade of slaves, at eight pieces for men, and seven for women; and for the measure of our goods, six foot two inches to each fathom for his, and of five foot only for the people; this prince generally making a better bargain for himself than for them (pp. 504-505). . . .

As we suspected with great reason, that we should have but an indifferent trade at Sony, finding more and more by the discourses of the natives, that they were possess'd with an opinion, that we were not christians, and that we used to carry the slaves to the Turks, and other infidels and hereticks, where they were never baptiz'd; thought proper to lose no time, in looking out for a better place to settle a lodge or factory, in Congo-river: and being inform'd, that on the northern shore, at or near a point several leagues up that river, called point Gitaar, lying eighteen or twenty leagues farther eastward, we might settle one, and traffick with the inhabitants of the circumjacent territory, call'd Zairy or Serry. . . .[6]

We found in Cabinde road, a little English ship, having a hundred and twenty slaves aboard, and was to compleat its cargo, to two hundred and fifty. The Dutch interloper, that was there when the captain first went to Cabinde, had since been carry'd away as prize, by another belonging to the Dutch West-India company.

The third of October, we adjusted with the king's officers for the customs, which we paid in this manner.

Pieces of sundry sorts of goods.

For the king's customs	47
That of Maufouco	31½
For the Manchins	17
For Mafuco Mabouco	17
For Manabele	17

[6] Here a temporary factory was established to which the king and his retinue came, a reversal of the usual order.

The forty-seven pieces paid to the king, consisting of;

Tapseils holland,	piece 1
Annabasses	10
Nicanees holland	1
Black basts, holland	1
Pintadoes, holland	1
Case of spirits	1
Paper, Slesia	1
Brass pan	1
Knives, dozen	2
Four sticks of scarlet, at twenty-nine inches per stick	4
Six sticks black basts, at twenty-nine inches per stick	6
Half case of spirits fine	2
Powder barrels	4
Muskets	2
Coral string,	piece 1
	47

And so proportionably, of the same species of goods, for the fees of the officers; as above said.

The fourth, we began to send goods ashore, to settle our factory, paying beforehand five pieces for the rent of the house, for all the time we might keep it; and Mr. Barbot, assisted by two whites, gave constant attendance there. Besides the black servants we had hired to assist him, the king gave us two of his own, and each of the before-named officers one; being in all ten or eleven gromettoes or hired men, to whom we are to pay one fathom in goods per week for all of them, to buy their provisions; and when we shall break up the factory, each servant is to have three pieces of goods: one of them is to serve for an interpreter, and is besides imploy'd to keep off the mob, from insulting us. This is practised commonly here, as well as at Zair.

We did not adjust a settled price for the slaves, as is customary at Sonho and Zair, but bargain'd daily with the owners of them, as they were brought either aboard the ship or the factory; sending also along the bay, some goods in the boat, to trade with the inhabitants of the adjacent villages: so that Mr. Casseneuve, who had the care of the commerce in the bay, and aboard ship, bought forty-five slaves, from the seventh of October, to the seventeenth of November. The twenty-ninth, he was sent to take care of the factory, Mr. Barbot being sick; where he purchased to the sixteenth of December, forty-eight slaves, making in all ninety-three *viz.* sixty-five men, sixteen women, nine boys and three girls, for seven hundred seventy-one pieces of sundry goods, the first cost whereof upon invoice, amounted to three hundred seventy-two pounds six shillings six-pence sterling; and so amounted to four pound sterling a head, one with the other. . . .

After this they were oblig'd to give one piece more for a slave than before, because the blacks saw five other English ships come

one after another, in the space of eight or nine days time, to purchase slaves and elephants teeth; and therefore brought no more slaves to the factory, but oblig'd us to give them ten pieces for a man, and nine for a woman. But by good fortune, we had then got our compliment within thirty or thirty-five slaves: which we had soon after, and in all aboard, four hundred seventeen men, women, boys and girls.

Being short of provisions for our slaves, we bought a hundred baskets of Indian wheat, tho' at an excessive dear rate, *viz.* at one piece of our best sorts of goods, brass basons and annabasses, of an English captain Eriford, necessity having no law; which we fetch'd aboard the thirty-first of December. . . .

For the better understanding of the measure used here, to value European goods in trade, we must observe, that it consists of three sorts, call'd a piece, a fathom, and a stick. The stick is eighteen inches; three sticks are accounted a fathom, and four fathom make what is here call'd a piece.

The rate of slaves is uncertain, as depending on the scarcity or plenty of them, and the number of foreign ships trading there together.

We esteem slaves here at a reasonable price, when they are at seven or eight pieces a man, and six or seven a woman, Indian piece, as the French stile it.

Many of the blacks of Cabinde, who dwell near the shore, speak some English, and are commonly call'd portadors, being a sort of brokers to the natives up the inland, to whom they repair, when any ships are in the bay, and bring merchants down aboard or to the factory, and there usually buy and sell for them; but very often taking advantage of their not understanding English, make them pay a piece, and sometimes two, above the price they contract for with Europeans, which they fetch off after they are gone home again: for here as well as at the Gold Coast of Guinea, the factors must in some manner wink at their knavery, in order to forward their commerce (pp. 510-511). . . .

On the first day of January [1701], Casseneuve's journal takes notice of their sailing out of Cabinde bay, in the morning in order to proceed to Jamaica, and towards night, had got the bay at south-east by south, about five leagues distant; himself, the super-cargo, Mr. Barbot, the captain, and the first mate, with several of their men being sick, and having buried here and at sea, six of their crew and the third mate; the air of Cabinde being very unwholesome: which gave an opportunity to the slaves aboard to revolt on the fifth, as follows.

About one in the afternoon, after dinner, we according to custom caused them, one by one, to go down between decks, to have each his pint of water; most of them were yet above deck, many of them provided with knives, which we had indiscreetly given them two or three days before, as not suspecting the least attempt of this nature from them; others had pieces of iron they had torn off our fore-castle door, as having premeditated a revolt, and seeing all the ship's company, at best but weak and many quite sick, they had also broken off the shackles from several of their companions feet, which served them, as well as billets they had provided themselves with, and all other things they could lay hands on, which they imagin'd might be of use for their enterprize. Thus arm'd, they fell in crouds and parcels on our men, upon the deck unawares, and stabb'd one of the stoutest of us all, who receiv'd fourteen or fifteen wounds of their knives, and so expir'd. Next they assaulted our boatswain, and cut one of his legs so round the bone, that he could not move, the nerves being cut through; others cut our cook's throat to the pipe, and others wounded three of the sailors, and threw one of them over-board in that condition, from the fore-castle into the sea; who, however, by good providence, got hold of the bowlin of the fore-sail, and sav'd himself, along the lower wale of the quarter-deck, where, (says Casseneuve) we stood in arms, firing on the revolted slaves, of whom we kill'd some, and wounded many: which so terrify'd the rest, that they gave way, dispersing themselves some one way and some another between decks, and under the fore-castle; and many of the most mutinous, leapt over board, and drown'd themselves in the ocean with much resolution, shewing no manner of concern for life. Thus we lost twenty seven or twenty eight slaves, either kill'd by us, or drown'd; and having master'd them, caused all to go betwixt decks, giving them good words. The next day we had them all again upon deck, where they unanimously declar'd, the Menbombe slaves had been the contrivers of the mutiny, and for an example we caused about thirty of the ringleaders to be very severely whipt by all our men that were capable of doing that office.

I shall conclude the abstract of the journals, of the voyages to Congo and Cabinde, with some particular observations, on the nature of the merchandize then of most demand at Cabinde, at the latter end of the year 1700, and of the custom of measuring and accounting them after the manner of the blacks there; which I found noted in Mr. Barbot's pocket-book, sent home to London, with his trunks from Barbadoes, after his decease there.

Blue-basts, a piece containing six yards, and of a deep, almost black colour; and is measur'd either with a stick of twenty seven

inches, of which eight sticks make a piece; or by a lesser stick, of eighteen inches long, twelve of which are accounted a piece.

Guinea stuffs, two pieces make a piece; tapseils, have the same measure as blue-basts, nicanees, the same measure; black-bays, two yards and a half for a piece; measured by five sticks of eighteen inches each; annabasses, ten to the piece; painted callicoes, six yards to a piece; blue-paper slesia, one piece, for the piece; scarlet, one stick of eighteen inches, or half a yard, is accounted a piece; muskets, one for a piece; powder, the barrel or rundlet of seven pounds goes for a piece; brass-basons, ten to the piece: we carry thither the largest; pewter-basons, of four, three, two, and one pound, the No. 4. goes four to the piece; blue-perpetuanas are become but of late in great demand; they are measured as blue basts, six yards making the piece; Dutch cutlaces are the most valued because they have two edges; two such go for a piece; coral, the biggest and largest is much more acceptable here, than small coral, which the blacks value so little, that they will hardly look on it; usually one ounce and a half is computed a piece; knives, with horn hafts, the blade very broad and long, twenty four to a piece.

Memorandum: A whole piece of blue-basts contains commonly eighteen yards and a half; however some are shorter, others exceed.

Pintadoes commonly contain nine or nine yards and a half the piece; tapseils, the piece usually holds fifteen yards; nicanees, the piece is nine or nine yards and a half long (pp. 512-513). . . .[7]

The chiefest trade of the Portuguese and other whites [in Congo] consists in slaves, carried thence to several ports in the West-Indies, to work at the sugar-mills, and in the mines, the Europeans not being sufficient for that labour; and no men can do it so well as these Angolans for a time: and thus it is at the expence of the lives of these poor wretches, that we draw such vast wealth from America. It is affirm'd, that when the Spaniards were masters of Portugal, they transported every year fifteen thousand slaves out of Angola, into the new world. And the Portuguese still transport a very great number.

All those slaves the Portuguese cause to be bought, by their pomberroes, a hundred and fifty or two hundred leagues up the country, whence they bring them down to the sea-coasts; have but little food by the way, and lie on the bare ground every night in the open air, without any covering, which makes them grow poor and faint. But the Portuguese at Loanda, before they are ship'd off, put them into a great house which they have built there for that purpose,

[7] Here Barbot entirely abandons the journals and inserts a description of the country and its commerce, derived from various authors. Such items as these stand as lists in Churchill but are uniformly run together here to save space.

and give them their fill of meat and drink, as also palm-oil to refresh and anoint themselves with. But if it happens that there are no ships ready, or that they have not slaves enough to send away, then they use them for tilling the ground, and to plant or cut mandioca;[8] but at last when they put them on board, they take great care to preserve them from sickness, and that they may come safe and sound to their intended ports, they provide medicines, especially lemons and white lead to use against the worms; and if by chance any fall sick, they separate those from the rest, and lay them alone to be cur'd, where they are well provided for, with warm diet. In the ships they have mats to lie on, of which they take great store with them, especially when they go over to the West-Indies, to give every ten or twelve days a fresh mat. But the Hollanders and other Europeans take no such care in transporting their slaves to America, but ship them poor and faint, without any mats, or other necessaries, which occasions many of them to die at sea.

The Portuguese also cause the slaves they ship off to be baptiz'd, it being forbid under pain of excommunication to carry any to Brazil, that are not christened. However, it is pitiful to see how they croud those poor wretches, six hundred and fifty or seven hundred in a ship, the men standing in the hold ty'd to stakes, the women between decks, and those that are with child in the great cabin, and the children in the steeridge, which in that hot climate occasions an intolerable stench.

The voyage is generally perform'd in thirty or thirty-five days, the trade-wind carrying them, so that they sail over in a line; but some times they are becalm'd, and then the passage is longer.

The Portuguese deal for slaves at Kamkamba, but not so much as in Massingan and Embakko; for there, when the adjacent blacks want any merchandize, they bring their slaves to the Portuguese colonies for exchange (pp. 518-519). . . .

Season to sail for Guinea.[9] I Am of opinion, that the properest season to render the Guinea voyages most prosperous and safe, is to depart from Europe about the latter end of September, to enjoy the longer the good season on that coast; and to have a sufficient time to carry on the trade there, so as to reach the Leeward islands of America by the latter end of April following, which is the time when they make the sugar there; that so ships may have their full lading, and sail thence for Europe again before the season

[8] Mandioca, or manioc, a plant the roots of which provided meal.

[9] "A Supplement to the Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea", book II., by John Barbot, Churchill, V. 523-588. This general account of the French trade sums up Barbot's observations, extending over a period of nearly twenty-five years. It is placed here merely to combine it with other material from Barbot, not because it has peculiar significance for the year 1700.

of hurricanes there; and arrive here before the boisterous weather, which usually reigns on our coasts about the beginning of October, which the French stile Coups de vents de la St. Michel, or Michaelmas storms (p. 523). . . .

Thus far concerning our passage from Guinea to America; which, if observ'd, will not fail of making it easy and expeditious, and may reasonably be perform'd in fifty days to any of the Caribbee islands, or two months at most, to Jamaica: whereas, if we keep our course near to the equator, it may be much longer, because of the great calms we usually meet thereabouts, which is a great disadvantage to our slave-ships; the tediousness of the passage causing a great mortality among them, especially when they are too much crouded, and come from any of the ports of the Bight of Guinea, which often spend a whole month or more in getting from St.Thome, or to cape Lope, and too often the ships are over-loaded with slaves.

I have observ'd, that the great mortality, which so often happens in slave-ships, proceeds as well from taking in too many, as from want of knowing how to manage them aboard, and how to order the course at sea so nicely, as not to overshoot their ports in America, as some bound to Cayenne with slaves, have done; attributing the tediousness of their passage, and their other mistakes, to wrong causes, as being becalm'd about the line, etc. which only proceeded from their not observing the regular course, or not making due observations of land when they approach'd the American continent; or of the force and strength of the current of the Amazons.

Others have been faulty in not putting their ships into due order before they left the Guinea coast, a thing very much to be minded; and have not taken care before they sail'd from Whidah, or cape Lope, to set well their shrouds and stays, tarr them well, with all the running ropes and blocks. If the port or road will allow it, we clean our ships as low as is possible, and tallow them well, to give them the better way: besides all this, during the passage, we take care, in good weather, to have the ships well caulk'd without and within, as well as the decks. The work of the outside we do in fair weather; and if bad, the carpenters work within, and tarr all over, that every thing within may be kept dry, as well for its preservation as decency.

As to the management of our slaves aboard, we lodge the two sexes apart, by means of a strong partition at the main mast; the forepart is for men, the other behind the mast for the women. If it be in large ships carrying five or six hundred slaves, the deck in such ships ought to be at least five and a half or six foot high, which is very requisite for driving a continual trade of slaves: for the greater height it has, the more airy and convenient it is for such a

considerable number of human creatures; and consequently far the more healthy for them, and fitter to look after them. We build a sort of half-decks along the sides with deals and spars provided for that purpose in Europe, that half-deck extending no farther than the sides of our scuttles and so the slaves lie in two rows, one above the other, and as close together as they can be crouded.

The Dutch company's ships exceed all other Europeans in such accommodations, being commonly built designedly for those voyages, and consequently contrived very wide, lofty, and airy, betwixt decks, with gratings and scuttles, which can be cover'd with tarpawlins in wet weather; and in fair uncover'd, to let in the more air. Some also have made small ports, or lights along the sides at proper distances, well secured with thick iron bars, which they open from time to time for the air; and that very much contributes to the preservation of those poor wretches, who are so thick crouded together.

The Portuguese of Angola, a people in many respects not to be compar'd to the English, Dutch or French, in point of neatness aboard their ships, tho' indeed some French and English ships in those voyages for slaves are slovingly, foul, and stinking, according to the temper and the want of skill of the commanders; the Portuguese, I say, are commendable in that they bring along with them to the coast, a sufficient quantity of coarse thick mats, to serve as bedding under the slaves aboard, and shift them every fortnight or three weeks with such fresh mats: which, besides that it is softer for the poor wretches to lie upon than the bare deals or decks, must also be much healthier for them, because the planks, or deals, contract some dampness more or less, either from the deck being so often wash'd to keep it clean and sweet, or from the rain that gets in now and then through the scuttles or other openings, and even from the very sweat of the slaves; which being so crouded in a low place, is perpetual, and occasions many distempers, or at best great inconveniences dangerous to their health: whereas, lying on mats, and shifting them from time to time, must be much more convenient; and it would be prudent to imitate the Portuguese in this point, the charge of such mats being inconsiderable.

We are very nice in keeping the places where the slaves lie clean and neat, appointing some of the ship's crew to do that office constantly, and several of the slaves themselves to be assistant to them in that employment; and thrice a week we perfume betwixt decks with a quantity of good vinegar in pails, and red-hot iron bullets in them, to expel the bad air, after the place has been well wash'd and scrubb'd with brooms: after which, the deck is clean'd with cold vinegar, and in the day-time, in good weather, we leave all the scuttles open, and shut them again at night.

It has been observ'd before, that some slaves fancy they are carry'd to be eaten, which make them desperate; and others are so on account of their captivity: so that if care be not taken, they will mutiny and destroy the ship's crew in hopes to get away.

To prevent such misfortunes, we use to visit them daily, narrowly searching every corner between decks, to see whether they have not found means, to gather any pieces of iron, or wood, or knives, about the ship, notwithstanding the great care we take not to leave any tools or nails, or other things in the way: which, however, cannot be always so exactly observ'd, where so many people are in the narrow compass of a ship.

We cause as many of our men as is convenient to lie in the quarter-deck and gun-room, and our principal officers in the great cabbin, where we keep all our small arms in a readiness, with sentinels constantly at the door and avenues to it; being thus ready to disappoint any attempts our slaves might make on a sudden.

These precautions contribute very much to keep them in awe; and if all those who carry slaves duly observ'd them, we should not hear of so many revolts as have happen'd. Where I was concern'd, we always kept our slaves in such order, that we did not perceive the least inclination in any of them to revolt, or mutiny, and lost very few of our number in the voyage.

It is true, we allow'd them much more liberty, and us'd them with more tenderness than most other Europeans would think prudent to do; as, to have them all upon deck every day in good weather; to take their meals twice a-day, at fix'd hours, that is, at ten in the morning, and at five at night; which being ended, we made the men go down again between decks; for the women were almost entirely at their own discretion, to be upon deck as long as they pleas'd, nay even many of the males had the same liberty by turns, successively; few or none being fetter'd or kept in shackles, and that only on account of some disturbances, or injuries, offer'd to their fellow captives, as will unavoidably happen among a numerous croud of such savage people. Besides, we allow'd each of them betwixt their meals a handful of Indian wheat and Mandioca, and now and then short pipes and tobacco to smoak upon deck by turns, and some cocoa-nuts; and to the women a piece of coarse cloth to cover them, and the same to many of the men, which we took care they did wash from time to time, to prevent vermin, which they are very subject to; and because it look'd sweeter and more agreeable. Towards the evening they diverted themselves on the deck, as they thought fit, some conversing together, others dancing, singing, and sporting after their manner, which pleased them highly, and often made us pastime; especially the female sex, who being a-part from

the males, on the quarterdeck, and many of them young sprightly maidens, full of jollity and good-humour, afforded us abundance of recreation; as did several little fine boys, which we mostly kept to attend on us about the ship.

We mess'd the slaves twice a day, as I have observed; the first meal was of our large beans boil'd, with a certain quantity of Muscovy lard, which we have from Holland, well pack'd up in casks. The beans we have in great plenty at Rochel. The other meal was of pease, or of Indian wheat, and sometimes meal of Mandioca; this provided in Prince's island, the Indian wheat at the Gold Coast; boil'd with either lard, or suet, or grease, by turns: and sometimes with palm-oil and malaguette or Guinea pepper. I found they had much better stomachs for beans, and it is a proper fattening food for captives; in my opinion far better to maintain them well, than Indian wheat, Mandioca or yams; tho' the Calabar slaves value this root above any other food, as being used to it in their own country: but it is not at certain times of the year to be had in so great a quantity as is requisite to subsist such a number of people for several months; besides that they are apt to decay, and even to putrify as they grow old. Horse-beans are also very proper for slaves in lieu of large beans: there is good plenty of them in Great Britain, which, as well as the other beans, will keep, if well put up in dry fats [vats] or casks.

We distributed them by ten in a mess, about a small flat tub, made for that use by our coopers, in which their victuals were served; each slave having a little wooden spoon to feed himself handsomely, and more cleanly than with their fingers, and they were well pleased with it.

At each meal we allow'd every slave a full coco-nut shell of water, and from time to time a dram of brandy, to strengthen their stomachs.

The Dutch commonly feed their slaves three times a day, with indifferent good victuals, and much better than they eat in their own country. The Portuguese feed them most with Mandioca.

As for the sick and wounded, or those out of order, our surgeons, in their daily visits betwixt decks, finding any indisposed, caus'd them to be carried to the Lazaretto, under the fore-castle, a room reserv'd for a sort of hospital, where they were carefully look'd after. Being out of the croud, the surgeons had more conveniency and time to administer proper remedies; which they cannot do leisurely between decks, because of the great heat that is there continually, which is sometimes so excessive, that the surgeons would faint away, and the candles would not burn; besides, that in such a croud of brutish people, there are always some very apt to annoy and hurt others, and all in general so greedy, that they will snatch from the sick slaves the fresh

meat or liquor that is given them. It is no way advisable to put the sick slaves into the long-boat upon deck, as was very imprudently done in the *Albion* frigate, spoken of in the description of New Calabar; for they being thus exposed in the open air, and coming out of the excessive hot hold, and lying there in the cool of the nights, for some time just under the fall of the wind from the sails, were soon taken so ill of violent cholicks and bloody fluxes, that in a few days they died, and the owners lost above three hundred slaves in the passage from St. Tome to Barbadoes; and the two hundred and fifty that survived, were like skeletons, one half of them not yielding above four pounds a head there: an oversight, by which fifty per Cent. of the stock or outlet was lost.

Much more might be said relating to the preservation and maintenance of slaves in such voyages, which I leave to the prudence of the officers that govern aboard, if they value their own reputation and their owners advantage; and shall only add these few particulars, that tho' we ought to be circumspect in watching the slaves narrowly, to prevent or disappoint their ill designs for our own conservation, yet must we not be too severe and haughty with them, but on the contrary, caress and humor them in every reasonable thing. Some commanders, of a morose peevish temper are perpetually beating and curbing them, even without the least offence, and will not suffer any upon deck but when unavoidable necessity to ease themselves does require; under pretence it hinders the work of the ship and sailors, and that they are troublesome by their nasty nauseous stench, or their noise; which makes those poor wretches desperate, and besides their falling into distempers thro' melancholy, often is the occasion of their destroying themselves.

Such officers should consider, those unfortunate creatures are men as well as themselves, tho' of a different colour, and pagans; and that they ought to do to others as they would be done by in like circumstances; as it may be their turn, if they should have the misfortune to fall into the hands of Algerines or Sallee men, as it has happen'd to many after such voyages perform'd. They ought also to consider the interest of their owners, who put them into that employment; and, unless they have laid aside the sense of gratitude and credit, it may be an inducement to curb their brutish temper, and move them to a gentle humane carriage towards the poor slaves, and to contribute as far as in them lies, to keep them clean, healthy and easy; to lessen the deep sense of their lamentable condition, which many are sensible enough of, whatever we may think of their stupidity. These methods will undoubtedly turn to the advantage of the adventurers, their masters, and is the least return they can reasonably expect from them.

It also concerns the adventurers in Guinea voyages for slaves, not to allow the commanders, supercargo or officers, the liberty of taking aboard any slaves for their own particular account, as is too often practised among European traders, thinking to save something in their salaries by the month: for experience has shown, that the captain's slaves never die, since there are not ten masters in fifty who scruple to make good their own out of the cargo; or at least such licence-slaves are sure to have the best accommodations aboard, and the greatest plenty of subsistance out of the ship's stock: and very often those who were allow'd to carry but two slaves, have had ten or twelve, and those the best of the cargo, subsisted out of the general provisions of the ship, and train'd up aboard, to be carpenters, coopers, and cooks, so as to sell for double the price of other slaves in America, because of their skill, etc. And such commanders, when return'd home, and requir'd to account for such licentious practices, and to restore the product of such slaves so dispos'd of, allowing them their first cost, not only refuse to comply with so reasonable a demand, but knowing how many formalities the law in England requires, to compel them to it, which reduces it almost to an impossibility, they fall out with, and ungratefully abuse their benefactors and patrons. So that it were infinitely better, in lieu of such grants, to augment the salaries, proportionably to the great fatigues and imminent hazards of life in such voyages, with this condition, that any persons whatsoever transgressing in this point, shall forfeit not only such slaves as he shall presume to carry over without permission, but also all his wages, and pay a reasonable fine besides. All this rigorously executed, would have a great influence, and deter many from their ill practices for the future (pp. 545-548). . . .

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DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF THE SLAVE TRADE TO AMERICA

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INTRODUCTION

At the opening of the eighteenth century the African slave trade was the foundation on which colonial industry and the colonial commerce of European countries rested. It dominated the relations between the countries of Western Europe and their colonies; it was one of the most important factors in the wars of the century; it played a considerable rôle in the domestic affairs of the nations involved in it. The century saw the decline of trade by means of joint-stock companies with monopoly grants and an increase in the influence of the independent trader. It saw the growth of industries dependent upon African markets, the opening up of the Spanish-American trade, and at the end of the century it saw the development of a humanitarian revolt, which from feeble beginnings grew to power sufficient to convince the world that this traffic was not business but crime, and crime of so intolerable a nature that it must be outlawed by civilization.

Though their relative importance in the trade had shifted somewhat, the countries engaged in it were still the same as in the seventeenth century. The Portuguese, French, Danes, Dutch, Brandenburgers, and English all had establishments on the West Coast of Africa, all bickered with the natives or combined with them against European rivals; to all, the trade was intertwined with questions of colonial policy; to most of them, the Spanish-American market remained the coveted goal.

Last among European nations to establish themselves on the African coast, the Brandenburgers were the first to withdraw. Early in the eighteenth century it became known that the establishments of the Emden or Brandenburg Company were for sale. The Portuguese were believed to have made offers for this property in 1708, but the forts were still unsold when the negotiations for peace began at Utrecht.[1]

In the course of these negotiations, the Earl of Strafford was approached by the Prussians, who offered to the English their entire possessions on the coast. Strafford seems to have been convinced that the forts could be obtained for very little, and that they would be useful. He was also convinced that the English should forestall the Dutch, who were certain to find them desirable. His letters failed to elicit a reply from the Earl of Oxford, to whom they were addressed, and apparently the matter received no attention in London despite Strafford's belief in the advantages of the purchase.[2] In 1717

[1] John and Awnsham Churchill, *Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1732), V. 432. Sir Dalby Thomas reported that the Portuguese had offered £40,000. W. W. Claridge, *History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti* (London, 1915), I. 203-206.

[2] Historical MSS. Comm., *Portland Manuscripts,* IX. 372, 376, 378, 381.

the Dutch West India Company bought the most important of the Prussian establishments in Africa, Great Friedrichsburg, paying for it 6000 ducats. The remaining African possessions of this company were sold to the Dutch East India Company in 1732, and the Emden Company came to an end.[3] An attempt was made by Frederick II. in 1768 to re-establish it, but neither Dutch nor French capitalists would aid and the effort failed.[4]

By a treaty between the Great Elector and the King of Denmark in 1686 Brandenburg had acquired the privilege of maintaining for thirty years an establishment in the Danish St. Thomas.[5] This served as a distributing point for the negroes sent over from the West African factories of the Brandenburgers as long as the company existed, and connected their West India commerce in slaves closely with that of the Danish owners of the island.

Throughout the century the Danes continued to play a small yet a persistent part in the slave trade on the African coast and in the Caribbean. The Danish island of St. Thomas had, because of its many small harbors, become a flourishing centre of the illicit traffic in negroes, by means of which much of the Spanish demand was satisfied. St. John, near to St. Thomas, was added to the Danish possessions in 1719, St. Croix in 1733.[6] The expanding colonial population made possible by the acquisition of these islands created a demand among the Danish colonists for a legitimate trade in slaves, which by the early years of the eighteenth century probably surpassed in importance the illicit trade with Spaniards.

On the African coast between Accra and Whydah the Danes held a number of forts and settlements. Fort Frederiksborg they had sold to the English in 1685. This sale left Fort Christiansborg, rebuilt some time between 1730 and 1746, their most important establishment. In 1734 they added Fort Friedensborg at Ningo.[7] In 1784

[3] Charles de Lannoy and Herman Vander Linden, *Expansion Coloniale des Peuples Européens: Néerlande et Danemark* (1911), p. 137; G. N. Clark, *The Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1929), p. 41. The account given by Claridge (I. 203-206) differs somewhat from this. According to him, Fort Friedrichsburg, abandoned by the Emden Company, fell into the hands of a well-known native trader, John Conny. The Dutch, maintaining that they had purchased it, attacked the fort but failed to dislodge Conny, who made unavailing overtures to a French vessel on the coast. Finally, in 1725, he turned the fort over to the Dutch, who renamed it Fort Hollandia. The point at issue here seems to be whether the Dutch had in 1717 actually made the purchase. William Smith when he visited the coast in 1726 gave to this fort two names, Fort Hollandia or Conny's Castle.

[4] Pierre Bonnassieux, *Les Grandes Compagnies de Commerce* (Paris, 1892), p. 464.

[5] For an account of the seventeenth-century activities of this factory see Waldemar Westergaard, *The Danish West Indies under Company Rule* (New York, 1917), pp. 71-94.

[6] Westergaard, *Danish West Indies,* pp. 2-4.

[7] Claridge, I. 221, II. 601; *Journal of the African Society,* IV. 7. Among eighteenth-century accounts of the European establishments on the West African coast are two by Danish authors. That of L. F. Römer was published in Copenhagen in 1760 and was in 1769 translated into French as *Nouvelle de la Côte de Guinée;* the second account, that of Dr. Paul Isert (see this work, I. 78 n.), also translated into French, describes the Danish forts as they existed in his day, and relates the circumstances under which they were built. *Voyages en Guinée* (Paris, 1793), pp. 15, 18, 27-28, 85, 117.

they built at Adda a square fort called Koningstein. According to Claridge they then joined the natives, crossed the Volta River, and subdued the tribes there, who allowed them to build at Quittah a fort called Prinzenstein. About this time they also rebuilt Augustaborg.[8] By 1785 they had on the Gold Coast four forts and six factories.[9] At no time during the century was their power sufficient to threaten the Dutch or English, yet in spite of their weakness they were able to maintain their trade and increase the number of their establishments.

Up to the end of the seventeenth century the Danish West India Company did not carry slaves directly from Africa to its own colonists but in 1696 and 1697 the Danish officials in the West Indies, jealous of the profits they saw accruing to the Brandenburg Company, pressed the Danish Company to undertake the slave trade on its own account rather than to buy its supply from Dutch or Prussian slavers. Their arguments apparently convinced the company of the desirability of undertaking this commerce, and after its reorganization in 1697 it sent an expedition to the African coast which was in part financed by the company, in part by a private merchant.[10] The vessel sent out took on board 506 slaves at Christiansborg and delivered 259 at St. Thomas. These were sold for 85 rix-dollars each, three times their price on the coast, so that the venture proved financially profitable in spite of the heavy mortality of the Middle Passage. The next voyage delivered 353 from a cargo of about 525.[11] Thereafter until 1733 the company continued to send out a vessel or two each year, though it by no means supplied the demand of the Danish islands,[12] which still obtained a part of their negroes from Dutch interlopers at Curaçao.

From the archives of the company there has been compiled a list of slave cargoes arriving in the Danish West Indies between 1687 and 1754. This contains the numbers carried, the cost to the company, and the prices at which the cargoes were sold in the islands. Between 1687 and 1700 thirteen vessels had brought in 4239

[8] Claridge, I. 221-222, II. 599; John Pinkerton, *General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels* (London, 1814), XVI. 367.

[9] Nicolaus Hadeler, *Geschichte der Holländischen Colonien auf der Goldküste* (Bonn, 1904), p. 56.

[10] Westergaard, pp. 145-146.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 146-147. The mortality on the Middle Passage, for the vessels given, seems to have been in the neighborhood of 30 per cent. In addition to this a number of vessels were lost outright. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

[12] Many of the suggestions as to the Danish trade apparently originated in St. Thomas rather than in Denmark. On Mar. 28, 1737, the officials of the island suggested that slaves be procured from "Caplahoe" (Cape Lahoe) and Cape Three Points and between "Ziode Wolta" (Volta) and "Hardra" (Ardra), as these slaves were better than those of Loango and Angola. Westergaard, pp. 139-140, n. 7.

negroes.[13] Between 1701 and 1754 seventy-four vessels reached the Danish market. Between 1701 and 1710 these vessels delivered 2967 negroes; from 1711 to 1720, something over 1584; from 1721 to 1731, 2276; from 1731 to 1741, 1096;[14] from 1741 to 1754, 4727. Twenty-five years later the Danes were still carrying about twelve hundred negroes from Africa annually.[15]

Occasionally the company took what part of a cargo it desired and turned the remainder back to the captain to sell to private purchasers as he found opportunity. The Brandenburg factor resident in St. Thomas was a frequent purchaser of these cargoes. For the negroes thus sold outside the company the captain paid to the company a four per cent. duty, or on one occasion 4¼ pieces of eight per negro sold. From one cargo 180 manquerons were turned back to the captain.[16] Most of these cargoes came from Guinea, though negroes from Calabar, Loango, Angola, and even Madagascar appear in the list.

During the eighteenth century the costs on the coast ranged from 45 rix-dollars to 120, and in one case to 150 rdl. Between 1700 and 1733 twelve cargoes were purchased at 70 rdl. per head, six at 60 rdl.; the remainder varied in price from 40 to 80 rdl., with one cargo in 1711 reaching 96 rdl. After 1733, when the company ceased to import negroes, the prices seem to have been much higher, in two cases ranging from 75 to 85 rdl., in a number of instances from 120 to 130 rdl.[17] These negroes were sold to the planters for prices which ranged from 80 rdl. to 354 rdl. Between 1700 and 1733 the sale price varied from 80 rdl. to 156 rdl., but one cargo reaching the latter figure. After 1733 the prices in the island increased steadily, seldom falling below 130 rdl. These prices were paid in cash, in cotton, or in sugar. In 1724 the profit on one voyage which delivered 351 negroes amounted to 28 per cent., on two others the fol-

[13] Westergaard, pp. 320-326. One cargo of 549 lost 196 on the Middle Passage, another of 538 lost 300. John Lorentz, governor of St. Thomas, in 1700 wrote to the directors of the company that the mortality on the vessels of Zeeland interlopers and English slavers was also very high at this time, some of them having brought but one-third or one-fourth of the original cargo. The increasing number of separate traders sharing the trade after the passage of the act of 1698 (see this work, I. 421-429) may have had something to do with this excessive mortality. Those eager for profits and inexperienced in the trade frequently overloaded their vessels and failed to take due sanitary precautions. Westergaard states that the Dutch had the smallest loss on the Middle Passage of any nation that traded in slaves. Westergaard, p. 142.

[14] The cargoes for four vessels are not given.

[15] J. Machat, *Documents sur les Établissements Français de l'Afrique Occidentale au XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris, 1906), pp. 132-133.

[16] Westergaard, pp. 148-151, 324. A manqueron or mackron was a negro not up to standard.

[17] Professor Westergaard describes these sums as the "wholesale cost to the company". It is not clear whether he is including more than the actual purchase price of the negroes, but it seems probable that he is not.

lowing year it reached 29 per cent.[18] On another cargo, out of which 199 had died from dysentery on the voyage, the profit was 69½ per cent. The last importation recorded in the list resulted in a profit of 50 per cent.

After 1723 the company attempted to encourage the introduction of negroes by private traders. A decade of discussion over the proper relation of the company to this commerce followed. The company then definitely gave it up, the reasons offered being its great risk and the small return. The next year the slave trade to the Danish West Indies was, by royal mandate, first opened to all the Danish subjects in the colonies, and later to subjects in the homeland, on payment to the directors of a duty of eight rix-dollars per head on the importations into St. Thomas; and four rix-dollars on those introduced into St. Croix.[19] During the next twenty years the company tried to obtain the necessary slaves by a contract with private merchants, then by a reorganization and a new attempt at company trade. In 1754 the government opened the Guinea trade to all Danish subjects. This freedom was short-lived. The next year a company of Africa was established, with a capital of 250,000 écus and a grant for trade.[20] Still another attempt at an exclusive company was made in 1765, but the company failed and the commerce was again an open one. In 1781 the monopoly of the slave trade was granted to the Company of the Baltic and of Guinea, which, after a short life, passed away in 1787. Already the movement for the abolition of the trade was gaining headway. This resulted in 1792 in a prohibition of direct importation of negroes from Africa to the Danish establishment.[21]

The history of the slave trade of Portugal in the eighteenth century is still to be written. Though her early pre-eminence in West Africa was gone, she carried on a thriving trade from certain localities, by means of which she supplied her Brazilian possessions. The Bissagos Islands and the neighboring coast and inland rivers were settled by Portuguese or their mulatto descendants, who controlled the trade of the region, though French and English occasionally encroached upon the territory. The larger number of the Portuguese slaves however came from Angola and the Congo, where the Portuguese had established missions and made settlements in the preceding century. In addition to supplying her own South American territory with negroes, Portugal, at the end of the seventeenth century, held

[18] Westergaard, p. 323. There was no corresponding increase in the prices of sugar or cotton. *Ibid.*, p. 327.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 152-154.

[20] Bonnassieux, pp. 441, 443.

[21] See *post*, no. 285.

the contract to supply the Spanish-American markets.[22] This contract the Portuguese company lost in 1701, but Portuguese traders in Africa continued to provide European merchants with slave cargoes throughout the eighteenth century. In 1724 a new company, with a monopoly for fifteen years, was established to carry negroes to Brazil.[23]

From the earliest days of the African commerce the Portuguese had been hampered by a lack of satisfactory goods with which to purchase negroes. The two commodities provided by their colonies were tobacco and rum. In addition to these they needed the usual European goods. Woollens, linens, brass, and pewter were in demand among the natives of the Bissagos region and had to be obtained by Portuguese traders. This doubtless explains why these traders frequently sold their negroes on the African coast in exchange for European goods, instead of carrying them to the colonies of the New World. Astley states that from the Bissagos Islands and the adjacent mainland from thirteen to fifteen hundred negroes were shipped off yearly.[24] The method of trade differed markedly from that of other countries. It was customary for the negroes brought from the interior to be collected on some of the islands in the mouths of the rivers. Here they were employed in agriculture, and here they might live for many months before they were carried to America.[25]

Portugal's own trade was insufficient to supply all the Portuguese demand and occasionally throughout the century evidence of English traffic to Portuguese markets is to be found. In 1721 the Royal African Company of England had under consideration (and apparently carried through) a plan for selling slaves to the Portuguese. Mr. Playden (Playton?) Onely proposed that the company carry from Gambia to the Western Islands a cargo of from 120 to 130 boys and girls between seven and twelve years of age. Those not disposed of here were to be delivered to Mr. Onely in Lisbon.[26]

For the most part the Portuguese in the conduct of their trade avoided friction with the more aggressive countries engaged in the same traffic, but occasionally trouble arose. The monopoly of the trade to Buenos Aires, held by the South Sea Company, was sometimes encroached upon by the Portuguese.[27] In 1773 English officers

[22] See this work, I. 107.
[23] Bonnassieux, pp. 458-459.
[24] Thomas Astley, *New General Collection of Voyages and Travels* (London, 1745), II. 105, 110-112a.
[25] Abbé Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François ou la Connoissance de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Monde* (Paris, 1772), XIV. 117.
[26] June 22, 1721, Minutes of the Court of Assistants, Public Record Office, Treasury Papers 70: 131, pp. 71, 99. These papers are hereafter cited as T 70.
[27] British Museum, Add. MSS. 25564, ff. 174-177.

disputed a claim put forward by the Dutch at Elmina that Portugal had given them the sole right to trade in Brazilian tobacco.[28] More serious was the destruction of English property in Angola, ascribed to the Portuguese late in the century. That Portuguese trade ought not to be ignored is shown by the fact that an undated memoir, written some time after 1779, ascribed to them 18,000 of the 70,000 blacks carried from Africa each year. Portugal was certainly third or fourth in the list of countries engaged in the trade at the end of the eighteenth century.[29]

The eighteenth-century commerce of the Dutch as well as that of Portugal needs further study. Because the African trade of Holland was not expanding during this century many writers have assumed a more rapid decline in its importance than the facts seem to justify. Though the Dutch trade may be relegated to second place, and before the century is over to third place, the Hollanders maintained their forts on the West Coast, and continued to be a perpetual annoyance to the English, often fostering trouble among the native tribes or between native tribes and Europeans.

The Dutch West India Company which emerged from the reorganization of 1675, though it received the privileges of the earlier company, seems never to have accomplished so rigid a monopoly as had the company of 1621. Much of the slave trade of the eighteenth century was in the hands of separate traders, part of whom were interlopers, part of whom purchased licenses from the company and paid a duty on the goods they carried.[30] Occasionally the company in granting these licenses reserved to itself certain territory, as in 1730 it was reported that the company had contracted to deliver negroes to Surinam, Berbice, and Isequebeg (Essequibo) but had granted licenses for trade in any other colony.[31] The privileges granted to this company were sources of much jealousy to the upholders of the English monopoly. In 1729 one writer pointed out that the States General had accompanied the monopoly grant to the Dutch with a subsidy of 38,000 florins per year, in addition to the revenue from certain duties which altogether amounted to 133,000 florins, and revenues from prizes captured, which the writer reckoned at 100,000 florins, making a total of 271,000 florins or about £25,000 sterling annually paid to the company.[32] In 1734 these privileges

[28] David Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce* (London, 1805), III. 547.

[29] Machat, pp. 132-133.

[30] Library of Congress, British Transcripts, Egerton MSS. 2395, f. 494; John Hippisley, *Essays* (London, 1764), pp. 43-44.

[31] *Maryland Gazette,* Dec. 15, 1730.

[32] *The Case of the Royal African Company* (London, 1729), p. 22. The total is here given as 271,600 florins, probably a misprint.

were modified and for twenty years a part of the West Coast of Africa was opened to independent traders.[33]

On the African coast the Dutch during the first quarter of the century pushed their activities to regions which had heretofore been admittedly under French influence. Taking advantage of the feebleness of the French Senegal Company, they seized Arguin and extended an interloping trade from Arguin southward. The French, after some delay, were preparing to oust them when they learned that the Hollanders had voluntarily evacuated the Arguin fort.[34] The Dutch were also taking the aggressive on the Guinea coast. In 1706 they destroyed the English settlement at Takoradi. Shortly after this the two nations agreed that the Ancobre River should be the dividing line between their possessions.[35] In 1729 Sir Dalby Thomas and Peter Nuyts of the Dutch company again achieved temporary peace between the two companies.[36] About 1750 the English town at Dixcove was destroyed by the Dutch. At this time the trade of the Windward Coast from Commenda to Axim was conceded to them. They held two forts at Goree (Orange and Nassau), and forts at Elmina, Nassau, Akim, Accra, Anka, and Bendo, all on the Guinea coast.[37]

From this time on there was intermittent friction between the Dutch and the committee of the English Company of Merchants trading to Africa over property rights on the coast. In 1763 the Board of Trade was called upon to adjust conflicting claims to territory west of Cape Coast Castle.[38] In 1768 Lord Viscount Weymouth reported to the Admiralty that Appolonia was in danger of being wholly cut off from other British settlements by the Dutch. In 1785 the Dutch still held twelve or thirteen forts on the Gold Coast and maintained an active trade.[39] They had however made the mistake of allying themselves with the native enemies of the Ashanti; and as the power of the Ashanti increased, the Dutch influence in Africa declined.

[33] Adam Anderson, *An Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce* (Dublin, 1790), III. 471-472.

[34] Prosper Cultru, *Histoire du Sénégal du XVe Siècle à 1870* (Paris, 1910), pp. 180-183. This author was mistakenly called Pierre in vol. I. of this work.

[35] Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce,* III. 547. For an account of the trouble in Africa between English and Dutch in the early years of the century see Charles Davenant, *Works,* V. 198-221.

[36] C. O. 388: 48, Dd 147. This same year Sekundi was destroyed by natives. The English believed that this was done at the instigation of the Dutch. T. M. Adams, *A Cool Address to the People of England on the Slave Trade* (London, 1788), p. 38.

[37] July 11, 1751, C. O. 267: 5, C. O. 388: 45, Dd 42; Hippisley, *Essays,* p. 36; Bonnassieux, p. 76.

[38] *Calendar of Home Office Papers,* 1760-1765, pp. 293, 313.

[39] *Ibid.,* 1766-1769, pp. 159, 388; also Shelburne MSS., vol. LXII., calendared in the Hist. MSS. Comm., *Fifth Report,* p. 230; Hadeler, *Holländischen Colonien,* p. 56. The Dutch possessions in Africa had by this time passed to the Dutch East India Company.

In the West Indies, though the Dutch owned several small islands, their trade to the islands of other nations was probably more important than was the business of supplying their own colonists with negro labor. Curaçao and St. Eustatius, the chief Dutch entrepôts for slaves, were largely frequented by private traders who sold slaves to English, French, and Spaniards in spite of the protests of the home governments. In the seventeenth century Curaçao had been the foremost of these two distributing centres but gradually St. Eustatius seems to have assumed an important place. From this island 2000 to 3000 slaves were annually distributed, at prices lower than the English could offer. This the English attributed to the cheapness and the suitability of the Dutch goods exchanged for slaves in Africa.[40] To the English Board of Trade the Commissioners of the Customs reported that they knew no law against this private trade from St. Eustatius of which the Royal African Company complained.[41] In spite of English protests and the efforts of English merchants to undersell the Dutch, slaves could, in 1731, still be procured in St. Eustatius for twenty per cent. less than from English vessels.

its Road is the Place where Dutch Interlopers from the Coast of Africa seldom fail to call at. In a few Days all our Leeward Islands are informed of this. In Places, such as our Islands are, it is not much to be wondered at if there are Persons who run some Hazard for the Hope of a considerable Gain; so that all the ready Money which they can advance at any rate, is carried by them on Board these Ships, where Negroes are sold to them frequently 20 per Cent. cheaper than our own Ships do afford them. This ready money is a great Temptation to some Planters who sell their sugars to them at less than the current Price; and under Pretence of sending it in Sloops to our own shipping, it is sent on Board these Interlopers.[42]

Jamaica as well as the African Company protested against this Dutch trade, asserting that much of the illicit Spanish trade which she had once carried on had since the advent of the South Sea Company moved to the barren island of Curaçao, which sometimes accommodated in its harbor from 60 to 70 sail of ships.[43]

The unsatisfactory character of eighteenth-century figures is illustrated by two estimates of Dutch trade in 1778 or 1779. One

[40] Barbot reckons the Dutch exportation from Africa at the beginning of the century to have been about 8000 negroes. Most of these were delivered at Curaçao. In 1719 they were said to be selling 7000 to the English and French. Sept. 19, 1719, John Holden to the court of assistants, T 70: 177; Churchill, *Voyages,* V. 167.

[41] Frank Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies* (New Haven, 1917), pp. 74-75 and notes, citing C. O. 152: 12, P 213. When negroes who had been purchased at St. Thomas for Santo Domingo were seized the captain pleaded that such trade had hitherto been allowed. Moreau de St. Méry, *Loix et Constitutions de l'Amérique sous le Vent* (Paris, 1786), I. 685.

[42] *The Importance of the British Plantations in America* (London, 1731), p. 32.

[43] Anderson, *Origin of Commerce,* III. 421-422.

of these ascribes to the Dutch responsibility for exporting 3000 negroes from Africa, the other, 11,300.[44]

For the French slave trade of this period our knowledge is fuller, though even on it much work remains to be done. At the beginning of the eighteenth century there were in existence three French companies concerned in one way or another with this commerce: the Royal Company of the Senegal, established in 1696 with a monopoly of the Senegal region; the Guinea Company of 1685, with a monopoly of the regions south of the Senegal River; and the Royal Company of Santo Domingo, which, while it had no privileges on the African coast, had the right to sell slaves in the French West Indies. It was indeed under obligation to place at least 2500 blacks in Santo Domingo within five years from its establishment, and after that 200 blacks a year were to be delivered to the island. These negroes the company was at liberty to obtain from foreigners if it liked.[45]

Louis XIV., cherishing high ambitions for the enlargement of the French trade in slaves, ruled, on July 9, 1701, that the old Guinea Company had not fulfilled the terms of its contract, substituted a new group of directors, and entrusted to them the assiento just wrested from Portugal. The reorganized company undertook to carry on the Spanish-American trade and to deliver 3000 negroes to the French Antilles.[46] On these the king was to pay the bounty customary in the French trade, thirteen livres per head. In addition the company was granted freedom from duty on all goods which it carried.[47] The monopoly granted to the company was not absolute. French merchants who were persistent in their requests for a free trade to Guinea were permitted to carry negroes to Cayenne (where the demand was small and the price low) and to the Isles du Vent without payment of duty. Merchants of Nantes were allowed to go to Guinea by paying to the company 20 livres per head on those negroes carried to Santo Domingo, and 10 livres for all negroes carried to other French islands. Merchants of Martinique might import from four to five hundred negroes annually, on payment of 13 livres per head to the company, provided they sent one hundred blacks to Guadeloupe each year.[48] The in-

[44] Machat, pp. 132-133. Macpherson (III. 484) gives 11,300 negroes as the Dutch purchase in Africa in 1768. This is probably the source of the figures in *Niles' Register,* III. 189, though the Portuguese figures differ.

[45] Anderson, III. 103; Lucien Peytraud, *L'Esclavage aux Antilles Françaises avant 1789* (Paris, 1897), pp. 50-51. The establishment of the third company seems to have followed the failure of the Senegal Company to obtain negroes from Cartagena. See this work, I. 103.

[46] St. Méry, *Loix et Constitutions,* I. 671-672; Bonnassieux, p. 384.

[47] St. Méry, I. 677-678. The king's representative was the Comte de Pontchartrain.

[48] Peytraud, pp. 54, 56.

competency of the captains in the service of the company and the heavy mortality of the Middle Passage made the delivery of the number required difficult. Nevertheless the directors refused an offer made in 1706 by the English, who were eager to supply the necessary blacks from Jamaica.[49]

With the transfer of the Spanish-American trade to England in 1713 the Guinea Company was abolished and the trade to Guinea was opened to all French merchants who paid 30 livres on negroes imported into Santo Domingo, 15 livres on those carried into the Isles du Vent. In 1716 the trade was made entirely free to merchants of the ports of Rouen, La Rochelle, Bordeaux, Nantes, and Saint-Malo, on payment of a 20-livres duty per head.[50]

The French Senegal Company of 1696, whose affairs were in great confusion, in 1709 sold its property and its privileges to a new company of Rouen merchants, called by Astley the fifth Senegal Company.[51] On December 15, 1718, this company ceded its rights and property to the Company of the Occident, or the Company of the Indies. By his merging of these two companies, and the addition shortly after of the rights and property of the Company of Santo Domingo, dissolved in April, 1720, John Law succeeded for a time in infusing new life into the slave trade.[52] The monopoly of the commerce of the Guinea coast was granted to Law's new company by an *arrêt* of September, 1720, and reaffirmed in June, 1725.[53] The new company was to carry to Santo Domingo 30,000 negroes in 25 years, on each of which it received a bounty of 13 livres. In addition, it was exempt from half the customary duties on the goods which it carried. In 1723 the company was again reorganized and the monopoly confirmed, though in 1725 special permissions were granted to trade outside the monopoly. Certain French merchants who paid 20 livres per head to the company were allowed to carry eight cargoes of blacks yearly to America. On these the company also received the 13 livres paid by the government. The company thus received 33 livres for every negro landed

[49] Bonnassieux, pp. 390-392. This author states that the first vessel sent out, carrying 325 negroes, was lost, and that the *Amphitrite,* leaving Africa with 600, arrived in Buenos Aires with 300.

[50] St. Méry, II. 486-490, 535-536; Bonnassieux, pp. 401-407; Peytraud, p. 57. Peace was not proclaimed in the Spanish West Indies for some time after the signing of the assiento, and during this period the French introduced many negroes. Add. MSS. 25562, f. 30.

[51] Astley, *Voyages and Travels,* II. 3. This company sent to Senegal as governor general the Sieur Mustellier, who on his arrival was not allowed by La Courbe, the then governor general, to take possession of the property of the company until all former employees were paid. Cultru, p. 162.

[52] Bonnassieux, p. 234; Cultru, p. 184.

[53] W. G. Leland, *Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris,* I. 60; St. Méry, II. 698-701; Bonnassieux, p. 401.

by these merchants. Some months later this permission was extended to all French merchants who paid the duty. The financial resources of the company were limited, the service which it rendered was unsatisfactory, and its exactions on the colonists heavy; yet it did not lose this official monopoly until July 31, 1767, though after 1740 it ceased to transport negroes on its own account and instead sold them to other traders.[54]

By an *arrêt* of July 31, 1767, the trade of the African coast was again opened to all merchants of the kingdom on the payment of a duty of 10 livres per head. A second *arrêt* freed certain of the merchants from the payment of this duty. For each negro imported the government paid a bounty of 100 livres, which in 1787 was increased to 160 livres per head.[55] The freedom of commerce thus inaugurated was, according to Cultru, theoretical only. Between 1770 and 1774 the African trade rested in the hands of the Company of the Coast of Africa, which in 1776 became the Company of Guyanne. In 1777 the Company of Guyanne was given exclusive right to trade in blacks for fifteen years, and a monopoly of the trade to Goree and the African coast from Cape Verde to the River Casamance for a period of five years. The bounty was at this time increased to 15 livres.[56] In 1783 a New Company of the Senegal and Dependencies was organized, which two years later was granted a monopoly for a period of ten years.[57] An English statement of this time asserted that after 1784 ships clearing for Guinea from any port in France received a bounty of 40 livres per ton on the vessel and 100 livres per negro on all negroes imported into Santo Domingo, Cayenne, St. Lucia, and Tobago; 60 livres on those imported into Martinique and Guadeloupe.[58] This company

[54] Cultru, pp. 199, 264-265; Peytraud, pp. 60-61. The English maintained that the French company in 1729 had a monopoly of trade from Cape Blanco to the Cape of Good Hope; exemption from all duties on merchandise exported to Africa and to the French West Indies; and from half the duties on goods imported from Africa, half the duties on sugar and other products of the French colonies, which were the produce of the sale of negroes there; exemption from all tolls in France, and a bounty of 13 livres on each negro carried, also 20 livres on every eight ounces of gold brought into France (*Case of the Royal African Company,* pp. 21-22). Malachy Postlethwayt gives a lengthy statement of the great advantages offered to the French company by the government. *Considerations on the Revival of the Royal British Assiento* (London, 1749), pp. 14-22.

[55] Cultru, p. 265; Machat, p. 85; Peytraud, p. 71.

[56] Machat, pp. 112-113; Peytraud, p. 72. Cultru (pp. 219, 222-223) says nothing of the negro grant, but refers to a right to monopolize the gum trade given to the company.

[57] Bonnassieux, p. 240; Peytraud, p. 74; Machat, pp. 95-121; Cultru, p. 222. Cultru gives the date of organization of this company as 1783, Peytraud as 1786, Machat as 1784.

[58] *Speech of Sir William Young . . . on Slave Trade, April 19, 1791* (London, 1791), p. 57. An English statement of March, 1788, probably errs in saying that 200 livres per head was allowed on negroes carried into Santo Domingo, 100 livres on those for Guadeloupe and Martinique (Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 71-76). *Doubts on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, by an Old Member of Parliament* (London, 1790, pp. 101-102) stated that by an edict of 1784 ships clearing from French ports for Guinea received 80 livres

met with no greater success than had its predecessors. It failed to import the number required by its charter and in 1791 it lost its monopoly and the commerce of the Senegal was opened to all. The influence of the Society of the Friends of the Blacks, formed in 1784, may have been responsible for the abolition of the bounty upon the importation of slaves in 1792 and 1793. The trade itself was abolished by decree in 1794 and officially ended in 1815.[59]

The actual amount of trade carried on by all these companies and by the independent traders is largely conjectural. For the years 1715 and 1716, when the trade was open, five vessels are reported, with cargoes amounting to 1190 negroes. In 1733 the West India Company sent out 1450 blacks.[60] The Abbé Raynal stated that the trade to the French colonies was perhaps from 1300 to 1400 slaves annually, never more than that. Nevertheless, by the 'forties the English were alarmed over the growth of the French slave trade, which Postlethwayt asserted never amounted to less than 3000 negroes a year.[61] For the year 1769 Anderson placed the total number carried by the French at 23,520. Toward the end of the century the estimates of the numbers annually carried become much larger. The French are said to have landed 36,000 negroes each year, from a possible 40,000 to 45,000 shipped.[62]

Of these negroes 100 came from Goree, 300 from Albreda; Joal, Portudal, and Rufisque provided about 300 annually. Before 1762 St. Joseph at Galam had provided from 1000 to 1200, but by 1762 the numbers exported had dropped to 400 or 500. Durand, who was director of the Senegal Company in 1786, believed that the French obtained 1500 annually from the Senegal in his day.[63] From the Gold Coast, Popo, and Whydah the jealous English believed that the French carried 17,000 slaves annually, whereas from these regions the British were in 1763 not carrying 4000 annually.[64]

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per ton, 230 livres each on the slaves imported into Santo Domingo, and 166 livres on those for other French islands. The English paid a 6-livres duty on slaves they carried into French islands.

[59] Bonnassieux, pp. 248-250; Peytraud, pp. 73-75.

[60] Bonnassieux, p. 233; Cultru, p. 198.

[61] French importation between 1725 and 1741 was estimated at 135,058. Not more than a third of this was effected by the company. Cultru, pp. 249, 271-272; see also Machat, p. 80, and Pitman, *British West Indies,* pp. 85-88.

[62] Anderson, V. 173; Cultru, p. 272. Other estimates place the number in 1778 and 1779 as low as 15,000. Machat, pp. 132-133.

[63] Machat, pp. 83, 89, 102, 111; other references in Machat speak of 800 slaves coming annually from Goree and from Albreda (pp. 91, 111); J. P. L. Durand, *Voyage to Senegal; or Historical, Philosophical and Political Memoirs* (London, 1806), p. 120.

[64] *Considerations on the Present Peace* (London, 1763), p. 17. Labarthe states that the French carried over 6000 negroes annually from Whydah, the English but 1000 (*Voyage à la Côte de Guinée,* Paris, 1805, pp. 136-137). See also Postlethwayt, *A Short State of the Progress of the French Trade and Navigation* (London, 1756), pp. 59-61.

Whatever the numbers shipped by the French throughout the century, there is abundant evidence that the supply thus provided did not satisfy the French planters. The rapid growth of the sugar industry seemed able to absorb a far larger number than the French monopolists at any time provided. In 1719 the merchants of Martinique asserted that in two years' time they had not received a single negro cargo. To their requests for permission to carry their own negroes the government gave no heed since plans for a re-establishment of monopoly were already under way. The opening of the trade in 1767 and the increased bounties offered for French importation failed to put an end to colonial complaints of scarcity.[65]

In the early years of the century the planters supplemented the supply brought by the French by purchases from the Dutch at St. Eustatius. After 1725 they resorted to the neutral island of St. Lucia, where they purchased negroes from the English.[66] Occasionally the French colonial trader found his way to Barbados. In 1783, for a period of three years, permission was granted to foreign vessels to carry 180 negroes direct from Africa, and to sell their cargoes in Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Christopher, Tobago, or St. Lucia. For this privilege the payment was 100 livres per head.[67] The heaviest purchases made from the English were not in the islands but on the West Coast of Africa, where before the end of the century French carriers were buying a considerable portion of their supply from the English factories.[68]

Despite the fact that the trade here pictured was far from being a sturdy one, French interests on the African coast were sufficiently strong to excite the jealousy and fear of the English on numerous occasions. The territorial holdings of the two countries shifted frequently during the century. For the most part France carried on her trade in the region of the Senegal River, England on the Gambia and along the Gold Coast. At the opening of the century the French had establishments at St. Louis at the mouth of the Senegal River, and at Goree, Galam, Joal, Albreda, Bissao, and Boulam.[69] They also possessed trading posts at Great and Little

[65] Peytraud, pp. 57-59, 69-72. To these complaints the company made the usual reply that the planters had not paid for those negroes they had received. In 1726 the company stated that the debts of the planters then amounted to 1,264,700 livres. At the end of the Seven Years' War the company again complained of the unpaid debts of the planters (*ibid.*, pp. 63-66, 69-70). In 1753 the company assured the planters that native wars in the interior of Africa had made slaves scarce but that the trade was now better.

[66] Pitman, pp. 85-86.

[67] Peytrand, p. 73.

[68] *Mémoire sur le Commerce de la France et de ses Colonies* (1789), p. 61.

[69] Cultru, pp. 161, 178. Galam was lost under Lemaître, one of Brue's successors; Bissao and Boulam had been given up by 1706. *Ibid.*, pp. 159, 161.

Popo and at Whydah, and traded along the Grain Coast and the coasts of Angola and Congo. Conflicts between English and French on the Gambia and the Senegal rivers were frequent and often involved long drawn out negotiations as to the rights of the companies of the respective nations.[70] André Brue, who served the French company as governor from 1697 to 1702 and from 1714 to 1720, had striven to make peace between the English and French organizations in order that they might unite against a common foe, the separate trader. His early efforts met with sufficient success to cause the enemies of the English company to charge it with too great friendship with France at a time when the two countries were at war.[71]

In 1719 Brue was again attempting to bring about peaceful relations between French and English, with the privilege of free trade on the Gambia for the French. This the English agent Orfeus refused. Brue then suggested a common trade, but the English agent maintained that he had no instructions and could not negotiate. During Brue's second term of service on the coast he reported that the French on the Gambia were more highly respected by the natives than were the English. This he attributed to the fact that five times between 1695 and 1709 the French had taken Fort James. From the close of his second administration until the outbreak of the Seven Years' War there were minor difficulties on the coast but nothing of great moment. Arguin, which by this time was more important to the gum trade than to the trade in slaves, passed from the Dutch to the French in 1724. The English occasionally complained that the French were encroaching on territory exclusively English;[72] Albreda, the French establishment on the Gambia River, was at-

[70] See this work, I. 445-451; also Hist. MSS. Comm., *House of Lords MSS.* (n. s.), IV. 452-453.

[71] Brue's work fell to pieces after his first departure from the coast and was only in part restored by La Courbe, who went to the coast in 1706. In 1708 La Courbe wrote that he had not heard from France for two years and that if the company was not intending to support its commerce on the coast it had better give it up altogether (Cultru, pp. 165-166). Between Brue's two periods of service on the coast he was director general of the central organization of the company in Paris. In 1723 he returned to Senegal to inspect the French factories, and assisted in a useless attack on Arguin, then held by the Dutch. See this work, I. 96, 102n.; Cultru, pp. 165-166, 178.

[72] Cultru, pp. 175, 177-178; Lannoy and Vander Linden, II. 137. In 1724 or 1725 the English vessel *Advice* was seized by the French company while trading on the Gambia coast (T 70: 124, Mar. 3, 1724/5). See also C. O. 267: 15, Mar. 18, 1724/5, Feb. 21, 1726/7, for English narratives of the conduct of the French on this coast. On Mar. 8, 1725, Daniel Wescomb, secretary of the South Sea Company, wrote that the French company had plundered a vessel belonging to his company because of differences between the Royal African Company and the French (Add. MSS. 25556, f. 120; 14035, ff. 30, 34-35). A dozen years later the same sort of friction still existed: "The French now attempt universal trade and turn their care to the increasing Plantations. In Africa they have . . . encroach'd upon the English Settlements in Gambia, and outbid them in the slave trade." Boston *Weekly News-Letter,* May 26, 1737, copied from the London *Daily Post,* Feb. 18, 1737.

tacked by the English and evacuated by the French in 1748 but was re-established by them in 1750.[73] Soon after the outbreak of the war the English seized Goree and the entire Senegal region, including the French posts south of this river. Though this island was restored to them by the treaty of 1763, they lost the monopoly of the Senegal River and the coast to the south. This treaty by no means ended friction between French and English. The former were accused of encroachments on the Senegal coast and of intriguing with the natives against the English as they had intrigued with the Indians of North America.[74] Expressions of anxiety over news that the French were planning to extend their Gambia trade or to establish a settlement between the Gambia and the Senegal are frequently to be found between 1764 and 1768. A memorial was addressed to the French court protesting against their attempts to settle near the Gambia, and Captain Graves was sent out to the coast, charged to prevent French advance. French aggression and the English methods of combatting it furnished many items in the colonial newspapers of these years.[75] It was well recognized that should the French build up a series of factories on the Senegal they might cut off a large part of the supply of negroes brought from the interior to Fort James on the Gambia.[76]

After the outbreak of the American Revolution the French retook the Senegal and the posts to the south, all of which were allotted to them by the treaty of 1783, as was also a factory on the Gambia. The choice of their site on the Gambia seems to have been a poor one, the mortality was high, and in 1793 the post was abandoned.[77] On the whole the French had lost ground between

[73] Malachy Postlethwayt in 1749 maintained that the French company, because it possessed a monopoly, bought its negroes more cheaply and could therefore undersell the English. Also, that the French company traded in English territory while the English company was excluded from French territory (*Considerations on the Revival of the Royal British Assiento,* pp. 20-32). Much of Postlethwayt's writing was devoted to showing the advantage possessed by the French company: *The National and Private Advantages of the African Trade considered* (1746); *A Short State of the Progress of the French Trade.* During the years 1750, 1751, and 1752 complaints of the aggression of the French in and about the Gambia were frequent. For references to them see T 70: 143; C. O. 388: 45, Dd 31; C. O. 267: 15; July 15, 1751. Ad. 1, 1888. There were also protests from the French over the English attack on Albreda. *Gentleman's Magazine,* XXI. 234.

[74] *Ibid.,* XXXV. 442: "it begins to be apparent that while there is a French settlement on the coast those of the English will never enjoy peace." Shortly before this the same journal (p. 439) referred to a memorial from the French minister justifying the right of the French to trade for slaves on the African coast.

[75] *Cal. H. O. Papers,* 1760-1765, pp. 473, 549, 580, 581, *ibid.,* 1766-1769, p. 44; *Georgia Gazette,* Jan. 21, Apr. 18, May 30, June 6, Aug. 8, Nov. 4, 1765, Aug. 31, 1768; *Massachusetts Gazette,* Feb. 7, 1765, July 17, 1766, Apr. 30, 1767; *South Carolina Gazette,* May 25, 1765.

[76] Machat, p. 105; for expressions of English anxiety in 1772 and 1773 see C. O. 5: 138, pp. 52, 97, 103.

[77] Machat, p. 77; Cultru, pp. 199, 216, 219, 221-223. The letters of Zachary Macaulay, written from Sierra Leone, refer to M. Renaud, the director of the French slave factory on the Gambia.

1756 and 1783. They had forfeited all claim to a monopoly of the commerce between Cape Blanco and Cape Verde; they had not succeeded in preserving their privileges between Cape Verde and the Gambia. They shared the commerce of the Gambia and Sierra Leone with the English, that of Casamance and Bissagos with the Portuguese. The period following 1783, like that after 1763, saw many reports of French conquests in Senegambia, few of which had any real importance.[78]

On the Gold Coast the French made numerous attempts to gain a footing, most of which met with success too small to justify the vociferous protests of the English. In 1701 Joinville established a French station at Assini, which was surrendered after three or four years. A French vessel in 1703, by an attack on Cape Coast Castle, succeeded in obtaining freedom of trade with the natives for a short time. The French also seriously damaged the English trade on this coast during the Seven Years' War.[79] Thereafter the Guinea trade of France was largely to the east of Cape Coast Castle round about Anamabo, or beyond the territory of the Gold Coast at Whydah and Benin. In 1744 an officer of the African Company wrote from the coast that he was startled by the amount of the French trade. In 1756 Postlethwayt expressed his alarm over the fact that the French were drawing the best slaves from Anamabo and Whydah. A few years later Hippisley called attention to the danger of French competition on the Gold Coast.[80] The French trade at Whydah, Benin, and Bonny continued to menace that of the English during the next twenty years, though the amount of the trade is probably exaggerated in English controversial writings. They had by 1788 one small settlement not far from Anamabo. The recurring wars between French and English during the early years of the eighteenth century scarcely affected the English possessions on the Gold Coast but in 1799 it was reported that the French fleet had seized every English factory on that coast before sailing south to Angola.[81]

South of the equator at Loango, Malimba, and Cabenda in the Angola and Congo regions, which had been for decades dominated by the Portuguese, the French had by the end of the eighteenth century met with considerable success, though the statement that they

[78] *South Carolina Gazette,* Aug. 1, 1785, Jan. 19, Mar. 23, 1786.

[79] Claridge, I. 201-203; A. B. Ellis, *History of the Gold Coast* (London, 1893), p. 91; Sir Julian Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War*, I. 366.

[80] In 1751 the natives refused to allow the French to build a fort on the Gold Coast (T 70: 143, p. 107). For various references to fear of the French see Add. MSS. 14035, ff. 104-105; C. O. 267: 15, Feb. 20, 1752; *Commons Journals,* XXVI. 678, XXVII. 281; Hippisley, *Essays,* p. 33; see also *Georgia Gazette,* July 8, 1767.

[81] *Doubts on Abolition,* pp. 101-102; *South Carolina Gazette,* Dec. 6, 1799.

had absorbed the whole of the Angola trade was probably exaggerated. Bryan Edwards wrote that the trade between Cape Lopez and Congo was divided between Dutch and French, while that south of Congo was still dominated by the Portuguese. In the hearings before the Privy Council in 1791 it was stated that the French had driven the English from Loango, Malimba, and Cabenda, all ports on the Angola and Congo coasts, and that at Bonny on the Slave Coast their trade was as thriving as that of the English. They were then reported to be building a fort at Anamabo on the Gold Coast.[82]

Throughout the century efforts were made on several occasions to bring about some sort of co-operation between the English and the French. Those of Brue at the beginning of the period have already been mentioned. About 1738 the English and French were engaged in peaceful exchange of gum for slaves, the English selling the gum in London, the French carrying the slaves to their West India islands.[83] From this time on the English forts on the coast occasionally supplied French traders with negroes. In 1750 the agents of the African Company stated that this trade was usual and asked that it be left undisturbed. Though the reorganized English company of 1750 forbade trade with all foreigners save the Portuguese, the English continued to supply the French with negroes.[84]

The possibilities of a less official co-operation occasionally appear. In 1767 Miles Barber, a Liverpool merchant, petitioned for permission to carry out his contract to ship negroes on board French vessels in the Gambia River. Late in the century a French house in Bourdeaux invited Joseph Ingram of Liverpool to trade to Santo Domingo under French colors. In the investigation into the trade in 1789 one of the witnesses testified that he had received an advantageous offer to engage in the slave trade under the protection of the French flag.[85] The abolition movement was now well under way and such possibilities as these were used to show the complete futility of an abolition of the English trade unless the French also abolished theirs. The English reformers, realizing that united

[82] *Speech of Sir William Young,* pp. 48, 49, 171; Bryan Edwards, *The History Civil and Commercial of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (1819), II. 61. Edwards also states (p. 62) that of the forty factories on the coast fourteen were English, three were French, fifteen Dutch, four Portuguese, and four Danish.

[83] Cultru, p. 196. A request for permission to carry on such trade was made in 1752 by an English agent at Fort James. C. O. 388: 45, Dd 116.

[84] Pitman, pp. 87-89; C. O. 323: 3-10, Feb. 10, 1753. In 1789 the French complained that the fact that they were obliged to buy from the English caused the English trade to flourish while the commerce of the French languished. *Mémoire sur le Commerce de la France et de ses Colonies,* p. 61.

[85] *Cal. H. O. Papers,* 1766-1769, p. 161; Liverpool Papers, Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 111-113, June 8, 1788; *Speech of Sir William Young,* p. 57.

action on the part of the two countries would deprive their opponents of this argument, made great efforts to enlist the French in their cause and for a time believed that they were to be successful.[86]

Less need be said here of the English trade than of the French, since the pages which follow deal in large measure with its history. The traffic at the opening of the century was carried on under the terms of the act of 1698, by which the company lost its complete monopoly though it retained the right to receive a duty from independent merchants who entered upon African trade. The hope of a renewal of the monopoly was a persistent one, and the question of a monopolized or a free trade continued for more than a quarter of a century to be constantly debated. Pamphlets, reports, and petitions looking to renewal of privilege abound throughout the first half of the century, along with similar documents opposing any increase in the powers of the Royal African Company. The "state of the African trade" demanded the serious and frequent consideration of the Board of Trade, whose voluminous reports to the House of Commons supply much information concerning the West Coast forts and their upkeep, the importance of the traffic to English industry and to the well-being of the colonies. Extensive investigations were conducted by the Board of Trade in 1707, 1708 and 1709, 1711, and again in 1725 and 1726, in all of which separate traders disputed with the African Company as to the most satisfactory way to manage the trade. Though there was a strong body of London merchants outside the company, the traders of Bristol and Liverpool regarded it as essentially representative of London interests, and the venturers of those cities are always to be found opposing any move to increase its powers.[87] To its support the company rallied what forces it could, it sent William Smith to the coast to gather information about its establishments, and coached its representatives for the hearings before the Board of Trade.[88]

[86] See Reginald Blunt, *Mrs. Montague* (Boston, 1924), II. 234. Frank J. Klingberg, in his *Anti-Slavery Movement in England* (New Haven, 1926, p. 99), refers briefly to the English attempt to enlist French support. Thomas Clarkson, in *History of the Rise, Progress and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (II. 99-128), recounts fully the events of his visit to France for this purpose.

[87] C. O. 391: 35, pp. 34-85, *passim*; "MS. Calendar of Records of the Merchant Venturers of Bristol" (Bristol, Society of Merchant Venturers), II. 44, 48-49, Mar. 10, 12, 15, 1725/6. A detailed account of the struggle between the company and the separate traders is to be found in Dr. George F. Zook's "Royal African Company", chs. XI. and XII., as yet unpublished. The ablest advocate for the company was without question Charles Davenant, whose "Reflections upon the Constitution and Management of the African Trade", *Works,* vol. V., attempts a thoroughgoing consideration of the methods of trade pursued by the company and by the separate traders and of their success.

[88] See *Calendar Treasury Papers,* 1708-1714, p. 617; T 70: 103, pp. 107, 128; *post,* no. 161. During the century the Board of Trade also conducted numerous hearings on the colonial duties imposed by the continental colonies, but this subject will be treated in volume III. of this work.

As long as the company continued to exist it reverted occasionally to the necessity for the restoration of its monopoly but it probably never contended for it with any hope of success after 1726. The burden of its requests after this time was for financial aid in the upkeep of the forts. A pamphlet of 1729, after reviewing the history of the company and the impossibility of carrying on the trade without the assistance and protection of its forts, stated that negroes were so dear on the West Coast that even the most frugal trader could not pay a six per cent. duty for the maintenance of the forts and still make a profit. Yet the American plantations must have negroes if England was to receive sugar, tobacco, indigo, and rice. The conclusion was that the forts must be supported from the public treasury. The arguments of the company were sufficiently cogent to obtain from Parliament a grant of £10,000 a year for the years 1730 to 1744.[89] During these years the company made some feeble efforts to develop profitable inland trade in gold, ivory, beeswax, drugs, and dyeing woods, and to withdraw from the carrying of negroes by selling its slaves to private traders on the coast; but there was no perceptible improvement in its affairs.[90] For 1744, because of additional expenses incurred during the war with France, the grant was increased to £20,000, but after 1746 public assistance was withheld, since the growing indebtedness of the company made it plain that some more drastic remedy for the ailments of the trade must be devised.[91]

After protracted consideration of the condition of the trade and projects for its reorganization the Royal African Company was finally dissolved. As a substitute, the members of the company itself, a portion of the West India planters, and one group of London merchants had favored a new joint-stock form; another group of London merchants and practically all the merchants of Bristol and Liverpool had pressed for open trade. The plan for committee government which at length gained acceptance (*post,* no. 217) re-

[89] *The Case of the African Company* (1729), esp. pp. 26-30. A petition from the African Company in 1730 brought forth orders from the House of Commons for a report on the condition of the company's property, and a prolonged consideration in the Commons preceded the grant (*C. J.,* XXI. 447, 476-479, 482-538, *passim*). An interesting account of the debate over the petition of the company is to be found in Hist. MSS. Comm., *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont, Diary,* I. 51-52, 87. For references to the payment of the £10,000 in subsequent years see *Cal. Treas. Books and Papers,* 1731-1734, pp. 70, 173, 332, 494, 568, 647; *ibid.,* 1735-1738, pp. 113, 220, 259, 341, 377, 388, 425, 589. The reports there contained invariably show an expenditure on the forts in excess of £10,000.

[90] *Post,* p. 404n.; Anderson, III. 458.

[91] *Ibid.,* III. 412, 413; *Cal. Treas. Books and Papers,* 1742-1745, pp. 570, 625, 635.

mained the general scheme under which the slave traffic was carried on until such traffic was prohibited by law.[92]

To a student of this traffic looking back to this half-century it seems obvious that England, despite her internal dissension over the method of conducting the trade, held her own in competition with foreign nations, but to the English themselves it was not always so obvious. The Dutch interlopers at St. Eustatius, who sold to the English traders for twenty per cent. less than the English vessels asked, threatened the English supremacy in the first third of the century.[93] Even more damaging to the English prosperity was the rivalry of the French Sugar Islands. The pamphleteers of the century found in the growth of the French sugar trade reason to believe that their own sugar islands would be ruined and with them would fall their African trade. The New England purchase of French sugar made it possible for the French to expand their sugar industry. This led them to extend their slave trade. Within two years they increased the number of vessels engaged in it ten-fold. The negroes carried by these vessels were of better quality than those brought by the English or else they were purchased at lower prices. Their greater efficiency made it possible for the French to sell their sugar for 16 *s.* per hundredweight, while the English asked 18 *s.* Thus went the argument by which the pamphleteers attempted to influence English legislators or the English public.[94] The passage of the Molasses Act, as is well known, by no means checked the use of French sugar in American colonies nor the French trade in negroes. In 1744 Malachy Postlethwayt was complaining that the French sugar could undersell the English sugar because the French planters were able to obtain cheaper negroes.[95] Postlethwayt, a confirmed believer in the necessity for a company monopoly, attributed this to the fact that the Royal African Company must pay on the African coast a higher price because of the competition of the separate traders, while the French set their own price. He believed that a strong English company could drive the French from the coast, and suggested that the monopoly grant be given to the South Sea Company.

[92] Some idea of the many projects for the trade which were discussed at the end of the 'forties may be gathered from Add. MSS. 22676, ff. 30-31; 33053, ff. 292-295; *C. J.*, XXV. 942-1103, *passim*; John Latimer's *History of the Merchant Venturers of Bristol* (Bristol, 1903); and many of the pamphlets of Malachy Postlethwayt. The story of the dissolution of one company and the creation of another is briefly told by Miss Eveline C. Martin, *The British West African Settlements, 1750-1822* (London, 1927), pp. 8-9.

[93] *Importance of the British Plantations in America*, p. 32.

[94] *The Importance of the Sugar Islands to Great Britain* (1731), pp. 10, 15; *Observations on the Case of the Northern Colonies* (1731), p. 8; for a similar argument at a later period, see *Considerations on the Present Peace*, p. 17.

[95] *Considerations on the Revival of the British Assiento*, pp. 20-32.

The second subject of major interest to the English in the first half of the eighteenth century was the Spanish-American slave trade. This trade had long since ceased to be a matter of Spanish domestic policy and had become a subject of European diplomacy. As was suggested in volume I. of this work, England was eager for a foothold in this commerce and since 1670 had been working toward that end. Two methods were open to her traders: a bargain with the assientists, whoever they might be, or illicit trade from Jamaica. At the close of the seventeenth century the Portuguese, who held the assiento, were encountering the same difficulties in carrying it out as did the French and the English a few years later: they failed to pay the duties demanded by the contract, they allowed or promoted the illicit entry of merchandise, they suffered abuses at the hands of the Spanish colonial officials. With the ascendancy of France over Spain the Portuguese contract was cancelled and the privilege of Spanish trade granted to the French,[96] Spain agreeing to compensate the Portuguese Company for any losses it might suffer. Future profits were to be allotted to the rulers of Spain and France and to M. Ducasse.[97] The French were to draw their negroes from Angola, not from Cape Verde or Elmina. For ten years, from May 1, 1702, to May 1, 1712, the sole privilege of supplying Spanish America with negroes was to belong to the French. On 4000 of the 4800 *piezas de Indias* called for each year the company was to pay a duty of 33 1/3 silver crowns or écus, which was slightly less than the duty paid by the Portuguese.[98] The company failed to eliminate from the trade the English and Dutch, who continued their illicit dealings in slaves throughout the period of the French assiento.[99] War added to the normal difficulties of the slave trade and there is small reason for believing that the French succeeded in fulfilling the terms of their bargain or in deriving a profit from the contract after the first year or two. English negotiations looking toward its acquisi-

[96] At the time the Portuguese Company took the assiento the French ambassador was directed to procure a contract from it for the French Senegal Company. The English, however, acting directly with the Portuguese king, not with the company, procured larger orders than did the French. Georges Scelle, "The Slave Trade in the Spanish Colonies of America", *American Journal of International Law,* IV. 639.

[97] Frances G. Davenport, *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States,* vol. III., Doc. 89. The agreement was made in Madrid, Aug. 27, 1701, ratified by the King of Spain Sept. 14, 1701, and by the associates of the company Oct. 31, 1701. For a detailed account of the French assiento see Georges Scelle, *Traite Négrière aux Indes de Castille: Contrats et Traités d'Assiento* (Paris, 1906), vol. II., ch. 7.

[98] Davenport, vol. III., Doc. 89, n. 33. A *pieza de Indias* was a negro of the best quality. See this work, I. 106 n.

[99] Jamaica was throughout these years carrying on a large Spanish-American trade, both illegally and by means of contracts with the French company. On Nov. 24, 1713, Lord Lexington was instructed to obtain from the court of Spain the payment of a debt due from the factors of the assiento to Thomas Onslow, Edward Broughton, Benjamin Way, and Thomas Bernard. *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial,* II. 668.

tion began in 1707 (*post,* no. 18) and by 1711 it was manifest that in spite of Dutch jealousy the English would soon be the holders of the assiento.[100]

The bargain, once completed, was granted by the English crown to the recently created South Sea Company, which thus gained the right to supply South America, Central America, the Spanish West Indies, Mexico, and Florida with negroes. Could the company maintain its privileges, the Dutch trade would be reduced to insignificant proportions, and the French confined to supplying their own West India Islands.[101]

The slave trade of the South Sea Company, its relations with the Royal African Company, the difficulties which it encountered in the West Indies, the friction with the French, and the continuous argument with Spain over the meaning and the fulfillment of the contract, all find illustration in the documents here printed. The new incorporation purchased its negroes from the African Company, carried them to Jamaica, where they were landed for refreshment and the elimination of those physically unfit, and were then carried to the Spanish markets.[102] In all this new occasions for friction developed. The separate traders, who failed to obtain a contract with the South Sea Company, had no reason to look with favor upon the company's activities. In 1729 the Merchant Venturers and the corporation of Bristol shared the expense of sending a committee to London to join with committees of that city and Liverpool in a protest against the South Sea Company's trading to Africa as a corporate body.[103] At this time the opposition of the separate traders to the trade of the South Sea Company was as bitter as it had ever been toward the African Company. A violent series of pamphlets summed up the

[100] Donnan, "Early Days of the South Sea Company", *Journal of Economic and Business History,* II. 419-422. The contract is printed in Miss Davenport's *Treaties,* vol. III., Doc. 96; see the introductions and notes in that work for a discussion of the diplomatic negotiations of these years. Scelle states that for forty years (1710-1750) there was not a diplomatic negotiation in which the assiento was not discussed. "The Slave Trade in the Spanish Colonies of America", *Am. Jour. Int. Law,* IV. 657.

[101] The most active English opponent of the contract was Jamaica, where the new method of trade with Spanish America threatened to destroy a flourishing illicit trade as well as to cut off contracts with the French company.

[102] The difficulties entailed by this practice are discussed under the Jamaica trade. For a somewhat detailed account of the management of the trade until 1718 see Donnan, *op. cit., Econ. and Bus. Hist.,* II. 430-450.

[103] "MS. Cal. Recs. Merchant Venturers", II. 55, 57. London was to bear two-fifths of the expenses incurred, Bristol two-fifths, and Liverpool one-fifth. Bristol may also well have felt that the South Sea Company endangered her trade by drawing upon all British commerce the enmity of the Spaniards. The *Gloucester Journal,* Oct. 7, 1729, reported that the *Robert,* taken by a Spanish Guarda Costa, was the third Bristol vessel to be thus taken in eight months.

arguments against the company and demonstrated to the satisfaction of its opponents that it brought no benefit to the nation.[104]

The Royal African Company was on the whole more friendly to the new incorporation than were the separate traders, but some friction also existed here. The business relations between the two companies caused frequent disputes over prices, freights, and details of accounts. It is possible that the objections of the South Sea Company to an African bill which was pending when that company was organized may have prevented the African Company from obtaining more protection from Parliament than it then possessed.[105] Not long after the new company was organized the older group complained that "the South Sea Company are now attempting to send a great number of ships to invade the Company's territories", and asked that such activities be repressed.[106] The trade between the two under their first contract or agreement came to an end in 1718, when the Spaniards seized the property of the South Sea Company. In 1724 or 1725 a new contract was made, or an old one renewed, and the African Company professed itself ready to supply the vessels which were to be sent out each month by the South Sea Company.[107] It is not likely that these groups had any significant dealings with each other after the early 'thirties, when the power of each was waning.

Throughout the thirty years that the slave trade to America was a subject of negotiations between Spain and the English company there were many attempts to interpret the assiento in terms useful to one party or the other.[108] A modification of the original contract, signed in 1716, failed to prevent a violent interruption of the trade and seizure of English property in Spanish ports in 1718. Likewise, after a second prolonged exchange of protests and counter-protests, the goods of the South Sea Company were seized in 1727, and the signing of the treaty of Seville in 1729 did not bring about peaceful trade.[109] Between 1727 and 1730 about 5000 negroes were intro-

[104] The *Craftsman,* Oct. 25, 1729 (pp. 159-164), wrote of this verbal combat: "They have, at least, incontestably proved that this Contract hath almost ruined our Plantation Trade and the private Merchants, who exported more of our Manufacture, as they alledge, into the Spanish West-Indies, and imported more of their Bullion into England before this Contract was made, than the Company have done since." This writer refers to letters on the subject in the *Daily Courant* and the *Whitehall Evening Post,* and to *Observations* and *Defence of Observations,* and addresses to the company a series of questions concerning its financial standing. See also the *Craftsman,* Sept. 2, 1727, for an earlier list of questions; for further pamphlets see *post,* n. 126.

[105] G. F. Zook, "The Royal African Company", unpublished; *Cal. Treas. Papers,* 1714-1719, pp. 55-56.

[106] *Ibid.,* p. 57.

[107] July 15, 1725, T 70: 124. Frequent references to the contract between the two companies are to be found in T 70: 103, pp. 57, 72; Add. MSS. 25556, ff. 109, 118.

[108] See Add. MSS. 25562, ff. 207-218, June 22, 1725.

[109] Add. MSS. 33028, ff. 213-226, 277; Charles Jenkinson, *A Collection of All the Treaties . . .* (London, 1785), II. 304-309. For references to Spanish depredations see Add. MSS. 25556, f. 226, 25560, f. 123, 33028, ff. 275-328; *C. J.,* XXI. 251-252.

duced into Spanish-American ports by the company, but the trade was carried on under increasing difficulties. The Spanish complaints of smuggled merchandise were met by the English complaints that the Spanish king by his seizures had already overpaid himself and that Spanish officials were selling negroes whom they had seized.[110] In 1730 the agents at Panama were instructed to withdraw and give up the Panama trade.[111]

By 1733 it was admitted that the trade was a losing one, which could be surrendered with advantage to the company, but the opinion of the attorney general was that the company had no right to dispose of its concessions.[112] The next year the Spaniards offered the company eighteen months in which to withdraw from the factories. Meanwhile papers relating to the dispute between England and Spain were laid before the House of Lords with the hope that a settlement might be attained.[113] War broke out between these countries in 1739 and for the time brought to an end any semblance of trade, and in both countries there was talk of a transfer of the assiento privileges from England.[114] Nevertheless in 1748 the contract was renewed for four years.[115] Two years later it was surrendered, the Spanish government agreeing to pay to the South Sea Company £100,000 in lieu of further trading rights.[116]

Reference to the antagonism of Jamaica to this company has already been made. Her relation to the slave trade was, as it had been in the preceding century, a double one. Her planters wished as cheap and efficient a supply of negroes as possible, her merchants wished not only freedom of trade to Africa but the control of the Spanish trade and whatever profits might accrue from it. To gain the first of these objects Jamaica merchants and planters joined in the agitation against the re-establishment of the monopoly in 1708.[117] Because of the second interest they opposed the South Sea Company, which they felt seriously threatened their profits. During the years in which the French had held this trade Jamaica, as has been said,

[110] Add. MSS. 18272, ff. 459-464; William L. Clements Library, Shelburne MSS., Assiento, I. 479, 515. The Assiento Papers are vols. XLIII. and XLIV. of the series.

[111] Add. MSS. 18272, f. 218; Shelburne MSS., Assiento, II. 571.

[112] Anderson, III. 459; *Gentleman's Magazine,* III. 43, 325. Anderson expresses the opinion that the inclination to surrender the privileges of the company was the result of a selfish desire for private profit which ignored the great benefit derived by the nation from the illicit trade carried on under cover of the company's privileges. *Origin of Commerce,* III. 468, 470.

[113] Library of Congress, Vernon-Wager MSS., p. 46; *Lords Journals,* XXIV. 505.

[114] August 10/21, 1741, H. Walpole to Robert Trevor, Hist. MSS. Comm., *Fourteenth Report,* App., pt. IX., p. 75 (*Trevor MSS.*).

[115] Jenkinson, *Treaties,* II. 384-385.

[116] Library of Congress, Trans., C. O. 5: 8, pp. 111-112; Anderson, III. 561-563.

[117] *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial,* 1708-1709, p. 178.

had built up a lucrative clandestine traffic.[118] With the transfer of Spanish privileges to the South Sea Company her merchants lost this trade. To this loss they were never reconciled. The most active opposition to the new company came from Jamaica, both before the grant was actually assigned and during the entire period for which it was held.

The practice of the South Sea vessels was to leave their ailing negroes in Jamaica and buy enough in the island to complete their cargoes. This offered Jamaica merchants opportunity for profits and may have satisfied them, but it antagonized the planters. Since the Spanish prices were high and the Spanish payment was in specie, the merchants preferred to ship their negroes than to sell them in the island, at least so the planters believed. To check the exportation of negroes, which deprived them of the better negroes and raised the prices of those that remained, the legislature of Jamaica in 1715 placed a duty of 20 *s.* on all negroes re-exported, in addition to the 10 per cent. duty already existing on negroes imported. Prompt protest against this act was followed by its disallowance in 1718, when the governor was instructed to assent to no bill which placed a duty on slaves landed for refreshment only.[119] The cessation of the company's trade about this time probably ended the controversy for a season, but in 1724 and 1725 it was revived,[120] the agents of the company maintaining that in spite of orders from England they were paying a twenty per cent. export duty on negroes landed for refreshment and then sent on to Spanish markets. The planters justified the imposition by charging that the negroes thus landed brought diseases into the island.[121] Further evidence of the feeling of Jamaica that her interests were opposed to those of the South Sea Company may be found in a letter from James Knight, Jamaican planter and unofficial agent of the island, written to an unnamed correspondent:

It is worth considering that both Interests [those of planters and merchants] are in danger of being destroyed, by the South Sea Company: who are not content with what they have allready monopolised, but are now Aiming at the

[118] Donnan, *op. cit.*, p. 442. *The Importance of British Plantations* recounts the loss which would be inflicted on Jamaica by the acceptance of the assiento. *The Assiento Contract considered* (London, 1714, p. 2) says that Jamaica customarily sent from 3000 to 4000 negroes a year to the Spaniards. See *post,* no. 61.

[119] Add. MSS. 25562, ff. 150-151; *Acts P. C. C.,* II. 728-729.

[120] Between Feb. 12, 1723, and Oct. 31, 1724, nine vessels brought 3052 negroes from Gambia, Cape Coast Castle, Whydah, and Angola to the South Sea Company's factors in Jamaica. The Royal African Company was also shipping negroes to Jamaica for the purpose of selling them to the agent of the South Sea Company in the island. Dec. 4, 1724, T 70: 124.

[121] Add. MSS. 25560, f. 71, 25556, f. 118; *Acts P. C. C.,* III. 73-74; Pitman, p. 82.

African Charter, and an exclusive Trade, should they bring this scheme to bear. I need not tell you how much, the value of your Estates will be lessened.[122]

A letter from the island to a London merchant a few months later deplored the low condition of trade, since "the Spaniards dare not deal with the private Trade and the South Sea Company buy no Negroes".[123] In the presentation of its case against the bill the company stated that between January 20, 1722, and January 20, 1724, it had paid to Jamaica £4737 in export duties. Again the measure was condemned and the Board of Trade instructed the colonial governor to recommend a substitute for the import duties on negroes. In 1726 the revenue act prepared by Jamaica and an act prepared by the Board of Trade itself were compared and the differences between the two pointed out. The board recommended on August 8, 1726, that the act of the colony be disallowed.[124] The advice of the board was not acted upon at once and arguments over the duty continued unabated through 1727. In 1731 Jamaica, instead of abolishing the objectionable duties, increased the import duty to 15 *s.* and the export duty to 30 *s.* per slave. Meanwhile, some years before this Spain had added to the difficulties of the South Sea Company by prohibiting the admission of any negroes save those brought directly from Africa, the reason being that if the blacks were refreshed in Jamaica they were tainted with heresy.[125] To the argument made in 1728 that the company had brought an increase in population and money to the island, an acrimonious pamphlet responded that these benefits had been derived from the Portuguese and the French contracts, but that the South Sea Company was by its trade merely developing rival sugar colonies, and might even drive Jamaica to the arms of the French. Arguments on the other side were not wanting. On October 11, 1736, Merewether, a factor of the South Sea Company, wrote to Peter Burrell, the deputy governor of the company:

The illicit trade is at a Lower Rate than it has been for these many years, And if there were no Assiento here It could not be so large, for No Ship would come here with Negroes if it was not for the Honourable Company's buying them with Money. And it is the Refuse Negroes of the Angola and Calabar

[122] L. M. Penson, *The Colonial Agents of the British West Indies* (London, 1924), p. 280.

[123] *State of the Island of Jamaica . . . address'd to a Member of Parliament.* By a Person who resided several Years at Jamaica (London, 1726), pp. 33-34.

[124] *Acts P. C. C.,* III. 72-81. Pitman (*British West Indies,* pp. 79-85) has an excellent account of the entire controversy. For a protest of the Merchant Venturers of Bristol, see "MS. Cal. Recs. Merch. Venturers", II. 52.

[125] Add. MSS. 22676, ff. 75-88, 25556, ff. 183-184, 25560, ff. 73-75, 25564, ff. 225-229; C. O. 391: 35, p. 324. On the protest from the company Spain had agreed to suspend this order until Oct. 20, 1724. The editor has found no evidence that it was ever enforced (Add. MSS. 25557, ff. 39, 43-44). At one time the company was said to be considering abandoning any effort to trade on the African coast and buying all its cargoes from importing merchants in Jamaica. *Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer,* Dec. 20, 1729.

ships which give Re[turns?] to this trade. The Illicit traders cant Afford to purchase Gold Coast Negroes, they are too dear for them.[126]

Petitions from Bristol and Liverpool followed the revenue act of 1731, and it was disallowed in 1735.[127] As the strength of the South Sea Company waned the matter of duties for a time remained quiescent.

The amount of trade into Jamaica has been a subject for many estimates. Stephen Fuller, Jamaican agent in 1778, in a report made to the Board of Trade, gave the total imported between 1702 and 1775 as 497,736 negroes. During the first half of the century the years of largest imports were in 1708, 6627, in 1724, 6852, in 1725, 10,297, in 1726, 11,708. From 1729 to 1732 the number averaged over 10,000 annually, but this amount was not again attained until 1747 and 1748. The next excessive importation occurred in 1755 and 1756. An inspection of those figures which we have gives no clear indication that the obnoxious duties sensibly checked either exports or imports. In 1714 the importation was 5769, the exportation 3507; in 1715 the two figures were 3373 and 1039 respectively; in 1716, 6361 and 2872. In the year 1717 the proportion was reversed and 1775 were imported while 3153 were exported. After 1739 exports fell off because of the fact that the South Sea Company had suspended its trade. According to one writer, between July 1, 1739, and July 1, 1749, 69,140 slaves were imported, and 14,677 exported.[128] The average annual importation was 6726, the average exportation 1853. These figures scarcely justify the complaints that Jamaica served merely as an entrepôt for the Spanish islands.

The negro population of Jamaica throughout the period was sufficiently large to make anxiety over possible scarcity seem unnecessary. In 1715 the island was reported to have 60,000 negroes, with but 2000 whites able to bear arms.[129] This estimate is probably grossly exaggerated. Certainly in 1724 one writer places the negro

[126] Shelburne MSS., Assiento, II. 874; see also *Some Observations on the Assiento Trade* (1728). *An Answer to a Calumny* set forth the arguments for the company and received from the court of directors the thanks of the company; whereupon the *Craftsman* (II. 303-308) answered the *Answer* with the explanation that he was considering but a few points since the author of *Some Observations* was to reply fully. This was done in *Some further Remarks on a late Pamphlet entitled Observations on the Conduct of Great Britain* (1729).

[127] C. O. 137: 19, S 129-131; *Acts P. C. C.*, III. 159-162, 164-167; Add. MSS. 25562, ff. 136-137, 250-251, 25554, f. 135.

[128] *No Abolition; or an Attempt to prove that the Abolition of the British Trade with Africa for Negroes would be a Measure as Unjust as Impolitic,* etc. (1789), p. 18. The same pamphlet has in the copy used by the editor an insertion in ink by some anonymous commentator: "1752-1754 15,601 Imported, 2336 Exported, 13,265 Remained." These figures are all smaller than those in the Colonial Office list.

[129] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1714-1715, p. 153.

population at 32,000, that of the white at 14,000. In 1734 a Northern newspaper gave 80,000 as the number of negroes in Jamaica.[130]

Partly because of its location, partly because of its earlier development and earlier decline, the interest of Barbados in the Spanish trade was less than was that of Jamaica; yet at times Barbados became a rival of the larger island in this traffic. During the period in which the French held the assiento, so lightly was their monopoly regarded that a merchant of New Spain could propose that the Spaniards be allowed to come to Barbados for negroes and the proposal could be seriously considered. In the end it seems to have been refused, not because of any respect for the French monopoly but because such a trade would be contrary to the acts of navigation.[131]

On several occasions the South Sea Company considered substituting Barbados for Jamaica as its headquarters and actually took steps to accomplish this. News that such a plan had been accepted in 1733 caused a Barbadian merchant to write, "[this] may retrieve the Island, tho' I'm almost afraid it is too far gone".[132]

At the time of the report of the Board of Trade in 1709 Barbados was importing perhaps 1000 slaves a year (*post,* nos. 21, 22, 23). The number soon after increased and between 1715 and 1719 was averaging annually over 5000. During the next five years it dropped and never again attained so high an average. In 1730 William Mathew stated that Barbados was the only British sugar island which had enough slaves.[133]

From 1748 to 1750, 5326 were imported, 5100 were retained. This if typical seems to indicate that the island was still absorbing a large annual increase rather than serving as a distributing point for Spanish markets.[134]

The second half of the century the pattern which the African Company, even in the days of its decline, had imposed upon the slave traffic was entirely lost. The Company of Merchants trading to Africa, a loosely knit group managed by a committee of merchants of London, Bristol, and Liverpool (*post,* no. 217), failed to control the trade, the abuses of which grew more flagrant as competition grew keener. Accusations of private trade and of fortunes mysteriously accumulated on the coast were frequent, and disputes with the many private trading companies established in Africa were a constant fea-

[130] *Importance of the British Plantations,* p. 64; *Boston News-Letter,* Aug. 1, 1734.

[131] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1708-1709, pp. xiii, 134, 170, 177, 226i.

[132] *London Magazine,* 1733, p. 475; *Weekly Rehearsal,* Dec. 10, 1733; for earlier plans to use Barbados see *post,* nos. 98, 103, and Add. MSS. 25563, f. 191.

[133] Oct. 3, 1730, William Mathew to the Board of Trade (Pitman, p. 73). The importation into the island fell off not long after this.

[134] For a table of importations see Pitman, pp. 71-72, compiled from C. O. 28: 18; figures of importation are also to be found in C. O. 388: 10, H.

ture of the history of this committee. Independent traders from Liverpool, from the West Indies, and from the continental colonies were less circumspect in their dealings with the natives than had been the captains and traders of the company, and complaints of the kidnapping of free negroes were more frequent than formerly.[135] Accounts of insurrections on shipboard became a common feature of the news in colonial and English papers. There can be little doubt that the entire conduct of the trade was worse rather than better under this form of administration than under the Royal African Company. The affairs of this company were not wound up for about two years, during which both the older company and the new committee had representatives on the coast, each of whom frequently complained of the activities of the other.[136]

Two subjects in particular harassed the new company. Under the terms of its creation its agents were forbidden to trade with any foreigners save the Portuguese, from whom tobacco was obtained. This prohibition was violently protested and frequently ignored.[137] The second great source of trouble was the competition which developed between the trading vessels and the company officials resident in Africa. While members of the committee in England were forbidden to carry on private trade, the factors upon the coast were allowed this privilege. Their position gave them special advantage in the traffic and opened the way for new abuses which find reflection in much of the material of this period (*post*, nos. 256-259, 262).

There was also jealousy among the merchants of the three cities most heavily concerned in the trade and frequent charges of corruption in the election of the committeemen who conducted the affairs of the company. Dissatisfaction found expression in a bill, introduced into the House of Commons early in 1772, for regulating these elections. This was debated throughout April and May but the House took no action.[138] The enemies of the company, possibly in some cases members of the old Royal African Company, frequently brought forward projects for new joint-stock companies with exclusive rights of trade on some portion of the coast. In 1779 Bristol

[135] June 24, 1751, C. O. 388: 45, Dd 149, 150, 151; C. O. 267: 5; T 70: 143, p. 112. It had always been charged that the independent traders more frequently kidnapped negroes than did the captains of the company. See William Smith, *Voyage to Guinea,* pp. 101-103.

[136] C. O. 388: 45, Dd 18, 19, 20, 152. Much of the material in Dd 153-160 relates to the launching of the new method of trade and the early difficulties the committees encountered. For an excellent account of the new company see Martin, *British West African Settlements,* pp. 10-56.

[137] C. O. 388: 45, Dd 25, 34-36, 54, 58.

[138] *C. J.*, XXXIII. 635-776, *passim.*

merchants requested the co-operation of Liverpool in opposing a project of the merchants of London for such a company.[139]

Though the company maintained its existence throughout the century, it was not equally fortunate in retaining its control on all portions of the African coast. During the Seven Years' War England had successfully attacked the French possessions on the Senegal and at the close of the war she retained these possessions. Application for a monopoly of the trade of this new territory was made by Samuel Touchett, a London merchant, but after prolonged consideration it was agreed that such a monopoly would infringe upon the rights granted to the Company of Merchants trading to Africa by the act of 1750.[140] The administration of the territory was informally committed to this company in 1763 and more formally granted to that body in 1764. However, the conviction that the company was hardly strong enough to cope with the hostility of the dispossessed French caused the Board of Trade after careful consideration to recommend a new scheme of government, under which this region and Gambia were removed from the jurisdiction of the company and placed under that of the crown, as the province of Senegambia.[141] In 1783 this province was separated, Senegal returned to France, and the Gambia restored to the Company of Merchants. While the committee henceforth retained control of the coast between Cape Rouge and the Cape of Good Hope it actually concentrated its attention on the Gold Coast. The first effect of the establishment of Senegambia was reported to be an increase in the expenses of traders, which resulted in a great advance in the price of slaves. Colonial newspapers complained that vessels must pay heavy imposts to the British governor, Charles O'Hara. Though the slave trade from this region by no means ceased after 1763, it gradually declined in importance in comparison with that to the south of it.[142]

As a body the Company of Merchants had no connection with the Spanish trade, but undoubtedly many of its members aided Spain in supplying her colonies with slave labor. Upon the surrender of the assiento in 1750 the Spaniards had resorted to a variety of methods to satisfy their demands for negroes. Early in 1751 it was reported

[139] One proposal for change was accompanied by a lengthy consideration of the defects in the trade as it had been carried on since 1750 (Eg. MSS. 1162 A, ff. 22-60; also Latimer, *Merchant Venturers of Bristol,* p. 183; "MS. Cal. Recs.", II. 213). The state of the trade was attracting much attention at this time. On Dec. 13, 1779, John Roberts, governor of Cape Coast Castle, delivered to the Secretary of State 38 papers dealing with African commerce (Eg. MSS. 1162 A). The correspondence of Richard Camplin, secretary of the company, is to be found in C. O. 391: 86, 87; see also T 70: 1541.

[140] Martin, *British West African Settlements,* pp. 59-60.

[141] *Ibid.,* pp. 60-75, 99-102; *C. J.,* XXIX. 967, 1056.

[142] *Gentleman's Magazine,* XXXVI. 489; *Newport Mercury,* Dec. 22, 1766.

that the French were to have the contract and would supply the negroes from a floating factory at Angola. During the same year a rumor reached England that an agreement between France and Spain had been consummated whereby France was to maintain a force on the African coast and a settlement at Hispaniola for lodging and feeding the negroes, who were to be distributed from that point to French and Spanish markets. The trade was to be carried on by a joint company of the two nations. The English comment, this "will make a great uproar among the merchants", implies that English traders were then supplying a large part of the Spanish demand and would be loath to lose it.[143]

From 1769 to 1779 the Royal Assiento Company of Merchants in Spain held this much-desired grant. This arrangement the English found entirely satisfactory, since the company purchased most of its negroes in Jamaica. In 1779 a general license was issued by the Spanish government allowing Spanish subjects to import negroes in Spanish or neutral bottoms, with the understanding that at the close of the war the permission was to be restricted to importation in Spanish vessels. This restriction was certainly not being applied in 1783, for at that time the English were heavily engaged in the trade. One characteristic contract was that of Edward Barry, who was to supply Trinidad and Carácas with 4000 negroes at $150 each, free of duty. These were brought from Africa in British vessels.[144] By 1786 a company known as the Philippine Company had obtained the exclusive right to supply Spanish America with slaves. This it did largely through English houses, the London agent making a contract with Baker and Dawson to import from 5000 to 6000 a year for two years, to be sold for $155 each.[145] In 1789 a royal order permitted slaves to be imported into Carácas, Porto Rico, and Santo Domingo, in foreign bottoms, duty free, for two years. Meanwhile Spanish merchants visited Manchester and Liverpool to study English methods of trade, apparently with a view to providing for their own necessities.[146]

To illustrate the variety of regulation tried by Spain during the century, the vicissitudes of Cuban trade will serve. The demand of the Cuban planters for negro laborers, insignificant in the seventeenth century, became of greater importance as the eighteenth century advanced. The South Sea Company had established factories at

[143] Feb. 8, 1750/51, Pye to Corbett, House of Lords MSS.; Aug. 13, 1751, Robert Ord to Lord Carlisle, Hist. MSS. Comm., *Fifteenth Report,* VI. 205.

[144] June 10, 1788, William Eden to the Marquis of Carmarthen, Liverpool Papers, Add. MSS. 38416, f. 114.

[145] For transactions which this firm carried on in New England a few years later see *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 44, pp. 668-683.

[146] *Doubts on the Abolition,* p. 100.

Havana and at Santiago, but had never regarded these markets as of major importance.[147] The Cuban planters, whose demand was for negroes at 150 pesos, were unable to pay as high prices as the company obtained in the ports of the mainland of South America, and the company was unable or unwilling to grant to these struggling planters the long credits which they needed.[148] Nevertheless the company by no means ignored the Cuban market. For a time it maintained two factories, one at Santiago and one at Havana, but in 1734 the former was given up because of lack of business.[149] The next year the agents at Havana wrote, "We are not yet able to sell more than 14 negroes, we are in hopes we shall have more Negroe Buyers in a little time, than we have hitherto had, tho' we are afraid we shall find it difficult to dispose of Negroes, as we are confined to take nothing but money".[150]

Importation of a less desultory sort than that carried on by the company began about 1740. The Real Compañía Mercantil de la Habana was allowed to introduce 4986 negroes between 1740 and 1760. These they sold at an average of 144 pesos per head, 4000 of them being disposed of on credit or paid for in tobacco.[151] That this permission was not intended to establish a monopoly is evident, for in 1741 Martin Ulibarri y Gamboa was granted the privilege of delivering 1100 slaves in two years, his price not to exceed 200 pesos each. Of this number he delivered but 793. The Real Compañía Mercantil, on the other hand, had in 1747 exceeded its privilege by 413, but so great was the need for negroes that the government not only accepted this excess but even admitted 497 from Jamaica. A considerable illicit trade also added to the numbers received.[152]

In 1753 the king granted permission for 500 slaves to be carried directly from Africa to Cuba, and in 1757 and 1758 permission was granted to bring 350 negroes from French and British islands.[153] Two years later José Villanueva Pico proposed to introduce 1000 during the next ten years, these to be sold at 300 pesos each. To this proposal objections were raised on two scores: it would be dangerous

[147] H. H. S. Aimes, *A History of Slavery in Cuba, 1511-1868* (New York, 1907), pp. 13-22.

[148] *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

[149] Add. MSS. 25554, f. 214. There was also some thought that the Havana factory could not be continued, for lack of means of payment for negroes. Payment was made in snuff until its price dropped and the agents were ordered to ship no more. They then stated that if they were not allowed to contract for tobacco they could not maintain the trade. Shelburne MSS., Assiento, I. 189.

[150] Havana, Oct. 12, 1735, Eden and Wooley to the Court of Directors, *The Particulars of the Enquiry into Mr. Benjamin Wooley's Conduct, and his being Stationed by the Court of Directors of the South Sea Company* (1735), p. 12.

[151] Aimes, *Slavery in Cuba*, pp. 22-24.

[152] *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

[153] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

to introduce so many new negroes into the island at once; and at this price they would draw large sums of money from Cuba. More than this number were soon to be introduced, however. In 1763, not long after John Kennan had been granted the sole right to import negroes into Havana, the English seized Cuba and in the five months during which they held the island they were said to have introduced 10,700 negroes, whom they sold at 90 pesos each.[154]

Up to this time a total of about 60,000 negro slaves had been introduced into Cuba; after 1763 importation of blacks went forward much more rapidly. Between 1763 and 1773 a number of special licenses were granted for the sale of slaves in the island. Between 1763 and 1766 the Real Compañía Mercantil delivered 4957 negroes in Cuban ports.[155] The Spanish vessels carried larger crews than did those of other countries; they had no African factories and no cruisers on the coast and therefore had to be armed; their goods for trade were purchased from other European countries. All this made the negroes imported by the Cuban company very expensive. Payment was made in tobacco, which was carried to Spain.[156] By royal cedula of October 15, 1765, the Spanish company of the Marqués de Casa Enrile obtained the right to import 1000 slaves annually for ten years. Cuban needs were, however, not satisfied. A news item of 1770 reports, "They write from Jamaica that the Spaniards are in great want of negroes at the Havannah, a pestilential distemper having swept off upwards of 17,000 slaves in the island of Cuba during the last winter".[157]

Over fourteeen hundred negroes were delivered under this grant between 1773 and 1779. The next privilege was held by the firm of Baker and Dawson, already mentioned, who between the years 1786 and 1789 delivered 5786 slaves into the island.[158]

Thus during the early years of the century the Spanish-American markets were dependent on the assiento companies; next licensed traders obtained the negroes for these markets. In 1778 Spain purchased factories on the African coast with a view to supplying her own colonies with negroes. Little progress was made in carrying forward such plans however, and not until 1792 did a Spanish vessel bring a cargo of negroes directly from Africa to Cuba. In 1780 a memorial to the king asked that the slave trade be opened to foreign

[154] Library of Congress, *Handbook,* p. 526, no. 24. The company's price had been from 220 to 300 pesos per head.

[155] Aimes, p. 36; Alexander von Humboldt, *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent* (London, 1829), VII. 145.

[156] Aimes, pp. 25-26.

[157] *Massachusetts Gazette and News-Letter,* Supplement, July 12, 1770.

[158] Aimes (p. 36) gives this number as 5768, though his reference is to Humboldt, who gives the figure above.

vessels through Havana and Santiago. The king sent out a request for opinions, at the same time suggesting that the trade be opened to all merchants of the kingdom, with aids and franchises.[159] Because of difficulty of trade resulting from the war, the colonists actually were, between 1780 and 1783, allowed to buy blacks from the French, paying for them in money or produce. Havana was made the distributing point and from 2500 to 3000 negroes were imported annually. Of these Aimes believes that about half were re-exported. In addition to the number remaining, those introduced surreptitiously brought the annual absorption of negroes to about 1500.

At the close of the war the permission given to neutrals to import slaves was withdrawn. Meanwhile the contraband trade had been active and Spanish smugglers had largely driven out the English, but it was not long before the English regained a place in the trade.[160] Reference has already been made to the importations of Baker and Dawson. In 1788 they proposed that they be allowed to bring in 3000 a year for the next six or eight years, the price to be not more than 200 pesos and the payment to be in money or in products. English ships were to bring the negroes directly from Africa to Cuba and no other foreigner was to be allowed to import slaves, though citizens of the island might bring negroes from foreign colonies in Spanish ships. Negroes and products carried by the licensees were to be free from duty. To these proposals the merchants of the island had a long list of objections, and they were not accepted.[161] About the same time a memorial from Havana asked for a three-year concession allowing Spaniards and foreigners to introduce negroes as they should be required.[162] On February 28, 1789, by royal cedula, permission was granted both to Spaniards and to foreigners to introduce blacks for two years at certain specified ports, without duty. One-third were to be women. On those introduced by Spaniards a bonus of four pesos per head was to be paid.[163] During 1789, 2046 negroes were brought in, in 35 American, 26 Danish, two Spanish, and one Swedish vessel. Between January and June, 1790, 1084 negroes had been delivered, and between July and December, 1903, making a total for the year of 2987. In nineteen months 4000 negroes were introduced, more than one-half of them through the agency of Baker and Dawson, whose agent, Philip Alwood, had now been in Havana eight or ten years.

[159] Aimes, pp. 38, 41-43.
[160] *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.
[161] *Ibid.*, pp. 46-48.
[162] *Ibid.*, p. 48.
[163] *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49. The ports were Porto Cabello, Santo Domingo, San Juan of Porto Rico, Havana, and, for Spaniards, Santiago. In March, 1789, Santiago asked for absolute liberty in introduction of negroes. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

The object of this permission was to build up Cuban agriculture. To accomplish this result two years was too short a time, as merchants could make but one voyage in the period for which the privileges were granted. Prices remained high and demand great. In 1791 merchants and planters asked for an extension of the privileges. A royal cedula of November 24, 1791, renewed them for six years beginning with January 1, 1792. During the first period a bonus had been paid to Spaniards importing negroes. This was now abolished and the number of ports open was increased. The captain general of the island was to report monthly the number imported, the price at which they were sold, and the need for further cargoes. At the expiration of this period the privileges seem to have been extended for another six years.[164] A cedula of April 22, 1804, extended the grant to Spaniards for another twelve years; to foreigners it was to be open but six years. Bozal or new negroes only were to be imported. Where needed, women were to be brought in, in order that the men might have wives and families and that eventually the slave trade might be done away with and the labor supply be composed entirely of Cuban negroes. During the closing years of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth Cuba offered one of the most lucrative of the markets frequented by slave traders of the United States.[165]

The figures for Cuban importation probably give a general idea of the comparative amounts brought into the islands at different periods rather than an accurate census of negroes received. In 1763 not more than 25,000 slaves were to be found in the jurisdiction of Havana, and perhaps not over 32,000 in the entire island. Between 1521 and 1763 possibly no more than 60,000 had been imported altogether. Between 1763 and 1790 about 41,000 had been delivered in Cuba, of which 24,000 or 25,000 were landed in Havana. From 1791 to 1825, 320,000 were delivered in Havana. The years of greatest importation were 1792 and 1802, when the numbers were 8528 and 13,832 respectively.[166] In addition to the licensed Cuban importation many Cuban slaves were brought in illicitly from the British islands.

How many of the negroes carried into Cuba were re-exportations from the British islands it would be impossible to determine. Jamaica importation near the beginning of this half-century reached 12,723, the highest figure it had ever attained. The next year,

[164] Aimes, pp. 50-53, 60. For the numbers imported each year see Humboldt, VII. 145.

[165] Aimes, p. 61. Some reference to the later years of this trade will be found in vol. III of this series.

[166] Aimes, pp. 36-37; Humboldt, VII. 145-148.

1756, over 10,000 were imported, but the effect of the war was to reduce this number and it did not again reach 10,000 until 1763. With 1767 the number fell markedly, that year being but 3248. In 1771 it was but 4183, yet that year one merchant was said to have sent to England £50,000 for the slaves he had sold. Importation leaped to 18,448 in 1774, but fell again with the outbreak of the war. For the years following the war the imports were, 1784, 15,468; 1785, 11,046; 1786, 5645; 1787, 5682.[167]

For exportations from Jamaica two entirely inconsistent reports are to be found:

1767	375	22	1777		524
1768	485	68	1778		606
1769	420	37	1779		344
1770	836	103	1780		102
1771	671	204	1781		259
1772	923	335	1782		1786
1773	800	235	1783		2707
1774	2511	2321	1784 [168]	4465	3964
1775	1629	3054	1785	4589	3473
1776		2529	1786	3643	1918

The effect of Jamaican duties on the exportation or the importation of negroes had been a matter of less acute concern since the end of the South Sea Company's trade, but in 1774 it again became a cause for complaint. In February of that year Jamaica laid an additional duty of 40 *s.* on slaves imported, payable by the importer. The Board of Trade listened to British merchants who maintained that the slave trade must be given up if this act were not disallowed, and to Stephen Fuller, the colonial agent of the island,[169] who contended that Jamaica could raise supplies in no other way, and that the merchants need not worry over any ill effects on their commerce since the consumer paid the tax. This point the board was unable to see, since the act declared that the importer paid the tax. Though it believed that by laying what was a virtual tax on commerce the island legislature had exceeded its powers, it saw no gain in disallowing an act which had but a year to run, and contented itself

[167] Pitman, p. 392; House of Lords MSS., 1790, Feb. 17-28, Bundle 3; *No Abolition*, p. 24. This pamphlet summarizes many of the figures presented in the *Report of the Privy Council* (1789); see p. lvi. By referring to the importation into South Carolina (this work, vol. III.) it is possible to compare the fluctuations in the trade of the British islands with those of the continental colonies.

[168] With the exception of the figures for 1784-1786, which are to be found in House of Lords MSS., 1790, Feb. 17-28, Bundle 3, the first column comes from C. O. 137: 38, Hh 3, 4, quoted by Pitman, p. 392; the second is from Add. MSS. 38416, f. 179.

[169] *Acts P. C. C.*, IV. 407-408.

with instructing the governor to give no consent to any similar law.[170] Instead of heeding these instructions the island at once placed a duty of £5 on the importation of all negroes over thirty years of age. This act the agent stated was not to produce a revenue but to check importation, which had become an object of "terrible apprehension", the number of negroes in the island at that time being nearly 220,000, as compared with 16,000 white people. By 1787 it was 255,780 negroes; by 1800, 300,000.[171]

In Barbados the total imports between 1764 and 1773 amounted to 38,783, an annual average of 3878. The greatest importation was 6837 in 1769. With the outbreak of the American Revolution the number of negroes brought to the island dropped abruptly. In 1778 seven were reported, and not until 1788 did the number again pass one thousand. In 1785, 149 negroes were imported, none exported; in 1786, 606 imported, 181 exported; in 1787 the numbers were 713 and 85.[172]

The slave population at the beginning of the century was estimated as from 40,000 to 50,000 in a total between 50,000 and 60,000. By the 'eighties the number of negroes was between 65,000 and 70,000. Other estimates are 72,000 in 1740, 70,000 in 1762, 64,000 in 1776, 79,220 in 1786.[173]

The slave trade of the lesser West India Islands is frequently illustrated in the pages of this volume. The numbers were small and fluctuated greatly during the century. In 1721 Nevis imported about 253 annually. In Montserrat between 1721 and 1729 the annual importation was about 350. St. Christopher seems to have drawn about one thousand annually. During the 'twenties it was stated that in St. Christopher the customary illegal Dutch importation had ceased because the English had fully supplied the island at prices lower than the Dutch were charging. In 1734 the importation of the Leeward Islands seems to have fallen almost to nothing. William Mathew reported to the Board of Trade that in the preceding four years the number of negroes in the island had increased but 321, and that the produce of Montserrat was decreasing because of the lack of negroes.

[170] Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce,* III. 574. Macpherson says this duty was £2 10 *s.*, and that a drawback of £2 was allowed on negroes exported. In spite of this 18,448 were imported in 1774, and but 2511 exported. In 1775, 9292 were imported, 1629 exported. *Ibid.,* pp. 574-575.

[171] Edwards, *History of the West Indies,* I. 223-224; *Parl. Hist.,* XXVIII. 52; Sir Charles P. Lucas, *Introduction to a Historical Geography of the British Colonies* (1887), p. 112.

[172] House of Lords MSS., 1790, Feb. 17-28, Bundle 3.

[173] Sir Robert H. Schomburgk, *History of Barbados* (London, 1848), p. 85; *Parl. Hist.,* XXVIII. 66; *New Jersey Archives,* VI. 90; Pitman, p. 73; James Ramsay, *Objections to the Abolition of the Slave Trade, with Answers* (1788), p. 13; Humboldt, VI. 821. The more conservative estimate of 62,115 in 1791 is probably nearer the truth. Edwards, *History of the West Indies,* II. 2.

The number of negroes that Antigua was thought to need annually by the middle of the century was 2000, the same number allotted to Barbados and St. Christopher. To Montserrat and Nevis 500 and 200 were respectively assigned, to the Continental colonies 4000. This estimate considered that 16,000 negroes annually would satisfy the necessities of the colonies.[174]

Between 1744 and 1748 the English traffic suffered from the depredations of French and Spaniards, with whom the English were at war, some forty slaving vessels being seized during these years.[175] While this cut down importation into the West Indies, the English occasionally captured the cargoes of their enemies and supplied their islands from the prize negroes thus secured.

St. Christopher, between 1778 and 1788, received 2784 negroes, of whom 1769 were re-exported.[176] Of these all but 151 were imported after the close of the American Revolution, but over one thousand of them were exported during the Revolution. Between 1784 and 1787 Antigua received 3074 negroes and exported 378; St. Vincent, acquired by Great Britain in 1762, imported 6100 and exported 1201. For the British West Indies during these years 90,331 were imported.[177] The arrivals in the West Indies in 1793 were 8205, of whom 5178 were men, 1904 women, 693 boys, and 430 girls. There are here accounted for 35 cargoes, five of which came from the Windward Coast, five from Sierra Leone, seven from Gambia, six from Isle de Los, six from Bassa, and one from Cape Coast, formerly the centre of the trade.[178] For 1796 the report of the inspector general of imports and exports gives 11,937 as the number shipped from Africa to the West Indies. Of these 11,451 arrived.[179]

In St. Christopher the slave population near the end of the century was over 20,000, "well nigh twenty times that of the white population". Montserrat in 1774 had 10,000 blacks; Nevis, one of the poorer islands, which in 1734 had about 7000 blacks, had by 1782

[174] C. O. 388: 45, Dd 3, 1749; Pitman, pp. 76-79. Between 1725 and 1729 the average annual importation into Antigua was over 1900 (*No Abolition,* p. 20). For the importation into Antigua in the early years of the century see *post,* nos. 25-27.

[175] This is merely the number of vessels whose capture is recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine,* XIII.-XVIII. The *Boston News-Letter,* June 6, 1745, reported that St. Christopher had been supplied with prize negroes.

[176] House of Lords MSS., 1789, June 1-24.

[177] *Ibid.,* 1790, Feb. 17-28, Bundle 3; *No Abolition,* p. 24. Such fugitive figures as are derived from the controversial pamphlets, though often presented in this volume, should be treated with much skepticism.

[178] House of Lords MSS., 1799, June 1-20, no. 16, a report made by Thomas Irving, inspector general of imports and exports of Great Britain and of the British plantations.

[179] *Ibid.* The mortality here indicated is so low as to cast great doubt upon the figures. In one or two cases the number recorded as landed from a vessel is a slightly larger number than that for the negroes shipped. In two cases the same number is reported as shipped and as landed; twenty vessels show a mortality of seven or less.

perhaps 8000.[180] In the smaller and more recently acquired of the islands the population was growing more rapidly and here many of the cargoes were absorbed. The slave population of Dominica was 6000 in 1763. In 1791 it is variously estimated at 14,967 and 11,-853.[181] St. Vincent had 7414 slaves in 1764, 11,853 in 1787, and 16,500 in 1805. St. Lucia in 1776 had 10,752 slaves, in 1788, 17,221 in a total population of about 21,000.[182] In addition to this absorption of negroes into the newer British islands the continental colonies were, up to the outbreak of the Revolution, receiving an increasing number of negro cargoes. Nevertheless one must conclude that a large proportion of the negroes shipped from Africa were for Spanish markets.[183]

Though frequent references have been here made to the re-exportation of negroes to such markets, the general subject of the transportation of negroes from one island to another is but slightly illustrated in the material hereafter printed. While this is not, strictly speaking, the "slave trade from Africa", and might be excluded on that ground, it is closely related to it, and needs more investigation than it has received before our knowledge of the distribution of negro cargoes or of the lines of West India commerce is at all adequate. Of the 90,331 negroes imported into the British West Indies between 1784 and 1787, 19,964 were re-exported, but whether to French, Spanish, or Portuguese markets, to other British islands, or to the ports of the United States we have no way of knowing.[184] The figures for re-exportation referred to in the preceding pages clearly imply that there was considerable movement of slaves after they had reached the West Indies. Occasional items, such as the statement that, in 1763, 180 negroes were carried from St. Croix, ten of them sold at Monte Christi, the rest sent to Cape François, show that negroes were being carried from island to island for sale, and an accumulation of such items might give us much information concerning the commercial relations among the islands.[185]

Until the last quarter of the eighteenth century the controversial questions pertaining to the slave trade continued to be questions of

[180] Humboldt, VI. 821; Lucas, p. 66; *Boston News-Letter,* July 4, 1734.

[181] Lucas, p. 66; H. C. Carey, *The Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign* (Philadelphia, 1853), p. 12. Carey is quoting Macpherson. Humboldt (VI. 820) gives the latter figure as that of the slave population; Bryan Edwards (II. 2) uses the same figure for the "blacks" and therefore may include some free negroes.

[182] Edwards, *West Indies,* II. 3; Humboldt, VI. 823.

[183] Ramsay stated that between 1768 and 1774, 103,000 African slaves were imported into Santo Domingo. The subject of the South American slave trade, which is often touched upon in this volume but has been regarded as aside from the central interest of the work, sorely needs treatment.

[184] House of Lords MSS., 1790, Feb. 17-28, Bundle 3; *No Abolition,* p. 24.

[185] Mrs. Helen T. Catterall, *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro* (1926), I. 14.

method and not of humanity, but as one approaches the end of the century the mass of literature dealing with the movement for the abolition of the trade overshadows all else, and it becomes increasingly difficult to obtain information not colored by partizan feeling. While it is no part of the purpose of this volume to document the spread of the humanitarian movement which triumphed in the act of 1806, a brief review of that movement will lend greater significance to the acts of legislature which have been here printed.[186]

From teachers as diverse as John Wesley and Samuel Johnson, or John Newton and Adam Smith, the English people were made conversant with the evils of slavery and of the traffic which supported it.[187] Granville Sharp's attention was turned to it in 1765, when he and his brother were called upon to aid one Jonathan Strong, a negro suffering from the abuse of his master, David Lisle. This was the first of several cases in which Sharp's aid was invoked,[188] the most famous one being that of James Somerset, which called forth Lord Mansfield's famous decision of June 22, 1772, that slavery could not be maintained under English law. During these years Sharp had not only given practical aid to a number of English slaves, but by conversation, by correspondence, and by monograph he had endeavored to enlist the sympathies of others.[189]

For a period the opponents of the slave trade called forth few rejoinders, possibly because they were too insignificant to claim attention, possibly because the American war had damaged the trade so seriously that its adherents had little strength to devote to minor attacks.[190] Peace, with its promise of a revival of the African commerce, was the signal for increased efforts on the part of the small group of humanitarians, and so telling were their blows that the interests involved were soon placed upon the defensive. Several circum-

[186] *Post,* nos. 297 and 301. The history of the movement for the abolition of the trade has been presented in many places. It may be followed in Thomas Clarkson's *History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade* (Philadelphia, 1808); in R. Coupland's *Wilberforce* (Oxford, 1923); in Prince Hoare's *Memoirs of Granville Sharp* (1820). F. J. Klingberg's *The Anti-Slavery Movement in England* (New Haven, 1926) devotes several chapters to the abolition of the trade. For a list of the pamphlet material on the subject see Judith B. Williams's *Guide to the Printed Materials for English Social and Economic History, 1750-1850* (1926), II. 417-431. Similar lists could be compiled for the United States and for France during these years.

[187] John Wesley, in his *Thoughts upon Slavery* (1774), denounced the trade in his usual forthright fashion; John Newton's *Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade* (London, 1788) expressed the conviction of one who had had an active part in the traffic; for Johnson's opinions see Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (ed. Hill, 1887), II. 478-480. Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* sets forth the economic disadvantages of slavery.

[188] Hoare, *Granville Sharp,* pp. 32-43, 47-61, 248 n.

[189] Sharp, sometime in the 'seventies, became acquainted with the work of the Philadelphia Quaker Anthony Benezet, and a correspondence between the two philanthropists followed.

[190] Several writers attacked Justice Mansfield's decision, and at least two, Thomas Thompson and an "African Merchant", entered into a general defense of the trade.

stances helped the cause of the reformers. The case of the slaver *Zong* (see no. 267) made converts for it, as well it might. The Reverend James Ramsay, who after nineteen years in St. Christopher was now a rector in Kent, joined their ranks and proved a useful ally. His pamphlet, *An Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies* (1784), was the first of a series of controversial pamphlets, which were characterized by great heat and acrimony rather than by calm reason.[191] In London a small group of Quakers acted as a committee for the distribution of anti-slavery publications and for correspondence with those interested in the cause of the negro in other parts of the world. In 1784 and 1785 this group distributed *The Case of our Fellow-Creatures, the oppressed Africans,* prepared by the Quakers, and also Anthony Benezet's *A Caution and Warning to Great Britain and her Colonies, in a Short Representation of the Calamitous State of the Enslaved Negroes in British Dominions.*

Shortly after this two powerful advocates for the cause were gained, Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce. The story of Clarkson's enlistment in the cause as a result of his labors on an essay subject set by the vice chancellor of Cambridge University is well known. This essay brought him to the attention of the small group of London abolitionists, and with him they formed the Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, in May, 1787. This committee of twelve, all but three of whom were Quakers, by correspondence, by publications, and by the raising of funds, nourished the abolition sentiment, while Clarkson searched for evidence.[192] The interest of Wilberforce was roused by no single episode or influence but by various forces all pointing in the same direction. His friend the Reverend John Newton, rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, and once a slave captain, may have had something to do with his acceptance of the position of parliamentary leader of the abolitionists, Lady Middleton, who brought him and Ramsay together, Clarkson, who as

[191] *Remarks on a Pamphlet written by the Rev. James Ramsay* (1784); *An Answer to the Rev. James Ramsay's Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies* (St. Christopher, 1785); *A Reply to the Personal Invectives and Objections contained in Two Answers, published by Certain Anonymous Persons, to an Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the British Colonies* (London, 1785); see also Klingberg, *Anti-Slavery Movement,* pp. 60-66. Ramsay had been a surgeon on board a man-of-war. He married a lady of St. Christopher, and returned to England to take orders.

[192] Hoare, *Granville Sharp,* pp. 397-398; Coupland, *Wilberforce,* pp. 87-88. Clarkson's own account, in the *History of Abolition,* gives a better idea than does anything else of his persistent and indefatigable pursuit of the evidence which later furnished much of the material out of which parliamentary speakers built their case. Before he set out on his systematic quest he drew up a questionnaire of 145 questions, dealing with every aspect of the trade, and these he sent wherever he thought information might be obtained (*History,* II. 5-6). For a brief summary of his labors see Klingberg, *Anti-Slavery Movement,* pp. 77-79.

spokesman of the London committee pleaded for his aid—all doubtless contributed to his decision. But more important than the influence of any of these individuals was the force of evangelical religion, which had already laid hold upon Wilberforce and transformed his pursuits and his purposes.[193]

In the House of Commons the troublesome question of abolition made occasional appearances. In 1775 a commission was appointed to take evidence on the trade. In 1776 David Hartley of Hull moved "That the slave trade was contrary to the laws of God and the rights of men". In 1783 a bill which prevented servants of the crown from engaging in the business of the African Company was introduced. The Quakers, by a petition presented the same year, drew from Lord North a reply which remarked upon their humane and Christian spirit, and the impossibility of their attaining their desires, the trade being necessary to almost every nation in Europe. In 1785 Bridgewater petitioned against the traffic. The petition was consigned to the table with no evidence of interest on the part of the members of the House.[194] This attitude of indifference on the part of the members of Parliament could not long be maintained. In the next few years meetings were held in various English towns, and petitions sent to Parliament until, by an Order in Council of February, 1788, a committee of the Privy Council was instructed to investigate the trade. It was also understood that Wilberforce was to bring the question before the House of Commons in the session of 1788, but a physical breakdown prevented his attendance.[195] Near the end of the session Pitt, fulfilling a promise made to Wilberforce, announced his intention of bringing up the slave trade for consideration early in the next session, whereupon a debate followed over the reasons for postponement and the wisdom of bringing the matter to the floor of the House.[196] That this postponement might not prevent all progress, Sir William Dolben introduced a measure regulating the transportation of slaves, with the specific understanding that this was not to precipitate a premature debate on the whole question of the commerce. On the whole, the effort to avoid the larger question was successful, the debate centering on the mortality of the Middle Passage; but the opposition of the interests involved was manifest. Meddling with the trade spelled ruin for English commerce and for

[193] Coupland, *Wilberforce,* pp. 88-92.

[194] *Ibid.,* pp. 84-85; *C. J.,* XXXIX. 487-488; Hoare, *Granville Sharp,* p. 396.

[195] Pitt and Wilberforce had given much thought to the question throughout 1787, and Pitt had directed the British minister in Paris to sound the French government on the subject of the trade. Coupland, *Wilberforce,* pp. 96-100.

[196] *Parl. Hist.,* XXVII. 396, 495. The entire history of the parliamentary contest may be followed in the volumes of Hansard, in the *Commons Journals,* and in Coupland's *Wilberforce,* pp. 106 ff.

English plantations. Regulation opened the door for more drastic action, which would destroy not only the trade but the institution of slavery itself. Such ideas were avowed or hinted, though in the final vote in the Commons but five opposed the measure. Not so in the Lords. Here the debate ranged more widely and the opposition, in stouter mood, threatened the measure and would have defeated it had not Pitt brought to bear all his influence to save it, which he did by a margin of two votes.[197]

True to Pitt's promise, the subject was introduced in Parliament in the spring of 1789. The Privy Council report, a voluminous body of factual material, was transmitted to the House in April,[198] and on May 12 Wilberforce presented a series of twelve resolutions looking to the abolition of the trade in slaves. These he supported by the first of his many powerful pleas for the extinction of this traffic.[199] In the debate which followed the lines of cleavage were clearly defined. On the one side were the representatives of interests involved, British merchants, whose stronghold was Liverpool, British manufacturers with connections ramifying in many directions, West India planters, many of them resident in England,[200] the creditors of such planters, and, perhaps hardest of all to convert, British patriots with implicit faith that England's power in some way rested upon her commerce in slaves. On the other side was a small but extraordinarily able body of reformers, with no material interests at stake and depending chiefly upon moral arguments.

The supporters of the trade, in Parliament and outside, attempted to establish its beneficent effects, since it saved the lives of captives who would otherwise be slaughtered and transported them to the West Indies where they were far better off than in Africa. Its abolition would lead to emancipation, even the discussion of which incited the negroes to insurrection. The islands would be ruined; merchants and manufacturers made beggars; England's revenues be lessened and her naval strength destroyed. The debate dwelt on the rights of property and the necessity for large compensation if they were to be tampered with. While the reformers' argument was the inhumanity of the trade, they were willing to meet and answer the economic arguments of their adversaries.[201] Wesley had in 1774 attempted

[197] *Parl. Hist.,* XXVII. 495-506, 573-599, 638-652, *passim*; Coupland, *Wilberforce,* pp. 108-111; for the act see *post,* no. 278.

[198] This report was a collection of evidence and information, with no attempt at conclusion or recommendation. A few extracts from it will be found *post,* no. 281.

[199] *Parl. Hist.,* XXVIII. 41-67; *C. J.,* XXIV. 351-359 (May 12, 1789); Coupland, *Wilberforce,* pp. 119-130; Clarkson, *History,* II. 34-75.

[200] The Committee of the West India Planters had organized a subcommittee on Feb. 7, 1788, to oppose the abolition movement. Lillian M. Penson, "West India Interests in the Eighteenth Century", *English Historical Review,* XXXVI. 374.

[201] Clarkson, *History,* II. 34-38, 73-103; Burke, *Speeches,* III. 435-440.

a demonstration of the economic cost of slavery, and Clarkson in his *Impolicy of the Slave Trade* provided ammunition with which to meet the propertied groups on their own ground and prove to them that the West India planter, free from the debt which slave labor imposed upon him and with his slaves increasing in value because the supply was shut off, would gain not lose; that the share of the slave trade in English commerce was greatly exaggerated; that neither manufacturing nor commercial cities would suffer by its abolition; and that the trade instead of being the nursery of seamen was their burying-ground.

There was little possibility of confuting most of these arguments; but if the facts of the abolitionists could not be disproved, action could at least be delayed. Despite the mass of evidence accumulated by the committee of the Privy Council the members of the House of Commons demanded further evidence, since it ill suited the dignity of the House to obtain its evidence from the Privy Council, which was no creature of the Commons. The debate over a motion to hear evidence, like many which followed it, could with justice be called a battle of the giants and the pigmies; but the pigmies won, and permission was granted for them to present their witnesses at the bar of the House. The early witnesses were heard by the committee of the whole, the later ones by a special committee obtained by Wilberforce in order to hasten the hearings.[202] The presentation of testimony was interrupted in April, 1790, by which time the supporters of the trade had presented their evidence, with a motion by Lord Penrhyn, a member from Liverpool, that the vote be taken. Eager as were his opponents to bring the matter to an issue, they were scarcely willing to risk a vote with the evidence but half presented, and insisted on completing the testimony, thus continuing the investigation until April, 1791, two years after the presentation of the report of the committee of the Privy Council. With the completion of the hearings Wilberforce moved for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the importation of slaves into the West Indies, a motion which after two days of debate was lost by a vote of 163 to 88. The arguments presented against the motion rested upon the rights of property, the necessity for slave labor in the West Indies, the importance of the West Indies to Great Britain, and the eagerness of other nations to seize the commerce in slaves should England relinquish it. The defenders of the traffic were unwilling to admit the inhumanity of the trade, since the Africans themselves took part in it, and maintained that the mortality of the Middle Passage was really very low.[203]

[202] *Parl. Hist.*, XXVIII. 311-315; Coupland, *Wilberforce*, p. 136.

[203] *Parl. Hist.*, XXVIII. 711-714, XXIX. 250-359; Coupland, pp. 137-138, 141-144; see also Klingberg, *Anti-Slavery Movement*, pp. 85-91. The speeches are given in detail in *The Debate on a Motion for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, in the House of Commons, on Monday and Tuesday, April 18 and 19, 1791* (London, 1791).

During these years the London committee had been active in developing public opinion throughout the kingdom and even in fostering the abolition movement in France. With the defeat in the House of Commons this group determined to bring to bear upon the members of Parliament whatever influence public opinion could wield. The print of the slaver *Brookes* was circulated (no. 280) as evidence of the inadequacy of regulation. Josiah Wedgwood's cameo, made from the seal of the society, became popular in many forms; Cowper's poems depicting the wrongs of the African were written; an abridgement of the evidence was circulated;[204] a boycott on West India sugar was inaugurated, supported, it was alleged, by 300,000 housewives. Clarkson travelled hundreds of miles in search of information or to gain new converts; societies similar to the London committee were formed in many places. From these new societies and from many individuals petitions poured into Parliament.[205] Whatever organized effort could do to create and direct public opinion toward parliamentary action had been done when Parliament assembled in 1792, and Wilberforce and his allies had good reason to hope for success when on April 2, 1792, he introduced his resolution: "that the trade carried on by British subjects for the purpose of obtaining slaves from Africa ought to be abolished". At this point the opponents of abolition abandoned the direct opposition and supported the motion of Henry Dundas to insert the word "gradually" in the resolution. Not all the eloquence of Fox could overcome the British sentiment for slow and cautious advance, and in the end a measure for abolition in 1796 was the most that could be achieved. In the Lords new evidence must be presented, and the session closed with a resolve to continue the hearing of evidence in the next year.[206]

This was the high-tide for the cause. With the outbreak of the French war popular opinion took alarm, and a new weapon was provided for the enemies of the movement. Every attack on slavery or the trade [207] could now be branded as emanating from French radicalism and as a menace to English institutions.

[204] Coupland, pp. 154-160. Among the publications printed and distributed by the London committee were: Beaufoy's *Speech on the Bill for Regulation,* June 18, 1789; William Dickson's *Letters on Slavery* (1789); *Notes by a Planter on the two Reports from the Committee of the Honourable House of Assembly of Jamaica* (1789); Ramsay's *Address on the Proposed Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (1788); Wadström's *Observations on the Slave Trade* (1789). Cowper's "The Negro's Complaint" was printed and distributed under the title, "A Subject for Conversation at the Tea Table".

[205] From England there were 312 petitions, from Scotland 187, from Wales 20. The other side sent in but five petitions, none from Liverpool. *Granville Sharp,* p. 405; Coupland, p. 159.

[206] Coupland, pp. 161-175. Political debating has rarely surpassed the debate of 1792, when Wilberforce said of Pitt, "he really seemed to be inspired".

[207] The orators and the pamphleteers of the opposition persistently professed to regard the abolition of the slave trade and the emancipation of the West India slaves

Wilberforce in 1793, defeated on the question of going into committee to consider the trade, moved for leave to introduce a bill to abolish that part of it which provided foreign countries with negroes. This avoided all threat to British colonies, and seemed the most natural point at which to begin a policy of gradual abolition, such as the House of Commons had presumably espoused. Though lost in 1793, this measure was passed by the Commons in 1794, to be defeated by the Lords, whose hearings had failed to convert them.[208]

The years 1795 and 1796 passed with no move to embody the resolution of 1792 into legislation. In 1797 Wilberforce encountered one of the most disappointing defeats of his long struggle. His measure was lost by a vote of 70 to 74, with a dozen of his luke-warm supporters at the first performance of a new opera when the vote was taken.[209] The complete apathy which seems to have overcome all save the leaders of the movement rendered the efforts of 1798 and 1799 futile, and possibly induced Wilberforce to withhold his usual motion in 1800.[210] English energy by this time was so engrossed in winning the desperate struggle with Napoleon that reforms and reformers could expect but scant attention, and the leader of this protracted endeavor was doubtless well advised to allow the subject to lapse for the next four years. He had by no means lost interest in it, but it was obvious that no progress could be made, and he devoted his efforts to preventing the growth of the trade to Trinidad and Guiana.

Pitt, urged on by Wilberforce, caused to be issued an order that neither new nor old Africans were to be carried to Trinidad. Wilberforce in 1798 also called Pitt's attention to the fact that by an Order in Council Great Britain was supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, and obtained Pitt's promise to rescind the order.[211]

One project of the reformers demands mention here, though it was not directly connected with the slave trade. In 1786, disturbed by the condition of a large number of free and destitute negroes in London, they had formed the Committee for relieving the Black Poor. Through the efforts of this committee a group of London negroes was sent to establish a settlement between the Sierra Leone and Sherbro rivers. The early history of this colony is well known. Heavy mortality, desertion to slave factories, and quarrels among the members

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as one and the same and, despite repeated assertions to the contrary, frequently forced the debate to the evils to be feared from emancipation, though no advocate of abolition of the trade regarded emancipation as a necessary result, no matter how desirable it might be.

[208] Coupland, pp. 214-216, 221-222; *C. J.*, XLIX. 345.
[209] Coupland, pp. 223-225.
[210] *Ibid.*, pp. 270-274.
[211] *Ibid.*, pp. 273-274, 315-321.

of the group weakened it, and its first chapter was brought to an end by the burning of the settlement by a native chief.[212] Granville Sharp next enlisted the aid of London merchants who might strengthen the colony by building up an African trade in commodities other than negroes, always a cherished plan of the abolitionists. In 1791 a charter was granted to the Sierra Leone Company, made up of philanthropists and business men. The company was forbidden to trade in slaves, but it had no power to exclude slave traders from its territory. Probably at the time of the incorporation this was not regarded as a serious defect as it seemed likely that the slave trade would be forbidden within the next year or two. The failure to accomplish this left the colony open to the depredations of slave traders, who created some of its greatest difficulties.[213] To bring an end to this, in 1798 and 1799, when Wilberforce was letting the subject of the slave trade as a whole lie quiescent, he introduced a measure excluding the trade and traders from Sierra Leone. This he succeeded in carrying through the House of Commons but it met defeat in the Lords, and the colony continued to be subject to the menace of the trade until its abolition, which preceded by a few months the surrender of the rights of the Sierra Leone Company to the crown.[214]

In 1804 the contest for abolition of the trade was resumed. The heat of anti-Jacobin sentiment was less; the advocates of the trade were weakening. The ease with which the victory was obtained in the House of Commons may well have been a surprise to Wilberforce himself, inured to defeat. Leave for a bill passed the Commons by a vote of 124 to 49, and the bill went rapidly through the Commons without noteworthy incident.[215] There was little prospect of the same success in the Lords and by general agreement it was not pressed there. Perhaps because of overconfidence and resulting carelessness when the bill was brought up in the House in 1805 it once more went down in defeat.[216]

The procedure of earlier years was varied in 1806. In place of a motion for a bill for complete abolition Wilberforce's old foreign trade bill, with the additional prohibition of importation of slaves into England's recently acquired colonies, was brought in and, despite the arguments of Tarleton and Gascoyne, still faithful to

[212] Martin, *British West African Settlements,* pp. 103-120.

[213] *Substance of the Report of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company,* Feb. 26, 1795, pp. 96-200; *Parl. Hist.,* XXXIII. 1376-1415, XXXIV. 518-566, 1092-1140; Clarkson, *History,* II. 272-274. For the intercourse of the colony with slave traders see Viscountess Knutsford, *Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay,* pp. 125-128. Wadström (*op. cit.,* pp. 79-107) recounts evidence showing the difficulties created for the colony by the slave trade. A portion of this evidence has been here printed, *post,* no. 282.

[214] Martin, *British West African Settlements,* p. 140.

[215] Coupland, pp. 304-309.

[216] *Ibid.,* pp. 312-315.

what they believed to be the interests of Liverpool, the bill passed without much difficulty. In the House of Lords there was much speaking against it but a comfortable majority carried it to enactment.[217] Encouraged by this, Fox introduced a resolution, "that conceiving the African slave trade to be contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, this House will, with all practicable expedition, take measures, to abolish it, in such manner, and at such time, as shall be thought advisable". This passed both houses though it encountered vigorous attacks from the decreasing but still determined enemies of abolition.[218] Tarleton still urged the injustice to Liverpool; Gascoyne, that even the discussion was injurious to the security of property in the West Indies, that Liverpool would be ruined, and that before such a measure passed a committee should determine the amount of compensation necessary (*Substance,* pp. 24-26). The passage of this resolution made reasonably certain that a measure for general abolition could be attained during the next session. This suggested the danger of an enormous increase in importation during the months still left to the trade, and to prevent this a bill was hurried through during the last weeks of the session.[219]

Early in the session of the following year a measure for complete abolition of the trade which had been the subject of debate for twenty years was brought into the House of Lords, and debated throughout January and the first days of February. The shipbuilders and ship owners of London petitioned against the bill, counsel for the West India merchants, the corporation of Liverpool and the trustees of the docks of that city were heard, and Lord Hawkesbury spoke frequently; but the supporters of the trade could hope only to delay, not to defeat, the measure. The only noteworthy debating was that upon the second reading of the bill, when Lord Grenville delivered a lengthy argument in its favor.[220] It reached the third reading on February 10 and was sent at once to the House of Commons, where it was committed on February 23 by a vote of 283 to 16, was debated on March 6, 9, and 16, and received the

[217] *Parl. Debates,* VI. 597-599, 805, 917-919, 1021-1025 (Commons). London, Liverpool, and Jamaica petitioned against the bill; Sir William Young spoke for it. It passed the House of Commons May 1. *Ibid.,* VII. 31-34, 227-236 (Lords).

[218] *Ibid.,* VII. 580-603 (Commons, June 10, 1806), 801-809 (Lords, June 24, 1806); *Substance of the Debates on a Resolution for Abolishing the Slave Trade, which was moved in the House of Commons on the 10th June, 1806, and in the House of Lords on the 24th June, 1806* (London, 1806); Coupland, pp. 332-333. The vote in the Commons was 114 to 15, in the Lords 41 to 20.

[219] *Parl. Debates,* VII. 1143-1145; see no. 297, *post.*

[220] *Parl. Debates,* VIII. 613-618, 637-671 (Lords); *Substance of the Debates on the Bill for Abolishing the Slave Trade, which was brought into the House of Lords on the 2nd January, 1807, and into the House of Commons on the 10th February, 1807* (London, 1808).

royal assent on March 25, 1807.[221] By its terms the legal slave trade of Great Britain, begun under royal auspices, supported and defended by government and people, representing powerful vested interests with patriotic as well as economic arguments to lend it aid, was to end on May 1, 1807. The reformers had won. The fact that in the course of twenty years of education they had convinced all but the most obstinate of "die-hards" that the economic benefits of the trade were largely illusory does not change the nature of the victory. From the beginning it had been a contest between the humanitarians and the practical commercial and business interests, and the humanitarians had gained their point in this the first step in the long process by which legal servitude was to be eliminated from the Western world.

[221] Petitions against the bill were received on Feb. 17. The debate of Feb. 23 over its commitment was the end of serious attempts on the part of its opponents to block its passage, though it was several times debated after that date (*Parl. Debates,* Feb. 10, VIII. 717-722, 830-838, 940-943, 945-995, 1040-1053; Coupland, pp. 336-343). The most determined speaker for the opposition was a new member, George Hibbert. In the debate of Mar. 6 no voice from Liverpool was raised; from Bristol, Charles Bathurst still expressed the opposition of his clients to the measure. On Mar. 9 Gascoyne, from Liverpool, contented himself with expressing a fear that the act would weaken the allegiance of the colonies to the mother country. *Parl. Debates,* IX. 62, 65.

DOCUMENTS

1. Captain Bernard Ladman to the Royal African Company.[1]

Commenda, February 7, 1701/2.

As for trade, I have met with very little, the Blacks being afraid to come aboard English ships, they having been tricked by several, particularly of late by Capt. James Francis, in the *Sarah*-galley, Captain Bond in a brigantine, and two Captain Bills, in sloops belonging to Jamaica and Barbadoes, who, about the 19th of December last, did surprize and carry away with them 24 Negroes, belonging to Drewin,[2] with 16 cows and a great parcel of teeth, as they came aboard to trade: some were redeemed, but had three for one. The same method they take all along the coast. If there be not care taken to prevent such villainies, our English colours will be of no use to us, for the Negroes study revenge, and are resolved to seize upon what they can. Accordingly on the 27th of Dec. Capt. Daniel Lowis,[3] of the *Dolphin* sloop belonging to London, being at anchor off of Drewin to trade, great numbers of Negroes came to trade, and surprized them all, took all that was in the vessel and run her ashore, where she staved in pieces. The mate and boatswain escaped in the boat, but the commander and the rest of his men they drove up into the country; but since they are more moderate to them, and have admitted of an exchange for the captain and his cook, having six negroes for themselves. The doctor is likewise cleared, by reason they had cut his head, and could not tell what to do with him. Captain Lowis is now aboard of me, and gives me this account; but the rest of the men are still at Drewin.

2. Trade on the Gambia River, 1702.[1]

He declared that, in the year 1702, five private ships being in the river of Gambia at once, gave from 20 to 23 bars per head[2] for

[1] [1] Charles Davenant, "Reflections upon the Constitution and Management of the African Trade", *Political and Commercial Works,* V. 185-186. The years 1707-1712 were years of intermittent controversy over the privileges of the trade, the Royal African Company having by no means relinquished the hope of regaining the monopoly. The efforts of the company to this end assumed importance as the time for the expiration of the act of 1698 approached (see this work, vol. I., pp. 421-429). Among the ablest advocates of the monopoly was Charles Davenant, part I. of whose "Reflections" maintained that the African trade could be carried on only by a joint-stock company with exclusive privileges. This brought forth so many replies that he published, as part II., extracts from letters, written by factors and captains of the company, and from newspapers, books, and conversations, all in support of his position. The selections here used are placed at the dates at which they were written rather than at 1709, when Davenant printed them. Ladman's letter, with slight changes in wording, is to be found in John Barbot's "Supplement to the New Description of the Coasts of Guinea" (Awnsham and John Churchill, *Collection of Voyages and Travels,* 1732, V. 430). Ladman was captain of the *Spanish Merchant.*

[2] Drewin is a short distance south of Cape Palmas.

[3] Churchill prints the name "Lewis".

[2] [1] Davenant, *Works,* V. 181-182. Davenant here summarizes a conversation with an unnamed person who had lived a "considerable time" in Gambia.

[2] Brue reported that south of the Gambia one might buy slaves from the natives for from ten to fifteen bars per head, from the Portuguese for thirty bars (Thomas Astley,

negroes, more than the company's servants gave before the arrival of these ships, and that they lowered the price of English goods one third.

That Captain Rhett, Captain Tudor, Captain Forty, and Captain Beckford, all private traders, traded with the company's servants, especially Captain Beckford, by whose persuasion and contrivance goods belonging to the company were carried off, to the value of 5000 *l.* and upwards.

That the natives have several times attempted to seize on vessels belonging to the company and private traders.

That where the company have small factories up the river, without any fortification or force to protect them, the same are subject to seizures at the pleasure of the Kings there, even though they knew that the company's servants would make reprizal.

That the natives know very well, that when ships are part-slaved, the purchasers must give any rate for the remainder of their respective complements, rather than endanger the loss of the rest, and that therefore the natives do impose upon them accordingly. And

That, in his opinion, the trade to that coast can never be carried on effectually without forts, or otherwise than by a joint-stock; and that, if required, he would declare and certify the truth of all the aforesaid particulars to the parliament.

3. Report by the Earl of Pembroke.[1]

Thomas Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery etc. Lord high Adm'll of England and Ireland etc. and of All her Majesties Plantations etc.

Her Majesty haveing been pleased to referr unto mee the Petition of the Roy'll Affrican Company, Setting forth that the French Guiney Company have made a Contract at Madrid for supplying the Spanish West Indies with Negroes, in which they are very much Supported and Encouraged by the French King;[2] and that by the advices the

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New General Collection of Voyages and Travels, II. 112-113). In 1703 and 1704 Calabar slaves brought twelve bars for men, nine for women (*post,* no. 16). Those from the Gambia commanded a higher price. Westergaard gives the price on the West Coast, or the "wholesale price", for 1702 as 45 rixdollars (*rigs-dalers*), and states that by 1704 it had increased to 60 rdl. A rixdollar he considers as equivalent to one piece of eight. *Danish West Indies,* p. 150.

[3] [1] Public Record Office, London, State Papers, Domestic, Naval 6, f. 83. The Earl of Pembroke had also received, through the Earl of Manchester, on Apr. 14, 1702, a request from the Royal African Company for satisfaction for a vessel laden with negroes which had been seized in Havana, where it had put in for provisions. *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* 1702-1703, p. 29.

[2] The contract was made by the sovereign, not by the company, which received from the sovereign the privilege of carrying from 3000 to 4800 *piezas de Indias* yearly to Spanish America. An English account of this bargain states that Du Casse, for thirty years a resident of the West Indies, induced the French king to demand that the assiento be withdrawn from the Portuguese and given to the French. One-third of the returns

said Company receiv'd in Febr'y last from Nevis, there was on the South parts of Affrica three French Men of Warr cruizing; And therefore Since they have such Fortifications on that Coast,[3] which can not be Supported but by frequent Supplys of Men and Stores, and are of absolute necessity for the preservation of the Trade of those parts to her Maj'ts Subjects, and Supplying her Majest's Plantations with Negroes, they have for that purpose, fitted out the Shipps mentioned in the List hereunto Annexed,[4] which cannot securely proceed by reason of the Warr with France and Spain,[5] for which reason they doe humbly pray, That to supply the place of the *Bonadventure,* now ready to returne home from the South parts of Affrica, her Majesty will be pleased to spare them Some Frig'ts to cruiz on the said Coast, to Countenance and protect her Maj'ts

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was to go to King Philip, one-third to Louis XIV., and one-third to Du Casse and his associates of the French Guinea Company (British Museum, Southwell Papers, Add. MSS. 34335, ff. 111-112). The articles of the contract were signed Sept. 1, 1702, the privileges to be held by the French for ten years. During the time that the French held the grant their factors had their residence in the Danish island of St. Thomas (*Importance of the British Plantations,* 1731, p. 34). The renewed vigor of the French on the Gambia was one of the consequences of this contract, an account of which, with a number of documents pertaining to it, will be found in Georges Scelle, *La Traite Négrière aux Indes de Castille,* II. 141-174, 687-699; see also Curtis Nettels, "England and the Spanish-American Trade, 1680-1715", *Journal of Modern History,* March, 1931, pp. 17-19.

[3] On any part of the African coast accurately described as the "south part of Africa" the English company had no forts. The writer probably refers to the Gold and Slave coasts, as contrasted with the Gambia and Sherbro region.

[4] The list is as follows:

	Tuns	Guns	Men	Passeng'rs	
The *Serelion* Brig't	80	10	18	16	Capt. Geo. Corkerell
The *Roy'll Affrica*	370	30	48	30	Capt. Alex. Gates
Angola Frigat	125	12	24	12	Capt. Tho. Arnall
The *St. Winifrid*	160	10	24		Capt. Wm. Owen

St. P. Dom., Naval 6, f. 83 A. Endorsed: "upon the African Company's Petition dated the 20th May 1702."

[5] William III. had signed the treaty of the Hague, or Grand Alliance, which allied England and Holland, on Sept. 7, 1701. By the time of his death in March, 1702, England was prepared to take an active part in the European war then in progress. English indignation that France should have secured the assiento is sometimes offered as one of the factors which gained her consent to the Grand Alliance (*Cambridge Modern History,* V. 403). The English company, still resentful over the loss of its monopoly, could hardly have failed to regard the French acquisition of the Spanish trade with much bitterness. On May 5, 1702, it suggested to the Admiralty that if the French could be prevented from obtaining negroes to fulfil their contract the Spaniards might still be driven to buy of England. This notion was given more definite form in a letter from Peter Beckford, lieutenant governor of Jamaica, to Secretary Vernon, May 15, 1702. To prevent the French from gaining the Spanish trade he suggested: (1) that the English keep frigates on the coast of Cartagena and Porto Bello; (2) that the English frigates on the Guinea coast obstruct the French trade; (3) that English merchants be prevented from making contracts with the French or delivering negroes to them, especially at Cape Verde and Hispaniola (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1702, p. 323). The next year the Royal African Company suggested that, since the French vessels spent at least two months on the African coast collecting their cargoes, three ships of war and a fire-ship sent there might spoil their entire traffic. Jan. 21, 1703, African Company to the Earl of Nottingham (Public Record Office, C. O. 267: 5). Nottingham was Secretary of State 1702-1704.

Subjects in their Trade, and to preserve them from All Insults of the Enemy; and that the Ships may be permitted to proceed under their Convoy; I have in Obedience to her Majesties Commands, Considered of the Case of the Peticion and doe most humbly report, That the aforesaid Ship *Bonadventure* which is now on the South Coast of Affrica will Suddenly be comeing home, but that then there will remaine a 4th and a 5th Rate on other Parts of that Coast: And as I am humbly of opinion that in consideracion of the great consequence to this Kingdome of the Trade in those parts, their Ships bound thither ought to be permitted to proceed, soe may it be of very great Countenance and protection to the said Trade, in case a fourth Rate Shipp can be conveniently Spared to proceed with them and to Supply the place of the *Bonadventure*; for tho' I can not finde that they had any Shipps of Warr allowed them in the late Warr for this Service, yet in case the French are (as is Alleaged) endeavouring to Supplant them in their Trade for Negroes, they will undoubtedly have a Strength in those parts to enable them to carry on the Same;[6] But I doe withall humbly pray leave to informe her Majesty, that the Forreigne Services have allready taken up so many of the Cruizing Friggots, there is in noewise a Sufficient Number at home to answer the many pressing Services that dayly call for them w'ch is neverthelesse most humbly submitted.

Admiralty Office
20th May 1702.

By his Eccell'cys Command
BURCHETT.

4. Lieutenant Governor Thomas Handasyd to the Board of Trade and Plantations.[1]

JAMAICA, October 5, 1703.

. . . We have a dismall account of great losses of the Merchant shipps by the Privateers of Martinico, which as I am informed are 28 in number and have taken 70 odd sail of ships and sloops, some of them laden with negroes, which are of very great value.[2] Here

[6] These fears the company must have thought fully justified when word reached England that Fort James had been captured by the French under Captain La Roque, who plundered it of 250 slaves and demanded £6000 in bills of exchange on London for the ransom of the fort. *Journal of the Board of Trade,* 1718-1722, p. 101 (hereafter cited as *B. T. Jour.*).

[4] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1702-1703, p. 711. The Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, commonly referred to as the Board of Trade, had charge in the eighteenth century of such matters of colonial commerce as in the seventeenth century were referred to the Privy Council or to one of its committees.

[2] To protect the merchant shipping an embargo had been laid upon mercantile vessels in January, 1702. The African Company and the independent traders alike were

are brought into this harbour by one of our Privateers six sloops belonging to the Dutch and Danes, tradeing on the Spanish coast, which are condemned by the Prize Office, as also four French and Spanish by Capt. Douglass. . . . Here are also come into Port four Guinea ships with 1300 and odd negroe slaves. Our number of slaves augment dayly, but to my great grief the number of white men dayly decrease. . . .

5. The Royal African Company: Extracts from a Memorandum Book.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, October 21, 1703.

Okamfamoo a Cabesshire Living in the Aguaffo Countrey[2] Gave Notice That a great Number of Traders Coming from the Keuferas[3] with Large Quantity of Gold and Slaves to Cape Coast along with Coffee the Company's Slave sent thither to Invite them to it to buy goods they were stopt by the said Okamfamoo at his town he not daring to do it by violence used a stratagem very Common in this Country when Any one Cannot prevail by force upon his Ennemy and that is he said that if they proceed any further to go to Cape Coast he would shoot himselfe Dead upon their heads and as it is usual among them all his friends and acquaintance are bound to avenge his Blood upon those at whose Occasion he killed himself and they allwayes do it.

The Keuferas being terrified by his threatening for fear of Bringing an Implacable Warr Against their Countrey stopt there and proceeded no further.

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loath to accommodate themselves to this. Special requests for leave to sail and for a sufficient number of men to carry out a voyage were frequent and seem to have been, in many cases, granted. The *Way* galley, for Africa and Jamaica, was given permission to sail on Jan. 18, that "being the only proper season for that part of Africa she is bound to"; the *Thomas and John,* for Guinea and Virginia, and the *Tiger,* for Guinea and Jamaica, were allowed passes on Jan. 25, the *Don Carlos,* for Angola and Jamaica, Feb. 5; "that being the proper time to sail for those parts." The attitude of seventeenth-century masters toward the convoy system still prevailed in the eighteenth century (Violet Barbour, "Marine Risks and Insurance in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of Economic and Business History,* I. 563-568). On Mar. 26 leave to sail was granted to the *Wheeler,* James Aynsworth, which was to take to Africa stores for the company, then carry negroes to Barbados; on Apr. 12 Robert Cage and Edward Morris were granted permission to send the *Morris* to Guinea and Virginia; and Barbados merchants were allowed to send the *Hanover* galley to Guinea and Barbados. The number of men that the vessel was allowed to carry was usually specified *(Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial,* II. 387-392). At least one vessel among these encountered difficulties other than those arising from a foreign enemy: "Happen'd a Riseing of the Negroes, On board the *Tyger* Galley, Capt. Ralph Ash Comand'r A 10 per Cent. They got the Fire Arms, and kill'd 4 Men of the Shipp people, and Two mortally wounded, About Fourty Negroes were kill'd." P. R. O., Treasury Papers 70: 1463 (hereafter cited as T 70).

[5] [1] T 70: 1463, "Memorandum Book kept at Cape Coast Castle from Jan. 13, 1703/4 to Jan. 2, 1704/5". A large part of this memorandum book, selected by Miss Ruth Anna Fisher, has been printed in the *Journal of Negro History,* XIII. 290-319.

[2] Not far to the northwest of Cape Coast Castle.

[3] Kufero or Quiforo is east of Wassau.

The Queen and Cabasshire of foetu [4] sent word to the General that If he pleased they would go and bring the head of the said Okamfamoo that the traders might freely come on.

The General sent word by a Messenger to the Queen and the Rest of the Cabasshires of foetu that he Ordered them and their people to take Arms without Delay and to go and Burn the Town of Okomfamoo to take the said Okomfamoo whom if they did Bring alive to him to Cape Coast he would give them five Bendys [5] for him and for as Many people as they should take in that town and bring them to Cape Coast they should be paid the worth of every one of them.

October 23, 1703.

Keuferes Traders arrived here with Coffee and the Messenger sent the 21 to the Queen of fetoo and brought Gold and Slaves.

The Messenger met them in the way Coming hether, they report that Okomfamoo unsaid what he spoke before and did not suffer them to make any stop in his town but told them the Kuferes to proceed on their Journey without Stay since they were going to Cape Coast Castle and that he was a friend to the Interest of the Royall African Company and to the General of Cape Coast, and that he would no more side with the Dutch.

6. Sir Dalby Thomas to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, 14 Jan. 1704.

The *Rooke*-galley, and your *Davers*-galley, are still at Annamaboe, purchasing their slaves, and as yet met but with very indifferent success, the first having purchased only 60, and the latter 28 Negroes. The 10 per cent. men [2] who are there, spoil the markets extremely, by out-bidding us all at once, by which means they began to out-do your ships in buying, until that I, being advised thereof, ordered your factors and captains to give as much for a Negro, and sell your goods as cheap as they;[3] for I am resolved not to hold the candle to them any longer, as was done by my predecessors, let the consequence be

[4] Fetu is a native state west of Cape Coast Castle.

[5] A benda was about two ounces of gold.

[6] [1] Davenant, *Works,* V. 192. Sir Dalby Thomas was governor at Cape Coast Castle from 1701 to 1708.

[2] That is, those traders who gained the privileges of trade by paying a duty of ten per cent. on their cargoes, in accordance with the act of 1698. See this work, I. 421-429.

[3] John Brown to the Royal African Company, Cape Coast Castle, Feb. 18, 1704: "We sell and buy as they (the private traders) do, which puts them to their wits end what to do, and obliges them to lower their goods to less, and raising their price for slaves, if they will have them; for they have no way of out-trading your honours but by underselling. The measure they now take is down-right undoing one another, by out-selling and out-bidding us, and each the other among themselves too, that one would take them to be out of their senses, or sent hither to try, not who shall get most, but who shall lose most for his owners." Davenant, *Works,* V. 193.

as it will. You have been sufferers in the trade enough by that already, and since one or other must unavoidably be done, I think that buying and selling at or near their price is the better of the two; for, considering the expence you are at upon the coast, it is better to trade at any rate, than not at all. . . .

7. The Royal African Company: Record of Insurance.[1]

January 25, 1704.

List of insurance, att and from

On *Widah,* from London to Guinea and Jamaica on ship and Goods	£2000
Don Carlos from Ditto to, at and from Guinea and Jama'ca on goods	2500
Lucitanea from Ditto to at and from Guinea and Antigua on goods	1500
Eagle from Ditto to Ditto and Barbados	3000
Martha from Ditto to Ditto and Jamaica	1200
Postillion from Ditto to Ditto	1000

June 28, 1704.

Insurance on *Neptune,* Cape Coast Castle or Parts adjacent as low as Whidah, and from thence to Barbadoes. £2000 On the Goods laden aboard the said Shippe. Both of the said Shipps to be warranted to depart the Channell with convoy. . . . For carrying on of trade, 8 Negroe Shipps at a time be employed.[2]

[7] [1] T 70: 102, "Minute Book of the Committee of Eight of the Royal African Company of England. From Nov. the 18th 1703-Dec. the 13th 1708". These are but a few instances, taken from many similar items, to indicate the value placed upon the slaving vessels.

[2] The *Neptune* was to carry 450 negroes. At or near the time that its voyage was agreed upon, the committee also suggested a vessel for Antigua with 300 slaves, the *Bridgewater* for Montserrat with 300, the *Urban* for Nevis with 300, and one for Jamaica with 600. One of these may have been the second vessel to which reference is here made (T 70: 102). The company by this time was apparently convinced that convoy was necessary, for on Sept. 12 it petitioned the Board of Trade for two convoys annually for Barbados (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1704-1705, p. 248; *B. T. Jour.,* 1704-1709, pp. 42-43). The attempt to include the vessels engaged in the slave trade in the convoy system was in part given up when, on Feb. 23, 1705, it was ordered that all vessels for Guinea and Jamaica be permitted to sail without convoy (C. O. 5: 1361, p. 56). The reasons for this were put forward in a communication from the Board of Trade to the queen, Mar. 2, 1705: "Tho' it do's in the generall very much contribute to the security of trade that all ships bound from the Plantations to England do sail with convoy according to your Majesty's Instructions, yet forasmuch as these two ships are designed for the coast of Guinea and from thence to Jamaica with negroes, which may likewise promote the trade with the Spaniards, so that the time of their arrivall at and departure from the Plantations cannot be so well ascertained as to depend upon convoys, and they being light saylors and of force, we have nothing to object why your Majesty may not grant your Orders to your Governors to permit them to sail without convoy for the present voyage to be performed within the space of twelve months" (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1704-1705, pp. 402-403). News of attacks on Guinea vessels is frequently to be found in the colonial papers; see *Boston News-Letter,* Sept. 17, Oct. 1, 1705.

8. The Royal African Company: Extracts from a Memorandum Book.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, Feb. 4, 1703/4.

Saild out of this road for Barbados the *Dolphin* a 10 per Ct. Ship Capt. Besswarvor [2] Comd'r.

A Complaint was brought before the Generall that Quashoo a black Carpenter one of the Company's Slaves had sold his Wife's Son named Braboo on board a 10 per Ct. Ship.

The fact was provd against Quashoo and against a woman in the Towne who being Sent for declared that Braboos mother (lately dead) was her Slave and Consequently Braboo and 3 Children more whom She had by Quashoo to whom She was Consarved [3] by her Mistress, after the Death of Braboos father. But Some brought A testimony that Braboo himselfe was given for Slave to Quashoo when he Consarv'd the Mother.

The Generall Sent a Letter to the Comd'r of the *Dolphin* and a Slave desiring him to Exchange Braboo, who had been sold that morning, after some nicityes he Consented to the Exchange and Braboo was brought to the Generall.

Upon Inquiry it Appeared that Braboo was Sent to peter Quashoo's house the Linguester [4] by the Black Carpenter and the other woman. Peter gave him his Cane for a passport and pretended to Send him to a Consort of his who lives at Compoint, in the way 4 of Peters men and Some others met Braboo, bound him Carryed him to Compoint and from thence before day light to the 10 per Ct. Ship the *Dolphin* Capt. Besswarvor Comd'r at an Anchor in this Roade where he was Sold for three ounces two Akys [5] in Gold. The Generall ordered that Peter Quashoo who had received that money should bring it to him and a man Slave besides. Such one as was given in Exchange for Braboo and that Peter Quashoo should bring before him those four men who had bound and Sold Braboo. It was ordered further that Braboo who belonging to a Compa. Slave had further more been redeemed on this Occation Should remaine one of the Companys Slaves and that Quashoo the Carpenter and two daughters of his who were detected Should be Confined in the Castle amongst the Slaves. Upon which Quashoo begged pardon, brought his two Daughters to the Generall and one Son and desired that they Should be received in the Number of the Company's Slaves acknowledging himself and his

[8] [1] T 70: 1463. Memorandum Book.

[2] This name appears elsewhere as "Besswaver".

[3] Married.

[4] A linguister or linguist was frequently not only an interpreter but an official spokesman for the native king.

[5] An accy was about five shillings, though its value must not be taken as fixed for all times and places.

Chilldren to belong Lawfully to the Company he declared that he had one little Son more who was at pawn for Some money he owed that he would bring him Alsoe. Braboo own'd himselfe likewise Willingly and with returne of thanks to the Generall to belong to the Compa. to who he ownd this present released and desired that he might have the Entertainment and prerogative of the Compa: Slaves at Cape Coast.

9. John Smith to the Royal African Company.[1]

Annamaboe, 6 February, 1704.

Since I came hither, I have done as much as possible to oblige the natives, and increase as well as maintain your honours interest with them, which at first seemed to have a good effect; but since the arrival of several 10 per cent. ships, I have not been able to keep the trade to the fort,[2] for there can be no limitation to the price of good slaves when other ships out-bid us, which I am positive has been done by Captain Prince, he having given £14 each for men, as also by one Captain Normanton, in a brigantine bound for Jamaica, who first sold blue perpets for five angles each, and before he went off disposed of several for four angles.[3] . . .

10. The Royal African Company: Extracts from a Memorandum Book.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, February 12, 1703/4.

Sent on board the *Mary* Brigganteen Capt. Osbourn Comm'dr Braboo a Compa Slave to be his Gold taker.

Sailed to Leeward with his dispatches to trade alongst the Coast Capt. Osbourn Comd'r of the *Mary* Brigantine.

Came from Tantumquerry [2] Bass John Carpenter.

A Dinkera [3] trader coming to Cape Coast from the mine with 2

[9] [1] Davenant, *Works,* V. 192-193; also printed in Barbot's "Supplement", Churchill, V. 446, where it is attributed to the *Memoirs* of Bloome, p. 15.

[2] From James Fort, at Accra, Thomas Peck had written to the company June 30, 1701: "As to slaves, the 10 per cent. men are my only interrupters in acquiring any, they giving six or eight angles more then your honours allow, which has been the real occasion that so many slaves have been shipped from Annamaboe" (Davenant, *Works,* V. 184). Angles or angels were counted fifteen to an ounce of gold on the African coast, and were much used as the money of account, though they may not have been in circulation. William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea* (1721), p. 75.

[3] On May 23, 1704, Sir Dalby Thomas wrote that slaves that formerly brought £3 and £3 10 *s.* now commanded £11 and would soon cost £15. Davenant, V. 190.

[10] [1] T 70: 1463.

[2] Tantumquerry was about twenty miles east of Cape Coast Castle.

[3] Denkera, formerly a prosperous inland country, had not long before this been overrun by the Ashanti (for an account of this see Bosman, *Description of Guinea,* pp. 64-68; Claridge, *History of the Gold Coast,* I. 192-198). The Dutch lent their aid to the natives of Denkera, a fact which weakened their hold on the coast as the Ashanti gradually gained the ascendancy.

women Slaves to sell them in the Castle Some fetoos met him in the way and paniard[4] his two Slaves whom they Carryed away, the Trader made his Complaint to the Generall who disspatched an Express to the King and to the Dey of fetoo to acq't them of the matter and to tell them that was an Infraction of very ill Consequence that their people should hinder traders to Come to Cape Coast or any other of our factorys. the King and Dey returned Immediately the 2 Slaves to Cape Coast begging pardon for the Offence which happened by a misstake, and Sent word that a Cabbash of the mine[5] did owe a debt to the Dey of feetoo Brother whoe Sent his people to paniard those Slaves thinking they did belong to Some of the Inhabitants of the Mine town, a Custom they have of Seizing on Some of the Same Towne or Country for the Debts of any one of the Same place and the freinds of the person Seized for the Other to give Sattisfaction and soe are released. The Generall returned the Slaves to the Owner.

11. The Royal African Company: Extracts from a Memorandum Book.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, Feb. 17, 1703/4.

The Cabbash of Cape Coast brought before the Generall a palabra[2] against Capt. Hamlin for haveing Carried away Some years agoe and Sould in the West Indies a Canooman of their Towne and Said if he did not give them Sattisfaction they would panyar him a Shoare whereof they came to acq't the Generall.

The Generall told them he must be more perticular Informed of the Case that he might do wright on all Sides.

Capt. Hamlin who was on Shoare was Sent for he Answered to the Charge that he carried away a black Canooman, for running he and other Canooman from his Shipp where he had hired them, with a Canoe belonging to him (the Capt.) which they did Stave to pieces upon the Shoar; for Attempting upon another Occation to drowne him to rob About a hundred pounds of Gold he had in his pockett, the damidge of which Canoe and Some other Debts owed to him amounted to four Ounces, and being not Sattisfyed of that Sum he therefore Carried away that man: that before he went from Cape Coast he acquainted Messrs. Newte Gore and Strooman their Chiefs, of the whole matter and they not only Consented, but told him he Should Carry away the Man Since he did give him noe Sattisfaction, that he was at

[4] Kidnapped.
[5] Caboceer of Elmina.

[11] [1] T 70: 1463.
[2] A palaver was scarcely a formal trial but rather a general discussion, in order to get at the truth.

Anamaboo many days after thatt and did not Scruple to Carry him away Since noe body Endeavoured to Sattisfie for him To that the Canoomen concern'd in the fact answered that they did not run away but Came on Shoare for victualls that Capt Hamlin's Canoe was Staved in goeing to Save an Englishman of another Ship who was drow[n]ing, that after that Capt. Hamlin tooke those very Canoomen to his Service to goe with him to Alumpo and promisd to release their Consort whom he had fast in Chains and to let him return with them after he had done his Business. So that they had not the least Apprehention he should be Carryed away. The Generall told them that the Case being determined before the then Chiefs at Cape Coast it was not to be brought in Question any more. The Cabbash'rs Answered, they heard that it was determined then, and that they were not Called to it, neither by the Chiefe of Cape Coast nor by the Capt. and that the very Canoomen did not then make any Complaint about it because they thought after some detention he was to be released.

The Generall blamed the Cabbash'rs for not makeing their Aplication to the Chiefes of Cape Coast, or at least the Canoe men Should have done it: Blamed allsoe Capt. Hamlin for not Acquainting the Cabbasheirs or Causeing them to be Sent for before the Chiefs that the Cause might be determined in their presence and Since it was Difficult to have a true information of the fact, the one asserting the other denying the same thing, he would advise them all to make an agrem't friendly both parties remitted the whole matter to the Generall Capt. Hamlin Shewed himselfe willing to give Something to the Cabash'rs to be Cleare of them, so that the Generall persuaided them to make it up for the Sum of four ounces of Gold which the Capt. is to pay them in Goods and they went all away Satisfyed.[3]

12. Sir Dalby Thomas to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, 29 Oct., 1704.

Mr. Dudley[2] was removed before my time, and the account of his crimes sent you by Mr. Brown, Major and Willis; but what I learn is, *viz.*

[3] The Memorandum Book also states that on Feb. 19 natives from Commenda laid another complaint against Captain Hamlin for carrying from there two men. A letter of Feb. 25 states that the crew of the *Success* had been panyared because of Captain Hamlin's actions at Anamabo. T 70: 1463.

[12] [1] Davenant, *Works,* V. 191.

[2] Dudley, a servant of the company, had traded in slaves. This was by the act of 1698 forbidden to employees of the company.

	Men	Women	Boys	Girls
He sold in Jan. 1702	7	2	2	1
In March 1702-3	4	2	0	2
In May, June and July, 1703	9	5	1	3
In Sept. Oct. and Nov.	23	7	6	2
	43	16	9	8
	16			
	9			
	8			
In all 76 slaves				

And of these he sold to sundry persons, as I am informed, *viz.*

To Captain Francis Morgan	2
To Captain Rogers	5
To a private trader sent to Dickes-cove	4
To ditto at Cape-Coast-Castle	3
To Captain Impin	14
To captain Gill	7
To Captain Normanton	13
To Captain Maxwell	1
To Emanuel de Sylva, at Commenda	1
To Captain Codnor	2
	52
The remainder not known to whom disposed of	24
	76 slaves

13. Dr. George Bramston to Robert Harley (?) [1]

January 13, 1704/5.

Doctors' Commons. In accordance with your letter of July 6 last, I have considered the papers and proofs relating to the ship *Neptune,* which I find belongs to subjects of the Queen, inhabitants of Jamaica, and that these were the sole and true freighters as well as owners at the time of her seizure. I find that while sailing to the English factory of Anamabo, neither going nor intending to go to any Dutch factory, she was seized by Captain Frederick of the *Postilion,* a ship belonging to the Dutch West India Company, carried to the "Castle Delmine" [Elmina] and there condemned. It is true that she took in her cargo at Amsterdam and was going with it to the coast of Guinea; but this does not make her liable to confiscation; and I am of opinion that the seizure and confiscation of this

[13] [1] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Manuscripts of the Duke of Portland,* VIII. 166.

ship and lading, when on her way to an English factory, is contrary to the law of nations, and that the petitioners ought to have satisfaction for their ship and lading and all damages which have occurred to them.

14. Sir Dalby Thomas to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, 30 May, 1705.

He (the Dutch general) is the 10 per cent. mens Diana, and they pay all adoration, with great presents, to him. In a little time, not a man of them will come out without presents for him. Captain Prince, in the *Marlborough,* stopt there the 25th instant, and staid with him two days; and he bragged to Mr. Brown that he had plenty of beer, wine, etc. and a silver punch-bowl from thence. He past by us, and in his passing he was so civil as to salute the flag, which was more than he did last voyage, and then stopt a day at Morea (a Dutch fort) I suppose to take in slaves and corn.

15. Treaty between the Royal African Company and the French Senegal Company.[1]

June 8, 1705.

I. That the two Companies shall give Orders to their Governors, and the Officers of their respective Settlements on the Coast of Africa, from Cape Blanco to the River of Sierra Leona, to live in Peace and mutual good Correspondence; and to assist each other against the Negros, or whom ever else should disturb their Trade.

II. The English Company engages on its Side, that none of its Officers, Servants, or Commanders of Vessels, shall, by Sea or Land, attack or molest any Fort, Factory, or Settlement of the French Sanaga Company, from Cape Blanco to the River Sierra Leona; nor any Ship, Bark, or Vessel belonging to the said Company, trading either in the Rivers or on the Coast.

III. That the French Sanagra Company, on their Side, engage the same Conduct, with respect to the English, between Cape Blanco and the Rivers of Sierra Leona and Sherboro inclusively.

IV. If it should happen that any Ship belonging to either Company should be taken by the Privateers, Pirates, or Men of War of the contrary Nation, it shall not be esteemed a Violation of this Treaty, as a Thing which neither of the said Companies can prevent.

[14] [1] Davenant, *Works,* V. 195.

[15] [1] Astley, *Voyages and Travels,* II. 82, from Jean Baptiste Labat, *Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale* (1728), IV. 346-349. Signed in London by the agents of the two companies. Cultru refers to a letter of Lemaître, governor of the Senegal, in which he writes of a treaty of neutrality between the two companies (*Histoire du Sénégal du XVe Siècle à 1870,* p. 154). It should be remembered that the two countries represented by these trading companies were at war.

V. That the two Companies shall apply to the Ministries of their respective Courts, to obtain Orders for their Men of War not to commit Hostilities within the Limits above-mentioned.

VI. That for the Performance of the above articles they give their Words of Honour, and deposite this Treaty in the Hands of Mr. Andrew Laporte, of Leyden, that it may be preserved and regularly executed; promising and engaging, as soon as the Prohibition of Commerce can be taken-off, that they will reciprocally sign and ratify this Agreement.

VII. That, for the better Performance of these Articles, they promise to use their Interest with the Ministry of each Court to bring it to Effect.

VIII. That each Company shall give Orders to their Governors, Factors, and Agents, to return the Deserters on either Side.

16. The Slave Trade at Calabar, 1700-1705.[1]

Mr. Grazilhier, who, since his voyage in the *Albion* frigat,[2] has made three more thither, commander of English and Dutch ships, assur'd me at Southampton, in 1705, that the Dutch then made nothing of fetching Slaves from Calabar, with ships of three or four hundred tuns burden, that nation having now the greatest trade there of any Europeans, as well for slaves as for elephants teeth; and that by the knowledge he has acquir'd, by often sailing to new Calabar river, he will carry in a ship of six hundred tuns, without any danger, having found a passage of between four and a half and five fathom at the lowest water.

In October 1700, he sail'd from the Downs directly to this river, in two months time, in a little English ship, where he purchas'd two hundred slaves at twenty-four and twenty six bars a man, and proportionably for a woman, because of the great number of ships, sometimes ten, or more together, that were then trading, which quite drain'd the upper markets; and arriv'd at Barbadoes in April following. He has since made several voyages in the service of the Dutch, being of late marry'd and settled in Holland.

In 1703, or 1704, the price of slaves at Calabar was twelve bars a man, and nine a woman.[3]

The slaves got there, says he, are generally pretty tall men, but washy and faint, by reason of their ill food, which is yams at best, and other such sorry provisions. A very considerable number of them is exported yearly from that river, by the Europeans; he having, as

[16] [1] Barbot, "Supplement", Churchill, V. 464-466.
[2] See this work, I. 430-435.
[3] Dec. 8, 1705, "Natives combine with Company's competitors. Have rais'd price of negroes from 40 *s.*-50 *s.* to £12 or £14" (T 70: 102). From 5 *s.* to 6 *s.* per bar is a reasonable evaluation at this time.

has been said above, seen there ten ships at a time, loading slaves, which is the reason the price of them varies so much, being double some years to what it is others, according to the demand there is of them; the natives being cunning enough to enhance the price upon such occasions. . . .[4]

He added, that in the months of August and September, a man may get in his compliment of slaves much sooner than he can have the necessary quantity of yams, to subsist them. But a Ship loading slaves there in January, February, etc. when yams are very plentiful, the first thing to be done, is to take them in, and afterwards the slaves.

A ship that takes in five hundred slaves, must provide above a hundred thousand yams; which is very difficult, because it is hard to stow them, by reason they take up so much room; and yet no less ought to be provided, the slaves there being of such a constitution, that no other food will keep them; Indian corn, beans, and Mandioca, disagreeing with their stomach; so that they sicken and die apace, as it happened aboard the *Albion* frigat, as soon as their yams were spent, which was just when it anchor'd at St. Tome, after a fortnight's passage from Bandy-point, at Calabar. Besides, those poor wretches, the slaves of New Calabar, are a strange sort of brutish creatures, very weak and slothful; but cruel and bloody in their temper, always quarrelling, biting and fighting, and sometimes choaking and murdering one another, without any mercy, as happened to several aboard our ship; and whosoever carries slaves from New Calabar river to the West-Indies, had need pray for a quick passage, that they may arrive there alive and in health. To that purpose I would advise, so to order matters at Calabar, as to be in a condition to proceed directly to cape Lope [Lopez], and not to St. Tome, or Prince's island. All the ships that loaded slaves with the *Albion* frigate at Calabar, lost, some half, and others two thirds of them, before they reach'd Barbadoes; and such as were then alive, died there, as soon as landed, or else turn'd to a very bad market: which render'd the so hopeful voyage of the *Albion* abortive, and above sixty per cent. of the capital was lost, chiefly occasion'd by the want of proper food and water to subsist them, as well as the ill management of the principals aboard.

[4] The goods listed by Barbot as best suited to the Calabar slave trade are: iron and copper bars, rangoes, beads, nicanees, small brass bells, three-pound copper basins, Guinea stuffs, ox-horns for drinking cups, pewter tankards, great and small, blue linen, blue perpets, and spirits.

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17. The Royal African Company to the Board of Trade.[1]

October 10, 1706.

Having by direction of your Loshps. viewed the Act of Barbadoes for establishing a paper creditt,[2] we are of opinion that the forceing a paper creditt in this manner will of consequence be very prejuditiall to all merchants traders to said Island, and that unless a circulation had been provided for, that all persons might have money for said paper on demand, it must inevitably occation a discount on said paper-creditt, and consequently in buying and selling of goods the payments in paper must be considered, and cause a difference in prices betwixt that payment and money, whereby it will be very great loss to us, the Royall African Company, and to all those who shall be forced to take their present debts in paper, which loss may be more insuportable by reason of the uncertainety of the discharge of said paper at the expiration of the said Act. The hardships and inconveniencyes put upon the traders by reason of this forct creditt will doubtless be a very great obstruction and discouragement to the future trade and navigation to said Island, and doe pray your Ldshps. intercession to H. M. that the said Act be timely disannulled.

18. Project of the Assiento for Negroes made between England and Spain, 1707.[1]

Contract for Blacks or Negroes made and agreed with Her Ma'ty of Great Britain for herself and such of Her Subjects as she shall appoint to be contractors.

1. With Licence from his Catholik Ma'ty the contractors take upon them the Assiento or Agreement to import Negro slaves into the Spanish West Indies, and to establish this necessary Trade for the mutual and reciprocal benefit of their Ma'tys and the Subjects of both crowns and the Contractors oblige themselves to import in the Space of Ten years to commence on the day of in the year and to end on the same day of the year forty eight thousand Negroes of both Sexes and of all ages which

[17] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1706-1708, p. 261. Signed, "John Pery Sec."; endorsed, "Recd. Read Oct. 10, 1706".

[2] The act, passed June 18, 1706, had been presented to the Board of Trade on Sept. 17. The Barbados merchants at once protested and on Oct. 3 the board asked the African Company for an opinion on the measure. After considering the reply of the company a circular letter was prepared for the queen's signature, forbidding the passage of such acts. *B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, pp. 280, 281-283.

[18] [1] P. R. O., State Papers, Foreign, Spain, 1706, vol. 76. On Nov. 21, 1706, instructions were sent to James Stanhope, minister to Spain, to enter into a contract with the King of Spain for negroes for Spanish America. Though the form which the contract was to take was sent to him, he was directed not to lose the whole by insisting too closely upon the letter of the draft. The project followed closely the French assiento of 1701 (Scelle, II. 466 n., 467-483). For some account of the English desire for the assiento see Donnan, "The Early Days of the South Sea Company, 1711-1718", *Journal of Economic and Business History,* II. 420-421.

shall be neither of Mina nor Cape de Verd, after the rate of four thousand Eight hundred in each of the said Ten Years.

2. There shall be paid for all the Dutys of the Regalia 33½ ps. of Eight of the value of four Shillings and six pence English money, for each negro of India of the regular measure of those Provinces,[2] wherein shall be used the same method as hitherto has been established and practised.

3. The Contractors are to advance by way of anticipation 200 thousand ps. $\frac{8}{8}$ or forty five thousand pounds English money, to be paid in two Payments, the first two months after his Catholic Majesty's approbation of this Contract, the second other two months after the first, which summ the said contractors shall not be reimburst till the two last years of the Contract, when they will be able to do it by the Dutys of Importation.

4. For the greater Convenience of his Catholick Majesty this summ shall be paid at Madrid or London at his Ma'tys Election, and in the like manner shall the Dutys of Importation be satisfyed notwithstanding any obligation to pay it in the Indies.

5. The payments of the Dutys shall be made every Six months beginning from the of the in the same manner, and it is declared that the Contractors are only to pay the Dutys of 4000 (part of the 4800 to be imported yearly) and not of the remaining 800 for those His Ma'ty agrees shall be free of all Duty's, during the whole Ten Years, in regard of the payment to be made in Madrid or London and not in the Indies.

6. In the time of War the Contractors shall not be obliged to import more than 3000 Negroes every year, but shall retain their right of carrying the other 1800 (the Complement of 4800 agreed) in the succeeding years, and if they cannot yet comply with the number of 3000 they shall retain their right of compleating what shall be wanting to be imported, however they shall pay the 100,000 ps. of $\frac{8}{8}$ which the dutys of the 3000 negroes to be imported amount to, from Six months to Six months, every year that the war shall last, but which shall be imported short of that number shall be allowed in the succeeding years, and it being testifyed that they have imported more than the 3000, they shall pay the Dutys in the manner before expressed.

7. In the time of Peace, the contractors shall not be rigourously obliged to import the 4800 negroes in every particular year by reason of the various accidents of shipwrack, mortality, etc. . . . however they shall pay the Dutys of 4000 as if they had imported them,

[2] That is, a *pieza de Indias*. A man or woman, well made, with sound teeth and no defects, constituted a *pieza de Indias*; three children from ten to fifteen counted as two; two children from five to ten as one. See this work, I. 106 n.

but what shall be imported short of that number shall be allowed in the Succeeding years as in the preceding article is expressed.

8. The ships employed shall be English or Spanish or some Nation in Amity with the Crown of Spain.

9. The Contractors may import and trade with their Negroes according in all parts of the Indies or North Sea, his Catholick M'ty dispensing with the limitation hitherto establisht, whereby they could not be carryed to certain particular Ports, but they must not land any Blacks in any Port where there are not Officers to visit the Ships and give Certificates of the Black imported, those they carry to the Windward Island, St. Maries, Cumana and Maracaybo, The Contractors shall not sell for more than 300 ps $\frac{8}{8}$ each, but less when they can, for the ease of the people, but in other parts of New Spain and Terra firma, they may sell for the highest Prices they can get.

10. Having liberty to import Negroes into all parts of America on the North side, it is to be understood that they may do it likewise on that of Buenos Ayres, sending thither every year two Ships, capable of carrying 500 or 600 Negroes of both Sexes, and sell them as well as they can, but exceeding that Number the Governour and other the King's Officers shall in nowise permit the Landing or Sale of the rest.

11. To carry the Negroes to Peru, the Contractors are permitted to buy or build, in truck of Negroes or otherwise in Panama or another Port in the South Sea, two Ships, Fregats or others of 400 Tuns each to carry their Negroes from Panama to Peru and bring Returns in fruits, pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$, Barrs of Silver or Gold being Stampt, for which they shall pay no Dutys, and likewise the Contractors may carry from Europe to Porto-Velo and thence to Panama, Iron, Cordage, and all other materials necessary for building their Ships. But if they sell any such Materials upon any pretence whatsoever, they shall be lost and both buyer and seller punished, and for such action this Permission shall from thence forward be taken away, further, when this Contract is compleated, the Contractors must not make use of these Ships nor bring them to Europe, but are obliged to sell, alienate or give them.

12. It is left to the choice of the Contractors to employ English or Spaniards for the management of this business, as well in the Ports of America, as in other Towns and Places within that Country, his Ma'ty annulling these Laws that prohibit Strangers, and commanding that the English be treated as Spanish Subjects, Provided, that there shall not be above four and Six English men in any one Port of the Indies, out of which the Contractors shall send up into the Country those that are necessary for the managem't of what depends on this affair, which the Contractors shall govern so as to them seems most meet and convenient, and no minister of whatsoever degree or quality

he may be shall hinder or disturb them under any pretence, unless they act against the Laws establisht, and what is capitulated in this Agreement.

13. That the Contractors may from time to time name and displace Judges Conservators in all Ports and principal places in America, which are not to be the King's Officers, they being prohibited, and these judges are to have the Sole Cognizance of all Causes of the Contractors, with Prohibition to all other Tribunals, Ministers and even the Vice-roys themselves, and only those Conservatory Judges shall have Cognizance of their Causes, and are to send their Process to the Council of the Indies, that in the end his Catholick M'ty alone may be their Judge Conservator.

14. The Vice-roys shall not on any pretence embargoe, detain or make men of war of the Contractors Ships, on the contrary they shall be obliged to give them all Succour and assistance and what things they may want at the Current Prices, and the Contractors shall receive satisfaction for all the prejudice they may at any time undergo or suffer by the detention of any of their Vessels.

15. Neither may the Vice-roys or any other Officers upon any pretence whatsoever take, seize or embargoe any Goods or Effects of the Contractors upon pain of being punished, and satisfaction shall be made to the Contractors of what damage or prejudice they shall sustain thereby.

16. The Contractors and their Factors in the Indies are permitted to have in their Service such Mariners, Couriers and Workmen to load and unload, as they shall have occasion of, agreeing with them as well as they can for their Hire.

17. It is at the liberty of the Contractors to load their returns in the ships of the Flota or Galeons, agreeing with the Captains, and the Contractors Ships if they please may come with them, or with any Ships of War of his Catholick Ma'ty who are all every one of them strictly charged and commanded to admit and bring them under their Protection.

18. After the neither the French nor any other Company, nor any other Person of any Nation whatsoever, shall during the continuance of this Contract import any Negro Slave, and if they do, such Negroes shall be confiscated to the benefit of the Contractors they paying the Dutys.

19. That only the Contractors, their factors and Substitutes may have leave to navigate and import Negroes into the Ports of India, all other Subjects as well native as Strangers being prohibited; for performance whereof His Catholick Ma'ty obliges his Faith and Royal Word.

20. If any Law Suits shall be commenced upon any Actions or Priviledges of the Contractors, it is agreed that His Catholick Ma'ty reserves to himself alone the Cognizance thereof.

21. The Ships of this Traffick shall immediately upon their Arrival be examined as to the health of the people, and then the Officers of the Port shall admit them and not before.

22. If any Ships employed by the Contractors shall import into the Spanish West Indies and land there any contraband goods, other than are in this Contract before allowed for the provision or furniture of two Ships, the Persons importing and landing the Same Shall Suffer . . . but the ships and Blacks and all things else depending thereon or belonging to them shall not be seized or forfeited, and if the contraband goods do not exceed the value of 100 ps. $\frac{8}{8}$ then only such Goods shall be seized, appraised and burnt, and the Captain or Master shall be condemned to pay the value of the offence.

23. The Provisions that shall be landed to feed the Negroes shall pay no Dutys inwards or outwards, but those that shall be bought and carryed out of Port shall pay according to the present Custom.

24. The Negroes that shall be landed and shall happen to dye before they are sold, shall pay the Dutys without any pretence to be made to the contrary.

25. When they have sold negroes in any ports they may go to others, taking with them the value of those sold in pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$, barrs of Silver and Gold, without paying any Dutys, but if they take it in fruits for them they must pay the accustomed Dutys.

26. It is expressly agreed that the Ships of this Traffick may fit and sail from any Port of England, Spain or the English Plantations, at the election of the Contractors, and return with the ps. of $\frac{8}{8}$, barrs of Silver and Gold and fruits, being the Produce of their Negroes, to the Ports of England or Spain, and deliver the Registers thereof to his Catholick Ma'ty's Ministers, but they must not bring any thing more than the Product of their Negroes, nor any thing of the Estates or Commissions of any particular person of the West Indies, upon pain of Confiscation to the King.

27. If any Ships of this Contract fitted for War shall take any Ships of an Enemy to either Crown, or any Pyrates, and find any Negroes in them, they may sell and dispose of them, as part of the number they are engaged for, but not any sort of Goods or Merchandize, for these shall be carryed to Cartagena or Porto Velo and there be delivered by Inventory to the King's Officers, and remain in a Warehouse to be sold at the Spanish Fairs in those Parts, and the fourth part of their Proceed shall be applyed to the Royal Treasury and the ¾ to the Contractors, but the Ships or Vessels

with all their Stores and ammunition shall be entirely the Captors for the use of the Contractors.

28. When the Contract is ended the Contractors shall have three years to gather in their Effects, and during the said three years the Contractors, their Factors and Substitutes, shall enjoy all the Libertys and Franchises granted for the entrance of the Ships or Vessels, into the Ports of America and take thence their Effects freely.

29. The Debtors of the Contractors shall and may be prosecuted and compelled to pay in the Same manner as if they were Debtors to His Catholick Ma'ty.

30. And for the due performance of the aforesaid Articles his Catholick Ma'ty dispenses with all the Laws, Orders, Schedules, Priviledges, Establishments, usages and Customs that are in opposition to this Contract during the Ten years of this Agreement and three years more granted to get in their Effects, His Ma'ty granting to the Contractors and their Officers by Sea or Land all the favour that has been granted in any former Agreements and in like manner the Contractors oblige themselves to the Performance thereof.[3]

19. John Chaigneau to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, 2 April, 1707.

I must own your honours have been great sufferers on the sale of goods these two or three years past; it was Sir Dalby Thomas's opinion so to do, rather than the 10 per cent. men should carry all the trade. Mr. Thomas Peck was the first 10 per cent. man (since my time) that began to lower the price of goods, especially perpets, which he sold at five ackeys. I was then chief at Agga, and am certain the 10 per cent. men did always sell cheaper than we did and not Sir Dalby, as they pretend: the reason of it is so plain, that none but themselves can say against it. No people in the world (I believe) understand their interest better than the Blacks of the Gold-Coast, and could they supply their wants as cheap at your Honours factories as they do aboard 10 per cent. ships, one would think they

[3] Stanhope signed a treaty of commerce with Spain on July 10, 1707, but did not succeed in effecting a contract for trade in slaves. In his negotiations he ignored the Dutch, who, resentful over England's attempt at action independent of her ally, were ready to listen to the project of Nicholas Mesnager, who was sent to them in 1707 by Louis XIV., with a proposal for a vast commercial company which should unite all the maritime powers. A scheme somewhat similar to this was contemplated in 1708, when Philip V. offered to the allies the commerce of the Indies, by means of a company in which Spain, France, England, and Holland should each have a fourth part. The Dutch insistence that France be entirely excluded from the West Indies prevented the international scheme from being long considered (Scelle, II. 470-479). See E. W. Dahlgren, *Les Relations Commerciales et Maritimes entre la France et les Côtes de l'Océan Pacifique* (1909), pp. 567-576, for some account of the treaty of commerce and the French negotiations with the Dutch.

[19] [1] Davenant, *Works,* V. 195; a part of this letter is printed in Barbot's "Supplement", Churchill, V. 445.

would not put themselves to the charge of canoe hire, and the hazard of oversetting with their goods, as very often they do: besides that advantage on the price of goods, they have that on the price of slaves also,[2] which they could not expect to sell so dear, were not the 10 per cent. men so forward and so free of what is not their own. It is a great misfortune that your honours have so many to contend with, and of that temper, that, rather than you should get, they would willingly lose; for I dare say there are very few of them but who are losers by the slave trade.

20. Journal of the Board of Trade.[1]

December 12, 1707.

Their lordships took into consideration the several papers lately received from the Royal African Company,[2] and made several observations thereupon. And the said Company attending, and being asked several questions in relation to the said papers, they said that, as to their lordships' desire of having an account of the debts of the Company, signified in the secretary's letter of the 8th instant, that was included in the ballance of their books; for that ballance contained the true real value of the Company's stock, all their debts

[2] At this point the letter printed by Barbot continues: "The ten per cent. ships being upon the coast, and near slav'd, they dispose of their goods at prime cost, for dispatch; and give very extravagant prizes for slaves especially when they are advanc'd to the leeward as far as Winnebah. Another inconveniency has appeared at Cabo Corso castle, that in the year 1703, three large ships of the French company of the Assiento, of about fifty guns a-piece, and one of them a Dutch man of war prize, call'd the *Medenblick,* being trading about cape Corso, and the Blacks not daring to go aboard of them with slaves or gold, the French drew their ships in a line, at about half cannon-shot from the castle, the anchoring there very good, mud and sand, did so warmly batter the castle from that side, notwithstanding its hot firing from the water-battery and turrets, that in less than an hour's time the garrison was forc'd to keep close shelter'd, not daring to appear any longer, to play their cannon. The commander found himself oblig'd to hand out a white flag for a truce; and to grant to the Blacks of the town, and all others about, to traffick freely with the French, who got thereby a good number of slaves and gold, for their merchandize."

[20] [1] *B. T. Jour.,* 1704-1709, p. 436.

[2] The Royal African Company, whose affairs were going from bad to worse, had begun its active campaign for the restoration of its monopoly privilege at the expiration of the act of 1698. In November the state of the trade to Africa was brought to the attention of the House of Commons and the Board of Trade, and it continued to absorb much of their time until the expiration of the act of 1698 left the trade an open one. By petitions to Parliament and to the queen, by arguments before the Board of Trade, by broadsides, and by pamphlets the battle over monopoly raged. For the next half-dozen years the material here printed deals largely with that controversy. On Nov. 25, 1707, Mr. Pindar, deputy governor of the African Company, presented to the Board of Trade a petition of the company to the queen, relating its hardships, and the board began its work by calling for the following accounts: account of the ten per cent. paid by separate traders from June, 1698, to Michaelmas, 1707, and how the same has been expended; account of the charge of the forts and castles during the aforesaid time, and of the company's settlements in Africa; account of the value of the company's joint stock in 1698; account of what has since been called in; account of what dividends have been made during the aforesaid time; account of the value of the present stock; account of the debts owing by the company; account of the exports and imports from 1698 to Michaelmas 1707; account of the number of ships fitted out for the same time; account of the number

paid; so that as they alledge in the year 1706, the Company were really worth 176,594 *l.* 14 *s.* 2 *d.*[3]

As to the account of money called in by the Company, they said, that in 1698, after the passing the Act of Parliament, they agreed that whoever should pay to the Company 12 *l.* should have a share and 57,096 *l.* being paid in, there was 4,758 shares added to the Company, which makes them now in all 11,010½ shares.

As to the forts, they said that they had now most of those that were in the possession of the former Company before the passing of the present charter in 1672, excepting one or two which the Dutch took, but the Company took from the Dutch others instead of them.[4]

That all the said forts have garrisons, and are well provided with arms, ammunition and other necessaries.

That the seperate traders have always had the protection of the said forts, when desired.

That they never made any settlement near the Portuguese in Angola.[5] . . .

December 17.[6]

. . . Mr. Pulteney acquainted their lordships that he had this day discoursed with the accountant of the Royal African Company, who attended here according to the desire of the Board of the 15th instant, and particularly that, having asked Mr. Beaumont how the ballance of 1698, which is 189,913-5(-0) did arise, he said that in that ballance was included the value of their ships and effects here and in Guinea, as also all the debts owing to the said Company, but he was not able to say what debts were good, and what not; and he

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of negroes furnished by the company to the several plantations during the said time, and at what rates, with the condition on which such negroes have been sold; an account of the woollen manufactures the company have exported; and an account, from the Commissioners of Customs, of the exports and imports by separate traders to Africa, from 1698 to Michaelmas, 1707 (*B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, pp. 428-429). These accounts were received by the board Dec. 5, and on the 8th Mr. Pery, secretary to the company, and Mr. Beaumont, accountant, were asked to attend and explain some difficulties in them (*ibid.*, pp. 433-434). The papers are to be found in C. O. 388: 10, H 90-108.

[3] For discussions of the finances of the company see W. R. Scott, *Constitution and Finance of Joint-Stock Companies to 1720* (Cambridge, 1910), II. 25-30, and a forthcoming work by Dr. George F. Zook on the Royal African Company. Scott gives 17 as the highest market price which the shares of the company reached in 1698.

[4] See *post*, no. 34, n. 39, for a list of the West Coast forts.

[5] The board also asked for further papers: an account of the imports by the company from June 24, 1698, to Sept. 29, 1707; a list of ships sent from England to Guinea by the company, June 24, 1698, to Sept. 29, 1707; an account of exports by private traders, from Sept. 29, 1702, to Sept. 29, 1707. On receipt of these on Dec. 15, they called for the names and tonnage of all ships owned and employed by the company, asked how the balances in the company's books arose and how the charges of the forts stood in the books, and prepared a list of questions for the private traders, copies of which were sent to Mr. Benjamin Way, Mr. Robert Heysham, Mr. Joseph Martin, Mr. Isaac Milner, Mr. Daniel Waterhouse, and Mr. John Tyler. *B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, p. 437.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 438-439. Earlier in this meeting the name of Peter Paggan had been added to those of the separate traders. Mr. Pery's list of ten ships owned by the company had also been read.

own'd that there were several debts in the plantations, since the time of King Charles the second, still standing out, that the ballances for the succeeding years were computed upon the same foot.

And Mr. Beaumont agreed that when the 12 *l.* for shares in 1698 was called in, there were 4758 additional shares made; that the original shares in the Company were but 6252½ shares; which together make up the present number of 11,010½ shares.

And if the 6252½ shares be computed at the same rate as the additional shares, then the real stock of the Company would be 57,787-5(-0) less than what the Company say the ballance of their books in that year amount to, and therefore he was not able to give any account thereof, otherwise than that he supposed the company had let in the 4758 shares at a cheaper rate than they were really worth, which they might do to incourage those additional shares to enter into the company, they being at that time in need of money.

Then he was asked how they computed their stock at 26 *l.* 3 *s.* 9 *d.* per share, he said that was upon a supposition that all their debts in the plantations were good.

As to the charge of the forts and factories, he said that account was transmitted to them from their Governor General in Africa, and laid before the Cursitor Baron, who (no objections having been made to him by the seperate traders, some of whom had perused the said accounts at the Royal African Company House) had pass'd the same, and Mr. Beaumont produced their books, containing the said accounts, which consist of charges for repairing of the forts, for the Governor and other officers' salaries, for keeping a table for presents etc.

21. Negroes imported into Barbados.[1] (For note see pp. 27-28.)

Accompt of Negroes Imported by Severall Private Traders in Barbados since June the 24, 1698.

Date	Ships Name	Ma'rs Name	To Whom Consign'd	No. Negroes	Sum sold for per head £	s.	d.	Totall Amo. £	s.	d.
1700, Sept.	*Liverpool Merch't*	Wm. Webster		220	19	15	4	4,239		
1701, May	*Eliza.* (Jno. Dunn)	John Dunn	Mr. Wm. Moore	176	18	1	7	3,182		
1701, Dec.	*Blessing*	Thos. Brownbill		139[193]	13	6	2	1650[1630]		
	Geo. of B'B'ds	Thos. Tudor		100	19	8	9½	1,944		
1702, July	By the Pink *Mary* of Do.	Robt. Knowles		112	19	10		2,184		
	By the *George*	Thos. Tudor		78	19	12	6	1,530	15	
1704	*Tryall* of B'B'ds	Jos. Appleby		120	29	13		3,558		
				945						
1700, Aprill 11	*Abr. and Moses* Frigg't	Benja. Terry	Isaac and Moses Mendez	170	18	15	9	3,194		
1702, Augt. 25	*Dolphin*	Henry Jordon		180	21	15	8	3,921		
1704, April 19	Ditto	Tho's. Beswarver		172	24			4,128		
				522						
1698, July 28	*Henrietta Maria*	Wm. Deacon	Wm. Shutter, Esq.	188	19	1	3	3,589	10	
Aug. 16	*Delight* Galley	Francis Martyn		127	21	5	11¾	2,705		
1700, April 12	*Ann Bonadventure*	Ditto Martyn		378	19	18	0¾	7,523	10	
Sept. 11	*Arcania Merch't*	George Lumbey [Lumsey]		199	19	10	2	3,881		
1701/2,Feby.10	*Ann Bonadventure*	Francis Martyn		174	22	15[18]	1	3,961	10	
1702, Sept. 15	*John Bonadventure*	Ant'o Ford		435	16	15	5¼	7,296	6	8
Ditto	*Elizabeth*	Henry Connell		271	16	1	9¼	4,360	10	
				1,772						

[*Account of Negroes imported*—continued:]

Date	Ships Name	Ma'rs Name	To Whom Consign'd	No. Negroes	Sum sold for per head			Totall Amo.		
					£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
1699, Jany. 1	By the *New York*		Ed. Cordwent	135	25[28]			3,375		
1700, Feb. 1	By ditto			137	24	15	1	3,420		
1701, Oct. 17	*Thos. and Shebey*			135	25	2	6	3,400	5	
Feby. 26	*Mary*			137	24	12		3,370		
1702, July 17	*Sarah* Gally			151	20	17	4	3,151[3,131]		
				695						
1702/3, Jan. 1	*Hanover* Gally	Jacob Storey	Jos. Swane	173	22	3	2¼	3,833	10	
1702, Apr. 20	*Betty* Frig't	John Luke	Mr. William Godman	196	21	18[15]	10	16,203		
May 28	*Sam'l and Henry*	John Jacobs		184	17	6	7¾			
1703, Nov.	*Betty* Frig't	John Luke		160	26	9	9¾			
1704, May 25	*Champion*	Robt. Penington		164	27	5	6¾			
				704						
1706–7–19	*Larke* Galley		Mr. David Creagh	133	26	8	10½	5,831	10	
1707, Aug. 13	Ditto			93	24	18	3¼			
				226						
1701	*Mayflower*	Edw. Archer	Mr. Zachary Shut	46	18			3,788		
1703	Ditto Walter Rust	Walter Rust		148	20					
				194						

1704/5 Jan'ry	Ditto	Ditto		199	33	17	7½			
1705, Aprill	*Edwin and Jos.*	Edw'd Collins		83	29		4			
July	*Content*	Jos. Thorne		82	28	10				
Nov.	*Edwin and Jos.*	Edw'd Collins	Ed. Carter and	82	30	12	11			
Dec.	*Mary*	John Frankling	Jos. Marbin	230	28	10	10½	42,324	10	
Jan'ry	*Constantee*	John Hunt		122	30	9	2			
1706, July	*Edwin and Jos.*	Edw'd Collins		59	26	6	9¼			
Jan'ry	*Mary*	John Frankling		216	30	17	7			
1707, May	*Escape*	Jos. Appleby		116	26	5	6			
				1,424						
1698, Nov.	*Thos. and John*	Edwin Carter		83	20	9	9¼			
1701, June	*Ed. and Jos.*	Jacob Bill	Edwin Carter	61	20	9	10			
Ditto	*Mary*	Edwin Carter		136	13	2		7,593	10	
1702/3, feb'ry	Ditto	Ditto		283	19	18	9			
				563						
1700/7 ber	*Constant Friend*	John Jacobs		105						
9 ber	*Society*	Edward Monk		22						
1701, April	*Eliza and Martha*	Edward Tomlin	John Grove Would	142						
June	*Thos. and John*	Christo. Williamson	give noe acct. of	320						
Dec.	*Sam'l and Marg't*	Charles Carter	the Sales being	232						
Jan'ry	*Elizabeth*	Tho's Beckwith	a Quaker.	16						
Jan'ry	*Betty* Frigg't	Roger Ewer		399						
1704, Dec.	*Warner*	Nurse Hereford		126						
				1,362						
			Totall	8,580				159,138	6	8

[21] [1] C. O. 28: 11, 23 i. The lists here printed were sent to the Board of Trade in response to a circular letter of Apr. 17, 1708. Governor Crowe replied on Aug. 17, 1708, enclosing: "(i) Account of negroes imported into Barbados, since June 24, 1698, (a) by private traders, 7218, sold for £159,138. 6. 8., 1362 negroes consigned to John Grove, who 'would give noe acct. of the sales, being a Quaker', (b) imported by the Royal African Company 1700-1708, 5982 negroes sold for £156,425. 7. 6. (ii) Naval Officers' List of negroes imported into Barbados, June 24, 1698-Dec. 1707, 34,583. (iii) Account of the 10 p. c. duty on negroes imported into Barbados, Dec. 9 1698-June 30, 1708. Total £7443. 2. 9. The African Company paid no duty, but the total includes what the duty would have amounted to" (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, p. 66). In the covering letter the governor, arguing for a joint-stock company, called attention to the fact that of the 34,583 negroes imported during the period under consideration but 9006 had been brought in by the African Company. The

22. Negroes imported into Barbados.[1]

Accompt of Negroes Imported By the Royall African Compa. Consigned to Messrs. Bate and Steward from the Year 1700 to 1708. What arrived here from the Year 1698 to the Year 1700 (Mr. William Heysham having been the Compa's Agent for those years, and the Books then kept in his possession) is the Reason the present Agents are not able to give an Acco't thereof.

Date	Ship's Name	No. Negroes	Sum sold for per head			Totall Amo.		
			£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
1700	*Incouragement*	294	21	16	8½	13,975	2	6
	Prince of Orange	346						
1701	*Royall Affrica*	287						
	Larke	170	19	18	¾	16,561	10	
	Faulconbergh	375						
1702	*Spanish Mercht.*	390	24	2	3¼	9,404	10	
	Edward and Francis	281[2]	27	9	8¾	26,662	15	
	Daverse Galley	689						
1704	*Lyon and Lamb*	248	33	4	5¾	25,284		
	Eagle	513						
	Larke	124	31	10	3¾	18,625		
	Eagle	467						
1706	*Content*	112						
	Prodigall Son	151	25	12	10	20,180		
	Fame	524						
	Bridgewater	104						
	Royall Consort	428	25	5	7	15,269		
1707	*Sherbrough*	72						
	Katherine	290	25	14	0	10,463	10	
1708	*Dorothy*	117						
		5,982				£156,425	7	6

yearly average was 3458, but, reckoning on an annual death-rate of 7 per cent., it needed 3640 to keep the present number (52,000) intact. Lands were lying uncultivated because of the scarcity and the high price of the negroes. The reasons which he offered for the higher prices under the open trade were: (1) the separate traders had advanced the price on the coast from £4 to £10 per head; (2) the produce of the island was taken on more advantageous terms, 30 and 35 per cent. now being paid for bills of exchange; (3) insurance was high and losses by war heavy; (4) an increased population in the colonies had increased the demand, and since the coast supply had been exhausted the negroes must now be brought from inland countries, at greater expense. Governor Crowe's argument for a company was that, given a bad year, the private traders lost interest, as they had done in the Barbados market, only 350 negroes having been brought in by them in the past two years.

The board attached these lists, with some omissions, as appendixes C and D, to its report to the House of Commons of Jan. 27, 1709 (*post,* no. 34). Items here printed in square brackets show variations between this copy and that contained in the report. A number of the items are obviously incorrect. Another copy may be found in Add. MSS. 10453, ff. 184-185.

[22] [1] C. O. 28: 11, 23i (5).

[2] This cargo seems to have been consigned in two lots, one of 142 and one of 139 negroes; the next cargo is likewise divided into two lots, 253 and 436, the latter, labelled "Royal Africa", may have been a company consignment to Sir Robert Davers.

23. Negroes imported into Barbados.[1]

Barbados. The Numbers of Negroes Imported here from the 24th of June 1698 to the 25th of December 1707. Taken out of the Navall Office Books.

When Enter'd	Master's Name	Negroes
1698		
August 9th	Francis Martaine	120
Oct. 25	John Soane	305
Nov. 10	Edwin Carter	130
15	*Betty*, Charles Ellard	97
28	Rich'd Hamlin	150
28	George Lorristone	200
Xber 5	John Davis	104
[1699]		
Jan'ry 9	John Haslewood	209
13	Jos. Daniel	500
Feb'ry 22	Geo. Laurence	300
March 7	Walt'r Rust	146
15	John Luke	530
May 12	Thos. Winsor	92
Oct. 13	— Churchey	304
9ber 22	Step. Duport	300
23	Anto. Ford	400
28	Thos. Hammond	280
28	Jos. Greene	[289] 389
29	Bayley Kent	107
30	Nico. Hillgrove [Michael Killgrove]	121
1700		
Feb'ry 5	Fra. Sactell	512
March 23	Fran. Martin	394
April 2	B. Terry	181
29	Walter Rust	150
May 14	— Polgreene	122
June 12	John Haynes	301
21	George Clay	[304] 340
24	*Saml. and Mary* Cha. Carter	150
Aug. 21	Rich'd Hamlin	250
21	Robt. Jeffries	407
23	John Davis	99
Septemb. 6	John Jacobs	106
18	Wm. Webster	220
30	Wm. Dowrish	136
8'ber 17	Jno. Dunn	103
19	Wm. Martin	100
X'ber 14	Ralph Sadler	382
17	James Knash	470
19	John Lowder[2]	250
1701		
Jan'ry 2	Henry Poger	138
21	Thomas Rogers	230
March 3	—	176
April 5	John Peacock	107
do	Henry Taylor	40
16	Nicho. Hillgrove	71
21	Brown Bill	139
23	Wm. Oewing	196
28	E. Tomlin	146
28	Thos. Windsor	63
May	John Collingwood	82
22	John Dunn	180
26	Robt. Davidson	140
June 2	John Gill	143
7	Ja. Bill	63
11	E. Carter	150
12	Jno. Lunley	105
July 9	Francis Bond	87
23	Thos. Brisike	90
do	Da. Hewitt	248
26	Henry Fortey	94
Augt. 18	Rich'd Holland	210
25	Sam'l Nolbrough	245
do	Rich. Bromidge	273
26	Robt. Berry	223
27	Thos. Hammond	154
do	Rich'd Hamlin	190
—	Dan'l Bright	170
Septr. 10	John Jennings	73
—	Benja. Holt	73
12	Wm. Martin	80
—	George Lumley	248
25	Wm. Dowrish	150
8ber. 1	Walter Rust[3]	95
9	Jno. Frankling	63
11	Isac Wyld	375
11	John Prince	130

[23] [1] C. O. 28: 11, 23ii (1)-(5). This list, which Governor Crowe offered as the only complete one, in abbreviated form was appendix D in the report of the Board of Trade Jan. 27, 1709. The figures for 1702-1708 were printed by Davenant in part III. of his "Reflections", *Works,* V. 298-299.

[2] The report of the Board of Trade of Jan. 27, 1709, gives: Dec. 19, Henry Rodger, 250; Jan. 2, Thomas Rodgers, 138; Jan. 21, *id.*, 230; Mar. 3, John Peacock, 176; Apr. 5, Henry Taylor, 107; Apr. —, Nich. Killgrove, 40; Apr. 16, John Lowder, 71.

[3] The report gives: Sept. 25, Wm. Dowrish, 150; Oct. 1, Wm. Dowrish, 95; Oct. 9, Walter Rust, 63; Oct. 11, John Frankling, 375; Oct. 11, Isaac Wild, 130; Nov. 1, John Prince, 46; Nov. 5, Alex'r Geats, 350.

[*Account of Negroes imported*—continued:]

When Enter'd	Master's Name	Negroes
1701		
Novem'r 1	Matt. Harmond	46
5	Alexa. Geats	350
12	James LeGay	127
21	Benja. Clay	95
Xber 3	Thos. Rogers	185
4	Thos. Tudor	100
11	Charles Langhorne	47
16	Charles Carter	240
17	Henry Wyld	190
18	Robt. Matthews	90
27	Ralph Padler [Sadler]	259
1702		
Jan'ry 1	Charles Norris	139
6	Edwd. Benstone	170
7	Roger Ewer	425
10	Jos. Greene	360
13	Thos. Beckwith	16
15	Thos. Matthews	42
Feb'ry 6	Thos. Davis	118
10	Franc. Martin	280
24	Jno. Warren	409
March 5	Wm. Webster	440
12	Jos. Edlington	57
16	Wm. Pease	[32] 132
April 10	John Luke	190
17	John Lowther	264
May 5	Jacob Bill	68
12	John Jacobs	184
20	Nicho. Chinge	250
27	John Gill	118
do	Fra's Bond	137
28	Jno. Davis	236
June 15	Jam. Francis	157
July 7 [17]	Thos. Tudor	[178] 78
27	Bernard Ludmand	430
Augt. 22	Geo. Stephens	181
Sept. 15	Anto. Ford	400
—	Henry Connell	300
22	Walter Rust	155
8ber 2	Roger Morgan	139
10	Thos. Matthews	71
do	Edwd. Jackman	81
9ber 23	Wm. Pease	149
Xber 16	Sam'l Hardy	126
21	And. Stazley	281
29	Jacob Storey	174
1703		
Jan'ry 2	Wm. Mein	97
Feb'ry 13	Edwin Carter	295
March 31	Cha. Langhorne	152
8ber 28	Jno. Luke	161
9ber 10	Thos. Matthews	150
11	Thos. Mackley[4]	458
1704		
Jan'ry 6	Jno. Forster	262
24	Thos. Mildrum	145
27	Wm. Codnor	260
April 5	Jno. Maxwell	288
5	Jno. Cox	150
8	Jos. Appleby	140
18	Thos. Beeswarner	170
do	Jos. Greene	378
May 23	Robt. Peninghton	260
July 10	Richd. Hamlin	482
Sept. 4	Thos. Matthews	150
8ber 12	Thos. Meale	240
9ber 9	James Porter	290
Xber 29	Wm. Codner	218
1705		
Jan'ry 16	Thos. [James] Bound	534
Mch 8	Phillip Bennett	131
29	Matthew Harmond	176
April 2	Edw'd Collings	88
30	Jno. Lowder	304
June 29	Wm. Nunn	90
July 3	Stephen Patrick	96
27	Bernard Clapcott	318
9ber 3	Edw'd Collings	90
Xber 15	Jno. Frankling	234
1706		
Jan'ry 19	Jno. Hunt	134
Feb'ry 18	Thos. Bound	521
April 5	Jos. Thorne	143
13	Hugh Moseley	194
June 18	Wm. Browne	640
July 4	Rich'd Hamline	382
8	Edw'd Collings	92
7ber 19	Isaac Barber	133
8ber 12	James Porter	336
9ber 20	Wm. Cook	116
1707		
Jan'ry 24	Jas. Crispin	458
27	John Franklin	226
May 12	Joseph Appleby	121
Augt. 15	Isaac Barber	93
9ber 18	Will'm Gill	75
Mch. 6	Lamb't Peachy	476
1708 29	Thos. Ashby	123
April 19	Rich'd Thomas	130
	Totall	34,583[5]

[4] The report reads: Jan'ry 6, Thos. Mackley, 458; Jan'ry 24, John Forster, 262; Jan'ry 25, Thos. Mildomm, 145; Jan'y 26, Wm. Codnor, 260.

[5] Add. MSS. 10453, f. 185, gives 24,583. Davenant's list differs in a few places. He gives the names as Beeswaver, Penington, Harman, and Lowther, rather than Beeswarner, Peninghton, Harmond, and Lowder. The number brought in by Penington is given as 160, the total as 11,256. On Apr. 12, 1705, he has the *"Rebecca,* Tho. Matthews, 156", which is not found in this list.

24. An Account of Duties paid on African Cargoes.[1]

An Account of the Ten per Cent Duty paid into the Custome House for the several Vessells bound to the Coast of Affrica from Barbados since the 9th of Decem. 1698 to the 30th June 1708.

Ship's Name	Master's Name	£	s.	d.
The *Thomas and John*	Edwin Carter, Commandr.	99	10	3
The *Amity*	Richd. Serjent	46	10	7½
The *Happy Returne*	John Davis	86	12	7
The *New Yorke*	Amos Wadland	68	18	6
The *James*	Will'm Rawlins	59	17	
The *Mary*	Henry Edey	48	16	10
The *Judith*	John Davis	105		10
The *Peace*	Mordecai Lenin	45	4	7
The *Edward and Franc*	Walter Rust	87		8
The *Marygold*	Thomas Mathews	64	2	8
The *Diamond* Galley	Rich'd Odlin	44	4	10
The *Thomas and John*	Thomas White	91	2	6
The *Merch't Love*	Abra W'ms	49		4
The *New Adventure*	John Dunn	165	17	9
The *Arcania* Frigg't	Jno. Williams	130	8	9
The *happy Returne*	Jno. Davis	82	10	
The *Content*	Wm. Martin	63	17	6
The *New Yorke*	Hen. Logger	80	12	2
The *Neptune*	Hen. Hughes	152	9	6
The *Mary*	Peter Fatrus	40	9	6
The *Abra. and Moses*	Benja. Terry	89	2	
The *Marygold*	Thom. White	38	11	6
The *Johns Adventure*	John Peacock	61	10	4
The *North Sound*	Ralph Ash	74	15	
The *Lepax*	Will'm Davies	120		
The *William*	Rich'd Hamlin	101	9	
The *Marygold*	John Gill	66	12	
The *happy Returne*	John Davis	59	4	
The *Betty*	Cha. Langhorne	60	6	4
The *Arcania* Frigg't	Wm. Dowrish	143	3	6
The *Tryal*	Benja. Hole	69	6	6
The *Unity*	Francis Bond	78	5	6
The *Content*	Wm. Martin	54	19	4
The *Susana, Ann and Eliza.*	Benja. Clay	66	6	
The *Amity* (Geo. Henderson)	Geo. Henderson	14	14	
The *Mary*	Peter Fatrus	44	6	6
The *Mary*	Henry Pogger	79	4	
The *True Love*	Will'm Pead	38	17	9
The *Tryal*	Tho. Matthews	31	1	6
The *Eliza.* Gally	Thos. Rogers	99	11	
The *New Yorke*	Robt. Matthews	56	15	
The *Encouragm't*	Ralph Sadlier	178	9	4
The *George*	Thos. Tudor	58	16	8
The *John and Thomas*	Isaac Hunton	100	1	6
The *Larke*	Thos. Davis	102	4	8
The *Dragon*	Jno. Symmons	67	14	8
The *Marygold*	John Gill	52	17	6
The *Friendship*	Thos. Newton	26	8	6
The *Johns Adventure*	Wm. Pease	48	2	
The *Betty*	Jacob Bill	44	8	3

[24] [1] C. O. 28: 11, 23iii (1)-(5). Endorsed, "Recd. [and] Read 19 Novr." The fact that certain vessels are designated as company vessels ("A C") makes it reasonably clear that this is not a list of vessels owned in Barbados. It may have become a common practice for a vessel to bring in negroes and clear for Africa rather than for England, since of forty-nine vessels listed by Davenant as bringing in negroes (*Works,* V. 298-299) but fifteen are not mentioned in this list as bound for Africa. A note reads: "The Royal Affrican Companys are amongst these but they paid no duty, but is severally putt down what it amounted too."

[*Account of Duties paid*—continued:]

Ship's Name	Master's Name	£	*s.*	*d.*
The *Sarah* Galley	James Francis	108	19	
The *Unity*	Francis Bond	81	6	
The *Unity*	John Davis	236	14	10
The *Content*	Edw'd. Frampton	51	10	
The *Mary*	Robt. Knowles	22	16	
The *George*	Thos. Tudor	45	4	
The *May Flower*	Walter Rust	120		
The *Tryal*	Thos. Mathews	23	18	
The *happy Returne*	Edw'd Jackman	38	4	6
The *John and Thomas*	Roger Morgan	59	5	8
The *Betty*	Paul Payne	27	8	6
The *Johns Adventure*	Will'm Pease	29	15	9
The *Guinea Hen*	Solomon Raynsford	73	10	4
The *Larke*	John Norman	97	13	
The *Betty*	Wm. Mein	43	14	8
The *Mary*	Edwyn Carter	126	17	6
The *Edward and Francis*	Charles Langhorne	106	13	6
The *three Brothers*	Jonath'n Buck	47	14	9
The *Content* (Edward)	Edward Frampton	50	13	9
The *Tryal*	Thomas Garland	19	17	
The *Johns Adventure*	Thos. Mathews	35	9	5
The *Betty* Galley	John Forster	25	2	6
The *Mary*	Wm. Codnor	113	18	
The *Dottin* Galley	John Cox	73	14	
A. C. The *Guinea Hen*	John Gill	42	2	6
A. C. The *Edw'd and Francis*	Charles Langhorne	33	19	7½
The *Dolphin*	Thomas Beeswaver	85	1	4
The *Tryal*	William Rogers	58	14	
The *Success*	John Faulkingham	77	6	6
A. C. The *Mary*	Vinton Osborn	36	19	9
The *Rebecca*	Thomas Mathews	49		6
The *Bennett*	Robert Maurice	87	5	7
A. C. The *Charles the Second*	Cha. Delaforce	26	15	9
A. C. The *Edward and Francis*	Tho. Mildrum	30	18	
The *Mary*	William Mary	97	17	
A. C. The *Larke*	Mathew Harman	22	10	
A. C. The *Davors* Galley	James Francis	36	18	9
The *Edwin and Joseph*	Edw'd Collings	28	16	
The *Content*	Joseph Thorne	56	6	8
The *Constant Alce*	John Hunt	49	9	9
The *Edwyn and Joseph*	Edward Collings	17	3	10
A. C. The *Greyhound*	John Green	64	3	
A. C. The *Eagle*	Thos. Bound	64	10	9
The *Mary*	John Frankling	104	3	6
The *Rebecca*	Thomas Mathews	54	2	8½
A. C. The *Content*	Stephen Patrick	23	1	6
A. C. The *Prodigal Son*	Thomas Clement	20	17	6
The *Edwyn and Joseph*	Edward Collings	15	15	3
A. C. The *Royal Consort*	James Crispin	86		
The *Mary* f'f	John Frankling	102	5	6
A. C. The *Prodigal Son*	Walter Rust	45		
The *Escape*	Joseph Appleby	48	19	
The *Larke* Galley	Isaac Barber	51	15	9
The *Amiable*	James Porter	200	18	9
A. C. The *Bridgewater*	William Cooke	38	7	
A. C. The *Dolphin*	William Brown	18	17	
A. C. The *Elizabeth*	Joseph Thorne	74	3	9½
The *Hawke*	Richard Thomas	68	5	10
The *Ann and Mary*	Tobias Harris	34	6	6
A. C. The *Sherbrough* Friggot	Thos. Asby, Comm'r	62	1	6
A. C. The *Dorrothy*	William Gill	28	10	6
		£7,443	2	9

25. Negroes imported into Antigua.[1]

Antigua. An Account of what Negro Slaves have been Imported into this Island by Permition Shipps from Africa and by what Vessells from the 24 of June 1698 to the 25th of Decem'r 1707.

When Imported			Vessell's Name	Master's Name	Number of Slaves
October	22d,	1698	Brigantine *Goodluck*	William Wodell	18
June	3,	1699	Ship *Prosperity*	John Henley	212
June	5,	1700	Ship *Codrington*	Richard Tudway	
	14,		Ship *Samuel*	John Hilliard	
July	26,		Ship *Samuel and Elizabeth*	John Roach	164
October	11,		Ship *Postilion*	John Hayes	
	20,		Ship *Charles*	James Mohun	
Novem'r	17,		Sloop *Union*	Robert Carr	
Decem'r	11,		Sloop *Unity*	George Smith	
March	6,		Ship *Prosperous*	John Henley	200
Aprill	24,	1701	Ship *Hunter*	Samuel Lawrence	87
	30,		Ship *Mary*	Thomas Harris	152
May	2,		Ship *Monopolis*	Thomas Ashley	
	7,		Ship *Abraham and Moses*	Benjamin Terry	122
June	27,		Snow *Defiance*	William Humble	80
July	10,		Briga. *Ann*	Michael Bassett	92
August	17,		Ship *William*	William Eaton	63
	29,		Ship *Arcana* Frigat	William Dowrich	150
Sept.	13,		Sloop *Batchelors Adventure*	John Richards	73
	17,		Ship *Jolley* Frigat	Bartholomew Jones	83
Novem'r	7,		Ship *Montague* Galley	William Churchey	133
	23,		Ship *Success*	Lambert Peachey	262
Novemb'r	24,	1701	Sloop *Charles*	Joseph Yeamans	75
Decem.	4,		Brigantine *Antigua*	Samuel Lee	46
Febry.	24,		Ship *Chester* Frigat	Jacob Wilde	320
	26,		Ship *Samuel and Elizabeth*	John Roach	276
March	30,	1702	Sloop *Phenix*	William Clarke	9
May	4,		Ship *Blessing*	Thomas Brownble	151
	27,		Ship *Friendship*	Nicholas Clinge	200
	do.		Ship *Humphry* Galley	John Owen	196
July	25,		Ship *William and Jane*	Thomas Holland	211
August	15,		Ship *Canterbury*[2]	William Reed	165
Sept.	8,		Sloop *William and Thomas*	Thomas Peniston	82
	14,		Ship *Defiance*	William Rhett	60
	16,		Sloop *Companion*	William Bond	25
	23,		Ship *William*	Robert Patridge	100
April	9,	1703	Brigantine *William*	William Martin	139
Novem'r	22,		Ship *Thomas and Phebee*	John Prince	180
August	4,	1704	Ship *Ann Adventure*	Charles Furlong	300
	31,		Ship *Shrewsbury* Galley	John Ingle	250
Jan'ry	20,		Ship *London* Galley	John Groutt	269
					4,945[3]

[25] [1] C. O. 152: 7, 64i(1)-(2). See the letter of Governor Parke under date July 7, 1708. The enclosures, (i) negroes imported from Africa to Antigua, June 24, 1698-Dec. 25, 1707, (ii) negroes imported into Antigua by the Royal African Company, and (iii) Chester's account of sales by the African Company, Feb. 2, 1702-Aug. 26, 1707, were in a letter of Aug. 23, 1708. *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1708-1709, pp. 27-28, 72-73.

[2] Davenant, in part III. of his "Reflections", calls attention to the fact that the *William and Jane* and the *Canterbury* were company vessels, inadvertently included in the list of those belonging to separate traders. He adds that with this deduction the separate traders imported into Antigua 1691 negroes during the seven years last past, a statement which cannot be made to agree with the figures here printed. *Works,* V. 301.

[3] Endorsed, "referred to in Col. Parke L're of the 23 Augt. 1708. Recd. [and] Read 25 Novemb. 1708".

26. Negroes imported into Antigua by the Royal African Company.[1]

Antigua. An Account of what Negro Slaves have been Imported into this Island by the Royall African Company of England from Africa and by what Vessells from the 24th of June 1698 to the 25th of December 1707 as follows.

When Imported	Vessell's Name	Master's Name	Number of Slaves
Jan'ry 24th, 1701	Ship *Bridgwater* Frigat	John Bridges	221
Decem'r 14, 1702	Ship *Lusitania*	Paul Sorrell	
Novem'r 15, 1704	Ship *Lusitania*	John Hayes	224
Decem'r 10, 1705	Ship *Royall Africa*	Thomas Mackley	538
May 17, 1706	Briga. *Constant Rachell*	George Lorriston	176
October 12,	Ship *Regard*	Richard Abbott	361
August 23, 1707	Sloop *Flying Fame*	Henry Hooper	114
	Ship *Gaulkin Bird*	John Luke	171
			1,805[2]

27. Antigua Accounts, February 2, 1702 - August 26, 1707.[1]

Antigua 2 February 1701/2.

Sundry Acco'ts Dr. £ [5748] To the Royall Affrican Company of England for Two hundred Twenty One Slaves per the "Bridge watter" Friggatt John Bridges Comd'r from New Callabarr.

	Men	Wo.	Boyes	Girls	£	s.
Walter Quarine	2				80	
Robt. Lucas	2	2			160	
Jeff'ry Duncomb	4	1			195	
Sam'el Parry	1	4			190	
John Decoster	2				80	
Sam'el Parry		1			38	
Dan'el Mackenny	10				330	
Tho. Morris	6	4			380	
Lawr. Crabb	6	4			360	
Sam'el Watkins	2	1			115	
Sam'el Phillips	2	1			114	
John Weir			5		135	
John Yeomans, Esqr.		1	1	1	70	
Wm. Pike	1				36	
Wm. Byam				1	20	
Jacob Morgan	1		2		79	10
Walter Shelly	2	2			135	
Cash	1				35	
Tho. Williams	2				65	

[26] [1] C. O. 152: 7, 64ii.

[2] Endorsed, "referred to in Col. Parke L're of the 23 Aug. 1708. Recd. [and] Read 25 Novemb. 1708".

[27] [1] C. O. 152: 7, 64iii(1)-(4).

[*Sundry Accounts*—continued:]

	Men	Wo.	Boyes	Girls	£	*s.*
Tho. Long	2		2		110	
Cash				1	25	
Dan'el Jones			1		18	
John Marchant		1			25	
Jean Raey				1	10	
Gilbert Hamilton	1				30	
Xtopher Stoodly	1				36	
John Barbotaine	1				27	
John Pryn	3	1	1	2	220	
Wm. Franckline	2	1	1		104	
Jos. Berchand			1		22	
Tho. Griggs	2				63	
Alexr. Calman		1	1		27	
James Howe	1	1			66	
Timothy Linggin	2	1		1	128	
Wm. Kenady	1			1	55	
John Diptford	3	2			175	
Elias Jemain		1			22	
Henry Sims			1	1	43	
Wm. Hamilton	1		1		58	
Mark Kirvan	5				115	
Benja. Barness		1	1		40	
Wm. Kenady			1		20	
Ulyses Alky	1	1			65	
Robt. Amory			1	1	32	
Dan'el Mackenny	1				30	
Tho. Elms	1	2			95	
Darby Neagent	1	1			60	
Peter Schuman		1			25	
Sam'el Wickham	2				65	
Jos. Blackman		1			32	
John Coddner	1	4			135	
David Decoster	1	1			60	
John Perrie	1				25	
Henry Norton	1	1			60	
Robt. Shears		1			24	
Tho. Gatewood	2				50	
Tho. Granthem		1			18	
John Darlow		2			53	
John Poulton	2	1			84	
John Buttler	1	1			45	
David Ervin	1	1			45	
Wildstone Harvin	1				28	
Tho. Stevens		1			10	
John Leger	1	1			53	
Sam'l Boon	3				75	
Florence Tayler		1			30	
John Mackcarty		1			10	
John Perrie				1	10	
Tho. Cole		2			50	
John Stayline		1			27	
Tho. Gilleatt	1				20	
James Fellon	1				25	
Symon Smith	3	9			108	12
Sam'el Tompson		1			25	
Rich'd Dashwood		10			150	
Cash				1	12	
Mark Robinson	1	3			55	
Mortality	5	8				
	101	88	20	12	£5,748	2

July 24th 1702.[2]

Sundry Acco'ts Dr. [£5821] To the Royal African Company of England for One hundred fifty five Slaves per the Ship "Will'm and Jane" Tho. Holland Comd'r from Wedaugh[3]

	Men	Wo.	Boyes	Girls	£	s.
Barry Tankard	7	4			472	10
Henry Pearn	3				150	
Wm. Codrington			4		122	
John Hamilton	6	4	3		570	
Wm. Glanvill			1		21	
Dan'el Mackenny	4	2	1		222	15
Sam'l Wattkins	3				120	
Jeffry Duncomb	4	1			202	10
Robt. Freeman	2	1			135	
Tho. Hawes	1				30	
Wm. Thomas	6	4	5		630	
John Gamble	5	2			315	
John Hamilton				1	30	
Tho. Nanton	2	1			135	
John Duer	2	1			135	
Jacob Morgan	2	1			135	
Ambrose York	1				45	
Dan'el Mackenny, disabled	2	1			45	
Charles Kallaham	3	1			160	
John Painter	5	2			270	
John Richardson		1			35	
Tho. Gilleal	2				80	
John Gamble	8	4			480	
John Burton	2	2			150	
David Ervin	1				35	
John Buttler	1				40	
Henry Waldon	3				105	
Giles Blizard	3	1			150	
John Barter	2				80	
Jos. Readhead	1	1			75	
Dan'el Thomas		1			34	
Cornelius Hollaran	1	1			75	
John Wilson	1				40	
John Perrie	6				132	
Tho. Long	6	8			340	
Xtopher Knight		1			25	
	95	45	14	1	£5,821	15

[2] C. O. 152: 7, 64iii(4)-(6).
[3] Whydah.

[July 24, 1702.][4]

Sundry Acco'ts Dr. [£2463] *To the Royall African Company of England for Ninety four negroes per the Ship "Canterbury" Will'm Read Comd'r from old Callabarr.*

	Men	Wo.	Boyes	Girls	£	s.
Edward Tayler			1		30	
Henry Guesnett	5	3			280	
Jeffry Duncomb	2	2			144	
John Griffeth			1	1	60	
Robt. Shears	2	2		1	140	
Mary Hillard	3	3			180	
Tho. Holmes			1		25	
Cash		1			21	
Wm. Hamilton	1	1			70	
Wm. Mole	2	1			90	
Wm. Byam	2	1	1	2	170	
Tho. Young	3	2			145	
Abigail Baillem		1		1	50	
Tho. Williams	2				60	
John Burton				1	18	
Cash		1			25	
John Burton		2			67	
Mathew Thomas		1			28	
Sam'el Wickham	1	1			58	
James Read	1	1			58	
Mich'l Bennett	1	1			55	
Tho. Gateward			1		20	
Wm. Child				1	16	
John Neabs	2	2			110	
Wm. Sikes			1		16	
Cash			1		12	
Tho. Stevens			1		25	
Xtopher Knight			2		48	
Henry Blizard			1		25	
Malachy Glover				1	15	
Will'm Glanvill			7	1	100	
Anthony Brown		5			100	
Barned Karsom		1			24	
Darby Neagent		4			85	
Rich. Knightly	1				23	
John Gaggers	1	1		1	70	
	29	37	18	10	2,463	

[4] C. O. 152: 7, 64iii(6)-(7).

December the 9th 1702.[5]

Sundry Acco'ts Dr. [£3050] To Royal African Company of England for Ninety Two Slaves per the "Lucitania" Paul Sorrell Comd'r from Angola.

	Men	Wo.	Boys	Girls	£	*s.*
John Meaux	1	1			100	
Rich'd Dashwood	5	3	3		430	
Geo. Gamble	3	1			180	
Row'd Williams	1				40	
Tho. Gilleat Jun'r	1				50	
Will'm Shedwick	2	2			160	
John Butler			1	1	60	
John Luzere				1	25	
Henry Dunston	1				45	
Est. of Roger Williams	4	2			270	
Dan'l Jones			2		40	
Isaac Wharf			1		28	
John Attobyer				1	24	
Kean Osburn	1	2			115	
Dominack Bodkins	2				95	
Robt. Martin	1	1	1		90	
Benja. Wickham	1	1			70	
Will'm Pike	1	2			130	
Tho. Trent			1	1	50	
James Read			1		25	
Henry Winthrop	1	1			70	
Edward Tayler	1				45	
Simon Smith				1	20	
Henry Guesnett	2	2			120	
John Skiddy			1		23	
Cash			1		30	
John Neabs		1			35	
Ann Sampson		1			33	
Sam'el Leferty	2	3			125	
R'd Buckridge and Thos. Wise	2	15		1	342	
Tho. Gilleatt Jun'r	2	2			180	
	34	40	12	6	£3,050	

[5] C. O. 152: 7, 64iii(8)-(9).

October the 27th 1703.[6]

Sundry Acco'ts Dr. £8386 To the Royall African Company of England for Two hundred and Eighteen Slaves per the "Bridgewater" Jos. Powes Comd'r from Accra.

	Men	Wo.	Boys	Girls	£	s.
Ambrose York	1				60	
Dan'l Mackenny	6	6		1	540	
James Porter	2	2			200	
Will'm Codrington	5	5			480	
Tho. Trent			2	1	85	
Kean Osburn	3	2	1	1	318	
Est. of Tho. Cook	5	5			450	
Wm. Glanvill	6	6	8		592	
Tho. Holmes				1	32	
Charles Kallaham	5	3	1		408	
John Haddon	5	5			480	
Walter Hamilton	1	2			135	
Row'd Williams	1		3		135	
Est. of Maj'r Tankard	2	2			180	
Jeffry Duncomb and John Perrie	2	2			192	
Robt. Hanson	2	2			190	
Antho. Montyro	2	2			190	
Darby Neagent	2	2			160	
Antho. Brown			1	1	75	
Francis Rogers				1	20	
John Neabs	3	4			315	
Perie Lynch	1				45	
Henry Norton	1	1			90	
Barned Karsom	1			1	70	
Jer'm Blizard	2	2	1		212	
Cornelius Hollaran		3			120	
James Redd		1			40	
Jer'm Blizard and Jer'm Nibbs		1			40	
John Dewster		2			80	
Xtop'r Knight	1	3			135	
Jonas Langford	3	7	1		415	
Bald'no Johnson			1	1	54	
Sam'el Wattkins	1	1			60	
John Otto			5		150	
David Dewster		1			27	
Wm. Haige		1			32	
Rich'd Sharp		1			30	
Mary Gilbert	1	1	2		158	
Jos. Blackman			2		55	
Wm. Cochran	1		1		63	
Leon'd Burrough		1			35	
Ann Sampson	1			1	70	
Eliza. Wattkins	2				65	
Nic'o Lynch	1	1		1	110	
Dennis Mackellmore	1	1		1	100	
John Tomlinson	3	2			200	
Timothy Singgin	1	1			90	
Wm. Garrett	1				33	
Dennis Kieve		1			36	
John Duer			5		150	
Ann Butler				1	24	
John Karr		2			65	
Xtopher Stoodly	5	5	1		220	
Grizell Morris	2				75	
	82	89	35	12	£8,386	

[6] C. O. 152: 7, 64iii (9)-(11).

October the 12th 1704.[7]

Sundry Acco'ts Dr. £9476 To the Royall African Company of England for Two hundred Twenty four Slaves per the "Lucitania" John Hayes Comd'r from Cape Coast Castle and Widaugh.

	Men	Wo.	Boys	Girls	£	*s.*
S'r Will'm Mathews	7	3			500	
Cash	10	3	2		730	
Dan'el Mackenny	28	12			2,000	
Sam'l Wattkins	7	3		1	482	
Tho. Trent			6	1	246	
Rich'd Dashwood	7	4			400	
Rob't Duning	3	1			197	
John Brett	2				120	
Isaac Wharf	1				60	
Xtopher Knight	5	2			300	
Kean Osburn	7	3			500	
Marmaduke Urlin	3	3			300	
James Brown	2	2			200	
Antho. Montyro	6	1			250	
John Meaux	6			1	226	
John Perrie			3		110	
Edw'd Perrie		1			40	
Row'd Williams	3	1			160	
Wm. Glanvill	7				234	
Wm. Garrett	2	1			120	
Bald'w Johnson		2			63	
Darby Neagent	1	1			70	
Robt. Hanson Jun'r	2	2			130	
Hen. Guesnett	6	1			238	
Tho. Trent		6			210	
Perrie Lynch	8	6			300	
Cash	2	2			155	
John Gamble	7	3			480	
Jos. French	5	3			400	
Xtop'r Stoodly	5	2			255	
	142	68	11	3	9,476	

[7] C. O. 152: 7, 64iii(12)-(13).

November the 20th 1705.[8]

Sundry Acco'ts Dr. £22216 To the Royall African Company of England for five hundred and Thirty Slaves per the "Royall Affrica" Tho. Mackley Comd'r from Cape Coast Castle.

	Men	Wo.	Boys	Girls	£	s.
Est. of S'r Tho. Cook	6	6			600	
Cash	10	7	4		970	
Antho. Montyro	3	3	1	1	380	
James Read	1		1		90	
John Brett	2		1		155	
Antho. Montyro	2	1			150	
Edw'd Chester Jun'r			1		36	
John Rose			1		35	
Jos. Adams			1		36	
Rich'd Maynell			2		75	
John Tomlinson	13	8	1		1,120	
John Gamble	4	3		1	390	
Tho. Hewlett			1		35	
Tho. Trent	5		7		525	
Geo. Leonard			1		40	
Peirie Lynch	9	5			615	
Geo. Gamble	9	5	2	2	840	
John Stevens	2	2			200	
Edward Tayler	2		1	1	190	
Will'm Byam	2				120	
Will'm Johnson	3	1		1	285	
Sam'el Wattkins	5	3	1		430	
Peter Burtell		1			40	
Robt. Lambert	1				55	
George Thomas	4				190	
Robt. Donaldson	3		5		310	
Tho. Williams		1	1		75	
Edward Byam	5	5			500	
Xtop'r Codrington			10		360	
John Otto	5	5		1	530	
Rich'd Oliver	4	2			300	
Dan'el Mackenny	10	11	1		1,040	
Elias Jamine	5	5			500	
Tho. Osterman			1		40	
Phillip Pawley				1	36	
Will'm Allen			1		45	
John Burton	1		1	1	140	
Est. of Maj'r Tankard	4	2			330	
Baptist Looby		1			37	
Isaac Horsford	2	2			200	
John Yeomans, Esq'r	6	6	2		680	
Robt. Cochran	1	1			100	
Edward Horn	7	8			740	
Xtopher Knight	5			1	300	
John Meaux	1	1	3	3	260	
John Barbotaine			6	2	250	
Wm. Glanvill	9	4	2	1	652	10
Alex'r Colman				1	35	
Tho. Kerby	2	2	1		230	
Rich'd Cochran	2	1	1	1	230	
Val. Morris	4	8	1	1	640	
Dominack Bodkins	4	2			320	

[8] C. O. 152: 7, 64iii(13)-(17).

[*Sundry Accounts*—continued:]

	Men	Wo.	Boys	Girls	£	*s.*
Kean Osburn		1			40	
Barry Tankard		1	2	1	126	
Geo. Napper	2			1	130	
Francis Pouch			2		67	
Wm. Poulton		1			40	
Xtopher Stoodly			1	1	70	
Allen Haggar				1	35	
Antho. Garrett					35	
Isaac Ryall	1		1		80	
Darby Neagent	2	1			140	
James Senegall			1		30	
James Hanson	1				80	
John Headland	1				60	
Peirie Lynch			1		35	
Leonard Burrough			1		30	
Jane Luzere		2			63	
Henry Fletcher		1			35	
James Roan		1			38	
James Nisbett	1		1		80	
Geo. Sharp		1			35	
Tho. Gillyard Sen'r		1			35	
Mary Meldrum		1			35	
Judith Sconse		1			35	
Jacob Theboa	1				40	
John Roach	1				50	
John Merchant	1	1			90	
James Barter		1			40	
Gous Bonen	1				45	
John Parrott	1				46	
Mary Hebb				1	28	
Jonas Langford	4	3	1		375	
Geo. Gamble				1	35	
Elias Jamaine			1	1	72	
Rich'd Oliver			1		35	
Geo. Bellowses			1		40	
Tho. Oesterman				1	35	
Tho. Skirrett	1	1			100	
John Mannen			1		35	
John Brett			1		50	
Nic'o Trent	1	1			85	
Cash		1			40	
John Howes			2	1	37	10
Sam'l Boone	1				40	
Geo. Napper		1			40	
John Karr	2				80	
Ja. Read, Geo. Gamble and Edward Chester Jun'r	11	13			800	
Antho. Montyro	1	1			100	
Peirie Lynch		1			15	
Geo. Leonard	9	30			1,092	
James Read	10	22			808	
Charles Loyd				1	36	
Cash	3				120	
	219	201	79	31[9]	22,216	

[9] The totals for women, boys, and girls seem to be 200, 80, and 29, rather than the figures here given.

I doo confirme the five foregoing Leaves to bee a true Coppy of the Roy'l Affrican Company Journal in relation to what Slaves have been by S'd Compa. imported and sould by

Edw. Chester [10]

Bridgwater	221
William and Jane	155
Canterbury	94
Lucitania	92
Bridgwater	218
Lucitania	224
Royal Africa	530
Constant Rachel	172
Regard	358
Flying Fame	114
	2178

28. John Paston to the Royal African Company.[1]

Agga, 3d March, 1707/8.

The 10 per cent. men's using this place so much has made slaves excessive dear. Captains Normanton and Martin from Bristol, Captains Bonham and Porter, the former from London, the other from Barbadoes, slaved here before the battles were fought,[2] and they gave 14 pieces current for men, and nine pieces for women, and Normanton, it is said, gave 15 pieces for men for his dispatch. When the battle was fought we expected slaves to be cheap, but Captain Saunders, a Bristol-man, Captain Corbin from London, Morgan and Hayes in two brigantines, kept the prices up, that we could not buy a man under 3 oz. 3 ac. or 3 oz. 4 ac. a head, nor women under 2 oz. 3 ac. or 2 oz. 4 ac. a head.[3] Your honours ships the *Queen-Anne's* and *Dorothy's* slaves most of them cost this price. If your honours observe this place all the year round, one year with another, men-slaves are dearer by 12 ac. upon a head, than they are to windward or leeward, and women in proportion. There is but one vessel in the

[10] C. O. 152: 7, 64iii (25). The accounts of the *Constant Rachel,* the *Regard,* and the *Flying Fame* (C. O. 152: 7, 64iii (18-24) are omitted. The cargo of the *Constant Rachel,* George Lorristone, from Cape Coast Castle, with 51 men, 65 women, 32 boys, and 24 girls, brought £5679 2 *s.*; that of the *Regard,* Richard Abbott, from the Gold Coast, with 119 men, 144 women, 66 boys, and 29 girls, amounted to £13,597 10 *s.*; that of the *Flying Fame,* Henry Hooper, also from the Gold Coast, consisting of 59 men, 44 women, 9 boys, and 2 girls, amounted to £4085 5 *s.* (the record, adding the figures incorrectly, gives £4081).

[28] [1] Davenant, *Works,* V. 196-197; a part of the letter is to be found in Barbot's "Supplement", Churchill, V. 446.

[2] The reference is probably to one of the battles by means of which the Ashanti were gaining control of their neighbors. The struggle had begun in war between the kingdom of Denkera and the Ashanti at the end of the preceding century. The success of the Ashanti brought them into relations with English and Dutch, and transferred to them the ground-rent for Elmina, which the Dutch formerly paid to the king of Denkera. Claridge, *Gold Coast,* I. 198.

[3] That is, about £12 15 *s.* to £13 for men, £8 15 *s.* to £9 for women. An ounce of gold was reckoned at £4 sterling.

road now (nor none other that we can hear of upon the coast) and that is a brigantine upon your honours account, from Mr. Chester of Antegoa; I believe she will be slaved in this road at 11 pieces the men, and seven the women, in less time than her charter-party specifies.

29. Petition to the House of Commons.[1]

March 23, 1707/8.

A Petition of divers Ship-wrights, Rope-makers, Sail-makers, and other Artificers, and Tradesmen, dealing in naval Manufactures, in and about London, in behalf of themselves, and many others, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that far greater Numbers of Ships have been built, repaired, and fitted out, for Africa, on Account of several Traders thither, since the Act, of the 9th and 10th of K. W. for laying open that Trade, than were ever employed by the African Company; and that the Petitioners have (with many other Artificers) received great Benefit thereby: And praying, the said Trade may continue free and open, under such Regulations, as to this honourable House shall seem meet. . . .

30. The Board of Trade to the Governors of the English Colonies.[1]

April 17, 1708.

Sir: Some time since, the Queen was pleased to refer to us a petition relating to the trade of Africa, upon which we have heard what the Royal African Company, and the separate traders had to offer;[2]

[29] [1] *Commons Journals* (hereafter cited as *C. J.*), XV. 625-626. The hearings on the state of the African trade begun by the Board of Trade in November (see *ante,* no. 20) continued throughout January, Peter Paggen, Benjamin Way, Isaac Milner, and Richard Harris being especially active in testifying for the separate traders (*B. T. Jour.,* 1704-1709, pp. 444-453). On Feb. 3, 1708, the commissioners presented to the Privy Council a report which was on Mar. 10 transmitted to the House of Commons and there considered, along with numerous petitions for and against the restoration of an exclusive trade. The report, not here printed since it was soon followed by a far more comprehensive one, clearly inclined toward open trade. (A brief abstract of it is to be found in the Canadian Archives, U 828; see also *B. T. Jour.,* 1704-1709, p. 458; *C. J.,* XV. 599; Add. MSS. 14034, ff. 92-114.) The petition here printed is one of many presented to the House of Commons while the representation of the board was under consideration. Among them were petitions from the African Company, the separate traders, the Merchant Venturers of Bristol, the mayor, aldermen, and merchants, weavers, fillers, and others of Exeter. *C. J.,* XV. 599, 602, 612, 625-626, 631, 639; L. F. Stock, *Proceedings and Debates in Parliament respecting North America,* III. 189-196.

[30] [1] *Rhode Island Colonial Records,* IV. 53-54. This letter was one means taken by the Commissioners of Trade to gather together material for the elaborate report on the slave trade which they made in 1709. (For their order see C. O. 391: 20, p. 108.) The replies which came in from the colonial governors are given with great fulness in the *Calendar of State Papers,* 1708-1709, and the material of the replies is incorporated in the report of the board. But two of the replies are here printed, chosen because they represent colonies somewhat neglected in the collection, up to this time. *B. T. Jour.,* 1704-1709, p. 479.

[2] For those sections of the hearings before the board not here printed see *ibid.,* pp. 428-454, *passim.*

and having otherwise informed ourselves, in the best manner we could, of the present state of that trade, we laid the same before Her Majesty. The consideration of that trade came afterwards into the house of commons,[3] and a copy of our report was laid before the house; but the session being then too far spent to enter upon a matter of so great weight, and other business intervening, no progress was made therein. However, it being absolutely necessary that a trade so beneficial to the kingdom should be carried on to the greatest advantage, there is no doubt but the consideration thereof will come early before the Parliament at their next meeting; and as the well supplying of the plantations and colonies with sufficient number of negroes at reasonable prices, is in our opinion the chief point to be considered in regard to that trade, and as hitherto we have not been able to know how they have been supplied by the company, or by separate traders, otherwise than according to the respective accounts given by them, which for the most part are founded upon calculations made from their exports on one side and the other, and do differ so very much, that no certain judgment can be made upon those accounts.

Wherefore, that we may be able at the next meeting of the Parliament to lay before both houses when required, an exact and authentic state of that trade, particularly in regard to the several plantations and colonies; we do hereby desire and strictly require you, that upon the receipt hereof, you do inform yourself from the proper officers or otherwise, in the best manner you can, what number of negroes have been yearly imported directly from Africa into Jamaica, since the 24th of June, 1698, to the 25th of December, 1707, and at what rate per head they have been sold each year, one with another, distinguishing the numbers that have been imported on account of the Royal African Company, and those which have been imported by separate traders; as likewise the rates at which such negroes have been sold by the company and by separate traders. We must recommend it to your care to be as exact and diligent therein as possibly you can, and with the first opportunity to transmit to us such accounts as aforesaid, that they may arrive here in due time, as also duplicates by the first conveyance.

And that we may be the better able to make a true judgment of the present settlement of that trade, we must further recommend it to you to confer with some of the principal planters and inhabitants within your government touching that matter, and to let us know how the negro trade was carried on, and the island of Jamaica supplied with negroes till the year 1698, when that trade was laid open by act

[3] The report of the Board of Trade and the petitions relating to it were referred to the committee of the whole, which considered the African trade intermittently throughout the remainder of the session. *C. J.*, XV. 599, 602, 612, 616, 624, 632, 639.

of Parliament; how it has been carried on, and negroes supplied since that time, or in what manner they think the said trade may best be managed for the benefit of the plantations.

We further desire you will inform us what number of ships, if any, are employed from Jamaica to the coast of Africa in the negro trade, and how many separate traders are concerned therein.

Lastly, whatever accounts you shall from time to time send us touching these matters of the negro trade, we desire that the same may be distinct, and not intermixed with other matters; and that for the time to come, you do transmit to us the like half yearly accounts of negroes, by whom imported and at what rates sold; the first of such subsequent accounts, to begin from Christmas, 1707, to which time those now demanded are to be given. So we bid you hearty farewell.[4]

P. S. We expect the best account you can give us, with that expedition, which the shortness of the time requires.[5]

31. Governor Daniel Parke to the Board of Trade.[1]

St. Christophers, July the 7, 1708.

I had the Honour to receive yours dated the 15th of Aprill, relateing to the Affrican Company. I have just now sent to their Agent at Antigua to Draw out an Accompt as your Lordships desire; as to this Island, There never was any agent; their agent that was at Nevis before it was Plundered is dead and I am afraid his book's lost when that Island was plundered[2] and Since I came there has been no negroes brought there by the Company; and onely one small vessell by private Trade, at Mountserrat there has been none; at Antigua the Company has had one Ship and Two small sloops, this is of my owne knowledge; but as soon as I can perswade the Agent to do it I shall send your Lordships the Accompt as I am ordered.

[4] This is signed, "Stamford, Herbert, Ph. Meadows, J. Pulteney, and R. Monckton".

[5] "Memorandum. This letter, *mutatis mutandis,* was writ to the Governors of Barbadoes, the Leeward Islands, Bermuda, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, the President of the Council of Virginia, the Governor of New Hampshire and the Massachusetts Bay, the Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, the Lords proprietors of Carolina, the Governors and Companies of Connecticut and Rhode Island" (*R. I. Col. Recs.,* IV. 54). To the letter which went to the first eight of these the following paragraph was added: "We the more expect a speedy complyance herewith, since hitherto due care has not been taken to send an account of what number of negroes (that government) is yearly supplyed with, at what rates and by whom, as by your Instruction for that purpose you were directed and required to do" (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1706-1708, p. 719). This letter as copied into the final report of the board differed slightly from this form.

[31] [1] C. O. 152: 7, no. 58. Daniel Parke, appointed governor of the Leeward Islands in 1706, was murdered in an insurrection in Antigua in 1710. One of the causes of friction between the governor and the inhabitants of the islands was his administration of, or interference with, the Guinea trade. See *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1708-1709, pp. 104, 106, 287-290.

[2] The French, under Iberville, had raided Nevis in February, 1706.

'tis true I have an Instruction relateing to the Affrican Company to assist them In the recovery of their debts and to send your Lordships an accot of what negroes Imported;[3] accordingly some little time after I came I sent to Mr. Chester their Agent to send me the Accompt he sent me a proud Answer that he had no orders from the Royall Company to obey my orders, but some time after he sent me a lame Imperfect Accompt of one Vessell onely, which I did not think fitt to trouble your Lordships with. I told him what orders I had, he said he had nothing to Do with the Committee for Trade. I told him he was very Impertinent, and in Returne he told me he would not change his Post for mine, for that he got twice as much mony, and had less to do, and was not obliged to the fateigue of goeing from Island to Island this was at my first Arrivall which made me think I had a strange sort of people to deal with, but resolveing to make myself easy took no further notice of it but took all occassions to let him know I would give him all manner of Encouragement. Sometime after I went to St. Kitts and from thence writt to him to send me downe twenty negro-women out of the first ship that came and left the price to him accordingly he sent me twenty, one of which died before they were ship'd, and in two months Eight more had died and yet he charged me Eight hundred pounds, which was three hundred pounds more than I could have had the best negroes from Barbados and made it his braggs to the rest of his Chapmen how he made me Pay more then them, I sent for severall other things from him as I wanted them he being our greatest Merchant and he Charged me in proportion for every thing as he had for the negroes and I did not know how I was to be used untill I came to settle accompts with him, which was not long since and then as a very great favour he gave me Credit for one hundred and fifty pounds as an Abatement, whereas in his whole Accompt he had charged me four or five hundred pounds more than any one Else would have done I would have writt home to the Company, but I thought it might be ill Construed and that they would be apt to think I had a mind to Quarrell with their Agent except he lett me have negroes at my owne price; nor had I writt this story to your Lordships now but to lett you know it has not been my fault you have not this Accompt sooner. . . .[4]

[3] These instructions were contained in the usual instructions to all the West India governors.

[4] Endorsed, "Recd. Sept. 17, Read Oct. 28, 1708". In a letter of Aug. 23, 1708, Parke wrote that one vessel had brought 180 slaves to Nevis (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, pp. 72-73). The Board of Trade, not satisfied, wrote to Governor Parke on Dec. 14 that he had not yet told them the number of negroes needed annually by the Leeward Islands. A similar letter was written to Governors Crowe and Handasyd on Dec. 15. *Ibid.*, pp. 179, 181.

32. Lieutenant Governor Benjamin Bennett to the Board of Trade.[1]

Bermuda, August 4, 1708.

The duplicate of yo'r Lordps. of 15th of April last (the Original not yet come to hand) concerning the trade to Africa, I recd. on the 2d Inst., and the 3d being Council day, I had that speedy opportunity of qualifying myself to answer what is required therein: Which is as followeth;

Impris. That noe negroes either on the Royal African Companys acct. or seperate traders, have been imported into these Islands directly from Africa since the 24th of June, 1698 to the 25th of Decemb'r, 1707.

2dly That about 36 years agoe (as I am Inform'd) a small ship (her name nor Capt's. remembred), went from hence to Callebar on the Coast of Guiny, and brought back One hundred twenty five negroes, near half of whom were disposed off here (but att what prices I cannot learn) the rest were reshipt for Carolina and Virginia. Also abt 25 years since, Another ship went from hence to Callebar, Comanded by one Capt. Stone (her name not remembred) and brought back abt Ninety slaves: But most of them was carry'd to North Carolina, Virga, and placed on the Continent, and there disposed off, but att what rates can't be informed. And the way this plantation has been supplyed with negroes hath been from Barbados.

3dly Not one vessell is Employed to goe from this place to the Coast of Africa, either on the Company's acct or seperate trade.

Lastly I shall carefully observe yo'r Lord'ps' Commands in transmitting half-yearly accts of Negroes, by whom imported, and att what rates sold, if any vessells arrive here from the Coast of Guiny: And as for not haveing given an account according to my Instructions of the Numb'r of Negroes these Islands are yearly supplyed with, I answer; that since my arrivall, I have not heard of any Negroes being imported to be sold; this Country for several years haveing been (by their great increase) over stockt, which has occasioned many of them to be sent to the Southerne plantations and Northern parts of America, and there disposed of. . . .[2]

33. African Ships from Liverpool, 1709-1807.[1]

The Number of Ships which Cleared Out from the Port of Liver-

[32] [1] C. O. 37: 8.

[2] Endorsed, "Recd. 14th, Read 17th Dec., 1708".

[33] [1] Richard Brooke, *Liverpool as it was during the last Quarter of the Eighteenth Century, 1775-1800* (Liverpool, 1853), p. 234. This table has been frequently printed, sometimes with slight variations, as: 1762, 65; 1765, 86; 1769, 90; 1777, 30 (Henry Smithers, *Liverpool, its Commerce, Statistics, and Institutions,* 1825, p. 106). Sir James Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool,* I. 224, cites these figures as those of slaves, not tonnage. For some discussion of the development of the trade of Liverpool see *post,* no. 289, note 1.

pool to the Coast of Africa, to the Time of the Trade being Abolished in May, 1807.

Year	Ships	Tons	Year	Ships	Tons	Year	Ships	Tons
1709	1	30	1767	83	8,345	1788	73	13,394
1730	15	1,111	1768	81	8,302	1789	66	11,564
1737	33	2,756	1769	90	9,852	1790	91	17,917
1744	34	2,698	1770	96	9,818	1791	102	19,610
1751	53	5,334	1771	105	10,929	1792	132	22,402
1752	58	5,437	1772	100[2]	10,159	1793	52	10,544
1753	72	7,547	1773	105	11,056	1794		
1754	71	5,463	1774	92	9,859	1795	59	
1755	41	4,052	1775	81	9,200	1796	94	
1756	60	5,147	1776	57	7,078	1797	90	20,415
1757	47	5,050	1777	30	4,060	1798	149	34,937
1758	51	5,229	1778	26	3,651	1799	134	34,966
1759	58	5,892	1779	11	1,205	1800	120	33,744
1760	74	8,178	1780	32	4,275	1801	122	28,429
1761	69	7,309	1781	43	5,720	1802	122	30,796
1762	61	6,752	1782	47	6,209	1803	83	15,534
1763	65	6,650	1783	85	12,294	1804	126	27,322
1764	74	7,978	1784	67	9,568	1805	117	26,536
1765	83	9,382	1785	79	10,982	1806	111	25,949
1766	65	6,650	1786	92	13,971	1807	74	17,806
			1787	81	14,012			

34. Report on the Trade to Africa.[1]

A State of the Trade to Africa presented to the House of Commons by the Council of Trade.

[2] *A General and Descriptive History of Liverpool* (1798), p. 234, gives 89 vessels for 1772, 136 for 1792.

[34] [1] C. O. 390: 12, pp. 172-282. *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1708-1709, pp. 209-213, refers to a copy of the report found in 389: 20, pp. 275-313. See also Add. MSS. 10453, ff. 167-180. On Jan. 20, 1709, with the beginning of a new session of Parliament, the African Company again petitioned for such privileges as were needed to "preserve, support, and improve the Trade". The planters of Barbados alleged that for five years not above 2000 negroes had been imported and those at prices ranging from £25 to £40 each. They asked that the trade be preserved and they be supplied with sufficient numbers at reasonable rates; the merchants of London charged misrepresentation on the part of the African Company; the merchants and traders in woollens averred that the export of woollens was much larger under open trade. The committee of the whole took up the consideration of the trade, calling for a report from the Board of Trade (*C. J.,* XVI. 64, 71).

The board had been giving attention to the controversy throughout the preceding year. In addition to the information gleaned from the colonial governors, it had received from the separate traders: "an account of negroes that have been and are to be imported from Africa to Jamaica by the Company and the separate traders for the year 1708; an extract of a letter from Mr. Freeman to Mr. Harris, relating to the designs carried on by the African Company to ruin the separate traders, dated at Rio Gambia, the 20th January, 1707; the fictitious accounts of the charges of the fort at Gambia for the year 1705, amounting to £6941 11 *s.* 8 *d.*; abstract of the charges of the fort at St. James's Island in the river Gambia, for the month of January 1705", and various other papers relating to the sad condition of the forts. From all these it would appear that the separate traders were taking an aggressive position at the end of 1708 (*B. T. Jour.,* 1704-1709, pp. 560-561). During January the board continued to collect information and was ready on Jan. 27 to reply to the order of the Commons of the 20th. *Ibid.,* pp. 574, 580, 582; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1708-1709, p. 203.

Jan'ry 27th, 1708/9.

To the Hon'ble the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament Assembled:

In pursuance of an Order of this Honourable House of the Twentyeth of January 1708/9 requiring Us to lay before this House a State of the Trade to Africa with Our Observations thereupon.

That in 1672 the Liberty of Trading to Africa was by King Charles the Second granted to the present Company exclusive of all others, their Limits in their Charter being from Sally in South Barbary to the Cape of Good Hope, and do contain a Sea Coast of 6000 miles, though 'tis said by the Company that all the Trades as well of the Company and private Traders as of all other Europeans is within the Limits of Cape Blancoe in 20 Degrees of North Latitude and the Southward Part of Angola to 15 Degrees of South Latitude.

Severall Complaints against the Company, and a generall Dissatisfaction that so profitable a Trade should be confined to an exclusive joynt Stock, soon brought on an interloping Trade; during that Time several private Ships with their Cargoes were seized with their Cargoes on the Coast of Africa and in the Plantation for Trading contrary to the Company's Charter whereby such private Trade was in a manner crushed,[2] But upon the late Revolution it reviv'd again, and was carryed on for some years to a much greater Degree than formerly.

In 1697 an Act was passed for settling that Trade whereby Liberty is given for the Terme of thirteen years and to the End of the then next Session of Parliament, from the twenty fourth of June 1698 to any of her Majesty's Subjects to Trade within the Limits of the Company paying the Dutys in the said Act mentioned. *Vizt.* 10 per Ct. ad Valorem on all Exports and Imports for the Trade between Cape Blancoe and Cape Mount and 10 per Cent. upon Exports onely between Cape Mount and the Cape of Good Hope, with an Exemption of Dutys on Negroes, and paying 5 per Cent. onely in Red Wood all which Dutys are payable to the Company, and together with the one third Part of all Forfeitures, are by them to be wholly applyed to the maintaining their Forts and Castles with Men, Artillery, Ammunition, Provision and other necessary and incident Charges and to no other Use whatsoever.

Since the passing that Act we have received no Complaints from the Plantations either as to the Scarcity or exclusive Prices of Negroes otherwise than as occasioned by the Present War till those which have been lately sent from some of the Plantations.[3]

[2] The reports from the company's West India factors, printed in the first volume of this work, hardly convey the impression that the trade of the interlopers was so easily crushed as this implies.

[3] See the letters of Governor Parke (*ante,* no. 31, and *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1708-1709, pp. 27-28, 72-73), and Governor Crowe of Barbados (*ibid.,* pp. 18, 65-67). A petition

The number of Negroes yearly transported by the seperate Traders and Company since the Passing the said Act will appear in the following Part of this Report.

The Prices of Negroes sold by the Company and seperate Traders have been much the same, and have advanced or lessened according to the Demand and to the rise and fall of the Commoditys produced in the Severall Plantations.

The Company do's say that being willing to trye if they cou'd Carry on the Trade under this new Regulation, they raised an Additional Stock but after Experience of so many years have found it attended with insupportable Inconveniences under which they can no longer subsist. For They say, the 10 per Ct. does not near answer the Charge of the Forts and Castles.[4]

In Proof whereof they delivered in the following Accompt of the 10 *ll.* per Cent received from the seperate Traders from 1698 to 1707 Inclusive amounting to £53,731 9 *s.* 6 *d.* which with £33,734 computed from the Companys Exports and Imports to be the same arising out of their 10 per Cent for the same time amounts in the whole to £87,465 9 *s.* 6 *d.*, whereas the Charges of the Forts and Castles for those years according to the following Accounts given in by the Company amount to £273,172 : 16 *s.* 7 *d.* so that the Charges exceed the summe received £185,707. 7 *s.* 1 *d.* And the Company being asked by us in what condition their Forts and Castles were, they Answered that they were well Provided with Men Arms Ammunition and other Necessarys and that the seperate Traders have always had the Protection of the said Forts when desired.

Acc't of the 10 per Cent receiv'd from seperate Traders from June 1698 to Sep'br 1707.

Years	No. 1
1698	572. 11. 8
1699	5,981. 7. 11
1700	11,584. 10. 7
1701	11,353. 10. 9
1702	5,363. 8. 3
1703	4,413. 6. 2
1704	3,997. 3.
1705	3,568. 19.
1706	3,127. 7. 10
1707	3,789. 4. 4

Acc't of the Charges of the Forts and Factorys of the Royal African Comp'ny from June 1698 to Sep'br 1707.

No. 2
5,392. 10. 10
28,253. 4. 3
28,561. 15. 3
29,360. 1.
26,268. 18. 4
28,562. 8. 2
31,154. 8. 4
31,865. 6. 7
33,135. 13. 1
30,618. 10. 9

from Barbados, Jan. 20, 1709, stated that for five years that island had been insufficiently supplied with negroes. *C. J.*, XVI. 64.

[4] Much of the company's testimony here reported was obtained by the Board of Trade on Jan. 23, 1708, when Mr. Pindar, deputy governor of the company, appeared before the board. *B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, pp. 452-453.

Mr. Beaumont Accomptant for the Company upon producing the said Accompts relating to the Charges of the Forts and Castles said they were transmitted to the Company by their Govn'r Genr'll in Africa and have been laid before the Cursitor Baron who kept them open for some time, but finding no Objection made thereto by any of the seperate Traders the Cursitor Baron at last past the same.

In Answer whereunto the Seperate Traders agree that between September 1698 and September 1707 there has been pay'd an Account of the 10 per Cent by them £53,731 . 9 . 6, which Sums Exclusive of the Company's Dutys well invested in Trade and prudently managed might have reasonably produced on the Coast of Africa, a Summe (if duely applyed) sufficient to have answered all the Charges of the Forts and Castles onely as the seperate Traders do alledge, such Charges being pay'd in Gold, the Produce of Goods bought with the Money arising hereby 10 per Ct. and sold there for Gold at Cent per Cent. profit.

And further as the seperate Traders have informed Us that some of them went last year to the African House and desired Mr. Beaumont the Company's Accountant to let them inspect their Journall of Receipts and Payments on the 10 per Ct. which he shew'd them, and that they might be able to lay before us a distinct Account thereof, they Carryed Pen and Paper to Minute their Observations on the particular Charges for maintaining the Forts and Castles but the Accomptant refused (as he said according to Orders given him) to let them take in writing any Remarks out of the Books while they lay open or so much as to write any memorandum after they were closed and taken from them, which we take to be contrary to the true Intent and meaning of the aforesaid Act. The Company denyes there was ever any such Directions given therein.

However the Seperate Traders have observed upon the said Inspection that in the Company's Acct. of Charges of Cape Coast Castle and the Gold Coast between the years 1703 and 1705 they found but 40 soldiers one year and 46 soldiers another year in Cape Coast Castle besides Armourer Carpenter Surgeon and other Tradesmen, and but 40 soldiers in nine of their other Settlements or Forts on the Gold Coast, and in two of them but one Man apeice for the years 1705 and 1706: They found but 30 soldiers one year and 36 the other year in Cape Coast Castle besides their new Artificers, and as to their other Forts on the Gold Coast they say mention is onely made of a Serjeant and soldiers in one Place and of a Corporall and soldiers in another, from whence they inferr these Garrisons to be much weaker in those last mentioned than in the foregoing years, and in further Proofe of the ill state of the Forts and Castles they pro-

duced Letters from those Persons who have been employed in the Trade upon the Coast.

In Answer whereto the Company does admit, that sometimes through a mortality it might have so happened, but they say they always supplyed such Wants by free Gromettoes [5] for Wages (who for some time are as usefull as Whites) and that by all opportunitys they sent what Recruits of Artificers and Soldiers they could get from hence.

As to the other Charges the Seperate Traders observe that Sr Dalby Thomas the Company's Govn'r Generall has a Sallary of £1250 per Annum that their Gold taker Ware House Keeper and Accomptant in the said Accounts Stiled Lieuten't Generalls, have Sallarys amounting in the whole as the said Traders remember to £1000 per Annum, and that on the other Forts above £1000 per Annum is charged for Governours, whereas they say they are but the Companys Factors, and ought to have been pay'd by the Company not out of the 10 per Cent.

The great Summs are charged for Entertaining Strangers and Canoe hiring which ought to be borne by the Company as likewise all other such like Charges and the Seperate Traders say they find a Charge of Dashiss [6] to Negroes to a great Value, being bribes given to those Negroes for promoting the Company's Trade, and obstructing that of the Seperate Traders.

That severall of the other Charges are for supporting this War with the Natives, occasioned by the Company.

That the Charges of their working Negroes, employed in carrying the Goods of the Company and other Matters relating to their Trade, and in looking after their Slaves, are placed to the Account of the 10 per Cent Duty, many Presents given to the Kings there for promoting the Interest of the Company, and lastly they do observe that a great part of the rest of their Charges do's properly belong to the Company's Trade or Factors, though intermixed in the generall Accounts, and ought to be borne by the Company so farr as can be proved they relate to their Trade.

To all which the Company do's say that the Genr'll or Cheifs with their Assistants are Govn'rs for the Defence of those Sevr'll Places, that their numbers are necessary not onely in case of mortality but on many different occasions as their being set to severall Kings to preserve Alliances, to prevent Insults and to compose Differences etc. And that their Sallarys cannot be thought unreasonable considering the Distance and Climate of the Country, the Fatigue they are put to

[5] Gromettoes, free black men or domestic slaves. The term is used by the English in each sense. They were employed in the company's factories but were not to be sold.

[6] Gratuities.

and the other Dangers they undergoe; nor could even such Sallarys how [have] engaged Persons fit to be trusted to live there, were it not upon Account of the other Advantages which they receive by the Company's Consignations to the Charges of Alliances; and Presents for preventing the same with the Natives are as necessary as the Charges of Repairs in Maintaining the Forts, in all which, Vessells, Canoes, and Negroes must be employed.

And on this Head of Charges of Forts and Castles the seperate Traders do further observe that if the Value of the Company's Exports from 1698 to 1707 be £293,740 : 6 : 8: as the Company does alledge, and if within that time the Company has lay'd out £273,172 : 16 : 7 on their Forts and Castles as they pretend, the latter Summe being deducted out of the former, there then remains £20,567 : 10 : 1 for Trade, which is not £3000 per Annum on Acc't of all their Trade within that time, but if the said Summe of £293,740 : 6 : 8 the Acc't of their Exports was wholly employed in Trade, then it does not appear that from 1698 to 1707 the Company have lay'd out anything upon the said Forts and Castles.

In answer to this the Company delivered us another Acc't of the Charges of their Forts and Garrisons rectifying an Error in their former Acc't, which is as follows: *vizt*

A Particular Account of the Charge of the Company's Forts and Garrisons on the Coast of Africa.

	£	s.	d.
The whole given in	273,172:	16:	7
Deduct an Error in the charge; twice Charged for premio . . .	8,720:	00:	00
	264,450: [264,452]	16:	7
For the Cost in England of Stores and Provisions sent out, and Freight[7]	29,288:	00:	9
Pay'd Officers, Artificers etc. On Lett'rs of Att'rny payable in England by Agreem't and other Serv'ts Wages	19,564:	7:	6
For providing Sold'rs and Artificers and transporting them[8] . . .	8,848:	16:	10
Premio of Hazard for Goods sent for paym't on the Coast for Sallarys Wages and Dyes [diet?], etc.[9]	20,675:	1:	4
Ballance Accounted for on the Coast[10]	186,076:	10:	2
	£264,452:	16:	7

[7] The author of *Some Remarks on a Pamphlet call'd Reflections on the . . . Trade to Africa* (*post,* no. 35) comments on these figures:

"As to the Cost of Stores in England, Provisions and Freight on them; the latter are sent on the Company's Account, and sold to the Soldiers, Beef at 10 *d.* per Pound, Bread at 6 *d.* Flowr in Proportion; and 'tis notorious when any Ships are hired for Guiney, no freight is ever paid outward thither, but only so much per Head for Negroes delivered. . . . because the Ships bound for Guiney, go generally in Ballast. So there is at least an Overcharge of 20,000 *l.* made on that Article" (p.18).

[8] "As to the Advance to Officers, Artificers, etc. and procuring Soldiers, these are usually their Factors, Agents, etc. termed Generals, and Lieutenant-Generals, and no ways relating to the Ten per Cent. Duty. So almost all that Article ought to be

Taking it for granted that the last Acc't is right, then £186,076 : 10 *s.* : 2 *d.* the Ballance accounted for on the Coast must be deducted out of the £293,740 : 6 *s.* : 8 *d.* the Value of the Company's Exports and there will remain 107,663 : 16 : 6 for the value of the Exports of the Company employed in Trade for 9 years and a halfe which is little more than one third of what the seperate Traders say they employed in that Trade in three years of the said time being £294,-720 : 00 : 11 as appears by the Accounts of their 10 per Cent amounting to £29,472 : 00 *s.* : 11 *d.* between September 1698 and September 1701.

However in this Computation a reasonable Allowance ought to be made of Advance or Proffit on the Article of the Company's owne proper Exports, tho' actually disposed of on the Coast of Africa as likewise a Regard had to such Stock of Goods, Stores, Armes, Ammunition, and other Necessarys which they had there before the said Act of Parliament took Place. The Seperate Traders further alledge that (as they are informed by the Persons that Impl[o]y there) the Forts and Castles of which the Company are now Possessed are in a very ill state of Defence, and very often in great Want of Provisions, in so much that 'tis said that Cape Coast Castle is the onely place of Strength, the rest of their Forts and Castles being weak and ill provided, may easily be surprised or taken for want of Provisions, so that most of these places are looked upon no otherwise useful than for the securing the Company's owne Goods and not any Protection to seperate Ships trading thither, Instances whereof have been given by some Traders to that Coast particularly at Widaugh [Whydah].

To this, the Company say, they have sent proper Supplys of all Necessarys from time to time, and have no complaints from thence for want of Provisions, that those Forts have in many respects been usefull to the seperate Traders, and particularly at Widah. The

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abated, and what Part thereof doth relate to the Ten per Cent. is deducted again out of their Pay on the Coast." *Remarks,* p. 18.

[9] "The Article of Premio or Assurance, is also wrong, altho' the Account of Disbursements are true; because, as is abovesaid, the Coast Account is produced out of half the Value in England, and it appears a very unreasonable thing, not only to be charged Cent per Cent. Advance on Goods purchased with ones own Money, but Assurance thereon too, and that double or treble the *Sum paid* also, in regard Four Parts in Nine of this Premio, must have been in Peace, which is but 2 or 3 per Cent. and the said Premio could not amount to above 4000 *l.* which the Company charge at 20,675 *l.*" *Ibid.,* p. 19.

[10] "That Sum is produced out of half that Value in Goods bought in England with the 10 per Cent. Money, provided every Part of it were true; whereas the Charge of the North Coast is notoriously false, and is a computed Account without any Vouchers to justifie it. So there must be a vast Sum deducted for Generals and other Factors and Charges, no ways relating to the 10 per cent. Account" (*ibid.,* p. 18). The anonymous author of the pamphlet here quoted concludes his comments on these figures thus: "So that it will manifestly appear from what hath been said above, the Company cannot have expended above 70,000 *l.* on Forts, which they charge 264,452 *l.* 16 *s.* 7 *d.*" *Ibid.,* p. 19.

Company's Cheif by his Interest and Power with the King there and by threatning to interrupt the Trade of that Country, obteined restitution of a Ship belonging to Mr. Heisham [11] with 300 Negroes taken in the Road by the French, that the *Mary* of Barbadoes Capt. Codnor Master and severall other Ships belonging to the Seperate Traders have under the Protection of Cape Coast Castle been frequently preserv'd.

'Tis Alledged by the Company that the Natives enjoy the whole benefitt of the Trade taking advantage of different Traders to advance the Prices of Negroes and their owne Goods, and to depretiate our Merchandizes, and they say the Price of Negroes which is now about £10 per Head in Africa, whereas it was formerly not above three pound is a sufficient proof thereof, this they inferred was occasioned by the Seperate Traders, for that they believe Negroes are not so dear in those Places where the Seperate Traders do not interfere with the Company, as on the Coast of Angola, Calabar and other places towards the Cape of Good Hope.[12]

This the seperate Traders admit to be true as to the Price of Negroes, but they say it has proceeded from no other cause than that Orders have been given to the Agents and Commanders Trading for the Company, that when they come near any seperate Traders they should be sure to sell their Goods for less, and give more for Negroes than the seperate Traders would give on purpose to outdoe or rather ruine them notwithstanding there is a Trade extensive enough for both, w'ch they say is the true reason that in those Parts our Commodities are lessen'd about one halfe of the Value at which they used to be sold, and the price of Negroes advanced to near Double, and this they take to be one reason why the Company may have suffered by the Trade when others thrive therein; On the Coast of Africa where the Company have few or no settlements, as at Whidaugh the Bite and all along the Coast of Angola (the greatest Extent of the Companys Limits and from whence the greatest number

[11] Robert and William Heysham, brothers, engaged in the slave trade together, were at this time both members of Parliament.

[12] See *B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, p. 452, for the company's statement of this. The factors on the coast frequently testified to the increase in prices caused by the competition of the separate traders. May 28, 1698, Factors at Cape Coast Castle to Royal African Company: "You will perceive what damage interlopers do, as well on this coast as at Whidah, lowering the prices of all European goods, and advancing the price of slaves. If some speedy remedy be not applied, we must be forced to lower our goods, otherwise no traders will come near us: the Dutch have already lowered their perpets to 9 ac. and talk of taking off another angle; but as theirs are inferior to ours, we keep ours at 10 ac. at which price, if interlopers be kept off, doubt not but shall vend considerable quantities. There is not a Negroe upon the coast will vend a slave now for six or seven pieces per head (a piece is 20 shillings) so that we are forced to advance another piece"; Winnebah, Mar. 2, 1708, Seth Grosvenor to the company: "The 10 per cent. ships are a mighty prejudice to our trade, for when they are upon the coast, and near slaved, they dispose of their goods at prime cost for dispatch, and give very extravagant prices for slaves." Davenant, *Works,* V. 182, 196; see also *ante,* no. 28.

of Negroes are exported) Our Commoditys as the Seperate Traders Affirm do keep up their Value and Negroes are bought as cheap as formerly.

The Company deny they ever gave any such orders, and do ascribe the great price of Negroes and the fall of our Commoditys in Africa to the present manner by which that Trade is carryed on: They say they have a Fort at Widaugh, which they are at a great charge to maintain, and notwithstanding the said Fort the Price of Negroes is there more than double what it was before the Trade was lay'd open: They admit they have not lately sent any ships to the Bite and Angola and that considerable numbers of Negroes have been purchased in those Parts.

The Company further complain that the Natives grow insolent, and are encouraged by other Traders to insult the Companys Forts, and bring them out of Difficultys on purpose to obtein Bribes, to compose Differences of their owne creating this they say appears by Letters from their Factors, and particularly that one of the Seperate Traders, having made a bargain for some Negroes carryed them to Barbadoes without paying for the same, but that the Company in order to secure the Peace and a freindly correspondence with the Negroe Kings, sent to Barbadoes and bought the said Negroes and returned them to the King from whome they were so taken.[13]

The Seperate Traders owne they have heard and do beleive that the Company have had Differences with the Natives inhabiting near their owne Factorys, and that some of their Factorys particularly Anambo and Commenda have been insulted by the Natives, but they say these differences were occasioned by the Company's ill usage and bad Treatment of them in Trade, and sometimes by joyning with one Prince to depose others (which last mentioned Fact the Company have admitted) and that thereby the Company is become so Obnoxious, that the Seperate Traders say the Company's Agents and Factors dare not go without the Command of their owne Guns though the Seperate Traders usually trade all along the Shoare, and up the Rivers in open Boats where there are no Forts or Castles, and severall miles up into the Country being treated Civilly and justly by the Natives. They add that the Natives were not capable of attacking a Fortification, but that their way of Resentment is to stop Trading with that Factory from whence they have been injured till reparation be made.

The Company have further Complain'd that their unfaithful Factors, Confederated with the Captains of Seperate Traders in defrauding the Company: [14] To this the Company offered no Proofe, but onely said they had been defrauded by some of their Factors who have sent

[13] See *B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, p. 452, for the testimony of the company.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 452-453.

Effects of the Company's to this Kingdom, and they did not conceive this cou'd be done without the Concurrence of the Masters of Seperate Traders.

In Answer whereto, the Seperate Traders say, they are so far from knowing that the Masters of their Vessells do in any respect Confederate with the Company's Factors, that they usually forbid them to have any Correspondance with them or to come near those Factorys.

The Company likewise suggest that Forreigners take the Advantage of this Confusion in the Managem't of the Trade, and endeavour to destroy Our Interest in Africa, which the Company (when upon a right Establishment) doubt not but to improve, and secure to this Kingdom the principal part of the Trade to Africa:[15] By Right Establishment, they understand a joynt Stock, exclusive of all others, but in case that shall not be thought proper they would be content to be Limited in their Trade from Cape Blancoe to Cape Lopez if the Seperate Traders be restreined from Coming there.

To this Allegation the Seperate Traders answer that whatever confusion may have happened in that Trade, they are to be imputed to the different Interests of the Company and seperate Traders, therefore for prevention of the like for the future, the Seperate Traders propose that all Traders to Africa, be set on an equal foot by laying open the Trade, (like that to Turkey) under a just Regulation, in order whereunto they are ready to come into such Methods as shall be thought reasonable for the effectual maintaining Forts and Castles, if they be thought necessary, and have offered the annexed Scheme of the Charge marked A. However they think that Forts and Castles are neither an Advantage or Security to the Trade but an unnecessary Charge, for that in time of Peace no Advantage can be assigned to Ballance the Expence, and in War they are not Defencible against a forreign Enemy for want of Strength to resist any Ships of War that shall think them worth the Expence of an Attack.

The Seperate Traders say that the Company are sinking under this pretended Disadvantage while the Seperate Traders carry on their Trade to proffit, though they meet with all the opposition those Forts can give them instead of that Protection they ought to have had for the 10 per Cent they have pay'd, and which Duty they observe has been the Company's chief support.

To this the Company says, that the Value of the Seperate Traders Exports for 5 or 6 years past, has not exceeded £30,000 per Annum, That if they had been Gainers by that Trade, so many of them had not left it off as allready have done, that the £3000 per Annum being the 10 per Cent upon their Exports, would not have answered much above a 10th part of the Charge of their Forts within that Time, and

[15] See *B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, p. 453.

that the whole must have been lost had not the Adventurers in the Company's joynt Stock payd in considerable Summes on their severall shares for their support and Preservation of their Forts and Trade.

The Seperate Traders add that the Forts are no Security to the Commerce, neither are they any inducement to the Natives to trade with us, on whome nothing can have any influence but fair dealing and a Mutuall Advantage, and they produced to us an Extract of a Letter from John Freeman Master of a Sloop belonging to a seperate Trader to Mr. Rich'd Harris dated at Gambia the 20th January 1707, which says that he saw an order to the Captain of one of the Company's Vessells, forbidding any attempt on any French Vessells they should meet, pursuant to an Agreem't made between the French and the Company.[16]

On the other Hand the Company alledge that Forts are absolutely necessary for protecting their Trade and securing their Effects left in the Country, that the said Forts were certain Marketts for Negroes to come to, that if all the Forts on the Coast were in the Hands of any one Nation, no Negroes could be brought off without their permission; that if the Company were settled upon a Right foot as before mentioned they should build more Forts in other places to good Advantage; that the said Forts are a protection to them against any Insults from the Negroes, but they owned they were not capable of resisting an Attack from an European Enemy that should come before them w'th ships of War; They added that when they bought the Forts of the old Company, they cost them between 40 and 50,000 *ll.* and that one of their Forts which they bought of the King of Denmark cost them £4,000.[17]

Last year we sent to the Company for an Account of what Forts, Castles Factorys and Settlements they had at the time of passing the Afores'd Acts, as likewise of such Forts, Castles, Factorys and Settlements as they are now possessed of, whereupon they gave us the Annexed List marked B containing the names of the severall Forts Castles Factorys and Settlem'ts belonging to the Company, as likewise the names as [of] such as do belong to any other European Nation upon that Coast.

By which List it appears that the Company have no Forts or Castles at Calabar or Angola, from which Places are exported very considerable numbers of Negroes.

It appears further that on the said Coast they had Gamboa Serelion and Sherborough, all which have been taken and Plundered

[16] See *ante,* no. 15 and note.

[17] The Danish Fort Frederiksborg, on a hill commanding Cape Coast Castle, had, according to Barbot (Churchill, V. 445), come into the possession of Henry Nurse, agent of the company in 1685. The English had rebuilt it in 1699, and renamed it Fort Royal. See this work, I. 78.

by the French. However it is admitted that the Company are now possessed of the like number of Forts Castles Factorys and Settlements as they were in 1698, though not in the same Places, and the Company affirm that they have now in their Possession most of the Forts and Castles which were belonging to the Former Company before the Passing the Present Charter 1672 Except one or two which the Dutch tooke, but the Company took from the Dutch others instead of them; the Company being asked by us whether they ever made any Settlem't near Sunio [18] the Portugeeze Settlement in Angola? they answered they never had any Settlement there.

As to the French Settlement at Widaw 'tis said that with prudent Management the same might have been prevented; The Company before that Settlement was made having within halfe Gun shot a Factory of at least ten Great Guns.

In Relation to this the Company owned, that the French had built a Fort at Widaugh within Gun shot of theirs, but it was by the neglect of their Agent there that the French obteined permission to do it from the King of the Country, nor could the Company oppose the Doing it without Engaging in a War with that King.

That this Hon'ble House may have a view of the Company's joynt Stock at the time when the Trade was opened by the afores'd Act of its rise and fall since that time, and how it stood 1707: We have inserted the following Scheme shewing what Monys has been called in by the Company, The Ballance of their Books, Dividends by them made and the value of their Stock from 1698 to 1707 Inclusive.

Years	Money called in by the Company	Ballance of the Company's Books	Dividend made by the Company	Value of the Company's Stock
		£ *s. d.*	£ *s. d.*	
1698	12 *ll.* per share; 57,096	189,913:05		30 *ll.* per share
1699		191,470:04:1		
1700		205,748:14:2		
1701		210,368:19:4		
1702	6 *ll.* per share; 64,150	199,165:16:3		
1703		202,117:10:2	5,282:15	
1704	7 *ll.* per share; 74,112:10	216,544:08	10,575:10	
1705		210,924:14:5	15,715:07:6	
1706		147,941:02:9	15,830:12:6	
	the share in Stock—			£ *s. d.*
1707	36,612		13,725:15	26:3:9 per share[19]
	£231,970:10 *s.*:00 *d.*		£61,130:00:00	

[18] Possibly in the neighborhood of Loango.

[19] The "stock journal" quoted by W. R. Scott gives the highest price of shares in 1698 as 17, that of 1707 as 15¼. *Joint-Stock Companies,* II. 34-35.

Mr. Beaumont the Company's said Accountant asked how the Ballance of 1698 which is £189,913 : 5 did arise? he sayd there was included the Value of the Company's ships and Effects here and in Guinea, as likewise all the Debts owing to the Company, but he was not able to say what Debts were good and what not; He owned there were severall Debts in the Plantations, contracted in the Reigne of King Charles the Second still standing out, and admitted that the Ballances for the succeeding years were computed upon the same Foot.

He added that in the year 1688 [1698][20] the Company made an Order that whosoever pay'd in twelve pounds should have a share and £57,096 being thereupon pay'd into the Company, there were by that means 4758 new Shares added, That the original shares in the Company were 6252½ which together with the new shares make up the present Number of 11,010½. So that if the 6252½ shares be computed at the same Rate as these additional shares *vizt.* at 12 *ll.* per share, then the real stock of the Company would be 57,787 *ll.* : 6 *s.* : -*d.* less than what the Company say the Ballance of their Books in that Year amounted to.

The manner of admitting new Shares was confirmed to Us by Pindar the Deputy Govn'r and upon our making the foregoing Objection to him, he onely replyed that though they had admitted the new Shares at £12 each, yet they did not esteem their owne Original so low which might make that difference, though at the same time he owned that even then the Shares were sold upon the Exchange from £10 to £12 each.

Having about the same time discoursed the seperate Traders on this Head of the Company's Stock they said that notwithstanding the Sums of mony at severall times call'd in by the Company, their stock was not then sold for above £11 :10 *s.* per Share or thereabouts that their Outstanding Bonds for the money they owed were at 16 per Cent. discount, and that the more has been payed into the Company the Lower their Stock has fallen.

The Seperate Traders computed that the Company then owed

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Upon their Common Stock	221,000:	0:	0
On their Specie Bonds	50,000:	0:	0
And in other Debts about	9,000:	0:	0
Amounting in the whole to	280,000:	0:	0

That their 11,010½ Shares valued at £11 :10 *s.* per Share do amount to 126,620, so that the Bonds other Debts and Value of their Stock is 406,620 then must the Company to make good that

[20] The date of the issue was Oct. 7, 1697. *Ibid.*, II. 33.

Ballance be worth 406,620 *ll.* But whatever they fall short of a visible Estate of 280,000 *ll.* being what they owe upon Bond and other debts in good mony and good Debts due to them, by so much is the Company worse than nothing.

We further take leave to lay before this Hon'ble House the following Acc'ts received from the Company of their Exports and Imports as likewise of Negroes imported in the Plantations within the time therein mentioned whereby it may appear how the Company have Carryed on the Trade in those Parts.

Years	Exports made by the Company	Imports made by the Company	Negroes imported in the Plantations by the Company
1698	6,198: 2:6	12,376:11:8	941
1699	44,063: 1:8	9,746: 2:3	1,500
1700	26,685:13:4	4,424:16:8	2,045
1701	39,538: 8:4	14,308:12:9	1,511
1702	36,117: 3:4	76:10:0	2,014
1703	23,721:12:6	61:16:3	1,138
1704	53,254:19:2	8,646:00:0	2,745
1705	26,600:	:	2,921
1706	13,768:11:8	294: 6:3	1,144
1707	23,792:14:2	2,396 1:1	1,801
	293,740: 6:8	52,330:17:2	17,760

The Company likewise delivered in a List of what Shipping they have Employed in this Trade between 1698 and 1707 the Number whereof is 118 Ships, of which Number we find the Company have Nine Vessells and one Sloop, Burthen in the whole 1550 Tonns their owne Property, and as we are informed are Employed as follows *vizt.*

One Vessell and the Sloop employed in Carrying Rum and Sugar from Barbadoes where they were not long since brought to Cape Coast.

Two of the said Vessells employed as Advice Boats between this Kingdom and Cape Coast.

Two more Employed in fetching Red wood from the North Part. And the four others employed in the Slave Trade.

Upon these Heads the seperate Traders do say that the Proportion of Shipping (as to the number sent out of Africa by the Company and by the seperate Traders) will shew the Value of their respective Exports in such shipping, and consequently hold good in the Difference of their Imports.

The Seperate Traders say their ships are generally as large as the biggest of those Employed by the Company and on this Occasion they delivered in the following Extract of the Number of Ships dispatched

from the Port of London to Africa as well on the Account of the Company as of the seperate Traders from the 24th June 1698 to 3d December 1707 taken out of the Custom House Books etc. *vizt.*

	Number of Ships	Private Ships	Company Ships
From Midsummer 1698 to 1699	51	41	10
From Midsummer 1699 to 1700	76	63	13
From Midsummer 1700 to 1701	98	81	17
From Midsummer 1701 to 1702	66	51	15
From Midsummer 1702 to 1703	50	32	18
From Midsummer 1703 to 1704	44	29	15
From Midsummer 1704 to 1705	39	26	13
From Midsummer 1705 to 1706	36	31	5
From Midsummer 1706 to 1707	25	16	9
From Midsummer 1707 to 3d Decr., 1707	19	16	3
Total	504	386	118

Tis Computed that the Numbers of Negroes necessary for a yearly supply of the Plantations is

For Virginia and Maryland	4000
Carolina and New York	1000
Barbadoes — about	4000
Leeward Islands	4000
For the Use of Jamaica and what are charged by Her Ma'tys Subjects to the Spanish West Indies	12,000
	25,000

To which the Seperate Traders add that the greatest part of the Negroes furnished to Virginia Maryland Carolina and New York has been by the Seperate Traders, and that not above two Hundred have been sent to those Parts by the Company since their Establishment [*blank*] Which not having been contradicted by the Company We must observe upon it that those Plantations so profitably supply[d] by the Seperate Traders, near one halfe of the Tobacco cou'd not have been produced and brought hither, and how much that would have lessen'd her Majesty's Customs and the Navigation of this Kingdom We need not mention.

About a twelve month agoe, We lay'd before Her Majesty a State of this Trade as it then appear'd to Us, which State was in substance the same as is herein before mentioned, and not long after a Copy of our said Report was delivered into the Hon'ble House.[21]

Soon after the rising of the last Parliament that we might be duely informed what Number of Negroes has been furnished to the Severall British Plantations in America as well by the Royal African Company as by the Seperate Traders from the time that Trade was lay'd open, at what Rate such Negroes have been sold there, and what Numbers is computed necessary for a Yearly supply of the said severall Planta-

[21] This report, of date Feb. 3, 1708, was introduced into the House Mar. 10, 1708.

tions, We writ Circular Letters to her Majesty's Govn'rs in America in the Words following [*already printed, no. 30*].

In Answer whereto, We have received from the respective Govn'rs of Jaimaica, Barbadoes, the Leeward Islands, the Massachussets Bay and New Hampshire Severall Returns an Abstract whereof is conteined in the following Scheme.

Negroes imported into the Plantations from the 24th June 1698 to December 1707 by the Royal African Company and Seperate Traders.[22]

To what Place imported.	Royal African Company.	Seperate Traders.	Total
Jamaica[23]	6854	35,718	42,572
Besides which there are 1804 Negroes not say'd by whome imported			1804
Barbadoes[24]			
By the Naval Officers Account which does not distinguish what is the Company's and what the Seperate Traders, It appears there has been transported into that Island from June 1698 to December 1707			34,583

Upon this the Govn'r observes that of this Number 9006 were imported by the Company and the remaining 25,577 by the Seperate Traders, by another Account we have received from the Govn'r it appears that from 1698 to 1700

	Royal African Company.	Seperate Traders.	Total
Importations are	5982	8580	14,562
Antigua[25]	2178	4945	7123
Mountserat	599	1604	2203
Massachusetts Bay			200
New Hampshire[26]			20

Barbadoes. To the Returne made by the Govn'r of Barbadoes, He adds that the best Account he could procure is conteined in the Annexed Paper Mark'd C. By which 'twill appear that notwithstanding the Trade to Africa has been open, Negroes have been very dear in that Island, *Vizt.* The best between £30 and £40 and one with another about £23 : 8 *s.* a head, and He further informes Us that there is little or no Difference in the Price between the Negroes sold there by the Company, and those sold by the private Traders.

From the aforesaid Officer's List of Negroes Marked D. the Govn'r observes there has been 34,583 Negroes imported into that Island from the 24th of June 1698 of which 9006 were imported by

[22] For additions to the figures here given see *post,* no. 42.

[23] Sept. 24, 1708, Governor Handasyd to the Board of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1708-1709, p. 103.

[24] See *ante,* no. 23.

[25] See *ante,* nos. 25-27.

[26] Oct. 1, 1708, Governor Dudley to the Board of Trade; Nov. 13, 1708, Governor Parke to the same. *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1708-1709, pp. 110-111, 143.

the Company, and the remaining 25,577 by the Seperate Traders, this whole Importation does not amount to above 3458 Negroes per Annum or thereabouts, whereas to keep up the stock of that Island there will need at least 3640 Negroes every year, so that without a greater Supply Negroes will rather advance than fall in their Prices.

That since the 9th of December 1698 111 Vessells have been fitted out from that Island for the Coast of Africa, 18 whereof were for the Company's Account, and 93 on Account of the Seperate Traders.

Leeward Islands.[27] To the Returne made by the Govn'r of the Leeward Islands, He adds there has been no Negroes imported into Nevis by the Company since July 1706, and but one small Vessell with about 180 by the Seperate Traders.

That none has been imported into St. Christophers, either by the Company or by Seperate Traders since the said month of July 1706; what was imported before cannot be accounted for, the Books of such Imports having been lost by the Hurricane or by the Invasion of the French.

Bermudas.[28] The Govn'r of Bermuda informs Us there has been no Negroes imported into those Islands either by the Company or Seperate Traders since the 24th June 1698 and that what Negroes they have were bought at Barbadoes, and imported from thence to Bermuda.

Massach'ts.[29] To the Returne made to the Governour of the Massachus'ts Bay, he adds that there are in that Province 550 Negroes, of which number about 200 were Imported from Barbadoes, Jaimaica or the Leeward Islands Since the 24th of June 1698, the rest were borne in that Province.

New Hampshire.[30] In the Province of New Hampshire there are about Seventy Negroes and onely twenty thereof have been imported since the 24th June 1698.

It being our Duty in a more particular manner to Inspect the Management of the Negroe Trade on which the very being of the said Plantations do so much depend, We judged it necessary to be further informed, how the same was carry'd on the last year, and in order thereto sent such Queries to the Seperate Traders as we thought proper for that Purpose, To which Queries, severall of the most considerable Seperate Traders as we thought proper for that purpose answered Paper marked E. in which the said Queries and Answers are contained, and they have likewise given unto us the

[27] Aug. 23, 1708, Governor Parke to the Board of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, pp. 72-73.

[28] See *ante*, no. 32.

[29] Oct. 1, 1708, Governor Dudley to the Board of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, pp. 110-111.

[30] Oct. 10, 1708, Governor Dudley to the Board of Trade, *ibid.*, p. 111.

severall other Papers marked F: G: and H. relating to the present State of the Company's Forts and Castles and the Charges thereof.

At the same time we sent the following Queries to the Royal African Company *Vizt.*

Acc't of the 10 per Cent pay'd by Seperate Traders from Michaelmas 1707 to Michaelmas 1708 and how the same has been expended.

Account of the charge of the Forts and Castles during the aforesaid Time and of the Company's Settlements in Africa.

Account of what mony has been called in and pay'd, and what Dividends made by the Company between Michaelmas 1707 and Michaelmas 1708.

Account of the Exports and Imports by the Company for the said Time.

Account of the number of Ships fitted out by the Company from Michaelmas 1707 to Michaelmas 1708.

Account of the number of Negroes furnished by the Company to the severall Plantations during the said Time, and at what rates sold.

Account of the Woollen Manufactures the Company have exported since Michaelmas 1707 to Michaelmas last.

In answer whereunto they have delivered in the Annexed Paper marked I.

Upon all which we observe that the number of Negroes furnished to Jamaica Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands (which are the Principal Plantations) either by the Company or Seperate Traders since the opening the Trade are much less than what were wanting for their necessary Supply and the Carrying on the Assiento Trade according to the foregoing Computation made on that Head nevertheless we are sensible that in this Case an Allowance is to be made for Losses and other Accidents of War, and We believe that the Scarcity as well as great Rates for Negroes at Barbadoes, have proceeded from their Imposition of their Paper Mony in payment for Negroes instead of Silver or other Goods since 1706, Though it must be allowed that between the years 1698 and 1708 the Seperate Traders have imported into that Island four times as many and into Jamaica twice as many as have during the same time been imported into these Islands by the Company, and that the Losses lately sustained at Nevis and St. Christophers when invaded by the French have occasioned the like Scarcity and Excess of Price in the last mentioned Islands where the Planters have little Mony or Effects to buy Negroes.

It is hard to make a true Value of Imports either by the Company or Seperate Traders on regard such Imports consist mostly of Gold as well as Elephants Teeth and Red wood, and it is yet the more difficult to come near the Truth thereof on the part of the Seperate

Traders, for that most of the Masters of their Vessells bring home their private adventures in gold.

It cannot be doubted but a Trade so very profitable in its selfe, and so absolutely necessary for the support of the Plantations, ought to be preserved and put on such a foot that it may be carryed on and improved to the full extent.

It may reasonably be apprehended should this Trade be confined to a Company by a joynt Stock exclusive of all others that such Company will contract the Trade within the gold Coast or such narrow Limits in Africa, as may best turn to their owne Proffit without Regard to the good of the Plantations or of the Publick which may be presumed from the ways of their having carryed it on for the time Past.

It will Of consequence very much to lessen the Number of Ships now Employed in the Trade, to the great Disincouragement of our Navigation, for since there has been an open Trade, the seperate Traders have sent three Ships for one imployed by the Company.

Should so extensive a Trade be confined to an Exclusive joynt Stock, the Plantations may suffer for want of sufficient number of able Negroes at reasonable Rates, those Marketts being best supplyed where there are most Sellers, and on this Head we observe that by the Company's owne Accounts of the Negroe Trade from 1680 to 1688 in nine years (and in a time of Peace) there were but 46,396 Negroes delivered in the Plantations, whereas 'tis computed by the seperate Traders that since the ope[n]ing of the Trade by the aforesaid Act within the like Terme of Years, notwithstanding the present War, there have been imported by the Seperate Traders into those Parts 160,950 Negroes.

Lastly we cannot but be sencible how prejudicial it must be to Trade in generall to have but one Buyer of all such Woollen and other Goods as are annually Exported for this Trade But one Freighter of so many Ships at home and but one buyer of the Plantation Commoditys abroad.

Tis true that the French Dutch and Hamburghers and other Nations trade to Africa in a joynt Stock, their Trade being not very considerable, whereas had they been of so large and so many Improvable Plantations as belong to Great Britain in America, 'tis presumed they would soon Enlarge that profitable Trade to a greater Extent by laying the same open and the Seperate Traders do say that the Portugeze never had any, except the Cacho Company [31] which lasted but five years, but that the Trade remained open to all People of that Nation, and that they usually carryed off more Negroes yearly (before our Trade was opened by the said Act) than all other Nations in Europe and they say likewise it can be proved that there have

[31] This company held the assiento from about 1696 to 1701; see this work, I. 107.

been about 100 sayle of Portugeze Vessells in one Parte of the Coast of Africa in one year when there hath been but one Company's ships while the Trade was Exclusive in 15 months at one of the Cheif Places of Trade.

Though the carrying on of this Trade in the way now settled by the aforesaid Act is much more advantagious to the Publick than that of an Exclusive joynt Stock, yet we find that great Inconveniencys have arisen and will unavoidably arise from its being carryed on upon such different and contending Interests as those of a Joynt Stock and of a Seperate Trade, for while they strive to beat each other out of the Trade the Value of our Commoditys is greatly lessened and those of Africa as much encreased, it is reasonable to beleive that from such a struggle in Trade, the Disputes and Quarrells between the Company and the Natives, and the Losses, of which the Company complains have in some measure proceeded, for, though the Company do impute the great lessening of their Stock to the Extraordinary Charges in Maintaining the Forts and Castles over and above the Produce of the 10 per Cent, yet if the said 10 per Cent had been well invested in Goods, and frugally managed, it must have answered their Service.

In the Valuation of the Company's quick Stock as given in by them, all the Debts due to the Company of what kind soever being included unless we were able to distinguish the good Debts from the bad, we cannot positively affirm in what condition the Company now is with regard to the real Stock in Trade, but do beleive it is reduced so very low that 'twill be impossible (upon the Foot they now stand) for them to carry on that Trade which if duly Extended will employ a much greater Stock than the Company have hitherto at any time had.

Their Forts and Castles and other their dead Stock the Company did last year value at £141,450, though the Seperate Traders say, that at the time of passing the aforesaid Act all their Forts and Castles then in their Possession was valued by some Seperate Traders (well acquainted with their Affairs) at no more than £4100 or thereabouts, and if they are of greater Value now by any Additional Fortification made to any of them since that time, the Seperate Traders hope it will be thought reasonable that such Improvement shou'd be look't upon as owing to the 10 per Cent by them pay'd pursuant to the said Act in proportion to the said Dutys.

All which is humbly submitted

STAMFORD
PH: MEADOWS
J. PULTENEY
R. MONCKTON
CHA: TURNER

WHITEHALL
January 27th 1708/9

A. *The Seperate Traders' Scheme for Maintaining the Forts.*[32]

As to the Charges necessary for the supporting what Forts and Factorys they are possess'd of, and effectually to answer the Ends of maintaining the Honour of the Nation the Protection of Trade and the benefitt of all Her Majesty's Subjects alike, we humbly offer the following Scheme as abundantly sufficient for those purposes *vizt.*

For the Fort Called Dickeys Cove[33]
12 Guns the Charge for one Year

	£	s.	d.
A Cheif of the Fort at £100 per annum	100.	—	—
Serjeant at £32. 10 *s.* per annum	32.	10.	—
Gunner at £32 per an. and 9 Soldiers at £29 per annum	266.	10.[34]	—
Their usual Allowance of Gunpowder per annum	15.	—	—
	£414.	—	—

For Succundoe Fort 8 Guns.

A Chief of the Fort at per Ann.	100	00	00
Serjeant and Gunner, the same person	32	10	—
Six Soldiers at £26 per ann.	156	—	—
Gunpowder the present allowance	15	—	—
	303 –	10 –	00

For Commendoe Fort 24 Guns

A Cheif of the Fort	100	00	00
Serjeant	32	10	00
Gunner £32. 10 *s.* and 21 soldiers at £26	578	10	00
Gunpowder, the present allowance	30	00	00
	741 –	00 –	00

Calbo Corto[35] Castle and Fort Royal or Danes Hill
50 Guns the Charge for one Year.

The Commander of the Castle and Counsel for Trade his Sallary and Expences per ann.	500	00	00
The Deputy Consul and Lieutenant	200	00	00
A Chaplain	100	00	00
A Surgeon and Mate	120	00	00
Two Serjeants	65	00	00
Ninety one Soldiers at £26 per ann.	2366	00	00
Expence of Powder 30 Bar'lls per annum	150	00	00
	£3566 :	00 :	00
	[3501]		

Anisham a Negroe House

One Soldier and Ground Rent to the Capt. of the Towne per annum	50 –	00 –	00

Animabo Fort 10 Guns

The same as Dickys Cove per ann.	414 –	00 –	00

Agga

One Soldier per ann.	26 –	00 –	00

[32] The papers subjoined to the report are also to be found in Add. MSS. 10453, ff. 181 *et seq.*

[33] The separate traders allowed £1800 for the fort on James Island, and £700 for Sierra Leone and Sherbro.

[34] This is obviously incorrect. Whatever the mistake, it was carried throughout the account.

[35] Cabo Corso or Cape Coast.

	£	s.	d.
Santa Quore[36]			
The same as Annisham	50 –	00 –	00
Winnabah 12 Guns			
The same as Animabo	414 –	00 –	00
Accra 24 Guns			
The same as Commenda	741 –	00 –	00
For Ground Rents payed by the African Company to the Lords of the Country.			
For Dickey's Cove per annum	24 –	00 –	00
Succundoe	24 –	00 –	00
Commenda	48 –	00 –	00
Calbo Castle and Fort Royal or Danes Hill	384 –	00 –	00
Animabo	72 –	00 –	00
Winaba	72 –	00 –	00
Accra	96 –	00 –	00
	720 :	00 :	00
Repairs per annum	£800 –	00 –	00
Other Contingencys per ann.	770 –	00 –	00
	1570 –	00 –	00

In the foregoing Calculation of 90 *ll.* : 10 *s.*:[37]

We have as we conceive fully provided for all things necessary for the Forts and Castles on Gold Coast and over valued severall particulars more than the Company have ever actually provided for or supported for any three months together and to produce this summe of 90 *l.* : 10 *s.* : 00 on the Coast of Africa £5000 honestly invested and fairly shipt in Woollen and other Manufacturys hence will be sufficient which is much less than the Seperate Traders onely have payed for these nine years past, so that more than 10 per Cent supposed to be pay'd by the Company, and the vast summes they pretend to be in arrear is sunck by Misaplication.

B. *The Scituation of the severall Settlements on the Negroes Coast.*

On the North Coast

French { Senegall in the Entrance of the River Senegall
Goree

English: James Island in the Entrance of the River Gambia

Portugeze: Cutcho

Portugeze: Biscoe

English { Bence Island
York Island

[36] This seems to fit no English fort on the West Coast of Africa encountered by the editor.

[37] The total here is actually £9009 10 *s.*, that given in Add. MSS. (10453, f. 181) adds 10 *s.* to this, giving £9010; that obtained by the author of the pamphlet, *Some Remarks* (*post,* no. 35), is £11,468, which is not the sum of his figures. The amount he reduced to £5734 sterling (*post,* no. 35, note 13).

On the Gold Coast

		Miles Distant
Dutch	Axim	
Brandenburgh	Acquedah	2
English	Dickes Cove	3
Dutch	Buserve	3
English	Succunde	15
Dutch	Shumat	9
English	Commenda	½
Dutch	De Muria [D'el Mina]	9
English	Cape Coast	9
English	Fort Royal	1
English	Queen Ann's Point[38]	½
Dutch	Moree	2
English	Annisham	3
English	Animabo	3
English	Agga	1
Dutch	Cormanteen	3
Dutch	Apaugh	30
English	Shido	3
English	Winabah	7
English	Accra	36
Dutch	Accra	½
Danes	Accra	3
English, French, Dutch	Whidah the principal place for purchasing great Numbers of Negroes about ½ a mile distant from each other.[39]	

Note. James Island and Castle scituated in the entrance of the River Gambia if possessed by the French whose Settlements are near the Trade of that River would be wholly lost the Companys Factorys and Trade up and on both sides that River extend above 300 Leagues beside their Trade with the Neighbouring Countrys without the said River.

Note. The Inhabitants of Dutch and English Settlements on the Gold Coast for Preservation of the Trade to each Nation would decline or Determine as the said Settlements should be more or less deserted.

Note. The French are by their Settlements at Widaugh Contending for that whole

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[38] Queen Anne's Point was a second small fort close to Cape Coast Castle. Visitors to the Gold Coast often commented on the military necessity of fortifying the higher land about Cape Coast because of the fact that the castle itself was built on low land.

[39] To this list may be added the names of the forts at most of these places, and the approximate dates at which they were built, as given by A. B. Ellis, *History of the Gold Coast,* p. 75:

Axim	Fort Anthony	1515
Prince River	Great Friedrichsburg (Brandenburg)	1682
Akwidah	Fort Dorothea	1685
Dixcove	Dixcove Fort	1691
Butri	Fort Batenstein	1640 *c.*
Sekundi	Fort Orange (Dutch)	1640 *c.*
Shama	Fort St. Sebastian	1640 *c.*
Commenda	Fort Vrendenburgh (Dutch)	1687
	Commenda Fort (English)	1673 *c.*
Elmina	Castle of St. George Fort Conraadsburgh (Dutch)	1638
Cape Coast	Cape Coast Castle	1662 *c.*
	Fort Royal	1659 *c.*
Mori	Fort Nassau	1624
Anamabo	Anamabo Fort	1673 *c.*
Cormantine	Fort Amsterdam	1650 *c.*
Appam	Fort Leydsamheyd (Dutch)	1697
Winnebah	Winnebah Fort	1694
Accra	James Fort (English)	1673
	Fort Crevecoeur (Dutch)	1650

Trade, and there is no way to prevent their Designe but by preserving and improving the English strength there equal or superior to what the French does.

Note. The Dutch seize all the Portugeze Ships they meet with Trading on the Gold Coast and oblige them to pay 25 per Cent upon their whole Cargoe on their Permission before they be suffered to trade.

AFRICAN HOUSE 18th Dec'br [1707].
RICH'D BEAUMONT Accomptant for
the Royal African Company.

No. 1. An Acc't of Ships dispatched from the Port of London and Bristoll for the Coast of Africa between Michaelmas 1707 and Mic: 1708 as well on the African Company as Seperate Traders with 10 per Cent. Duty pay'd on each Ship taken from the Custom House Books of each Port.[40]

Time When Clear'd from the Custom House	Ship's Name from Port of London	On Acc't of Company	On Acc't Sep. Trad'rs	Ten per ct. Duty paid on each ship by the Sep. Traders	Ten per ct. Duty on each ship paid by Company
First Octo'r, 1707..	*Anne* Gally.....	.....	Separate	199:14: 6	.....
3 Ditto.....	*Sarah*.....	.....	Ditto	219:14:11	.....
Ditto.....	*Neptune*.....	.....	Ditto	155: 9: 7	.....
Ditto.....	*Edw'd and Hannah*....	.....	Ditto	90:11:10	.....
9 Ditto.....	*Industry*.....	.....	Ditto	52:17: 0	.....
9 November....	*Charles*.....	.....	Ditto	221: 7: 6	.....
9 October.....	*Eliz. and Hannah*.....	.....	Ditto	106: 6: 0	.....
23	*Camwood Merch't*.....	Company	.....	.....	191: 8: 4
13 November....	*Antelope*.....	.....	Separate	68: 2:10	.....
3 December....	*Prosperous*.....	.....	Ditto	48: 8: 2	.....
17 November....	*Mary Crookshank*.....	.....	Ditto	79:19: 2	.....
3 December....	*Mary Thisticle*.....	.....	Ditto	157:16: 6	.....
6th	The *Deering*.....	.....	Ditto	50: 5: 9	.....
19	The *Greyhound*.....	Company	.....	.....	208:13: 3
Ditto.....	*Wishart* Galley.....	.....	Separate	126:18:11	.....
17 Jan'ry, 1707/8	*Marcellus Merch't*.....	.....	Ditto	158: 1: 0	.....
23 Ditto.....	*Thomas and John*.....	.....	Ditto	180: 8: 4	.....
20 Ditto.....	*Alex'r* Galley.....	.....	Ditto	78:18: 6	.....
9 February.....	*Queen Anne*.....	.....	Ditto	53:18: 6	.....
16 Ditto.....	*Regard*.....	Company	.....	.....	391: 0:11
				£2,049: 5: 8] [£2048:19: 0	£791: 2: 6

[40] Also in Add. MSS. 10453, f. 189. Documents C and D of the appendix are omitted, since the material duplicates that printed on pp. 28-32. Despite the title, there are no Bristol vessels given. Gomer Williams attributes to Bristol 57 slave vessels annually for the years 1701-1709; to London, in 1701, 104, in 1702, 72, in 1704, 50, and in 1707, 30. These figures are decidedly at variance with those given by Davenant as customs entries, and for Bristol they are probably much too large (*Liverpool Privateers and the Liverpool Slave Trade,* p. 467, and *ante,* no. 33). To the London vessels here listed should be added the following: "Another Ship Called the *Coward* Galley went to Guinea in this time but took most of her Loading in Scotland."

Though London merchants took the more prominent part in the controversy over monopoly, Bristol was by no means inactive. On Jan. 14, 1709, Mr. Yate, M.P., acquainted the Merchant Venturers with the fact that the "African Company were seeking to monopolise the trade to Africa". On his advice a committee was appointed to "make interest" against the bill in Parliament. John Latimer, "MS. Calendar of Records of the Merchant Venturers Society", II. 13, 15, 17, Bristol, Archives, Merchant Venturers.

[*Account of Ships*—continued:]

Time When Clear'd from the Custom House	Ship's Name displ'd from Port of London	On Acc't of Company	On Acc't Sep. Traders.	Ten per ct. Duty paid on each ship by the Sep. Traders	Ten per ct. Duty on each ship paid by Company
16th Feb'ry.....	*Greswold* Gally.....	.....	Separate	108: 8: 4	.....
Ditto.....	*Prince of Mindchim*....	.....	Ditto	125: 5: 1	.....
19th June, 1708...	*Fanteen*.....	.....	Ditto	152: 3:11	.....
19	*Martin* Gally.....	.....	Ditto	120: 1: 4	.....
13	*Raper* Gally.....	.....	Ditto	161:14: 1	.....
15 Sept'r.....	*Bridgewater*.....	Company	.....	.....	153:12: 1
Octo. 2'd.....	*Dolphin* Brig.....	.....	Separate	109: 5: 1	.....
12 Nov'r, 1707..	*Dover* Gally.....	.....	Separate	£76:10: 1	.....
3 Febru'ry.....	*Whetstone* Gally.....	.....	Ditto	101:13: 7	.....
5 March.....	*Jos.* Gally 20'th, the *Unions* Cargo p'd....	.....	100.....	16: 7: 4	.....
23d June, 1708...	*Will'm* Brig.....	.....	Separate	58:13: 5	.....
Ditto.....	*Kent* Sloop.....	.....	Ditto	72: 9: 6	.....
26 Ditto.....	*Bartly* Gally.....	.....	Ditto	106: 3: 6	.....
24	*Happy Return* Brig....	.....	Ditto	74: 2: 3	.....
30 Ditto.....	*Expedition* Gally.....	.....	Ditto	165: 7: 3	.....
14 Aug't.....	*Emelia*.....	.....	Ditto	260: 6: 5	.....
3757:16:10 944:14: 7 4702:11: 5	Totall.....	.....	.....	3757:16:10 [3757:12: 2]	944:14: 7

Account of Seperate Trader's Ships lost or Miscarryed between Michaelmas 1707 and Michaelmas 1708.

Samuell and Elizabeth blew up.
Amiable cast away at St. Thomas
Content Sloop taken
Joseph of Bristol taken and ransomed
Berkley taken
Elizabeth and Hannah not heard of. Outward Bound
Forster Galley taken
John Galley taken
Neptune taken
Whetstone Gally taken
Deering taken
Sidney Castaway
Dorothy Foundered
Happy Returne Gally taken
Robert Adventure Cast away
Bonadventure foundered
Delitia taken } Homeward Bound $\frac{10}{21}$
Valentine and Eliza. Cast away
Antelope shatter'd in bad weather rendred unfit for Service and broke up at Jamaica.
Animaboe taken
Dempton Gally taken
Seaford taken Company's Ship.

No. 2. An Account of Ships arrived with Negroes at the Plantations between Michaelmas 1707 and July 1708.[41]

Ship's Name	No. of Negroes imported into Jamaica		No. of Negroes imported into Virginia and Maryland		No. of Negroes imported into Barba.		No. of Negroes imported into Leward Isl.	
	On Company's Account	On Seperate Trader's Acc't	On Company's Account	On Seperate Trader's Acc't	On Company's Account	On Seperate Trader's Acc't	On Company's Account	On Seperate Trader's Acc't
Dover Gally	.....	186						
Wm. Brigantine	.....	150						
Dolphin Gally	.....	290						
Seaford	200							
Raper Gally	.....	340						
Happy Ret. Gally	.....	299						
Pindar Galley and acct. Com. hired ship	518							
Colson Gally	.....	206						
Machin Gally	.....	252						
Happy Ret. Brig	.....	162						
Queen Anne Hir'd	525							
Dorothy	.....	425						
Dorset Brigan	.....	164						
Jos. Gally	.....	135						
Macklesfeild	510							
Anne Gally	.....	556						
Sidney	.....	300						
Two Island Sloops	.....	300						
Antelope	.....	177						
A Brigantine	.....	130						
Young Marget	.....	.....	.....	280				
Mary Crookshank	.....	.....	.....	274				
Queen Anne	.....	.....	.....	90				
Delight Gally	.....	.....	.....	106				
Prosperous	.....	.....	.....	100				
Eagle	.....	.....	.....	290				
Jno. and Constance	.....	.....	.....	285				
The *Wm. Tel*	.....	.....	.....	.....	75			
Kather: Hired	.....	.....	.....	.....	476			
The *Ashby*	.....	.....	.....	.....	123			
Ric'd Thomas	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	130		
Two Antigua Sloops	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	260
	1753	4288 [4072]	.....	1425	674	130	.....	260

[41] Also in Add. MSS. 10453, f. 190.

An Abstract of the Nomb'r of Negroes arrived at Barbadoes between the 8th April 1698 and 29th April 1708 as appears by a particular Acc't thereof sent from that Island.[42]

Totall	Company	Seperate Traders	Between what Years	No. of Negroes delivered by the Company	No. Negroes delivered by Sep. Traders	Totall of Both
27	2	25	Between the 8th April 1698 and 2d April 1700	1,030	5,486	6,516
20	2	18	Between 2d April 1700 and 5th April 1701	852	2,459	4,311
57	3	24	Between 5th April 1701 and 10th April 1702	1,241	7,972	9,213
24	1	23	Between 10th April 1702 and 31st March 1703	430	4,131	4,561
8	2	6	Between 31st March 1703 and 5th April 1704	743	1,130	1,876
13	1	12	Between 5th April 1704 and 2d do. 1705	534	2,785	2,319
19 [9]	1	8	Between 2d April 1705 and 5 do. 1706	521	1,354	1,875
10	5	5	Between 5th April 1706 and 12 May 1707	1,551	1,169	2,720
6	3	3	Between 12th May 1707 and 29th April 1708	674	344	3,018
174	20	154 [124]		7,579 [7,576]	27,830 [26,830]	35,409 [36,409]

E. *Answer of the Seperate Traders to Severall Queries.*[43]

Rt. Honourable, In Obedience to your Lordship's Order of the 8th Instant for answering divers Queries therein mentioned, We have humbly to offer.

In Answer to your Lordship's first and second enquiry *Vizt.* How much we do compute has been paid of the Acc't of the 10 per Cent Duty to the African Company and private Traders on Acc't of that Trade between Michaelmas 1707 and Michaelmas 1708.

We pray leave to acquaint y'r Lordships that we have examined the Custom Books of London and Bristoll, and find the 10 per Cent Duty to amount to very near £5000 in that time and the Number of Ships dispatched by the Company to be four, and those of the Seperate Traders to be 34 as appears by Paper No. 1. There is also one other Seperate Ship not mentioned dispatched just after Michaelmas 1708 which we have not inserted though the 10 per Cent Duty was pay'd before but we cannot be certain how many were dispatched from the Plantations within that time nor the value of the 10 per Ct. Duty they pay'd. We have added to the said List of Ships the Names of such as have been lost out of this Trade within the above time, making twenty one seperate Ships of the value of near £70,000

[42] To obtain full information about importation into Barbados it is necessary to use this list with nos. 21-24, *ante*.

[43] Also Add. MSS. 10453, ff. 186-188.

and but one Company's ship, one halfe whereof would have otherwise been here and dispatched again for Guinea within this Time also so that it is to be wondered we are not quite beat out of the Trade by the Oppressions of the Company on one Hand and the Calamitys of the War on the other Hand.

In Answer to your Lordship's 3d. Enquiry what may be the Value of the Exports, particularly in reference to our Woollen Manufacture, and of the Import of the Company from Michaelmas 1707 to Michaelmas 1708 as far as we can be able to make a Judgement and what the Value of Exports and Imports within that time by Seperate Traders.

We humbly offer that the 10 per Ct. Duty being a Guide to the Value of the whole it appears that part thereof pay'd by the Company between Michaelmas 1707 and Michaelmas 1708 amounted to £944 : 14 *s.* : 7 *d.* which makes out 9440 odd pounds Value Exported by the Company both on Acc't of their Trade and for maintaining their Forts too, and the 10 per Cent pay'd by Private Traders in that Time for Trade only amounts to £3958 : 10 *s.*—which makes £39,580 and odd besides the 10 per Ct. Duty, Custom and other Charges amounting to eight or nine thousand pounds more, which shews that the seperate Trade[r] Exports for Trade bear a like Proportion to the Ships employed therein on each side in this Time and exceeds the Company's Exports for Trade near ten to one if there is deducted out of the above £9440 the mony arising for the 10 per Ct. Duty amounting to £4900 and bears also a Proportion in the Export and Value of Woollen Manufactures also, which humble Submission is computed by us at one halfe of the Value of the whole being on the Company's Part about £4000 and on the Seperate Traders Acc't about 20,000.

But as to the Value of the Imports in the said Time on each side 'tis very difficult for Us to make a Right Judgement thereof in regard they consist mostly of Gold as well as Elephants Teeth and Red Wood and 'tis yet more difficult to come near the Truth thereof on the Part of the Seperate Traders because most of the Masters of Our Vessells bring home their private adventures in Gold, Though we do judge that the Company may have imported in Gold, Elephants Teeth about 5 or 6000 *ll.* and the Seperate Traders about 25,000 *ll.* or 30,000 *ll.* in that time.

In Answer to your Lordship's 4th Enquiry what number of Negroes have been imported into the Plantations by the Companys from Michaelmas 1707 to Michaelmas 1708 what number within that time by the Seperate Traders, at what Rates have such Negroes been usually sold by the Company or Seperate Traders within that time.

We cannot possibly my Lords come to a certain Knowledge of the Number of Negroes delivered into the Plantations beyond the Month

of July last, in regard we know not how many of the Ships designed thither this year are arrived, nor are so perfect in the numbers delivered between Septemb'r 1707 and Jan'ry 1707/8 which begins the former List delivered unto your Lordships for Jamaica alone. Because We did not take the same care in writing for an Acc't of the Numbers Imported before January last, and because severall Vessells belonging to the Plantations have been employed in this Trade which came to our Knowledge, but according to the best Information we could get we have formed the List No. 2, and as to the Prices the Negroes imported by the Company have sold at we cannot tell, But of those imported into Jamaica by the Seperate Traders, severall Vessells Cargoes have sold at from £18 to £24 per Head, some from £24 to £26 per Head, and in Virginia from £17 to £24 per Head, at Barbadoes from £28 to £30 per Head. But we must observe to Your Lordships that the imprudent Imposition of Paper Mony in Payment for Negroes, instead of Silver or other Goods since 1706 in Barbadoes hath so discouraged the seperate Traders from supplying that Island that they have in a manner wholly neglected it though in Peace they usually Carryed thither 5 or 6000 Negroes per annum as appears by a List lately come from thence. . . .

The Number of Negroes imported into Jamaica between 1707 and July 1708 doth not appear so great for other Reasons also, Because the Number of Ships Miscarryed still encreases by fresh Advices from Guinea where we have notice of two ships lost since we waited on your Lordships The *Neptune* and *Thomas and Hannah* which went for 800 Negroes by which addition the number miscarryed which would otherwise have arrived at Jamaica between September 1707 and September 1708 amounts to at least 2700 Negroes including the 1916 mention'd in our Former Acc'ts and besides three large Ships which were kept from this Trade on the Coast near three Months by French Men of War which have invested Guinea very much this year, and would otherwise have arrived within the above mentioned time having been dispatched from hence in October 1707. All which duely considered, 'twill appear to your Lordships that Jamaica had been supplyed with upwards of 10,000 Negroes between Michaelmas 1707 and Michaelmas 1708 had it not been for these Accidents.

As to the number of Negroes imported into Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands in the above time the supply can be but small by reason of the above mentioned Paper Credit and the Ruin of Nevis by the French in the other where the Planters have no money or Effects to buy any.

And as to those designed to Virginia for this year, such of them as we can learn are arrived we have mentioned, but we must note

to your Lordships that the *John and Thomas, Alexander,* and *Mary* three large ships dispatched from the Port of London before Jan'ry last fo[r] 1100 Negroes bound to Virginia having their men taken away to man the men of War at the time of the intended Invasion in Scotland were thereby prevented as well as by an Imbargoe from sailing till a long time afterwards, which otherwise would have arrived with their Cargoes of Negroes within this time also, besides which the *Deering* and *John* Galleys designed for Virginia with 250 Negroes more were taken going out, the beginning of this year, the one in the Channel, the other near Virginia. All which we leave to your Lordships Consideration and remain My Lords your Lordships most

obed't Servants

James Wayle	Peter Paggen
Jos. Martin	Isaac Millner
Jno. Burridge Jun'r	Rich'd Harris
Benj'n Way	Hum: Morrice
Wm. Wood	Abra: Houlditch
Thos. Smith	

Dated 31 Decb'r, 1708.

G.[44] *An Abstract of the Charges of the Fort of St. James's Island in the River Gambia for the Month of January Anno 1708.*

		£	s.	d.
John Chidley Agent and Governour		16	13	8
Joseph Dakins		3	6	8
Robert Plunket		5	0	0
Samuel Smyth		3	6	8
Robert Robinson		3	6	8
Hezekiah Skinner		3	6	8
Charles Mann		3	6	8
Aaron Meredith		2	10	0
Francis Moreau		4	3	0
William Larkin Surgeon James Whislaid Ditto		5	0	0
		50	0	0
Edwd. Holland Gunner	2 " 10 " 0			
John Foster Mate	1 " 10 " 0			
Christopher Anthony Edwd. Palmer — Serj'ts	4 " 0 " 0			
Jno. Downs Peter Walker — Corporals	3 " 0 " 0			
Natha'l Busby Steward	1 " 13 " 4			
Jno. Ransford Cook	1 " 15 " 0			
Jno. Walker Gunsmith	1 " 8 " 4			
		15	16	8
Carried forward		£65	16	8

[44] App. F contained the "fictitious account" of the Gambia charges for 1705, returned by John Chidley, governor, and amounting to £6941. 11. 8.

[*Abstract of Charges*—continued:]

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	£65	" 16	" 8
Robert Wilson, R'd Toby, Wm. Smith, R'd Hasleby	6	" 10	" 0
Charles Tompson, Jno. Ruston, R'd Oakley	9	" 0	" 0
	15	" 0	" 0
	15	" 10	" 0]
George Long Mason	1	" 13	" 4
David Francis	2	" 1	" 8
John Thomas, John Evans	2	" 16	" 8
Henry Jemmet Butcher	2	" 0	" 0
The Month of Janry Continued	89	" 8	" 8
	[89	: 18	: 4]
In all 20 Soldiers besides two Portugueeze at 20 *s.* per month each is	22	" 0	" 0
To maintaining 54 men at 20 *s.* each is	54	" 0	" 0
To maintaining and Wages of 6 Grameters to fetch Wood, Water etc.	12	" 0	" 0
To the Masters of Selopee and Barrafat for looking after our Castle	2	" 0	" 0
To Brandy Expended	6	" 0	" 0
To Sugar Expended	2	" 0	" 0
To powder, Match etc.	8	" 0	" 0
	£195	" 8	" 8
	[£195	: 18	: 4]
Note these Marked * are Factors and entirely in the Company's Service, and no ways relating to the forts Charge which amounts to	28	" 6	" 8
	167	" 2	" 0
	[167	: 11	: 8]
Note those Marked ◇ are Sailors on board the Company's Vessels to Trade and no ways relating to the fort which amounts to	15	" 0	" 0
	152	" 2	" 0
	[152	: 11	: 8]
Note the person marked ◇ is a Writer and no charge of the fort which amounts to	2	" 1	" 8
	150	" 0	" 0
	[150	: 10	: 0]
Note the persons marked ξ are Farmers [Tanners?] and sent to cure hides and no ways relating to the Fort	2	" 16	" 8
	147	" 3	" 8
	[147	: 13	: 4]

£147 " 3 " 8 [147 : 13 : 4] is the real Charge for one Month but note that they are paid in Africa upon which the Company at Cent per Cent profit of their Goods so that the true Charge ster: is

£	s.	d.
73	" 11	" 10

If 73 " 11 " 10 be the charge of one Month then that Sum multiplied by 12 is the true Charge of one year as appears

883	" 2	" 0

[*Abstract of Charges*—continued:]

JOHN GALLOP
EDWARD JACKSON
THOMAS PENNIGER
THOMAS BROCKS
JOHN PELLY
BENJAM: TAYLOR
CHARLES THOMPSON
THOMAS PUGH
THOMAS HATFORD
ELIAS LONG
MICHAEL RAWLINS
WM. THORNTON
JOSEPH WEATHERLY
JOHN KENYON
ABRAHAM FRANCIS
EDWARD ARCHER
PETER DURAND
RALPH POOLEY
STEPHEN RICH
EDWARD BROOKS

H. *Certificates of George Watts touching the Charge of the Forts at Gambia and Sierraleon from 1698 to 1707.*

	£	s.	d.
The Charge of Gambia from November 1698 to September 1707 not having Regular Accompt from then Compute to be about	37,000	" 0	" 0
And of Sherbrow and Sierraleon from 24 June 1699 to 24 September 1707 is 8¼ years	26,000	" 0	" 0

I do certifye that the above mentioned two charges are as specifyed in the Book of the African Company's Accompt for the year 1706, sworn to by R'd Beaumont Accomptant of the said Company before Mr. Baron Simpson 31st October 1707, now remaining in the Office of her Maty's Remembrancer. . . .

GEO: WATTS

I. *An Account of the Royal African Company's Forts and Castles in Guinea, from Michaelmas 1707 to Michaelmas 1708, and of their Charge. The Company's Forts and Castles, Vizt.*

James Fort in the River Gambia and several Islands in that River.
Bench [45] Island in the River Serelion and other Islands in that River.
York Island in the River Sherbrow.
Cape Coast Castle on the Gold Coast
Fort Royal Do.
Dickies Cove Fort Do.
Succunde Fort Do.
Commende Fort Do.
Annamabee Fort Do.
Winnebah Fort Do.
Accra Fort Do.
Agga Factory Do.
Queen Anne's Point Do.
Shido Factory Do.
Whidah Fort

The Years Charge of the above Fortifications are as hereunder.

3 Months received from the Gold Coast from Michaelmas 1707 to Xmas 1707 amounts to	£3633	" 12	" 5
9 Months wanting from Dec'r 1707 to Sep'r 1708 in proportion amounts to	10,900	" 0	" 0
Carried Forward	14,533	" 12	" 5

[45] Bence Island; see this work, I. 251 n.

[*An Account of the Royal African Company*—continued:]

	£	s.	d.
Brought over	14,533 "	12 "	5
The Charge of Whidah for 1 year per Calen[dar]	1000 "	0 "	0
Do. of Sherbrow and Serrilione per Do.	3200 "	0 "	0
Do. of Gambia per Calculate	4700 "	0 "	0
For Premio of Insurance of the Money paid in Guinea as above, amounting to £23,434 " 9 " 8 at 10 per Cent	2343 "	0 "	0
Stores etc. sent from England and charges paid at home	768 "	10 "	8
	26,546 "	9 "	3
	[26,545 :	3 :	1]
An Acc't of the 10 per Cent Duty rec'd from private Traders from the 29th Sept'r 1707, to the 29th of Sept'r 1708	3040 "	7 "	6
	23,506 "	1 "	9
	[23,504 :	15 :	7]

Remains paid out of the Company's Effects more than is recd. this year

An Account of Mony called in by the Company 22d Apr. 1707

Recd. £4 per Share on Stock from the 29th of Sept'r 1707 to 29th Sept. 1708	1566 "	0 "	0
Dividends made by the Company from 29th of Sept'r 1707 to 29th Sept. 1708	5325 "	7 "	6
Accompt of Exports and Imports by the Company *vizt.* from 29th Sept. 1707 to 29th Sept. 1708	11,048 "	6 "	8

Exports £1290 " 12 " 5 Imports And several Ships from the West Indies whose charges are not yet come to hand.

The Number of Ships sent out by the Company from 29 Sept. 1707 to 29 Sep. 1708.

The *Camwood Merch'ts*
Greyhound
Regard
Bridgewater
Mary Brigantine
The *Elizabeth*
Sherbrow Frigat
Dorothy
Flying Fame

Negroes imported into the Plantations from 29 Sept. 1707 to 29 Sep. 1708.

	£	s.	
At Jamaica 1740 on[e] with another at	24 "	4	per head
Barbadoes 735	25 "	4	
Antego 259	30 "	3	
Virginia 166	23 "	17	

Woollen Manufactures Exported by the Company from 29th Sept. 1707 to 29 Sept. 1708 is 4305 pieces of several sorts.

Signed RICHARD BEAUMONT
Accomp't for the Royal African Company.

35. Some Remarks on "Reflections on the Trade to Africa".[1]

. . . I observe, among other things, this Author preaches much of the Danger of the Dutch running away with the Trade, which was the Argument formerly used, while the French were laying the Foundation of those Evils we now feel in our Trade, and everything else; and if the African Company are not the Cause of losing that Trade by their Oppressions on the separate Traders, the Dutch never can do us any Harm, (because their Settlements reach but 50 Leagues, and the Coast we trade in, is many 1000 Miles) unless they had Forts within Gun-shot one of another for 2000 Leagues together.[2] . . .

As to his Offer, "Whether it is not for the Nation's Interest to carry on the Trade by excluding the separate Traders, and commit the Charge to a Collective Society of his intelligent People."

In answer 'tis demanded, Whether it is reasonable to shut up all the Linen-Drapers Shops between Aldgate and Temple-Bar, and commit the Charge of that Trade to one Person only; or safe to exclude 200 skilful Merchants of Great Britain, and the Plantations, of good Credit and Reputation, well acquainted with this abstruse Trade, the most beneficial of all others to the Nation, and commit the Charge thereof to a Company exclusive (provided they are not Bankrupts) and but 4 of whose 24 Managers are usually Merchants, the other Collective Intelligent Persons, as the Author terms them, know not one Word of Trade, Commerce, or any other Business than what is practised in Exchange-Alley (pp. 5-6).[3] . . .

[35] [1] *Some Remarks on a Pamphlet, call'd Reflections on the Constitution and Management of the Trade to Africa, demonstrating the Author's abusive Aspersions therein contained, to be ill Grounded, the Matters of Fact wrong Represented, and the late Management of that Trade set in a True Light,* "With an Account of the Needful Charge of the British Settlements in Africa; in what manner they may be best Maintain'd and the Trade carry'd on to the Benefit of this Nation, and our Plantations in America" (1709). Part I. of Charles Davenant's "Reflections upon the Constitution and Management of the Trade to Africa" (*Political and Commercial Works,* V. 77-343) contained a history of the slave trade, answers to various arguments of the separate traders, and a demonstration that, because of its nature, this commerce could be carried on only by a joint-stock company. Part II., selections from which have been printed in this work (nos. 1, 2, 6, 9, 12, 14, 19), was largely made up of testimony from agents or captains connected with the trade. After the publication of these two parts the pamphlet from which selections are here printed appeared. By it Davenant was led to add part III., in defense of his earlier work and in answer to the cavils of this author. Both authors make extensive use of the material in the reports, as did other controversial pamphleteers of the period: *Some Observations on Extracts taken out of the Report from the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations* (1709), and *The Falsities of Private Traders to Africa discovered* (1709).

[2] Davenant, in answering this, referred to pt. II. of his work for illustrations of the difficulties with the Dutch, then went on to say that the French had aimed at universal monarchy, the Dutch at universal empire of trade. *Works,* V. 255.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 81. Davenant replies by asking whether the linen-drapers are in danger of having their throats cut and their shops plundered by French, Dutch, Danes, Brandenburgers, and Portuguese (*ibid.,* p. 260). He continues: "Pray how many of the Remarker's 200 skilful Merchants of Great Britain, and the Plantations of good Credit and Reputation, well acquainted with this abstruse Trade, have sign'd the separate Traders Petition to the Honourable House of Commons? I am afraid they will be all comprehended (such as they are) within the number 26, otherwise the copy which I saw of their petition was not a true one." The charge that the managers of the company are not merchants he answers by brief sketches of the activities of each of them. *Ibid.,* pages 261, 264-268.

And 'tis well known, the Means of obtaining the Patent for an Exclusive Trade, were very indirect, and procured contrary to the Inclinations of the People trading to the Plantations, who have always complained of this Monopoly, as a very burthensom Grievance, till laid open by Act of Parliament in 1698.

He argues, That the Company's Exports in Peace, when they were exclusive, were 70,000 *l.* Value, which is much doubted; but if true, it appears by an Account of the Ten per Cent. Duty given into the Commissioners of Trade to Africa, that the Exports since the Trade was laid open, were 160,000 *l.* Value per Annum, for two years in Peace, and since the War near 70,000 *l.* Value per Annum, in an Averidge; which sufficiently confirms the Benefit of laying open this Trade, as to the Exportation of British Manufactures.[4]

'Tis urged likewise, as an Instance of the Benefit of this Trade, That when the Company were exclusive, they flourished, and made many Dividends *(Hinc illae Lachrymae)* which is feared to be true, or else they had not been in such a Condition as they are in at present (pp. 6-7). . . .

In his Progress of the Trade to Africa, The Author taxes many separate Traders with repenting that they ever traded to Africa, and of divers Abuses committed by them on the Coast.

But his Ignorance appears in nothing more than in the first of those two Assertions, because none of the separate Traders, that have continued the Trade, have reason to repent, but are able to pay their just Debts, without coming abegging to have their Neighbours thrown out of their Employment, that they may be set up again in their Room; tho', indeed, the Calamities of this War have born very hard on the separate Traders, who have lost more therein than the Company have traded for since the Act; and tho' they lost 22 Ships and Cargoes out of the Trade last year, of above 70,000 *l.* Value, yet they have above 50 Sail of Ships now employed in this Trade (p. 7).[5] . . .

[4] Davenant supports his assertion (*Works,* V. 88) by giving the export figures for 1680-1688, the total amounting to £635,456 3 *s.* 11 *d.* (*ibid.,* p. 276). A pamphlet of 1708 (*Considerations upon the Trade to Guinea*), arguing for open trade, reckoned the yearly exports to Africa at that time at £100,000.

[5] Davenant, *Works,* V. 88, 92. In pt. III. Davenant supported his earlier statement by quoting the custom-house entries as to the number of private traders:

1698,	16	1702,	84	1706,	40
1699,	145	1703,	71	1707,	37
1700,	144	1704,	54	1708,	27
1701,	143	1705,	48		

Since each year traders had dropped out and new ones had entered the trade, Davenant estimated that some four or five hundred persons had engaged in this traffic between 1698 and 1708. From the fact that but 27 entries were made in 1708, he concluded that some must have repented of the business (*ibid.,* V. 280-281). In his reply to the latter part of this statement Davenant asserted that the greatest number of ships despatched from London by the separate traders in any one year between 1703 and

What means he by his Allegations, That the Company called in 180,000 *l.* besides their Mony borrow'd? Does he not know they divided that Sum, and 100,000 *l.* more out again? Besides all they got by Trade, which may be worth while for their Members to enquire into.[6]

Why don't he mention what Dividends the Company made by Bottomree-Bonds, which sunk what Stock they had that was tied by Parliament for the well maintaining their Forts.[7]

But as in every Paragraph for many Pages, there are either false Quotations, or false Representations of Matter of Fact; so he says,

"The Natives advance the Prices of Negroes, and depretiate our British Manufactures."

In Answer whereto, The Separate Traders are ready to prove, That the same Value in British or other Manufactures, abating the Ten per Cent. paid on them, will purchase as many Negroes now as at any time heretofore, unless obstructed by the evil Practices of the Company's Agents, who send Cryers up and down the Country, to offer Woollen and other Manufacturers, 10 *s.* a Piece cheaper than the Separate Traders, when a Separate Ship is on the Coast, on purpose to ruin such Traders Voyages.

Then, says he, "The evil Consequences do not stop here, because the Merchant imposes the Negroes on the Planter at his own extravagant Price, and then the Planter puts a proportionable Price on the Plantation-Commodities."

In answer to which, The Truth of this Fact is just the Reverse of his Assertion: For let the Separate Trader pay what he will on the Coast for Negroes, when he comes to America, it daily happens, that many Negro-Ships coming at a time, gluts the Market, by reason of the numbers of Negroes imported, and the many Sellers whose Hands they fall into; so that it often happens that Negroes have been even this War sold for the same Price they cost; and let Plantation-Commodities be bought at what Price they will, they are often sold at

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1708 was 29, that few had gone from other ports, and that a loss of 22 ships was difficult to accept; also that their greatest export in any one year was £35,796 15 *s.*, which made a loss of £70,000 "somewhat singular". As for their having 50 ships in the trade, he admitted that they might have three-fifths of that number. *Works,* V. 283-284.

[6] To this Davenant replied that the company's books showed that all the dividends paid since 1697 amounted to but £61,130, which, deducting interest, left the stockholders £140,201 12 *s.* 9 *d.* out of pocket. *Works,* V. 286.

[7] Davenant's statement was that the company had advanced £180,000 of additional stock, besides what money it borrowed upon its bonds (*Works,* V. 94). In his answer to these questions he said that all the premiums on bottomry bonds from 1672 to the present time amounted to no more than £43,000, and that no money had ever been borrowed without the knowledge of the Court of Assistants (*ibid.* pp. 287-288). He went on to say that the company and separate traders alike had lost at least "60 *l.* per Cent. of all that they had traded for" since the act of 1698.

home for two thirds of the Cost, according to the Demand for them, and according to the Number of Sellers (pp. 8-9).[8] . . .

Then as to his Story of the Company's Factor, by his Interest with the King, and by firing from the Company's Fort at Widda, obtained Restitution of a Ship of Mr. Heysham's, now a Member of Parliament, with 300 Slaves.

In Answer, Part of this Relation is a farther Instance of this Persons Knowledge of the Guiney-Trade, because the Company's Storehouse at Widda, which they term a Fort, is scituated 3 Miles from the Water-side; and yet farther from the Place where the Ships anchor, consequently out of Gun-shot of any Ship (p. 15). . . .

As to his finding Fault with the private Traders Relation of the taking of Gambo in open Boats, that is ready to be proved; and as to the fabulous Story of Monsieur de Gennes's taking that Place, I remember that Relation was in the *Paris Gazette*;[9] the Credit of which Author cannot be better matched in Matters of Truth, than with the Pamphlet now in Examination: But what is true of that Fact, is, That the Captors which took that Fort, did ransom it, and all the Goods and Stores therein for 6000 *l.* tho' the Company let Ransomers, and many other of their Factors, who happened to be taken, and kept on that account, lie in Prison several Years, till they could make their Escape; so the Company never paid one Farthing for such Ransom.

But such a Piece of Assurance certainly never was in Print before, as this Author's Affirmation, that the separate Traders valued the Company's Forts, at the time of obtaining the late Act, at 41,000 *l.* but that in copying the Extract of the Lords Commissioners of Trade their Report, "The said separate Traders", says the Author, "have wilfully filched out one of the Cyphers of the said Sum, and make the Value of the said Fort but 4100 *l.*"

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 98-113. It should be observed that the author of the *Remarks* is not quoting exactly. Up to this point Davenant quoted and replied to or commented upon nearly every section of the *Remarks,* but here he abandoned that method and made a more general reply to the pamphleteer. His first criticism was of the exaggerated computation of the exports of the private traders; his second, of their method of estimating the number of negroes carried. The "Remarker" had allowed 250 negroes per vessel sent from England, which was unsatisfactory because: (1) there was no agreement as to the number of vessels sent out; (2) many vessels did not carry their complement of negroes; (3) many vessels were too small for a cargo of 250; (4) many of those sent out had miscarried on the outward voyage. Since the negroes must be purchased by goods sent out, the inference seemed to be that the separate traders had sent out more goods than their ten per cent. payment indicated, or had carried fewer negroes, or had stolen rather than purchased their negroes. The conclusion was that with the goods sent out they could hardly have purchased more than 5053 negroes per year. *Ibid.*, pp. 291-297.

[9] The French under De Gennes had seized Fort James, on the Gambia, in 1695. The treaty of Ryswyk restored it to the English, but the French again plundered it in 1702 and in 1703. In 1709 it was captured by M. Parent, and the next year was looted by an English pirate. H. F. Reeve, *The Gambia,* pp. 62-63.

In answer to which, the separate Traders are ready to make appear, that the Valuation of all the Company's Forts in 1697 (except Cape-Coast Castle, which the Parliament deemed as the Nation's Property) were then of no greater Value than the said Sum of Four thousand one hundred Pounds: and if they are any better now, that must be ascribed to the great Sums of Money paid since on the 10 per Cent. Duty, which gives the separate Traders a large Property therein (pp. 15-16).[10] . . .

From the foregoing Account given in by the Company, 'tis plain, how many Negroes they Imported Annually.[11] So it must naturally follow, that what more than these were delivered into the Plantations, in that time, must be on account of the separate Traders. But as no other Accounts can be come at, than those from the 3 following Colonies, I shall divide them into the Annual Imports, according as set down in those Accounts I take them from, *viz.* For Antego and Jamaica, from the Accounts sent from those Governors respectively; and for Barbadoes, from an Account taken out of the Naval Office, and sent to a Member of Parliament, ready to be produced.

Between what Years delivered			No. of Negroes delivered into Barbados	Number delivered into Jamaica	No. delivered into Antego
To Barbadoes					
Between the 8	April,	1698			
	to April	1699	3436		
	To Apr.	1700	3080		
	To 5 Ditto	1701	4311		
N.D.	To 10 Ditto	1702	9213		
	To 31 Mar.	1703	4561		
	To 5 April	1704	1876		
	To 2d Ditto	1705	3319		
	To 5 Ditto	1706	1875		
	To 12 May	1707	2720		
	To 29 April	1708	1018		
To Jamaica[12]					
Between 29 Sept.		1698			
and 29 Decemb.		1698		1273	
Between 7 April		1699		5766	
and 28 March		1700			

[10] The account, here omitted, of the 10 per cent. duty received from the separate traders is contained in the report of the Board of Trade (*ante,* no. 34, p. 51). The comments of the "Remarker" on the company's account of charges are printed, p. 54, notes 7-9.

[11] The account here referred to is that printed on p. 62 of the report of 1709, in which the total number of negroes imported by the company is given as 17,760.

[12] Davenant's figures for Jamaica (*Works,* V. 300) are hardly in agreement with this:

In the year { 1702 / 1703 / 1704 / 1705 / 1706 / 1707 / 1708 } the separate traders imported to Jamaica { 2098 / 2703 / 2406 / 2774 / 3682 / 3270 / 1952 } Negroes.

Between what Years delivered		No. of Negroes delivered into Barbados	Number delivered into Jamaica	No. delivered into Antego
From 28 Mar. to 3 Apr.	1701		6068	
3d Apr. 1701 to 20 dit.	1702		8505	
20 dit. 1702 to 12 dit. N.F.	1703		2238	
12 dit. 1703 to 18 dit.	1704		2711	
18 dit. 1704 to 24 dit.	1705		3421	
24 dit. 1705 to 27 dit.	1706		5462	
27 dit. 1706 to 22 dit.	1707		2122	
22 dit. 1707 to 26 dit.	1708		6623	
To June	1708		187	
To Antego,	1698			18
June	1699			212
Between June	1700			
and 24 April,	1701			364
Between 24 April,	1701			
and 30 March,	1702			2395
To April	1703			1670
N.F. To Nov.	1704			1551
To	1705			269
To	1706			530
To	1707			114
		35,409	44,376	7123

Besides which there are 7 Separate ships named in the foregoing List for Antego, but not the Number of Negroes, so may well compute them at 1200 more which arrived between 1699 and 1700.

It appears from the foregoing Account, that the numbers of Negroes Imported into those three Islands, (allowing 1200 for the said Ships, whose numbers are not included by the Governor of Antego in his Account) amount to 88,108. And even allowing the whole number which the African Company sent out, being 17,760, were all deliver'd at those three Islands only, yet then it appears, the separate Traders have deliver'd 70 odd thousand to the Company's 17,760, in about the same time, besides what were delivered into Virginia, Maryland, and all the other Colonies, which must amount to at least thirty or forty thousand more.

It appears also from the said Account, that there were Imported into those three Colonies only 42,000 and odd Negroes in the Years 1700, 1701, and 1702, whereof not above 4000 by the African Company, which being compared with the Companies Imports of Negroes into all the Plantations when exclusive, between 1680 and 1688, amounting but to 46,396, or 5150 Negroes per an. as is to be seen by their own Account, given in to the Lords Commissioners of Trade. It is very plain there were near as many Negroes deliverd into those 3 Plantations in three Years, since the Trade was opened, as were deliver'd in nine Years by the Company into all the Plantations, when exclusive to all others.

It farther appears from the said Account, that there were more Negroes delivered into those three Plantations in one Year by separate Traders, between April 1701, and April 1702, being 18,602, than the Company deliver'd in the nine years and half since the Act, being 17,760, because the Total of Negroes, Imported both by the Company and the separate Traders in that Year, amounted to 20,113, out of which, deducting even the full Number delivered by them into all the Plantations that same Year, being 1511, as appears in Account N. C. the remainder is as above 18,602.

Again, it must be observ'd, that the Import of Negroes in that Year for those 3 Colonies only, are within two thousand and odd of as many as the Company delivered in 4 Years when exclusive (even in Time of Peace) into all the Plantations.

But 'twill no doubt be objected, that in the Year 1703 and 1704, the beginning of this War there were not quite 5000 Negroes deliver'd into Jamaica. In answer whereto, that Place, and all Persons besides, were in those two Years Prohibited all Trade with the Spaniards who take off great numbers of Negroes sent to Jamaica, which was one reason thereof, as well as the loss of many Ships, taken those Years by the Enemy.

'Tis I know objected likewise, that Barbadoes hath not been lately well supplied; which they may thank themselves for, by giving Paper instead of Silver, or Goods in Payment for Negroes.

But to go on, this Increase appears to hold good also in respect to the number of Ships employ'd in this Trade, as appears by the undermention'd on each Account.

	Tot.	*Comp. Ships.*	*Sepr. Ships.*
Cleared from the Port of London between 1698 and 1708	519	126	393
From Bristol, as per Custom Books	52	2	50
From Barbadoes, as per Governor's Account	111	18	93
	682	146	536
And if the Reflector will allow me to compute but 90 Ships for all other Ports of England, and the rest of the Plantations, which is underdone, altho' I am not just now prepared with Vouchers, as in the above	90		90
	772	146	626

Which makes about 74 Ships per annum, in an Avaridge sent to Africa since the Act, whereof near 400 in time of Peace, the remainder since the War, of which Number appear to have been employed by the Company, 60 Ships in Peace, and 86 Ships in War, and by the Separate Traders 340 in Peace, and 286 since the War; and in two of the Years of Peace, there were near as many Ships sent to Africa since the Trade was open, as were sent by the Company in nine Years when exclusive.

And it appears from this Distinction of the Number of Ships sent in Peace and in War, that more than half the Number of Negroes

were delivered in Peace, which with the Reflector's leave, farther confirms the Separate Traders Computations, especially, if it is consid'd, that of those Ships sent this War, near 100 Sail have miscarried Outward Bound, which would have been an Addition of 13 or 14 thousand Negroes more at least, which Accidents the Ships sent in Peace were not subject to (pp. 20-24). . . .

Then whether they are undone by Losses on one Hand, or by maintaining Forts on the other Hand, will appear, in considering their Account of Exports, which as appears in Tab. N. C. amounts to £293,740 6 *s.* 8 *d.* So what that Sum hath produced may be a Guide to come at the Knowledge of that Fact, and stands thus.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
By charged to Account of maintaining Forts,	186,076	00	00
By Imports to 1707,	52,230	17	02
By 17,760 Negroes sold in the Plantations, *vid.* N. C.			
By 5982 of them sold at Barbadoes, between the Year 1700, and 1708, as appears by account of Messieurs Bate and Steward, the Company's Factors there, mention'd in the Report made to the House of Commons,	156,425	07	06
By the remaining Number of 11,778 computed to be sold in Proportion,	306,248	00	00
By 2500 Negroes sold this Year, beside the above Numbers in proportion, is	65,000	00	00
By Gold imported since the Act, computed at,	50,000	00	00
	815,980	04	08
Out of which abating for Freight of 8500 Negroes imported in Peace, and the Remainder in War; the first at 5 *l.* per Head, the last at 11 *l.* per Head, and for Factoridge 14 per Cent. and loss on Returns,	200,000	00	00
Then remains,	615,980	04	08

From whence, 'tis manifest, that besides maintaining the Forts, the Company must have made 430,000 *l.* of the above Sum of 293,740 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* the first Cost of their Exports, and besides the ninety odd thousand Pound, receiv'd by them on account of the ten per cent. Duty.

Then the next Question will be, What is become of this five hundred and odd thousand Pound, and how they came at present, to owe three or four hundred thousand Pound on their Bonds besides, which their own Members ought to enquire into.

If they say they trust the Planter, and so the Money is not come to hand, that can't be true, because they have been under Contract with all their Factors abroad, and Security given at home, to make Returns in twelve Months, which Method was taken many Years before the Opening the Trade by Act of Parliament.

Then here arises another Question, which is difficult to answer, *viz.* If the Accounts of 186,076 *l.* laid out on Forts is true, then there remains but 107,300 *l.* for Trade, which hath purchased all these Negroes, Goods, etc. of so much Value (which is impossible) or else

the Account on Forts must be untrue to a far greater Degree than mention'd before, which Dilemma let them get out of it if they can (pp. 26-27). . . .

Some Heads for Constituting a Regulated Company.

THAT a Regulated Company be established under the Name of the Adventurers to Africa, something like the present Russia Company, with Power every Year to choose from among themselves a Committee of 7 or 9.

That their Standing-Officers be only a Treasurer and Secretary.

That the Care of well-providing and maintaining these Forts be committed to their Management, and that they be obliged to meet three times a Week.

That any Person in Great-Britain and the Plantations may at all times become a Member and Freeman of the said Company, paying to the Collector of the Fort where he resides, 2 *l.* for the use of the said Company, and not exceeding per Cent. on all Goods exported to Africa, as occasion may require.

That the Accounts kept of the Money raised, out of such Duty shall lie open at all times for the perusal of any of the Members of the said Company.

That the General Court of all Adventurers meet as often as needful to inspect into the Management of the Society, or to decrease or increase the necessary Charge as it may arise.

Hereby the Mischiefs of a Monopoly of so grievous Consequences to Great-Britain and the Plantations will be prevented.

The Forts may answer the Design of Parliament in keeping them, and become an Habitation of English Merchants, instead of tyrannical Oppressors, and Magazines for English Goods, which are now a Nuisance to the Trade; the said Forts will be mann'd with Souldiers instead of Generals, and the Trade being freed from the Oppressions of an arbitary Power, will encrease more than ever.

All the Out-ports of Britain, which must be excluded, if under a Monopoly, will have an equal Share of this Trade, and thereby our Navigation vastly increased, greater Quantities of our Woollen and Other Manufactures be exported, and the Plantations be abundantly better supplied than ever before, when the Cause of our Oppression is removed (pp. 30-31). . . .[13]

Note, The Money arising from the Ten per Cent. Duty, hath amounted to 87,564 *l.* 09 *s.* 6 *d.* between Midsummer, 1698, and Michaelmas, 1707, as the African Company give in to the Council of Trade, that they had received to that time; but there being a good

[13] Here the author prints a summary of the estimated charges for the forts, arrived at by the separate traders. He offers as his totals £11,468, or £5734 sterling.

Sum received on that Duty in the Plantations, tho not then received by the Company, the said Duty amounts to a far greater Sum, which yet by that Account is 9500 *l.* per annum, whereas the necessary Charge is under six thousand Pounds per annum.

Since the foregoing are come to hand some Accounts of the Ten per Cent. Duty paid since the Act, which shews the Accounts given into the Council of Trade by the African Company, at least such part of that Duty as was paid by private Traders not right, and that the said Duty for maintaining Forts, etc. hath exceeded ten thousand Pounds per annum, which is almost as much more as necessary.

Ten per Cent. Duty paid between 25 June, 1698, and 25 Dec. 1708,

	By the Company			By Sep. Traders.		
	l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Paid at London, On Exports,	30,394	09	05	44,675	11	00
Paid at London, On Imports	3,522	07	00	3,588	03	00
Exports, as per Account,				4,552	00	00
Paid at Bristol for Imports computed, no Account being yet come, Burbados				7,443	15	19
	33,916	16	05	60,859	09	09

Note, The above Sums make out near 95,000 *l.* besides what is receiv'd at all the other Ports in England, and at all the Plantations, except Barbadoes, which must amount to 7 or 8000 more (p. 32).

36. Ships from Great Britain to Africa, 1708-1709.[1]

An Account of Ships dispatched from the severall ports of Great Britaine for the Coast of Affrica between Michmas 1708 and Michmas 1709 As well on Account of the Affrican Company as the seperate Traders with the Ten per Cent duty paid the Number of peeces of Woollen Goods Shipped and the Number of Negroes to be loaden on board each Ship with the Success that hath attended each Ship (Vizt.) No. A.

Date of Entry Outward	Ships Names	Seper-ate Acct.	Compa. Acc.	When Cleared from Custome House	Ten per Cent Duty paid by the Separate Ships	Ten per Cent Duty paid by the Compa. Ships	No. of peeces of Woollen Goods in each exported	No. of Negroes designed to be taken on board sep. ships	No. of Negroes delivered since Michmas 1709	Where delivered or taken
1708 3d Sep.	The *Dolphin* paine M'r	Sep.		7 Oct. 1708	£ s. d. 88 17 4	£ s. d.		250	240	at Antego
	The *Providence*	Do.		16 do.	64 8 7	arrived before Michmas 1709		150		at Virginia
18 Do.	The *Dolphin* Veer M'r	Do.		2d do p'd before Michmas			1,300	240	213	at Jamaica
6 Oct. 1708	The *Broughton*		Compa.	2d May 1709		197 5 3	1,238	for Gold ph'ts	and Ele-teeth	
20 do.	The *Joseph* Gally	Sep.		15 Nov. 1708	203 2 10		467	490	350	at Jamaica
16 Dec.	The *Britania*	Do.		1 March 1708	49 1 0		38	for Dye	rs Wood	taken and retaken

23 Ditto	The *Richard and James*	Do.		26 Aug't 1709	264 18 5		230	550	370	at Jamaica
17 Jan. 7	The *Little London*	Do.		18 March 1708	68 12 6	arrived before		320	290	Ditto
21 Do.	The *Young Margaret*	Do.		2 do.	65 4 0 89 0 0	Michmas 1709	1,050	250		at Virginia
28 Ditto	The *Mermaid*	Do.		12 do.	97 4 4		1,012	280	224	at Jamaica
14 Feb'ry	The *Amey* Gally	Do.		28 do.	263 2 8		800	550	350	ditto
15 ditto	The *Dorothea*	Do.		12 Aprill 1709	207 12 3		175	450	320	ditto
26 ditto	The *Adventure*	Do.		5 do.	44 18 0			140	113	ditto
19 March	The *George and Martha*	Do.		17 May 1709	68 2 5		1,102	150	taken wi	th 130 Negroes
7 May 1709	The *Fanteen* Gally	Sep.		10 June 1709	145 19 11		1,730	350	292	at Jamaica
18 do.	The *George and Catherine*	do.		8 July 1709	113 8 2		50 1,250	250	90	with 260 Negroes taken and retaken and 170 Negroes taken out of her
19 do.	The *Maclesfeild*	do.		17 Augt. 1709	280 0 10		817	550	380	at Jamaica
23 do.	The *Pindar* Gally		Compa.	25 June 1709		297 17 11	1,250			
	The *Camwood*		Do.			116 0 10				
5 July	The *Raper* Gally	Sep.		16 Augt. 1709	160 7 8		1,462	380	294	at Jamaica
18 Ditto	The *Dolphin* Cassell M'r	do.		13 Oct'r 1709	145 16 0		1,430	330		not yet arrived
	The *Martin* Gally	do.		12 Augt. 1709	115 11 9		1,397	280	taken wi	th 225 Negroes on board

[*Ships from Great Britain to Africa, 1708-1709.*—continued:]

Date of Entry Outward	Ships Names	Seper-ate Acct.	Compa. Acc.	When Cleared from Custome House	Ten per Cent Duty paid by the Separate Ships	Ten per Cent Duty paid by the Compa. Ships	No. of peeces of Woollen Goods in each exported	No. of Negroes designed to be taken on board sep. ships	No. of Negroes delivered since Michmas 1709	Where delivered or taken
					£ *s.* *d.*					
12 Augt.	The *Martha*	do.		29 Do.	81 14 6		628	200	168	at Jamaica
18 do.	The *John and Constance*			19 Sept'r 1709	122 5 8		2,103 Anabass.	350	270	at Virginia
	The *Eagle*	do.		23 do.	123 10 3		1,279	350	taken with 290	
	The *Thomas* Gally	do.		16 do.	83 3 5			200	taken with 201	
1 Sep. 1709	The *Hawke*	do.		16 Oct'r 1709	87 9 0		1,000	220	204	at Mountserat
12 ditto	The *Judith*	do.			225 9 0	qr pd 2d Oct.	1,800	500	taken	
16 do.	The *Greswold*	do.		11 Oct'r 1709	102 13 6		1,380	250	186	at Jamaica
	The *Dartmouth* Gally from Dartmo	do.		27 7'ber	118 0 0		1,650	300	taken	
	The *Jos.* Gally from Plymouth	do.		10 Aprill	110 0 0		2,402 Anabass.	280	280	at Jamaica
	The *Coward* Gally from Scotland	do.			155 0 0		1,070	for Gold	and Elephants teeth taken	

Separate Ships cleared from Bristoll.[2]

14 Sep. 1708	The *Stoneage* Gally	Sep.		15 Dec. 1708	129 18 11		1,000	250		taken with 240 Negroes on board
4 Jan.	The *Dover* Gally	do.		20 Jan.	88 19 0		675	200	255	at Jamaica
3 Feb.	The *Dorsett* Brigantine	do.		24 March	137 10 6		1,050	180	taken	
17 May 1709	The *Expedition* Gally	do.		2 July 1709	162 4 2		1,399		145	at Jamaica
10	The *Berkley* Gally	do.		1 Nov'r	137 8 2		1,560	340	355	at ditto
2 July	The *Charles* Gally	do.		14	111 18 4½		1,230	300	220	ditto
26 Augt.	The *Henville* Gally	do.		10 Oct'r	189 11 9		1,430	400	196	ditto
10 Augt.	The *Joseph and Thomas*	do.		17	155 19 9		1,192	350	170	Barbados
					4,858 4 8	£ s. d. 611 4 0	40,654 [39,646]	10,580 [10,630]	5,975	

[36] [1] C. O. 388: 13, p. 103 (1-3).

[2] To this table is attached: "Note 35000 of the above Woollen Goods are perpets says serges Bays and Stuffes 600 are Woollen Carpetts and the remainder are Fustians usually called Anabasses of one Yard and one Eigth each made of Cotton".

37. Petitions to the House of Commons.[1]

January 28, 1709.

A Petition of the Gun-makers, Cutlers, and Powder-makers, inhabiting in and about the City of London, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that the Petitioners, and their Families, have been very much supported by Sale of their Goods, usually exported by the Royal African Company; which Trade, from the late great Difficulties the Company have met with under the present Settlement, has very much declined, and is in danger of being lost to the Nation, to the Prejudice of the Publick, and utter Ruin of many of the Petitioners: And praying, that the Traffick of the Royal African Company to Africa may be preserved, and encouraged, by such Means, as the House shall think fit.

February 1, 1708/9.[2]

A Petition of the Merchants of Edinburgh was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that the Royal African Company of England, having, by their Petition to the House (under divers wrong Pretences) suggested, that the Trade to Africa cannot be duly managed, but with a joint Company's Stock, exclusive of all others; the Petitioners conceive, the same would be contrary to the Articles of Union, particularly the 4th and 21th Articles, whereby it is stipulated, that all the Subjects of Great Britain shall have free Intercourse of Trade and Navigation, and a Communication of all other Rights, Privileges, and Advantages, belonging to the Subjects of either Kingdom, except where it is otherwise expressly agreed in the said Articles: And praying, that the Trade to Africa may not be confined to a Monopoly under a joint Stock, but that it may remain open and free to all the Subjects of Great Britain.[3] . . .

February 1, 1708/9.[4]

A petition of the Dyers, Packers, Setters, Drawers, and Calendars, inhabiting in and about London, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that the Petitioners, and their Families, have been very much supported by the working, and fitting for Sale, the Woollen

[37] [1] *C. J.*, XVI. 74. As usual, as soon as the African trade was up for discussion petitions poured in to the House of Commons. A few, showing the diversity of interests touched by the trade, are here printed. For petitions from London merchants, from the corporation and merchants of Exeter, from the traders to Virginia and Maryland, from the shipwrights of London, the merchants interested in Jamaica, the planters of Nevis and Montserrat, the Merchant Venturers and the corporation of Bristol, the merchants of Whitehaven and Liverpool, see *ibid.*, XVI. 71, 75, 77, 83, 86, 98; and Stock, *Proceedings and Debates,* III. 202-209.

[2] *C. J.*, XVI. 77.

[3] Similar petitions were received from Montrose, Dundee, Invernesse, Aberdeen, and Glasgow. *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 83, 98, 102, 135.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

Manufactures, usually exported in great Quantities by the Royal African Company; which Trade (from the great Difficulties the Company has met with under the present Settlement) is very much declined, and is in danger of being lost to the Nation: which will prove very prejudicial to the Publick, and the utter Ruin of many of the Petitioners: And praying, that the Traffick of the African Company may be preserved, and encouraged, by such Means, as the House shall judge fit.[5] . . .

February 2, 1708/9.[6]

A Petition of the Shipwrights, Sail-makers, Rope-makers, and other Tradesmen, concerned in Shipping, inhabiting in and about London, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that the Petitioners, and their Families, have been very much supported and maintained by the building, repairing, and fitting out, the Shipping, belonging to the Royal African Company in their Trade to Guinea, which is very much declined, by the great Difficulties, and Discouragements, the Company has met with under their present Settlement, to the Prejudice of the Publick, and Ruin of many of the Petitioners: And praying, that the said Company's Trade to Africa may be secured, and encouraged, by such Means, as the House shall judge fit. . . .

February 2, 1708/9.

A Petition of the Weavers, Tuckers, and other Artificers, belonging to the manufacturing of Perpetuanoes for Africa, living in and near Exon, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that the Petitioners have been greatly supported in their Trade by the great Quantities of Woollen Goods, usually exported by the Royal African Company, who (as the Petitioners are informed) have met with such Discouragements in their Trade, that they will be forced to withdraw their Effects, and decline the Trade to Africa, to the utter Ruin of the Petitioners: And praying, that the Traffick of the said Company to Africa may be preserved, and encouraged, as the House shall think fit. . . .

February 2, 1708/9.

A Petition of the Tradesmen and Inhabitants, of the Town of Birmingham, and divers other Manufacturers of wrought Iron there, and Places adjacent, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that since the Act of Parliament, for laying open the Trade to Africa, the Petitioners have exceedingly improved the Manu-

[5] To offset this petition a group, similarly described, on Feb. 4 presented a petition stating that since the trade to Africa had been laid open they had received much greater benefit because of the exports of the woollen manufacture by the separate traders. *C. J.*, XVI. 90.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 83, 86, 112.

factures of wrought Iron in their Neighbourhood, which, through the great Demand thereof for Africa, gives daily Employment to vast Numbers of poor Families, who must unavoidably be ruined, if the said Manufactures should be subjected to one Buyer, or to any one monopolizing Society, exclusive of all others: And praying, that the Trade to Africa may be continued open and free to all the Subjects of Great Britain, under such Regulations, as the House shall think fit.

February 3, 1708/9.

A Petition of the Cottons, Serge-makers, and other Woollen Manufacturers, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that the Petitioners, and many Hundreds of others, have been greatly supported, by making Goods, usually exported by the Royal African Company; which Trade is (as the Petitioners are informed) in danger of being lost to the Nation, to the Ruin of the Petitioners: And praying, that the Traffick of the said Company to Africa may be preserved, and encouraged, by such Means as the House shall judge fit. . . .

February 18, 1708/9.

A Petition of several Persons, Creditors of the Royal African Company, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that the Petitioners have several great Sums of Money due to them, upon Bonds of the said Company, upon a View, that they would enjoy the Privileges, granted them by Charter from King Charles the 2d; but by the interfering Interests between the said Company, and the separate Traders to Africa, the Petitioners apprehend themselves to be in great danger of losing their just Debts: And praying, that the said Company may be encouraged in their said Trade to Africa, and be obliged to do the Petitioners Justice, in such Manner, as to the House shall seem meet.[7]

February 19, 1708/9.[8]

A Petition of the Merchants and Citizens, being in, and trading from, the City of Chester, was presented to the House, and read: setting forth, that the said City was, and anciently is, a Place of considerable Trade, and situate commodiously for the Export of Welch Flannels, and other Manufactures, proper for the Trade to Africa: That they have a Prospect of recovering their Navigation on the River Dee, and increasing their Shipping, and Trade to foreign

[7] On Mar. 26, 30, and Apr. 8 creditors of the company to the amount of £300,000 asked for a hearing, since such a bill as that proposed would destroy the trade of the company. *C. J.*, XVI. 175, 179, 192.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 114.

Parts: And praying, that they may not be debarred of the Trade to Africa, by any Privileges to be granted to the Royal African Company (for which they have petitioned the House) or to any others.[9]

38. The Board of Trade to the Queen.[1]

Whitehall, April 8, 1709.

In reply to Order in Council, March 31,[2] represent that by a letter from Governor Handasyd, Oct. 27, 1708, we were informed that severall Members of the Councill being Factors for the said African Company, and thereby disabled from sitting as Judges in any of these Courts, there wanted a sufficient Number of Counsellors duly quallifyed to make a Councill for hearing Appeals; that thereupon we forthwith writ to the Governor to admonish such Members to forbear to act any longer as Fact'rs or Agents for the said Company, and if they refused to comply therewith, that then he should return to us the Names of the Persons so refusing in order to our laying that Matter before your Majesty for your Pleasure therein; to which letter we have yet received no Answer.

Therefore in obedience to your Majesty's forementioned order in Councill we do most humbly offer that your Royal Pleasure be signifyed to the said Governor, to require all such Members of the Councill there as are Factors or Agents for the said African Company or for any other Person or Persons, for the sale or disposal of

[9] The report of the Board of Trade and the various petitions, with further accounts from the company, were discussed in committee of the whole House, which on Mar. 17 reported that in the opinion of the committee the trade should be made free, and placed under a regulated company. The House directed that a bill be brought in in accordance with this report. Against the bill when introduced the company at once protested. *C. J.*, XVI. 96, 113, 135, 160, 169; Stock, III. 217-219.

[38] [1] C. O. 138: 12, p. 384. The subject here under discussion, office-holding by factors of the Royal African Company, had been a subject of contention ever since its prohibition by the act of 1698. In 1701 Sir William Beeston had written that he had difficulty in forming a group to try pirates in Jamaica, since many of those commissioned by his Majesty were concerned in the sale of negroes (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1701, p. 267). In 1707 and 1708 the Board of Trade reminded the governors of Barbados and Jamaica that agents of the company were not to act as judges in the islands (*ibid.*, 1706-1708, pp. 393, 768). In 1708 the matter was taken up by the Privy Council, who reiterated the statement of the act, that no factors of the Royal African Company were to act as members of the councils of the plantations (*Acts P. C. C.*, II. 564-567). The provision of the act had apparently up to this time been largely ignored. Governor Handasyd wrote on June 17, 1708, that most of the old councillors were factors of the Guinea Company, though it was ten years since the passage of the act forbidding this combination of function (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1706-1708, p. 752). The Board of Trade reminded him on June 25 that this was forbidden (*B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, p. 513; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1706-1708, p. 768). The governor replied that those members of the council holding both positions, with the single exception of Colonel Beckford, refused to resign from the African Company and that if he excluded them he would not be able to make up a council (*ibid.*, 1708-1709, p. 121). On Feb. 24, 1709, the Board of Trade replied that those councillors who were agents for the African Company were clearly violating the meaning of the act, which forbade the holding of colonial offices by such agents. *Ibid.*, p. 228.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 269.

Negroes, that they forthwith quit and resign such Factorage or Agency, and if they shall refuse or neglect so to do, that in such Case he forthwith remove the person or persons for refusing or neglecting from the said Councill; And Whereas the Number of Counsellors who are Factors or Agents for the said Company does not, as wee are informed, Exceed three Persons (nor do we know that any others of the Councill are otherwise Employed as Factors or Agents to any other Persons for the sale or disposal of Negroes) We therefore further humbly propose that the said Governor be at the same time impowered by your Majesty's Royal Letters Mandatory to swear into the said Councill, in the room of such Person or Persons who shall be so removed, Francis Oldfeild, John Cossly, and John Carver Esqrs., or so many of them as shall compleat the full Number of twelve Counsellors, they being Persons now resident within that Island, having good Estates there, and as wee have been Credibly informed, duly qualifyed for that Trust. This we humbly apprehend to be agreeable to the true intent and meaning of the Act of the 9th and 10th of his late Majesty for settling the trade to Africa, it being thereby enacted that no Judge of any Court in any of your Majesties Colonies or Plantations in America shall be a Factor or Agent for the said African Company, or any other Person or Pers'ns for the sale or disposal of any Negroes.[3] And by this Method as any failure of Justice in such case will for the future be prevented there, so will the present Constitution of the Councill, as to the Number of twelve Counsellors be preserv'd which regulation or Restriction of the Number of twelve having sever'll years past been settled throughout your Majesty's said Colonies and Plantations: We are humbly of Opinion it will be for your Majesty's service that the same be still punctually observ'd. And if your Majesty shall be Graciously pleased to approve what we have herein before proposed to the end the said African Company may not receive any prejudice from a want of their having Factors or Agents there to perform the services of the said Company in the room of such of their present Factors or Agents as shall so quit and resign that Trust as aforesaid, We do further humbly offer that notice may be given hereof to the said Company that they may take care to Constitute and appoint any other Person or Persons not disqualifyed by the said Act to be their Factors or Agents in the room of such Persons as shall so quit and resign as aforesd.[4]

[3] See this work, I. 429.

[4] On Apr. 16, 1709, an Order of the Queen in Council directed that the suggestion for new councillors be carried out if those members who were agents of the African Company refused to give up their connection with that company. Instructions were sent to the governor on Apr. 20 (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, p. 281; *Acts P. C. C.*, II. 566). On July 18 the governor wrote that Colonel Beckford and Mr. Champlain had resigned their "factoridge", and on Dec. 17 he reported that the present councillors asserted that they bought and sold only those negroes which they owned, and that they were therefore

39. Sir Dalby Thomas to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cabo Corso Castle, 21 August, 1709.

S'r Dalby Thomas Adviseth That Mr. Thurloe your Chief at Succondee Continues his private Trading And Buys Five or Six Bales of Perpetts at a time and Seven or Eight Slaves at a time On Board the 10 per Cent men. S'r Dalby is Informed that Hee takes your Perpetts out of your Filletts [2] and puts the 10 per Ct. Mens Perpetts in them Which not being soe good as yours Is an Imposition on the Traders, And a Disreputation to the Compa's Goods to the Detriment of the Trade. S'r Dalby has an Acco't that he has Sold about Forty Slaves to the 10 per Ct. Men Since he has been at Succondee.

Capt. Willis at Whidah is Dead and Mr. Hicks made Chief. Capt. Willis played a base Trick in Certifying a Slave to be Dead, and by Same was found to be living.

40. Mr. Hicks to the Royal African Company.[1]

Whidah, 22 August, 1709.

I also found in Possession of Mr. Duffield One Cormanteen, A very fine Young Man, And One of your Hon'rs Slaves, that was by Capt. Willis on Nov. 1707 Wrote off unjustly from the List of Castle Slaves as Dead, And passed Certificates accordingly, Which are Signed by Himselfe Mr. Hillyard and Jno. Sherman Bomboy As One of the Originalls I send Your Hon'r Enclosed.

I have Examined Mr. Hillyard and Sherman how they came to Signe 2 Certificates which they could not but be sensible was false, And for their Justeficecion they both Affirm they never were Suffered by Capt. Willis to read what they Signed, And for once Attempting One had his Head Broke and the Other Discarded for a full Month; Whether True or False I cannot Judge more than that I think the whole is a Base and Knavish Action.

I have forced Mr. Duffield to Deliver him, and have brought him to your hon'rs Acco't again among the rest of the Castle Slaves.

41. Sir Dalby Thomas to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cabo Corso Castle, 22 October 1709.

I was fully satisfied of Mr. Thurloe's private Trading and his practice at Shidoe before I had the particular Acco't And particularly of

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qualified to sit in the council (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, pp. 427, 559). Barbados was having difficulties of a similar nature with officials who were disqualified because of their connection with the African Company.

[39] [1] T 70: 2, p. 12, "Abstracts of Letters, Sept. 30, 1707-July 22, 1713".

[2] The "pieces" of goods seem to have been bound into bundles by narrow strips or fillets.

[40] [1] T 70: 2, pp. 12-13.

[41] [1] T 70: 2, p. 14.

his Panyering and Brandeeing [2] Agoy at Succondee, But was willing to let him alone until I had Sombody from Your Hon'r to put in his Room, But when the People came and told me that they would not Live under him I thought it was best to Remove him, And Phripp falling into the same kind of Pr[a]emunire [3] I thought I was Obliged to Remove Him alsoe.

I was willing to bring Thurloe of his Own Accord to Consid'r Your Hon'r for Trading on Your Charge, but He said you might Stop it Out of what You Stopt in Engl.

Thurloe and Phripp I doe not designe to Employ again untill Your Honours Directions therein.

Under date of 29 Nov., 1709.

I am Informed that Mr. Thurloe is getting Certificates from 10 per Cent. Men of his not Trading with Them, what the Certificates are I know not, Its possible their Oaths and Certificates may Differ: I am fully Satisfied he is not Accused with any thing but what is fact.

I do not find Mr. Phripp looks after Certificates. Yet tho he allows to have done what he is Charged with he says he has done Nothing but what he can Answer.

42. Report of the Board of Trade to the House of Commons.[1]

December 19, 1709.

To the Hon'ble the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled.

In Pursuance of an Order of the 15th Instant, requiring Us to lay before this Honourable House, what further Observations We have made, relating to the Trade to Africa, since our last laid before this House.

We humbly take leave to Represent, That by Our Report of the 27th of January last, We laid before this Honourable House the State of the Trade to Africa, as it then stood, with Our Observations

[2] Kidnapping and branding.

[3] An interesting illustration of the variety of ways in which this term, once purely ecclesiastical, had come to be used.

[42] [1] C. O. 389: 21, pp. 7-16. Despite the protracted discussion in the early months of 1709, the House of Commons adjourned without passing the African bill which had been under consideration. Soon after the beginning of the session in November, 1709, the question of the settlement of African trade was again opened. On Dec. 15 the Commons ordered that the Board of Trade report; on the 19th the report was presented. Between Dec. 8 and 15 a number of petitions against the claims of the African Company had come in to the House: that of the merchants of London, charging that the "company did not pay their debts, nor carry on the Trade, nor support their Settlements, nor protect the separate Traders, and by their present Circumstances they remain only in a Capacity to oppress the Petitioners, and others, and obstruct the Trade in general". One group of Barbados planters petitioned for open trade, another, against it, the latter on the ground that under the monopolized trade negroes had sold for from £15 to £20 per head, while under open trade, prevailing since 1698, they had reached £30 and £40. *C. J.*, XVI. 235, 236, 240, 242, 246; Stock, III. 222-224.

thereon; since which time, We have endeavoured to get what further Information We were able, in relation to that Trade; and in order thereunto, We did on the 21st of October last, send to the African Company for the following Accounts, *vizt.*[2]

An account of the Ten per Cent Duty paid by Seperate Traders from Michaelmas 1708 to Michaelmas 1709; and how the same has been expended.

An account of the Charge of the Forts and Castles during the forsaid time, and of the Company's Settlements in Africa.

An Account of what Money has been called and paid in, and what Dividends made by the Company, between Michaelmas 1708 and Michaelmas 1709.

An Account of Exports and Imports by the Company and Seperate Traders for the same time.

An Account of the number of Ships fitted out by the Company and Seperate Traders, from Michaelmas 1708 to Michaelmas 1709.

An Account of the Number of Negroes furnished by the Company and Seperate Traders, to the several Plantations during the said time, and at what Rates, with the Terms on which such Negroes have been sold.

An Account of the Woollen Manufactures the Company and Seperate Traders have exported since Michaelmas 1708 to Michaelmas 1709.

To which several Queries they have return'd us no Answer.

We did at the same time send to the Seperate Traders several Queries, and having receiv'd Returns thereunto, We take leave to lay the same before this Honourable House, as follows,

1st Query. How much has been paid to the Company by the Seperate Traders on account of the Ten per Cent, from Michaelmas 1708 to Michaelmas 1709?

To which they have answer'd, that having examin'd the Custom House Books, they found that the Ten per Cent Duty paid within the above-mentioned time in Exports by the Company amounts to £611, and by the Seperate Traders to £4858 4 *s.* 8 *d.* as appears by the Paper annex'd, mark'd A.[3]

2nd Query. How many Ships have been sent out by the Company on account of that Trade, and how many by the Seperate Traders, within the above time?

To which the Seperate Traders have answer'd, that the Company, during the foresaid time, have sent out but three Ships, and the seperate Traders thirty seven; as likewise appears by the said Paper A.

Upon which We observe, That though the said List A. cannot be made perfect here, for want of an Account of the number of Ships

[2] *B. T. Jour.*, 1709-1715, p. 77; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, p. 487.
[3] Not here printed.

dispatch'd from the several Plantations to the Coast of Africa, and of the account of the Ten per Cent paid there; yet it does appear that the Seperate Traders have sent out from the several Ports of this Kingdom, above twelve Ships to one of what hath been dispatched by the Company.

3rd Query. What is the Value of the Exports (particularly in reference to our Woollen Manufactures) and of the Imports of the Company, from Michaelmas 1708 to Michaelmas 1709; and what is the Value of the Exports and Imports of the Seperate Traders, within that time?

Upon this We observe, That the Ten per Cent paid by the Company in that time, being £611 : 4 *s*. as aforesaid, the Value of their Exports is about £6100 on account of their Trade, and for maintaining their Forts; and if from the said £6100 the Value of the Ten per Cent be deducted, the same amounting to £5469 : 8 *s*. : 8 *d*. there will then remain for their Trade of the Company but £630 11 *s*. 4 *d*.

The Ten per Cent Duty paid by the Seperate Traders being £4858 : 4 *s*. : 8 *d*. as by Paper A, the Value of their Exports must be about £48,582 : 8 *s*. whereby it appears that the Seperate Traders Exports for Trade only, exceeds those of the Company near eighty to one this year; besides the great difference of Shipping employ'd within that time, by the Company and the Seperate Traders.

In relation to the Woollen Manufactures Exported, the Seperate Traders inform Us, That they cannot give a particular and exact Account thereof, but that it appears by the Custom-House Books, that there has been exported, during the foresaid time, about 40,654 Pieces of Woollen Manufactures, of all sorts (as by the said Paper A.) whereof, as the Seperate Traders affirm, the Company have exported but 2488; So that according to their Account, the Seperate Traders have exported this year 35,678 Pieces of Woollen Manufactures more than the Company. Of this whole Export there were in Perpets, Says, Bays and Stuffs, 35,000 Pieces; 600 Woollen Carpets, and the rest were Fustians, usually called Anabasses. . . . .

4th Query. What Number of Negroes have been Imported into the Plantations by the Company since Michaelmas 1708; What Number within that time by the Seperate Traders; at what Rates have such Negroes usually been sold by the Company, and by the Seperate Traders within that time? [4]

In Answer to this the Seperate Traders have inform'd Us, that the Accounts of the Arrival of their Ships in the Plantations, reach no farther than to July last; However it appears by those Accounts, a

[4] Nov. 17, 1709, separate traders to Mr. Popple, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, pp. 522-523. The company had reported to the board on Jan. 23, 1708 (*B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, p. 454), that between 1704 and 1707 the separate traders had imported: to Jamaica, 11,510, to Barbados, 2093, to Antigua, 698, to Nevis, 250, to Virginia, 2734, total, 17,285.

Copy whereof is hereunto annexed, Marked B that the Seperate Traders have Imported into

	Negroes
Jamaica	3982
Virginia	630
Barbadoes	340
Antegoa	530[5]
In all	5482

Besides those Imported by Ships fitted out in the Plantations for the Coast of Africa, the number whereof is not known here, and by the said Paper B. it appears that the Company have only Imported into Antigua 440 Negroes.

The Seperate Traders say, that there are but three of the above mentioned 40 Ships dispatched in this Year's Trade, yet arriv'd in the Plantations; so that if the rest arrive safe, the said Plantations will in all Probability have a plentiful supply.

As to the Rates of the Negroes sold in the Plantations, they can give Us no Account of those sold by the Company, but do say that they have usually sold their Negroes at Jamaica, from 15 to £26 per Head; at Virginia about £25 per Head; but dearer at Barbadoes, and in the Leeward Islands, by reason that the Credit of Barbadoes has not been re-established since a late Act passed there for making of Paper-Money current;[6] nor the credit of the Leeward Islands, since the Taking of Nevis.

We have received, since Our above-mentioned Report of the 27th of January last, further Accounts from the Plantations, of the Importation of Negroes there, since the 24th of June 1698, which We take leave to add here, and are as follows:

[5] The *Calendar,* 1708-1709 (p. 523), gives "Antigua, 970".

[6] Barbados was far from admitting that the high price she had paid for slaves had resulted from her currency bill. In August, 78 planters signed a petition to the Commons asking for a joint-stock company, since they were convinced that the late high prices given for negroes had resulted from the liberty given to separate traders. These planters were also the signers of a joint letter, urging the friends of Barbados to give attention to the petition which Barbados had sent to the House of Commons (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1708-1709, p. 551). This is probably the same group whose names are found attached to a petition of July 20, 1710. *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1710-1711, pp. 308-309.

	By the Com-pany	By Seperate Traders	Totals
Virginia			
From the 24th of June 1699 to the 12th of October 1709..... The Prices of Negroes are different according to their Quality and Ages, and to the time of their coming in; But the Medium for Men and Women may be reckon'd from 20 to £ 30 per Head for those sold by the Company; And from 20 to £ 35 per Head for the like kinds sold by Separate Traders.	679	5,828	6,507
Maryland[8]			
From Midsummer 1698; to the 25th of December 1708..... This Province hath been supply'd with Negroes by the Seperate Traders only; Not one Ship of the Company's having been there in 20 years; The Men are sold at £ 30 per Head, the Women at 25 and £ 26 per Head.	.....	2,938	2,938
Connecticut[9]			
Not one Ship either belonging to the Company or Seperate Traders, have Imported any Negroes since 1698, or before that year. They have but few Negroes in the Colony with which they are supply'd from their Neighbours, and sometimes with about six in a year from the West Indies.			
Rhode Island[10]			
None Imported since 1698, by the Company, or Seperate Traders. Their only supply of Negroes is from Barbadoes, from whence yearly they have between 20 and 30 Negroes, who are sold from 30 to £ 40 per Head, if sound.			
Barbadoes[11]			
Imported from Africa, from the 24th of June 1708, to the 1st of August 1709.....	.....	.....	1,293

Note; This Account does not distinguish the Numbers of Negroes Imported by the Company, and those by the Seperate Traders within the time there mention'd; so that We cannot make any computation of what further Number has been Imported within that time by the Seperate Traders here, or by the Seperate Traders in the Plantations, over and above the said 340.

The Seperate Traders do say, that they lost the last year twenty, and this year five of their Ships, which has been a great Discouragement to them; Notwithstanding which, they have this Year sent out 37, and they say they are now fitting out ten more, besides eight or nine of the last year, which are not yet return'd; so that there are

[7] Colonel Jenings to the Board of Trade, Nov. 27, 1708, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, pp. 156-158. The *Calendar* gives the number brought in by separate traders as 5692, and adds 236 brought from Barbados.

[8] Nov. 18, 1708, Governor Seymour to the Board of Trade, *ibid.*, pp. 150-151; *B. T. Jour.*, 1709-1715, p. 55.

[9] Jan. 26, 1709, Governor and Council of Connecticut to the Board of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, p. 209.

[10] Dec. 5, 1708, Governor Cranston to the Board of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, pp. 171-172, and this work, vol. III., Rhode Island.

[11] Sept. 2, 1709, Governor Crowe to the Board of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, p. 458, enclosure; *B. T. Jour.*, 1709-1715, p. 96.

at present about 55 ships employ'd by them in this Trade, whereas, as has been before mentioned, the Company have but three.

By the foregoing Accounts, it appears in what manner the Trade to Africa has been carryed on for this last year, whereby it is evident that Company so far have neglected the Trade, that had not the Seperate Traders carry'd it on in the manner they have done, this Kingdom would have suffer'd very much in regard to the following Particulars;

The Export of Our Woollen and other Manufactures had been greatly lessen'd, or rather had been so inconsiderable as not worth the being mentioned.

The Tunnage of Shipping employed in that Trade had been very small, to the great Discouragement of the Navigation of this Kingdom.

Our American Plantations would have suffer'd very much for want of a competent supply of Negroes, to the great Prejudice of the Sugar and Tobacco Traders (already labouring under the utmost Discouragements) and consequently the Revenues arising to the Publick from those Trades, must have been greatly lessen'd.

To all which we may add, that Our Trade to Africa might have been in danger of being lost to this Kingdom, and of falling into the Hands of other European Nations Trading to that Coast (for want of the Natives being furnished with Woollen and other Goods from hence) had not the Seperate Traders supply'd those Markets in the manner abovementioned.[12]

WHITEHALL
Decemb'r the 19th 1709

43. PETITIONS TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.[1]

December 20, 1709.

A Petition of the Mayor, Aldermen, Merchants, and Tradesmen, living in, and trading from, the ancient Corporation and Port of Leverpoole, in the County of Lancaster, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that the Petitioners, having enjoyed the Liberty of Trade to Africa, since the Enlargement thereof by Act of Parliament, do now find, that the Royal African Company are endeavouring to get that Trade to themselves, exclusive of all others; which will be very prejudicial to the Petitioners, in regard of their great Increase of Shipping, and the many young Gentlemen from the neighbouring Counties, bred up in Merchandize there, and the

[12] Signed, "Stamford, Dartmouth, Ph. Meadows, J. Pulteney, R. Monckton, Cha: Turner".

[43] [1] *C. J.*, XVI. 246.

great Trade, they have to the Plantations, having sent many Ships to the Coast of Africa, since the opening of the said Trade: It will also discourage the Exportation of the Woollen Manufacture, and lessen her Majesty's Revenue, for want of their usual Returns from the Plantations: And praying, that the Trade to Africa may continue free and open to all her Majesty's Subjects.

January 24, 1709/10.[2]

A Petition of the Gun-makers, inhabiting in and about London, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that the Trade to Africa, when it was solely carried on by the Royal African Company, occasioned the Exportation of very great Quantities of the Petitioners Manufactures, and was a great Help to their Support; but the late great Difficulties, the said Company have laboured under by the late Settlement, has very much lessened that Exportation, to the Impoverishment of the Petitioners: And praying, that the said Company's Trade may be secured to them, under such Methods, as to the House shall seem meet. . . .

A Petition of the Dyers, Packers, Setters, Drawers, and Calenders, and others, inhabiting in and about London, was presented to the House, and read: setting forth, that the Royal African Company, by their Trade to Guinea, were wont to give Employment to the Petitioners, and many Hundred others; but their Trades are very much lessened by the Misfortunes, the said Company labour under, by reason of the War, and the Irruptions of the separate Traders, whereby the Guinea Trade is in great Danger of being lost to the Nation; which tends to the Detriment of the Petitioners, and their Families: And praying, that the House will grant the said Company such Privileges, as may encourage them to improve that Trade by

[2] *C. J.*, XVI. 273. Petitions continued to come in through January, February, and March, 1710: those interested in the woollen industry of Exeter and London; the iron workers of Birmingham; the shipwrights and all those concerned in the finishing and furnishing of vessels; the corporations of Plymouth, Bridgewater, and Bristol; the shipowners of Whitehaven; the corporation and merchants of Edinburgh; the boroughs of North Britain; even the butchers, the brewers and the bakers of London, petitioned against a restoration of the monopoly of the slave trade (*ibid.*, pp. 259, 260, 261, 267, 269, 308; Stock, III. 224-238, *passim*). The two petitions which follow, together with two from the company, Jan. 11 and Mar. 3, were the only expressions favorable to the company which came to the House during this session. On the same day that these papers were presented the company and the separate traders each proposed a scheme for the settling of the trade. The company's suggestion was that it be required to export to Africa £100,000 in manufactures and merchandize annually, and that the price and number of negroes it delivered in the plantations be left to the determination of her Majesty in Council. The plan of the separate traders, signed by Richard Harris and Humphrey Morice, suggested that the forts and factories of Africa be taken over by the queen, with whatever recompense the House thought necessary, such recompense to be raised by a duty laid on the trade to Africa, and that the African trade be laid open, subject only to the aforementioned duty (*C. J.*, XVI. 275-276, 300; Stock, III. 225, 236). These proposals, with all other matter bearing on the African question which had come to the House, were considered in committee of the whole until Feb. 9.

more large Exportations, for the Good of the Publick, as well as the Petitioners Support.[3] . . .

44. Valuation of the African Forts.[1]

Royal African Company's Estimates of each of their Forts and Settlements.

1st. Cabo Corso Castle, bought of the former Company.

The Fortification consists of Out-works, Platforms, and Bastions; and has been enlarged with new Buildings, and made regular, by the present Company, with Brick, Lime, and Tarras; was Seven Years a doing: having Apartments for the Director General, Factors, Writers, Artificers, and Soldiers; Magazines, Warehouses, Storehouses, Granaries, Guard-rooms, Two large Water Tanks, or Cisterns, built of Brick and Tarras, sent from England, and holding about 200 Tons; Repositories to contain 1000 Negroes, and Vaults for Rum; Work-houses for Smiths, Armourers, and Carpenters; 74 great Guns, small Arms, Soldiers Coats, Blunderbusses, Buccaneer Guns, Pistols, Cartouch Boxes, Swords, and Cutlasses; Ammunition for great and small Arms; Stores and Tools for Brick-makers, Bricklayers, Smiths, Carpenters, Coopers, Surgeons, Armourers, Gunners, and Gardeners; A complete Chapel; Pinnaces and Canoes, attending on the Castle and Garison, and for fetching and carrying Materials for building and Stores, to and from the out Factories.

This Castle is situate in Fettue, the Residence of the Company's General, who manages their Trade and Alliances, with the several Kingdoms; and opens a Trade to Saboe, Cabesterroe, and Arkania, Cuffera, Dawnkra, and Ashantee; and is a Repository of Goods, for Supply of all the Factories: It has Gardens and Grounds, producing all Necessaries; as Plantanes, Bonanoes, Pine Apples, Potatoes, Yames, Corn, Colworts, Cabbages, and all other European Refreshments, for the Factories, and Shipping: also Ponds of fresh Water; and the Castle is a Security for all Ships on the Road, and by small Vessels taking in Cargoes, and Directions, from thence, to carry on the Trade to Windward, at these several Places; *viz.* to Cape Mount, Serrada, River Cestos, Sanguinee, Sujo, Cettra, Crew, Wappo, Grand Cettra, Cape Palmas, Sabboe on the Quaqua Coast, and Tahow Petera, Drewin, and River Andrea, Red Cliffts, Cottraow, Cape Lahow, Jack and Jack, Basham, Ashanee, Abbunee, Cape Apolonia; and to Leeward, as far as the River Benin, and Old and New Calabar; whereby a considerable Trade has been preserved, and carried on, to the Vent of 60 to 70,000 *l.* per Annum in Goods and Merchandize: All which, so circumstantiated, is valued at . . . . . £100,000.

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[3] *C. J.*, XVI. 317-319. On Feb. 9 Lord William Powlett reported from the committee of the whole two resolutions: (1) that forts were necessary for the preservation of the African trade; (2) that the trade should be free to all her Majesty's subjects. The first passed without question, the second after an attempt to recommit it. The matter was then thrown back to the committee of the whole for further consideration. On the 13th the House received a petition from the creditors of the company, requesting that their security be safeguarded, and directed that the company submit a valuation of its African property, and that the separate traders submit their scheme for carrying on the trade (*ibid.*, pp. 300, 310, 312). The scheme of the separate traders elaborated the plan which they had already suggested: If an incorporation seemed necessary they proposed a regulated company, which any subject might join upon payment of dues to be determined by the House. The forts were to pass to the crown, and their maintenance and defense to lie in the hands of the crown. No governor or officer of the establishment was to be allowed to trade, and no development of agriculture was to be permitted (*C. J.*, XVI. 319; Stock, III. 232-233). A bill to settle the trade was introduced and given its first reading Feb. 25. *C. J.*, XVI. 339; Stock, III. 236.

[44] [1] *C. J.*, XVI. 317-319.

Brought forward	£100,000	0	0
2. Fort Royal, bought of the Danes by the present Company for 4597 *l.* 4 *s.* 11 *d.* This Fort is assistant to the Defence and Security of Cape Coast, and Shipping in the Road; and other Charges since stands the Company in double that sum	9,194	0	0
3d. Queen Ann's Point, in Saboe, built for the Security of Cape Coast, and for purchasing of Corn, Slaves, and Gold: Value at . . .	2,000	0	0
4. Commenda Fort, built by the present Company. The Fortification is Four-square, with Four Bastions, and a Tower; and contains Lodging Rooms and Apartments for the chief Factors, and Soldiers; Magazines, Storehouses, a Tank, or large Cistern, made with Brick and Tarras, sent from England; and a Negro House, for 150 Negroes; 21 great Guns, with small Arms, Stores, and Ammunition, for great and small Guns; with the Charge of Vessels and Canoes attending the building of this Fort, which was Four Years. This Fort stands in the Kingdom of Aguaffoe, and opens a Trade to the Kingdoms of Cufferoes, Dankarees, Ashantees, Arkania, Acqua, and Abrambo, for Gold, Slaves, Teeth, and Palm Oil:[2] It was built at a very great Expence. Valued at	20,000	0	0
5. Annamaboe Fort, built by the present Company. The Fortification consists of Flankers and Out-works; Lodging Rooms and Apartments for the chief Factors, and Soldiers; Magazines and Storehouses; 12 great Guns, Small Arms, Blunderbusses, Soldiers Coats, etc. Ammunition for great Guns and small Arms; Canoes, etc. attending the Building, and Garison; a Tank, or large Cistern, made with Bricks and Tarras, sent from England; with a Negro House, for 150 Negroes. This Fort is situate in the Fanteens Country, and opens a Trade to Fanteen, Braman, Acrong, and Akim, Capesteraes, and Arcania, for Gold, Corn, Palm Oil, and Oyster Shells; also a very great Trade for Slaves: Valued at	12,000	0	0
6th. Succundee Fort, built by the present Company, in the Antee Country, and near the Adooms, near a Dutch Fort; once taken and destroyed by Negroes; hired by the Dutch West India Company, and the rebuilding thereof afterwards interrupted by the same Interest; but since rebuilt, and fortified. The Fortification has Ten great Guns, Small Arms, and Stores; and also Lodging Rooms and Apartments for the chief Factors, and Soldiers; Magazines, and Storehouses; with a Tank for Water, made with Brick and Tarras, sent from England; and a Negro House, for 100 Negroes: It affords a great Trade in Slaves, Gold, and Teeth: Valued at	8,000	0	0
7th. Winnebah Fort, built by the present Company. The Fortification has Four Bastions, Outworks, Apartments for the chief Factors, and Soldiers; Magazines, Guard Rooms, a Tank, or large Cistern, made with Brick and Tarras, sent from England; a Negro House, for 100 Negroes; 16 great Guns, small Arms, Cutlasses, Soldiers Coats, and Ammunition for great Guns and small Arms. This Fort stands in the Queen of Anguina's Country, and opens a Trade to Ackim for Gold and Slaves; and has a River of fresh Water, to supply the ships; also Timber, and Oysters Shells, for repairing the Forts. Value	12,000	0	0
8th Dix Cove Fort was built by the present Company, and is situate in the Antee Country. The Fortification, being Four-square, has Four Bastions, with 10 great Guns, small Arms, and Stores; and also Lodging Rooms and Apartments for the chief Factors, and Soldiers; Magazines, and Storehouses; which opens a considerable Trade to Axim, Awawee, Warsaws, Dankarie, and Ashantee, Inland Countries, for Gold, Teeth, Slaves, and Corn; and furnishes Timber,			
Carried forward	£163,194	0	0

[2] An account of the African forts, prepared toward the end of the eighteenth century, describes Commenda as "near the Spot where all the roads divide, that communicate the Ashantee Trade to this part of the Coast". British Museum, Egerton MSS. 1162 B, f. 92.

Brought forward £163,194 0 0

for Repair of Ships, and Factories, and Water for Shipping; also Lime-stone, and a Place for careening small Vessels; and a Tank, or large Cistern, made with Brick and Tarras, sent from England, for fresh Water; a Negro House, to hold 100 Negroes. This Fort lies between Dutch and Brandenburgh Forts, which is valued at . . 8,000, 0 0

9th Accra Fort, built by the present Company. The Castle is Four-square, and has a Tower, Bastion, and Out-works; Apartments for the chief Factor and Soldiers; Magazines, Guard-rooms, and a Tank, or large Cistern, made of Brick and Tarras, sent from England: A Negro House, for 150 Negroes; 26 great Guns, small Arms, Blunderbusses, and Ammunition for great Guns and small Arms, and Stores for Artificers. This stands in the Kingdom of Accra, and opens a Trade to Quambo, Ackim, Acquawoa, for Gold, Slaves, Teeth, and Salt; and stands near to both Dutch and Danes, and is a Place of very great Trade, especially for Gold: Valued at 20,000 0 0

10th William's Fort at Whidah, built by the present Company; and hath Outworks, a Moat, and Apartments for the chief Factors, Artificers, and Soldiers: and Magazines, and Storehouses; a Guard-room, and Negro House, and 21 great Guns, and small Arms; Ammunition for great Guns and small Arms; Stores for Artificers; and is situate in the Kingdom of Whidah; which prevents the Dutch and French from engrossing the whole Trade of that Kingdom, and produces great Supplies of Negroes: Valued at 15,000 0 0

11th York Island and Fort, in the River Sherbrow, in the Kingdom of Sherbrow, fortified with great Guns; and having Apartments for Factors, Officers, and Soldiers; Warehouses, small Arms, and Ammunition; commands the Trade of that River, which supplies this Nation with Redwood; which, when the Company had the Trade, and not interrupted by separate Traders, was bought of the Natives at ⅓ of the Price it now costs. This Fort was built by the Company; and from hence, and Parts adjacent, was carried on a considerable Trade for Redwood, Elephants Teeth, and some Negroes: which, so circumstantiated, the Company values at 6,000 0 0

12th Bence Island, and the Island of Tassa, in the River of Sera Leone. On the First was a Castle, fortified; but in this War was plundered by the French, and not yet re-settled.[3] From those Places, and Parts adjacent, was carried on a good Trade for Elephants Teeth, and Negroes. The Propriety thereof valued at 4,000 0 0

13th James Fort, and Island, in the River Gambia; the island walled round; Out-works, great Guns, small Arms, and Stores; formerly mounted with 90 great Guns; with several Warehouses, Rooms for Factors and Officers; Work-houses for Smiths, and other Artificers; by means whereof, together with the Agreements with the several Kings of that Country, the Company have heretofore enjoyed the Trade of that River upwards of 300 Leagues, with Settlements and Factories at the Places following; *viz.* Barracunda, Alunjugar, Jamassar, Geregia, Tankerwall, Jovy, Sangrigo, Vintan, Gellifree, Barrafatt, Furbrow, Cumbo, and Benyoun, all within that River; and the Factories of Portodella, Joallee, Felan, and Bassally, without the said River; and by Sloops and Vessels, trading from the said James Island to Rio Pungo, Rio Nunez, Bissow, and Catchow, Places adjacent to the said Island; by all which in the time of settled Trade

Carried forward £216,194 0 0

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[3] This fort the company finally surrendered in 1728. The description of the forts already cited says of this one, the property of Messrs. Richard Oswald and Company: "This Fort has not been any Expence to the Public (notwithstanding it has been kept in better repair, and supplied with every necessary for its defence), than the Forts at Senegambia, and on the Gold Coast, and Whydah have been, where so much Public Money has been expended. . . . Belonging to the Fort 33 Europeans and Mullatoes, 137 Castle Slaves, besides Women and Girls, 10 Sloops, and Schooners, the Fort in Good repair, 28 Cannon". Eg. MSS. 1162 B, f. 78.

Brought forward	£216,194	0	0
they did receive a very considerable Income out of the Profit of that Trade, amounting to near 10,000 *l.* per Annum, clear of all Charges. It is acknowledged, that the said Fort, having been several times taken, and plundered, by the French, is not now in the same good Condition, as formerly; and therefore what might justifiably be valued at 60,000 *l.* is now valued only at	20,000	0	0
14th Annishan, Agga Tantumquerry,[4] Shidoe, Alampo, Five Factories on the Gold Coast, for purchasing Negroes, and Corn, and at some times a very great Vent for Goods, those now continued, being only Agga, and Shidoe, and the Property in the others: Valued at	2,000	0	0
Total	238,194	0	0

15th The said Royal African Company crave Leave to lay before this House what other Estate they have on the Coast of Africa, and in the Plantations, the Preservation and Recovery whereof depends intirely upon their being in Possession of their Forts and Settlements on the Coast of Africa, and the Trade to the Plantations; and, should they be divested of either, they humbly represent, that the said Estate will be in the utmost Hazard of being lost: The Account of which is continued under the following Heads; *viz.*

100 Black Canoe Men, employed in the sundry Occasions, for Support of the Settlements and Factories, valued at 40 *l.* each, being hard and seasoned Negroes	4,000
100 Blacks, instructed in mechanick Arts, as Smith, Armourers, Carpenters, Coopers, Bricklayers, Brick-makers, Masons, Stone-cutters, Sawyers, Gardeners, Linguisters, and Messages, will yield in the Plantations 100 *l.* per Head	10,000
500 Castle Slaves, as well for Labour, as Soldiery, at 40 *l.* per Head	20,000
On the North Parts about 100 Gromettoes, or Castle Slaves, for Canoes, and working, valued at 40 *l.* per Head	4,000
Debts owing from the several Kings, Cabashiers, and Tradiers, for Goods delivered to them on Credit	18,000
Goods and Merchandize remaining in the several Factories, by the last Accompt	52,432
Owing from the several Plantations	171,123
	279,555 0 0

May it please this honourable House to take into their serious Consideration the extraordinary Charge, that of necessity must arise in the erecting, and preserving, such remote Buildings and Fortifications, by sending from hence Bricks, Tiles, Tarras, Lead, Iron-work, Boards, Timber, and all other Stores, Tools, and Materials, at great Freights; and in contracting with hiring, and transporting, Soldiers, Carpenters, Smiths, Bricklayers, Masons, and other Artificers, and from time to time supplying and recruiting the same, as well by reason of the Insults, and Losses, during the War with Holland, as also with France; the hiring of Vessels, and keeping Ships

[4] "The Trade, when it is not infested with the disputes between the Inland, and Sea Coast Negroes, has always been looked upon to be as good, as at any one of the other Forts, as the Akims used, when the Country was free from disputes, constantly to bring down Gold and Slaves, to a weekly Market, about 35 Miles from hence, bearing North, by East called Ninnan in the Country of Equina from whence they are conveyed by the Fantyns (the general name the inhabitants of this part of the coast bear), to the Forts at the Sea Side of which this of Tantumquery is not least considerable". Eg. MSS. 1162 B, f. 98.

of Force upon Demurrage, for the Assistance and Protection of their Trade: To which may be added, the great Costs and Charges of obtaining Grants and Agreements, and making Alliances, with the several Kings, Queens, and great Men of the Country, as well in order to make Settlements, and build Forts, as to defend the Company against the sinister and undermining Designs of the European Competitors in that Trade.

From all which Considerations the Company do humbly hope, upon Examination, it will appear, that the foregoing Valuation, made by them of their Forts and Settlements, is moderate, just, equitable, and reasonable.

By Order of the Court of Assistants of the Royal African Company of England, the 16th February, 1709/10.

RICHARD BEAUMONT,
Accomptant to the said Company.

45. TESTIMONY OF JOHN HAYES.[1]

John Hayes late Master of the *Dorsett* Brigantine declareth that the said Vessell under his Comand was taken by a French Ship of War on the 5th day of June last off of Sierra Leone bound to Widda to take in Negroes for the Spanish West Indies [2] and in their passage down the Coast joyned a large french privateer which cruized between the River Sestis and Cape Palmas six Weeks and had taken a Vessell belonging to Antego another English Vessell called the *Coward* Gally, three Portuguez Ships and one Dutch Interloper after which they would have obliged the said Hayes to have pilotted them into Anamabo where there were divers English Vessells but the said Hayes carried them by that Port in the Night time soe that they could not get up again. After which the said French Ships Anchored at Winaba two dayes where the Governour of the Affrican Companys Fort came on board them, lay on board and purchased divers of the Goods taken in the English Prizes among which the said Hayes saw 400 barrells of Tallow carried ashoar by the French in their own boate to the Affrican Company's Fort at Winaba which Mr. Gray the Companys Agent and the Sergeant of the said Fort assured him were bought for the Affrican Company's Account after which the said french ships came to Anchor at Accra where they went ashoar and dined in the Fort with the Company's Governour and sold the remainder of the Cargoe of the two English prizes and the next day

[45] [1] C. O. 388: 13, no. 105, enclosure C in report of the separate traders to the Board of Trade, Dec. 11, 1710 (no. 50). If one remembers that the two countries France and England were at war, the purpose of the separate traders in sending this memorial to the Board of Trade becomes clear.

[2] It is to be remembered that France at this time held the assiento.

the Company's Governour came on board and dined with the Commander of the French Ships.

That two Months before the said Hayes came to Winaba two French Ships came thither and tooke in Mr. Hickes the Company's Agent and carried him down to Widda to be Cheife there in the room of Mr. Willis who was dead and that the said French Ships were bound from Widda for the South Sea with their Negroes dated 5th April 1710.

JNO. HAYES

46. SIR DALBY THOMAS TO THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY.[1]

CAPE COAST CASTLE 9th April 1710

. . . Capt. Thorn who is an owner of the Sloope [*Dolphin* from Barbados] finding Slaves so hard to come by here, thought it best for her to go to Windward and well approved of the Cargoe and much better could not have been brought from the River of Thames, Mr. Edward Birkhead who became Master by the Death of Capt. Wells was a very weak Silly Fellow. Capt. Thorn promised to put an Assistant on Board but Did not And for want of a Better I was forced to make Mr. Phripp Super Cargo.

Their Orders were to make the best of their way from Dixcove where they were to take in Goods for Cape Lahoe where they were to make their Trade, but they would Stopp every where at every Fort and Factory and never weighed Anchor untill 7 or 8 o Clock in the Morning except once and by that time the Land breeze is all most over and he that does not weigh by the begining of the breeze (which Sometimes begins at ten at night and Sometimes not till two in the morning shall never make any hand of going to windward, and they were 50 days ageing from Cape Appollonia [2] and bought but 30 Slaves where of one Died, they were bought at dearer rates then we give at Cape Coast, and parted with Little or noe Goods but Guns and Powder, tho' Phripps positive Orders were to mixe his Goods so for Sale that he should have of his Guns and Powder in proportion to the last, the Master sayes he stayed but as Phripps Directed him And Phripps Sayes he Stayed noe where, but for want of a wind, tho they lay at Anchor Severall times with windward Currents by the Masters Journall I was told by Some that were aboard that it was all a Careless Managemt: nobody lookt after any thing Mr. Phripp was more ashoar than aboard and when on board if the Blacks will not take what he bid them for the Slaves he would beat them over Board, And would not Rise tho in the Day time to look upon Slaves

[46] [1] T 70: 2, pp. 15-16.
[2] The distance from Dixcove to Cape Appolonia was perhaps fifty miles.

when they have been brought on board, And at Cape Apollonia they told him for his beating them he might lye there as long as he would. Not a Slave Should Come aboard him He is a very unqualified Man for buissness were there no other fault in him.

Had Mr. Phripp done as he ought to have Done and Might have Done your Ships might have been Gone and we a getting a penny by the 10 per Ct. Men towards the Support of the Coast.

Capt. Cook in your *Pindar* Came to Cape Coast the 12 Octob. last and sailed the 23d last past and had two as good Cargoes the one for the Windward Trade and the other for the Leeward Trade [3] as we could put on board and not much Inferior to the Cargoes that she might have brought With her from Great Brittain for those Voyages and in all that time he purchased in both Voyages but

	Males	Females	Slaves
	99	50 in all	149
Wee took on Shoare from him not fitt for the Voya and Sold to the Portugese	3	1	4
	96	49	145
Wee put on board him at Cape Coast	83	36	119
and was put on board him by the out Factors	28	14	42
	207	99	306
Dyed on board before bill of Loading Signed as per bill of Loading Inclosed	3	1	4
	204	98	302

[3] The Leeward trade was that east of Cape Coast Castle, the Windward, that to the north and west of it.

47. Ships from Great Britain to Africa, 1709-1710.[1]

An Acc't of Ships Dispatched from the severall ports of Great Britaine and the Plantations to the Coast of Affrica between Michmas 1709 and Michmas 1710 on Acc't of the Seperate Traders with the Ten per Cent duty paid to the Royall African Company on each Ship, the Number of peeces of Woollen Goods loaden therein and the Number of Negros intended to be loaden in each Vessell To which is subjoyned an Account of three of the Company's Ships sent within that time alsoe.

When entered at the Custome House	Ship's Name from the Port of London	Ten per Cent Duty paid	Ten per Cent paid by Allowance on Ship's Lost	Woollen Goods						Long Cloths	Peeces of fustions	Stuffes and Blanketts	No. of Negroes designed by each ship	No. of Negroes imported in each ship	The Places where they arrived
				Peeces of perpets	Sayes	Bassados	Penistons	Carpetts	Bayes						
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.												
2d Oct'r, 1709	*Loyall Johnson*	69 13 0								2			200	180	at Carolina
	Houlditch Friggot	113 17 11											270	260	at Antego
8 Nov'r	*Three Crownes*	101 19 10		1100				50					205	200	at Nevis
Dec'r	*Thompson* Friggot	246 4 0		800				50					500		
15	*Prosperous*	38 14 0								2			120	125	at Virginia
18 Jan'y, 1710	*John and Robert*	42 2 0								1			130		
29 March	*Emelia*	352 16 0		2000					20				400		
1 Aprill	*Rachael*	58 16 7		100							40	Gold and Teeth			
10 May	*John* Gally	148 7 7		2100		10		50					350		
	Dolphin, Glegg, M'r	95 3 0		1400									240		
	Little London		120 13 8	1400				100					300		
5 June	*Pearle*	97 16 6					24		2		6	6 pr. blankets	200		
17	*Joseph*	33 17 8	125 10 4	1930				50				200	350		
30	*William*	55 14 0		500				40					150		
27 July, 1709	*Raper* Gally	94 8 3	104 7 3	1680	40		6						350		
29 "	*Nancy*	161 11 0		2225							50	271		Gold	and Teeth
	Charles Gally	161 2 0		2200				50					350		
Aug't	*Fanteen* Gally	52 14 3	115 1 8	2078	18	16		100					350		
	Amey Gally	236 7 10						10	16	3	70	pr. blankets	500		
	Recovery	55 10 7	73 16 7	1627	10			50				50	300		

17 "	*Dolphin*, pain M'r	91 0 3												250			
	Swallow Gally	127 12 8			1473				50				50	300			
18	*Dorothea*	295 16 6			600									450			
8 Sept'r	*Providence*	92 9 9						4			6			250			
		2823 15 2	539 9 6		23213	68	26	34	600	38	14	166	571	6515			
	On Import	417 6 4											[577]				
		3241 1 6															
	From the Port of Bristoll																
	Heuville pd. after last Yrs. Acct. given in	101 13 5½			870	20		48									
Oct. 15, 1709	*Happy Returne*	73 5 11			500	10	10							180			
Nov. 21	*Leopard* Gally	72 4 11												200	201	at Virginia	
Dec. 17	*Martha*	81 13 0			800									200	148	at Jamaica	
31	*Union* Sloop	38 7 9			414									140	118	at Jamaica	
Jan'y 4	*Indian King*	138 18 7			300		3		30					350			
Jany. 11, 1710	*Dover* Gally	112 12 9			825	30	6							250	245	at Jamaica	
Mar. 29	*Union* Gally	61 8 9			580									200			
May	*Mermaid*	65 14 0	46 6 5		1200	25								270			
June 20	*Berkley* Gally	175 6 3			1850	20	20	12	24					350			
27	*Elizabeth and Sarah*	67 1 7			500									170			
July 5	*Affrica* Gally	161 2 4			1400		40							350			
Sept. 5	*Martha* Brigantine	84 18 4			700	10	10	10						180			
6	*Way* Gally		99 13 0		800	20	10		15					240			
	Expedition	15 2 11	69 1 4		600	20	10		15					180			
14	*Anne* Brigantine	111 10 4			975	15		21						200			
26	*Mary* Sloop	59 5 10			203			5						100			
	Neptune Sloop	64 9 11	37 17 6		850	20	12		15					180			
	Bridgewater	92 8 5												350			
	Port of Bristoll	1577 5 0½	252 18 3		13,367	190	121	96	99								
	London	3241 1 6	539 9 6		23,213	68	26	34	600	38	14	166	571				
		4816 6 6½	792 7 9		36,580	258	147	130	699	38	14	166	571				

[*Account of Ships*—continued:]

When entered at the Custome House	Ship's Name from the Port of London	Ten per Cent Duty paid	Ten per Cent paid by Allowance on Ship's Lost	Woollen Goods: Peeces of perpets	Sayes	Bassa-dos	Penis-tons	Car-petts	Bayes	Long Cloths	Peeces of fus-tions	Stuffes and Blanketts	No. of Negroes de-signed by each ship	No. of Negroes im-ported in each ship	The Places where they arrived
		£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*												
	From the Island of Jamaica														
	The *Alexander* Gally												250	160	at Jamaica
	Neptune Brigantine From Barbados												140	126	at Jamaica
	Edwin Sloop												120	98	at Barbados
	Crow Sloop												120	104	do.
	St. Thomas												110	100	
													11,345	2,065	
	From Liverpool Two ships but the Names not yet sent up from thence nor the Ten per Cent duty paid on them. The names now Come are														*Early* Gally *Patience*
	Whitehaven One the Name not yet sent.														
	On the Company's Acct. three Ships only from the Port of London sent this Yeare *Vizt.*)														
	The *Dorothy*	167 13 6		1,050											
	The *Camwood*	64 15 0		40			18								
	The *Broughton*	166 7 9		500				60							
		398 16 3		1,590			18	60							

[47] [1] C. O. 388: 13, no. 104 (1)-(4).

48. Accounts of the *Pindar*[1]

London the 22d August 1710

Barbadoes June 1710

Negroes being 280 recd. per the *Pindar* Galley William Cooke Commander from Cabo Corso Castle on the proper account of the Royal Affrican Co. of England to sundry charges.

		Dr.	£	s.	d.
				8.	9
May	5.	To cash paid for plantins yames, potatoes, limes etc. sent on board	3.	13.	6
	6	To Ditto paid for Ditto sent on board	1.	7.	8
	8	To Ditto paid for Ditto sent on board	8.	8.	1½
	10	To Ditto paid for 501½ yds of blew linnen which was sent on board for Negroe Cloths they having none D D them on the coast at 10½ per yd	21.	18.	9½
		To Ditto paid bringing 260 Negroes on shoar	2.	3.	4
		To Ditto pd for a barrel of beefe at 2 *s.* pr. head	2.	2.	6
		To Ditto pd. for Plantins, yames, potatoes, limes, wood, candles etc.	4.	17.	6
	11	To Ditto pd. for 2½ quintalls of fish at 22 *s* 6 per qtl	2.	16.	3
	12	" " pd. for plantins yames, kankies etc.	3.	13.	8
	13	" " pd. for yames, plantins, wood, etc.	2.	11.	8
	15	" " pd. for 2 quintalls of fish, plantins, etc.	3.	2.	10
	17	" " pd. for plantins wood, etc.	1.	19.	6
		" " pd. for tobacco and pipes	1.	18.	6
	"	" " pd. for 30 galls. ½ of Rumm at 10 *s.* pr. gall.	1.	5.	5
	21	" " pd. for plantins, potatoes, etc.	3.	19.	3
	25	" " pd. for potatoes, plantins, wood, candles	2.	17.	8
	26	" " pd. for plantins, yames, and kankies	1.	11.	10
		" " pd. 3 w'te men and 4 negroes for tending and taking care of the new Negroes from the time of their coming on shore till sold at 1 *s.* 3 *d.* each pr. day	7.	8.	9
		" " pd. for 6 new iron bound tubbs for the house	1.	0.	0
		" " pd. sam'l Jones for Dietting the 3 white men which tooke care of the Negroes 17 days at 2 *s.* 6 *d.* each per day	6.	7.	6
		To Doct'r Will'm Sommerfield for his head money on 280 Negroes at 12 *s* pr. head	14.	0.	0
			94.	14.	2¾
		To the Royall African Company of England their Acco't curr for the N't produce of the sale is	7112.	5.	9¼
			7207.	0.	0

London the 22d August 1710

per Contra

		M.	W.	B.	G.	£	s.	d.
May 11	Joseph Jordan	10				360		
	Robert Lampley			1	1	55		
	John Gill	1				38		
	John Bentley	2		2		112		
	Francis Bond	5	3			280		
	Martin Bentley			1		25		
	Reeves Phillips			1		25		
	. . .							
	Total[2]	145.	68.	40.	16	7027.	0.	0

[48] [1] T 70: 956, "The Invoice Book Homewards of the Royal African Company of England", no. H 24, from Jan. 5, 1708/9, to Dec. 29, 1711".

[2] There follow 79 similar transactions, the number of slaves bought by each purchase varying from 1 to 20.

[*Accounts of the "Pindar"*—continued:]

	M.	W.	B.	G.
Delivered Capt. Cooke for his Com'n	5.	5.	1.	0
	150	73	41	16
	73			
	41			
	16			

280 Negroes in all Recd.

Mem. There is 5 negro men which Capt. Cooke keeps on board for the use of the ship pursuant to your Hon'rs orders

269 Sold
11 Captain's Commission
5 made seamen on board the *Pindar*
21 Dyed per Oath of Capt. and Dr.

306 Tooke in in all

Barbadoes. This day personally appeared before me Mr. Rayns Bate and Thomas Stewart Esqr. Agents to the Royall Compa. of England and made Oath on the Holy Evangelist of Almighty God that the Above and foregoing is a true and just accompt of the number of Negroes sold at the prices they are sett down according to the best of their knowledge and belief.

Witness their hands this June 1710.

RAYNES BATE
THOS. STEWART

Jurant 10 die Junii
Anno Domino 1710 coram me
THO. EDWARDS.

49. TESTIMONY OF JACOB DUCE.[1]

I Jacob Duce late Supercargoe of the Ship *Richard and James* Capt. Richard Johnson Comander on a tradeing Voyage to Guinea has for severall Yeares past been severall Voyages on the Coast of Affrica where I observed a constant practice among the English Royall Affrican Company's Agents and Factors upon the Appearance of any Portuguez Ships in the Offing to send a Man on board said Portuguez as a Protection to secure them from the Dutch Company's Cruizers to whome they are obliged to pay a large duty for their Licence to Trade and when Dutch meet them generally carry them under Command of their Settlements for this end and provided the Portuguez have no other Species of Goods on board for Trade then what are allowed of by a Stipulated agreement between them they are otherwise made and adjudged good prizes to the Dutch. The Man soe put on board of the Portuguez has usually a Note or Certificate from

[49] [1] C. O. 388: 13, no. 106, enclosure D in the report of the separate traders, Dec. 11, 1710, no. 50.

one of the English Royall Affrican Companys Factors from some Settlement signifying that the said Vessell goes consigned to some other of their cheife Agents lower down on the said Coast only under a Colour to protect the Portuguez from the Dutch Seizures for which Care the English Royal Affrican Companys Agents or Factors have generally very large presents made them.

I the said Jacob Duce was in the English Affrican Company's Factory at Accra in January last where I saw a Portuguez Ship come to an Anchor in the said Road as near as she could to the English Castle and the Merchant or Supercargoe of the said Ship came ashoar to the Royall Affrican Companys Agent for his protection to secure him in his Trade from the Dutch which I suppose was granted because that Evening I saw severall Canoes goe off from the Shoar with Slaves on board the said Portuguez when at same time the Affrican Company's Agent would not suffer the Negroe Inhabitants to carry their Slaves from the English Settlements Landing place on board our Ship which was a private Trader from London and had paid their Ten per Cent duty to the Royall Affrican Company but was forced to carry them from the Dutch Factorys Landing place to the great prejudice of our Trade.

Wee weighed Anchor from hence and left the Portuguez at Accra in full Trade and proceeded to Widdah further to Le Ward on the Coast of Affrica where wee found six Sail of Portuguez large Ships a tradeing there who had all the Assistance was possible from the English Royall Affrican Company's Factors and Agents and gave from four to six Ounces of Gold per head for Negroes and other Goods in proportion to that Value soe that wee could not purchase above two thirds of our Number although wee had a large well sorted Cargoe of Goods for Trade. I have been severall Voyages at this place before the Portuguez had this Encouragement and Assistance and then wee used not to give much above one halfe Value for Negroes of what wee are forc'd to give now.

I further observ'd that there were from eight to ten Factors or Merchants on board each Portuguez Ship who being of different Interests and most of the Sailors having likewise a Right to purchase Negroes who each vying with each other and bidding one upon another is the only true Reason of the advanced high prices given now on the Coast of Guinea and dureing our Stay at Widdah which was three times longer then wee us'd to doe by this Cause . . . to the vast prejudices of our Voyage as it was to all other British private Traders, there were five Sail more of Portuguez fresh Traders came to Anchor by us.

dated in LONDON Dec'r the 9th 1710.

50. The Separate Traders to the Board of Trade.[1]

Rt. Honble., In pursuance of the Directions reced from your Lordships Secretary of the 1st of last month Wee pray Leave to lay before your Lordships the following Answers to the severall Querys then sent us.

To the first Query: How much wee compute has been paid to the Royall African Company by the seperate Traders to Affrica on account of the Ten per Cent from Michmas 1709 to Michmas 1710?

In answer: Wee pray Leave to acquaint your Lordships That having examined the Bookes of the Ten per Cent duty kept at the Custome house here and haveing alsoe reced an account of what hath been paid at the Custome house at Bristoll attested by the proper Officers there doe find *(Vizt.)*

That the sume paid in London amounts to 3241 *l.* 1 *s.* 6 *d.* in money and by allowances on ships lost 539 *l.* 9 *s.* 6 *d.* and the sume paid in Bristoll amounts to in money 1577 *l.* 5 *s.* 0½ *d.* and by allowances on ships lost 252 *l.* 18 *s.* 3 *d.* the whole amounting to 5610 *l.* 14 *s.* 3½ *d.* as appeares more perticulerly by List No. B. but having not yet reced an Account from the port of Liverpool (for which wee have for some time waited) of what hath been paid on the two Ships fitted there, nor of what hath been paid at Jamaica and Barbados on the five Ships fitted there, nor of what have been fitted out from other Islands etc. . . . 8 or 900 *l.* more which altogether will make out 6000 and odd hundred pounds paid by Seperate Traders between Michmas 1709 and Michmas 1710 for the Ten per Cent duty besides what hath been paid by the Company here and at Barbados whence wee heare they have fitted out two Vessells.

To the second Query: How many ships have been sent on that Trade by the private Traders within that time?

In Answer to which wee have formed the List No. B whereby your Lordships will perceive Wee have fitted 24 ships from the port of London, 20 ships from the port of Bristoll, two from Liverpool etc . . . from Barbados making in all 51 Ships fitted out by private Traders between Michmas 1709 and Michmas 1710 notwithstanding etc. . . . from this port five ships; from Bristoll two Ships; from Plymouth one etc. . . . plantations which wee have not yett the Names of; whereas on the part of the Company etc. . . . Great Britaine this Yeare the Names whereof are annexed

[50] [1] C. O. 388: 13, no. 102 (1)-(7). Late in October, 1710, the Board of Trade again turned to the African question. The company and the separate traders were asked for an account of the negroes introduced since 1708, and for the amount of the ten per cent. duty which had been paid. On Dec. 2 the Duke of Queensberry, Secretary of State, referred to the board petitions from the planters of Barbados (July 20, 1710), and the company's creditors. To these the board at first returned a perfunctory reply, but on Queensberry's request for serious consideration of the subject of the African trade it began a series of hearings. *B. T. Jour.,* 1709-1715, pp. 191, 198, 202, 207, 214-235, *passim*; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1710-1711, pp. 247, 294, 303, 306-309.

to the above List No. B with the respective sumes paid by them for the Ten per Cent duty amounting to 398 *l.* 16 *s.* 3 *d.*

To the third Enquiry: What Number of Negroes have been imported into the plantations by the private Traders from Michmas 1709 to Michmas 1710 and at what Rates have such Negroes usually been sold within that time?

In Answer: Wee can not better informe your Lordships of the Number of Negroes imported into the plantations within that time, then in laying before your Lordships again the List of Ships dispatched last year on Account of seperate Traders marked A with an Account of the success that hath attended each ship and the Number of Negroes imported by such of them as did arrive whereof all except three Vessells delivered their Loading between Michmas 1709 and Michmas 1710 amounting to 5975 Negroes besides which wee have Notice of eleven Ships in this Yeares List marked B which have delivered within this time alsoe 2065 Negroes between Michmas 1709 and Michmas 1710 making together 8040 Negroes which were sold at Jamaica etc. (per head comes after sum of money) . . . the money of those places being 20 per Cent Worse then that of Jamaica. But it must be observed by the Success that hath attended each Vessell in List No. A. that three or four of our biggest Ships . . . 2700 Negroes delivered into the plantations within this time less then otherwise would have been Yett . . . of private Ships in this year's Trade Mark'd B exceeds that of last year mark't A by fourteen Ships, . . . by the Company and their advocates . . . then at any time in peace heretofore under the Company . . . while they incourage by all Meanes imaginable the Portuguese our great Rivalls in the Sugar Trade, the Case whereof wee think is our Duty more perticulerly to lay before your Lordships.

Tis well known that between the Yeares 1650 and 1660 the Dutch and Portuguez were at War in which the Dutch tooke the Portuguez Settlements in Guinea and Fernambuck[2] in Brazile which upon the Treaty of peace between those two Nations was settled upon this foot *(Vizt)* That Fernambuck should remaine to the Portuguez and the Settlements on the Gold Coast should remaine to the Dutch upon Condition Nevertheless that all the Portuguez Subjects who traded on the Gold Coast should first come to the Dutch Settlements and pay 25 per Cent on the Value of their Cargoes but be debarred purchasing any Negroes on Forfeiture thereof and for the better Securing this Duty the Dutch are constantly at the Charge of keeping a Friggott or two to bring all Portuguez Vessells to their Settlements to examine their Cargoes from time to time which in Effect amounts to a Prohibition to the said Portuguez but for some yeares past

[2] Pernambuco.

among many other Wayes contrived for the hindering the Trade of the seperate Traders the Companys Agents on the Coast on Sight of a Portuguez Vessell send an English man on board and bring them to Cape Coast or some other of our Settlements where they are loaded with what Negroes the said Agent hath by him or can furnish them with and then letts them purchase what they can of the Natives besides; All which would otherwise naturally fall into the hands of the British Traders and be carried to our plantations Whereas the portuguez bringing great Quantitys of Gold from Brasile and giving 4 to 6 ounces of the said Gold per head for Negroes can load their Vessells by that Meanes and by having the Benefitt of preemption alsoe whilst ours must lye now out at Sea as long againe as usuall for their Loading and cannot purchase one Negroe as long as any Portuguez is in the Road.

But this is not the sole Evill from this Practice for as there are severall Merchants or Supercargoes who have distinct Interests in the portuguez Vessells and as each Seaman on board those Vessells by reason of sailing for small wages hath the priviledge of loading one or two more Negroes on Freight soe 20 to 50 Men coming ashoar at a time to markett out of one Ship and bidding one upon another raised the price of Negroes last Year wherever they came to more per head on the Coast then Wee sell for at Jamaica which is the true reason of the dearness of Negroes on the Coast soe much talked of by the Company but designedly occasioned by themselves.

The Consequence of which Wee humbly think must needs be in a little time very fatall to all our Sugar Plantations, the Meanes of increasing those of Brasile and decreasing our own and upon Enquiry 'twill be found that in a few Yeares past the Brasile fleets have increased in their Imports of Sugar from 25,000 to 50,000 Chests per each fleet besides Tobacco in proportion which is such a Quantity that if it increases (as it is to be fear'd it may by this practice) our European Marketts will be glutted with Plantation Goods; the ballance of Trade abroad will be transferred from us to our Rivall Neighbours and our Navigation and Breed of Seamen be lessened in proportion.

But as 'tis humbly conceived this practice of our Companys Agents is a breach of the Federall Union between the two Nations of Holland and England[3] soe tis thought the Reason why the Dutch West India Company don't make Complaints thereof is because it very much discourages the British Seperate Traders, it being that Company's Interest as well as our Companys that the said Seperate Traders should be ruin'd if possible and then those two Companys

[3] It must not be forgotten that the Dutch and English were at this time allies in a war against France.

would have the Trade of the Gold Coast between them, and as there hath already appeared an Agreement between our Affrican Company and the French African Company concluded between Monssr. Le'Apotre a principall Member of the said French Company on the one hand and some of the Comittee of our Affrican Company on the other which hath in a great Measure prevented the seperate Merchants from Trading to the North Coast whereby that Trade now mostly falls into the hands of the French soe there is all the reason to beleive the same Designe carried on by their Agents abroad as is by their Managers at home whereof this great Incouragement given to the Portuguez and Discouragement given to the Seperate Traders is a fresh Confirmation.

Thus the Settlements in Affrica which there hath been soe much pains taken lately to prove absolutely necessary to the Trade in Generall and the Benefitt of preemption depending thereon are now become necessary only to our Overgrown Rivalls in the plantation Comoditys and the Necessity now seems to be either to demolish them or hinder the great prejudice they Occasion to the Trade of Great Britaine by reason of this ill use they now serve to; whereby the Company have laid a foundation for the effectuall Ruine of our Plantations.

But seeing our Settlements in Affrica were esteemed equally on the same foot as our Collonies in America and in all respects lyable to the Restrictions in the Act of Navigation by Virtue of which the Companys Agent in Gambia seized and confiscated a Portuguez Ship there when it served their Turn some years since for trading neare that Settlement And as this practice of the Company's Agents is a direct Breach of the said Act, by the express Words whereof every Governour of any of our Settlements in Asia Affrica and America forfeits his Government on permitting other Nations to Trade there soe it is humbly conceived the chiefe Remedy of this great Evill would be to recall the present Governour of Cape Coast [4] the promoter of this Mischiefe or That Instructions should be given that this evill practice should be discontinued.

And for your Lordships better Information wee have added to List No. B the Number of peeces of Woollen Goods of each Species exported this Yeare by private Traders which amount to many thousand peeces more then the Company exported in four Yeares when exclusive in time of peace as appeares by one of their own papers delivered by them in the Lobby last Yeare where they enumerate the severall sorts of Woollen Goods exported by them between 1683 and 1686 to which they added 71000 peeces of anabasses which they Term peeces of Woollen Goods alsoe although they are Clouts made

[4] Sir Dalby Thomas.

of Cotton of a Yard long which sorts Wee doe not reckon in our said List No. B.

In Proofe of divers of the Facts above mentioned Wee pray leave to lay before your Lordships the Copys of two Originall Papers or Testimonys of John Hayes late Master of the *Dorset* Brigantine and of Jacob Duce late Supercargoe of the *Richard and James* marked C and D To which wee humbly referr your Lordships and remaine [5]

Your Lordships most obedient Servts.

Joseph Martyn	Ja. Wayte
Jno. Radbunness	Isaac Millner
Hum. Morice	Rich: Thompson
Rd. Harris	Wm. Vere
Charles Ken	George Martyn

Dated in Lond. Dec. 11, 1710.

51. Signatures to the Petition of the Royal African Company and their Creditors.[1]

John Collys	Rich'd Mostyn	Mary Eston
John Collys, for the Hon'ble Mrs. Hester Egerton, and for Mrs. Anne Blount	Robt. Jennens	Rich'd Preslidge
	Ann Dashwood	Rich'd Grosvenor
	H. Mann	Step. Evance
	Saml. Horsley	Ed. Gould
	Everard Cater	Fran. Dashwood
Cha. Napier	Cha: Goode	Phineas Gomes Serra
Ch. Frampton	Ed. Shepherd	Robt. Moulins
Nicolas Ghiselin	John Deacle	John Raboteau
Robt. Chawdler	Tho: Trenchfeild	Isaac Lejay
F. Zouch	René Rane	Peter Joye
Ro: Western	Henry Phillips	J. Darnall
Nich: Santini	James Talford	Abr. da Costa
Jonathan Forward	David Bezanquet	Daniel Hays
Sam'l Wight	James Steward	Jona. Andrewes
John Hollis	Nath. Lacey	Hen. Lovibond
John Browne	Geo. Smith	Humphrey Pickfatt
Beatrix Cooke	Stephen Seignoret	Br. Hobson
Lo. Mansfield	Charles Dickinson	Edw. Turvey
Sarah Atkinson	Wm. Nutt	Charles du Bois
Wm. Simmonds	Charles Dymond	Geo. Guy

[5] These are *ante,* nos. 45 and 49.

[51] [1] The petition itself, undated, will be found in *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1710-1711, pp. 306-308. The signatures are here printed for the information which may be gleaned from them as to the ownership of the capital of the company, and the amount of influence which it might be expected to exert in the House of Commons.

Mary Datcheler
Christ: Jackson
John Cazalet
Wm. Benson
Nathl. Gwillym
John Williams
Wm. Rophe
John Stone
Richd. Beaumont
Geo. Strode
Geo. French
Will'm Myers, for
John Hill Esqr.
Willm. Myers
Ephraim Crow
Ben. Barret
John Marvin
John Hodges
John Plumpton
Tho. Brand
Tho. Butler
Geo. Stead
Wm. Grahame
John Pery
Lewis de Tudert
Peter Fabrot
Cha: Mawhood
Tho: Ashby
Wm. Wyld
Ja. Norcock
Nath. Halhed
Edw. Sargeant
Jerom Knapp
Gideon Lauberainne
John Meade
Will. East
R. Stoughton
John Gouson
Urban Hall
Tho. Knapp
Bernard Bolen
Humphr. Brent
Tho: Rudduck
Wm. Chauncy

Peter Meyer
Sarah Bye
John Johnson
John Sibley
Edw'd Nicholson
Geo. Taylor
John Cradock
Robert Comport
Wm. Waddis
Robert van Sittart
Ra. Longford
Rich'd Barker
John Cooke
Saml. Stanier
Ed. Crull
M. Lacoze
John Jenkins
John Freke
Gideon Leglize
Matth. Testas
Tho. Thomas
Rob. Friend
Fran. Pereire
Nico. Bosquet
Benj. Rusbatch
Antho. Kingsley for
Jane Pincke
Stephen Copping
Lovell Huckell
Edw'd Harrison
John le Clerc de Virly
Rene de Boyuills
Nath. Meazy
Geo. Foote
Robt. Stamper
John Merriden
Louis Lloyd
Claude Haye
Tho. Goldsmith
John Dyer
Dan'l Waite
Wm. Fazakerley
John Lade
Amb. Crowley

J. Caillouet
Ben. Pitt
Benja. Thornbery
John Hammers
Henry Marshall
Peter Ripert
Sarah Buggin
John Campbell
Tho. Bathurst
Alex. Pitfeild
P. Cartwright
John Luck
Wm. Humfreys
Joseph Jory
Tho. Luke
Ja. Blake
Thomas Pindar
Jno. Cutting
Wm. Lancaster
S. Pendarves
James Gohier
Geo. Frye
Wm. Bridgman
M. Emeding
J. Robinson
P. Henriquez
Tho. Steed
Saml. Rayson
Benjamin Francklin
Rich'd Eston
Jno. Shorey
Wm. Carpenter
A. Evans
Alex. Cleeve
Jno. Martin
J. Jermain
Jno. Whishaw
Fletcher Albert
James Marshall
James Smyth
Jno. Cooke, junr
Benja. Lethieullier
Christopher Lethieullier
John Bone

Stephen Bach
Bennett Metcalfe
Will. Turpin
Ben. Howell
Ed. Bowman
Tho. Louering
Ste. Child
John Ford
Wm. Predden
John Noquier
Wm. Sedgwicke
Richd. Morson
Fran: Smart
David Wilford
Sam. Ongley
John Boddam
John Whitby
Stephen de la Creuze
Ed. Basse
Martha Crechett
Robt. Knox
John Danvers
John King
Henry Woolball
Jno. Carpenter
Hugh Strode
Nath'l Carpenter
Wm. King
Tho. Martin
William Cater
John Brookes
Hamond Potter
Jno. Metcalfe
Mary Thody
Bennet Hoskyns
Tho. Pearne
Jno. Biddle
Abraham Harrison
Peter Baraille
Edw. Davis
Wm. Ford
Sam. Shepheard
Tho. Saunders
Richard Dyer
James Gray
Jno. St. Clair

52. The Separate Traders to the Board of Trade.[1]

Pursuant to the Direccions reced from yo'r Lordships Secretary of the 23d past for laying before your Lordships our Thoughts in Writeing touching this particuler point *(Vizt.)* which is the most proper Method for Carrying on the African Trade to the best Advantage whether by a joynt Stock exclusive of others or by what Method may it be done? Wee pray Leave humbly to Offer As well in Answer to that point as to the Royall African Companys Scheme for an Exclusive Trade then sent us by your Lordships Secretary. That as to the Scheme wee cannot by any Meanes think it a safe durable or proper Method for Carrying on the African Trade or for securing it to this Nation by reason of the many Objections which naturally offer against it; some of which wee humbly lay before your Lordships.

Some Objections to the Royall African Company's Scheme for an exclusive Company.

1. Tis well known that all the African Companys which have ever yet been established in Europe have become Bankrupt in some Yeares after their Establishment Witness the Portuguez Brandenburgh and Dutch Companys[2] besides ours in England who have failed three times since the Restoration and in the Intervalls of time the Trade altho lost by such Companys hath been again restored supported and

[52] [1] C. O. 388: 14, no. 3; *B. T. Jour.*, 1709-1715, p. 219. The separate traders had had under consideration a plan for the trade, proposed by the Royal African Company. This was a development of the proposals made by the company on Jan. 24, 1710.

[2] The French companies would have furnished even better illustration of this point than those here cited.

carryed on by private traders in England: by the Brazile Traders and planters in Portugall: and by the Interlopers in Holland or else the Affrican Trade must have been lost to each of those Nations especially to ours and the plantations must long since have been ruined had it not been for the large Supply of Negroes yearly furnished by private Traders and the Liberty the planters have had of fetching their own Negroes.

2. As 'tis the Intention of the Affrican Company's Scheme that a new exclusive Company be erected on their Foundation whose Managers having not Creditt to be trusted with any more Money by their Members and oweing great Summes more then they are able to pay; Soe the Traders to Affrica who have a large Capitall visibly imployed in this Trade cannot with any prudence or Safety come into this Scheme especially se[e]ing the last Money subscribed into them by new Adventurers in the Year 1698 for 4000 and odd Shares which the Company then tooke in amounting to 57,096 *ll.* was all but 2000 *ll.* sunk before the next Yeare as well as 64,150 *ll.* paid them by their Members in the Yeare 1702 and 74,112 *ll.* 10 *s.* paid them in the Yeare 1704 which were alsoe sunk the next Yeare after they were paid as may appeare by the Ballances of their Bookes given in to your Lordships by the said Company some time since.[3]

3. An Exclusive Company w'th a parliamentary Sanction as is intended by this Scheme would prove to this Nation a dangerous Experiment and the greatest Greivance of any in the Worst of times which will plainly appeare on Considering the Consequences as being but one Buyer of the many sorts of Woollen and other British Manufactures proper for Affrica: as being but one Freighter of all the ships imployed in the Trade outwards: but one Seller of Negroes to our plantations: but one Importer of Gold from Affrica and Silver from the Spaniards: but one Buyer and but one Freighter of almost all our Productions from America, and but one Seller of all those productions here again after their arrivall: on all which the Compa. would put their own prices and consequently become the sole Director of this great Circle of Trade and Navigation, wherein are imployed neare 1000 Sail of Ships and on which depends 4 or 500,000 persons Livelyhoods of all sorts who must directly or indirectly be subject to the Managers of this Company; and on this Company would depend the Rise or Fall of our plantations; the Ballance of Trade abroad, the Increase or Decrease of our Breed of Seamen and navall Architecture; soe that the Confineing of this Trade to one person or

[3] The general court had called for a payment of £6 per cent. on all stocks and bonds in 1702, and of £7 in 1704. There were calls in 1707 and 1708 for £4 each year, which the representation of the separate traders does not mention. Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies,* II. 28.

Monopoly would in it's Consequences effect the very well being of Great Britain in all its most tender parts.

4. By this exclusive Scheme all the outports of Great Britaine which now depend intirely on the plantation Trade and are already excluded from any part of the Trade of Asia by Meanes of those Companys already on Foot will alsoe be excluded from that of Affrica and America whereby they must all decline by Degrees when this Trade falls to London and the greatest part of Britain confined to the Trade of Europe only; which the said Outports are very sensible of as appeares by the many Petitions on this Subject to the house of Commons last Session wherein those of North Britain among other Reasons sett forth that such a Monopoly would be a direct Breach of the Articles of Union.[4]

5. By this Scheme above Mentioned the Planter is debarred fetching Negroes for his own Use when by Accident of War or otherwise he cannot be supplyed by Way of Europe and as the Portuguez Planters in Brazile now have and alwayes have had the Liberty of fetching Negroes for the Use of their plantations (which in a great Measure they are now furnished with by our Companys Agents in Affrica) soe twould be the greatest Discouragement to our Islands if our Planters should be deprived of that Liberty alsoe.

6. As to the Company's Argument for an exclusive Trade under pretence of furnishing the Assiento or Spaniards and Portuguez with Negroes; 'tis well known The Company when exclusive never did or could Supply the Assiento with one Quarter of what they agreed for: but since the Trade hath been open the private Traders have supplyed them with more then they wanted, having often brought the Negroes from the Coast of Peru back againe to Jamaica and as for any Contract to be made with the Portuguez if they mean to supply the Ships of that Nation on the Coast of Affrica as they doe now, twill naturally increase the Growth of Brazile Sugar and Tobacco plantations and their Navigation who are our only Rivalls in those Comoditys and prevent the same Negroes being Carried to raise the productions of our own Islands: Which practice hath already proved of very evill Consequence to us in our Ballance of Trade abroad by Meanes of the great Quantitys of those Goods being brought from Brazile; soe that our Sugars and Tobaccoes are soe low that they doe now little more then pay Freight and Custome and 'tis humbly conceived wee ought not to supply the portuguez at any Rate altho it may be reasonable to supply the Spaniards who doe not interferre with us in our productions but imploy themselves chiefly in improveing their silver Mines.

[4] This argument was used by a number of Scottish boroughs in the petitions of 1709.

7. Were there noe other Reason against the Companys exclusive Scheme there are at least three very material ones 1st our Ancestors have found it absolutely necessary to lay open all the Trades that have been monopolized such as the Canary, Hamburgh, East Country, Spanish and others which have thereby become very extensive. 2d Wee have laid open lately the Russia Trade[5] which a few yeares since imployed but 5 or 6 ships a Year when exclusive but now since its being open'd above 100 ships a yeare. 3d. On the other hand 'twas thought fitt some Yeares agoe to erect a Greenland Company exclusive to all others under the specious pretences now made use of in this Scheme for an Exclusive African Trade but in 4 or 5 Yeares time that Company became Bankrupt and the persons usually imployed in that Trade left our Country which is thereby now intirely lost to this Nation.[6]

8. As to the pretended Argument in the Scheme of supplying our plantations at moderate prices by an exclusive Company. That is impossible for many Reasons for even this Company now under the Meanest Circumstances are at more Charge at home in Sending out three ships only this Yeare then the private Traders have been in sending out 51 ships in the same time And tis plain that the Company on their own Computation mencioned in one of their papers delivered in the Lobby last Yeare are at more Charge in the first Cost and Freight of their Negroes before they come to Markett then the private Traders sell theirs for after their Arrivall And 'tis well known when this Company was exclusive they had from five to six hogsheads of Sugar per head for each Negroe in the Plantations whereas since the Trade hath been open the private Traders have sold good Negroes for one and an halfe to two hogsheads of sugar per head and not only supplyed our Plantations abundantly but the Spaniards alsoe Whereas the Company when Exclusive by selling their Negroes in Lotts one had a bad Lott another a good one according to the Interest each had with the Company's Factor and there were continuall Comp[l]aints against the Company on these heads formerly Altho in time of peace when Barbados was frequently supplyed with Negroes from the Island of Eustatia one of the Carribees which were brought thither by Dutch Interlopers.

As to a certain price which the Company pretends to deliver Negroes at; that cannot be because in all our Accounts of Sales wee find even in the cheapest times Negroes sold at from five pounds per head to twenty five pounds per head and if they are not obliged to a

[5] The Russian company had ceased to be a joint-stock company and become a regulated company in 1669, but remained a monopoly until 1698. Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies,* II. 68-69.

[6] After nearly twenty years of open trade an exclusive Greenland company was re-established in 1692, with a grant for fourteen years. Before that period had expired the company had failed and the trade was once more open. Scott, II. 379.

certain Goodness which is impossible our Collonies cannot be the better for such as are brought to them soe that tis plain this Scheme is a dangerous ill grounded project of the Company's who like a Man goeing to prison will promise Mountains and in this Case if they gain their point will sell their Stock and leave others to performe the Bargain.

9. As to the Argument for this Exclusive Scheme for making Alliances with the Natives in Affrica were there such Weight in that Matter as is pretended there is nothing more plain then that a Comittee of a Regulated Company either on their own bottome or under the Umbrage of the Crown can doe all that a Comittee of an Exclusive Company can doe on that point and 'tis hoped much more when the preservation of the Trade by all Meanes necessary is the sole Interest of the Traders and not the Designe of selling and buying Stock as is the Case and cheife End of all Companys Exclusive.

And as to the Argument in this exclusive Scheme for giving a necessary Credit to the Planter 'tis well known that the Company hath been under Agreement with their Factors for many Yeares past to make Returnes in a certain short time by which Meanes they give little or noe Creditt to the planter for performance whereof they take Security here in England Whereas the private Traders have constantly given two to four Yeares Creditt in most of the plantations.

10. As to the Company's proposall in this Scheme for carrying on the Trade to the Extent that they will be obliged to Export 100,000 *ll.* Value in Goods annually It appeares by the Account of the Ten per Cent duty laid before your Lordships some time since by the Company that there were exported in two Yeares of the last peace 295,-593 *ll.* value in Goods from England besides what went from the plantations and had the peace continued would have much more increased soe that by this very Scheme they even propose to lessen one Third of the Trade as soon as it comes into their hands.

11. Tis an undoubted Truth that nothing conduces soe much to the Increase of Trade as Emulation among Traders and to that point cheifly wee owe our greatest Discoverys and Improvements in Trade which cannot be in an exclusive Company who have noe Rivalls and as such Companys take noe Apprentices soe the very reason and Cause of the Continuance and Improvement of Trade by that Meanes (in Case of Failure of such single Trader or Monopoly) ceases to be any longer and every such Trade soe monopolized must be lost to the Nation as in the Case of the Greenland Trade before mentioned.

But as to what other Method the Trade may be Carried on to the best Advantage Wee are confirmed by daily experience that the said

Trade can never be carried on to the most Extent or preserved for Futurity any otherwise then under a regulated Company like that to Russia, wherein every one may Trade with Freedome; For the better effecting whereof Wee pray leave to lay before your Lordships our Scheme Mark'd E [7] by which tis proposed that the Settlements in Affrica be vested in the Crown and the Traders incorporated in order to be rendred capable of Choosing a Comittee who may always attend such persons as her Majesty shall appoint for the more easy supply and Management of the said Settlements which Scheme wee humbly offer as the most durable safe and effectuall for the preservation of the Affrican Trade, for the Support of our Collonies in America, and for the future Benefitt of Great Britaine for all times to come as may be evinced by many reasons some few of which wee humbly offer.[8]

1. By long Experience all our Settlements or Collonies in forreigne parts under Proprietor Ship have been subject to so many Inconveniences, that it hath been found absolutely necessary to annex most of them from time to time in the Crown, and where that hath not been done, such Proprietor-ships have been lost to this Nation, and fallen into the Hands of our Enemies, as lately the Island of Providence in America, and our Settlement in the River Gambia, which with most of the Trade of that River hath fallen into the Enemy's Hands twice since the Revolution.

2. And as the very being of all our Colonies so annex'd to the Crown, depends entirely on the African Trade, so 'tis doubtless highly reasonable to establish those Settlements on the same Foot as our American Colonies are on, for which we have a very good Example by the Portugueze, who have establishd their Settlement at Loando St. Pol on this foot, the same is now become a great City, and commands most part of the Kingdom of Angola,[9] wherein 'tis not possible for any Power in Africa to disturb them, and hath prov'd the great Nursery and Support of the Brasils, by the Numbers of Negro's furnish'd to that mighty Colony now and in Times past.

3. As the African Trade hath increas'd very much since its being laid open, more than when Exclusive, altho' under the greatest Oppression and Obstruction from the Company and their Agents, who being vested with a Military Power, maintain'd at the Charge of Private Traders, have made use of the said Power to ruin the Trade in general, so when the Trade is freed from that Nusance, there is

[7] E, which is C. O. 388: 14, no. 4, is not here printed, since the substance of it is included in the report of the Board of Trade Feb. 1, 1711 (*post,* no. 53).

[8] The remainder of the document is taken from C. O. 389: 21, as the manuscript (C. O. 388: 14) is torn at this point.

[9] It is probably true that the Portuguese were the only people who actually settled in West Africa.

reason to believe 'twill increase much more than ever before, and that the Settlements in Africa will become Towns of British Inhabitants, and our Trade be carry'd far into the Gold Countries, and the other Inland Parts of Africa; whereas now the Traders are hindred from Selling their Goods ashoar, even on the Sea-Coast, but all Trade is negotiated on board our Ships, and frequently the Goods so bought are taken away from the Natives who bought them, after they come ashoar, by the Company's Instruments; Notwithstanding which we have near beat out the Dutch Interlopers, who, we are inform'd, had but three Ships on the Coast this Year, whereas when the Company were Exclusive, those Traders usually swarm'd in most Parts of Africa.

4. By Vesting the Settlements in the Crown, all Grievances of this nature will be prevented, our Planters will be on the same foot as those of Brasil, and our Exports and Navigation will exceedingly increase; But as this Topick hath been so much debated, we need not tire your Lordships Patience with a multitude of other Reasons to support this Scheme for a Regulated Trade, but humbly refer the same to Your Lordships Consideration: being with all Submission. May it please Your Lordships

Your Lordships most Obedient Servants,

RD. HARRIS, HUM. MORICE } For the Separate Traders to Africa.

Dated this 3d of January 1710[/11].[10]

53. THE BOARD OF TRADE TO THE QUEEN.[1]

To the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.

May it please Your Majesty. In obedience to your Majesty's Commands, we have considered the Petitions of the Royal African Company, and of several Planters and Inhabitants of your Majesty's Island of Barbadoes, with some other Papers relating thereunto, which were transmitted to us by the Duke of Queensberry the 9th of December last;[2] and we have been attended by the said Company and by several of the principal Seperate Traders to Africa;[3] . . .

[10] Endorsed, "Recd. [and] Read 3d January, 1710/11".

[53] [1] C. O. 389: 21, pp. 441-457. This representation, the result of a month's deliberation (see *ante,* no. 50, n. 1), was sent with a covering letter to the Duke of Queensberry on Feb. 1, 1711. A summary of its contents is printed in *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1710-1711, pp. 352-353.

[2] The "other Papers" to which reference has not already been made were: Letter from Sir Dalby Thomas and others to the Royal African Company, Nov. 26, 1709; Letter from Mr. Crabb to John Perry, Commenda, Mar. 19, 1710. The petition from Barbados was dated July 20, 1710; that of the Royal African Company is undated. *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1710-1711, pp. 306-309.

[3] The succeeding paragraphs refer to the earlier report which the board had made.

[We] shall confine our selves to such new matter as has arisen upon the Petition of the Royal African Company, their Scheme, and the other Papers relating to that Trade, which were last Referr'd to us.

Their Petition sets forth,

> That the Company laid their Case before the House of Commons in the two Sessions of the last Parliament, but without having any Relief; For that the Seperate Traders had possessed some Members with impracticable Notions (as they say) of an open Trade.[4]

As to which we find, That the Trade to Africa was under the Consideration of the late House of Commons, during the times mention'd; That the said Company and the Seperate Traders were then several times heard at a Committee of the whole House, upon their respective Petitions, and other Petitions preferr'd to the House in behalf of the Company, and of a Seperate Trade; That several Accounts and other Papers were then laid before the House relating to that matter, and that in the latter of those Two Sessions, the House came to the following Resolutions,

"Resolved, that Forts and Settlements are necessary for carrying on and preserving the Trade to Africa.

Resolved, That the Trade to Africa be free, and open for all Her Majesty's Subjects to Trade to Africa from any part of Great Britain or the Plantations, under such Regulations and Provisions as may be for the Preservation of the said Trade, and maintaining the said Forts and Settlements.[5]

Pursuant whereunto, a Bill was afterwards brought into that House, for settling the Trade to Africa, and some progress was made therein;[6] But it did not pass the Committee. And we find that the like Petitions were deliver'd the like Hearings and Proceedings had, and that thereupon Resolutions to the like Effect, were made in the foregoing Session, wherewith we presume, it will be needless to trouble Your Majesty.[7]

Their Petition further sets forth, "That the Creditors of the Company are now willing to unite with them."

If they can engage their Creditors to unite, (whereby the Debt which now lies so heavy upon the Company will be sunk in their Joynt Stock) such an Union will be necessary to the erecting a New Exclusive Company on their Foundation, should the doing thereof be found adviseable.

[4] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1710-1711, p. 307.

[5] *C. J.*, XVI. 300; Stock, III. 229.

[6] The bill was given its first reading Feb. 25, 1710. *C. J.*, XVI. 339, 356; Stock, III. 236.

[7] Resolutions similar to those here cited were reported to the House on Mar. 17, 1709, and on the 21st a bill was presented. *C. J.*, XVI. 160, 167; Stock, III. 217-218.

It having been formerly objected to the Company, That if the Trade to Africa was confin'd to an Exclusive Company, it would not be carry'd on to the greatest Benefit of this Kingdom and of the British Plantations, by a large annual Export of the Manufactures and other Goods of Great Britain, and by a sufficient Supply of Negroes to the said Plantations at Moderate Prices; For answer thereunto, the Company in their said Scheme, do say,

> That they will be obliged to Export annually for the Coast of Africa in Manufactures and other Merchandizes to the Amount of One Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling, or upwards; and if it shall at any time appear by Application to Your Majesty in Council, that greater numbers of Negroes are required to be sent to the said Plantations, the Company may be subject to the Direction of Your Majesty in Council, to Export annually such further Value in Goods and Merchandizes as shall be judg'd necessary.

This Proposition being calculated as a Rule for the Value of their yearly Export in time of Peace, as well as during the present War, We humbly submit it to Your Majesty, whether such a yearly Export will be sufficient to carry on that Trade to its utmost extent in time of Peace, since by the Account of the Ten per Cent Duty, which was laid before us by the said Company, (and made part of our before mention'd Representation to Your Majesty, relating to the said Trade) it appears that there was Exported by the Company and by Seperate Traders in two years of the last Peace, upwards of £295,000 Value in Goods from this Kingdom, besides what went to Africa within that time from the British Plantations.

As to the Supplying the said Plantations with sufficient numbers of Negroes at moderate Prices, and the giving a Credit to the Planters, as propos'd by the said Scheme; We conceive, the same to be absolutely necessary, and therefore it will be proper that in such Law as shall be Passed for Settling the Trade to Africa, some Provision be made for the foresaid Purposes, in whatever manner that Trade shall be settled by Parliament.

In reference to the above mention'd Petition of several Planters and other Inhabitants of Barbadoes; the Petitioners say,

> That for many years while the African Company had the sole Management of that Trade, Barbadoes was duly supply'd with a sufficient Number of Negroes at Moderate Prices from 10 to £20 per Head the highest; But that for several years past, since that Trade has been laid open, the Number of Negroes imported by the Company and Seperate Traders together, hath not been sufficient to supply that Island, and that those imported have been sold at extravagant Prices, from 20 to £40 per Head, if tolerably good, occasion'd, as they conceive, by the different Interests of the said Company and Seperate Traders, each bidding on the other: Wherefore they pray that the British Interest on the Coast of Africa may be effectually preserved, and the Trade, put on such a foot,

that the Petitioners may be supply'd with a sufficient Number of Negroes on reasonable Terms.[8]

In Answer to which, the Seperate Traders do say, That the Law made in Barbadoes some years past, whereby Paper Money was made current in Payment for Negroes and all other Goods, has been the Occasion that the said Island hath since that time been slenderly supply'd.

On this Occasion, We humbly beg leave to observe to your Majesty, That by the Minutes of the Council and Assembly of Jamaica in 1710, (now lying before us) it appears to be the general Desire of the Planters and others in that Island, that the Trade to Africa be left free and open to all your Majesty's Subjects, as, what they conceive, will be most for the Benefit of the British Plantations. In further Proof whereof, the Seperate Traders have produced to us a copy of a Petition of the Planters and Merchants inhabiting in that Island (intended to be laid before the House of Commons) setting forth,

That since the laying open the Trade to Africa in the year 1698, that Island hath been better supply'd with Negroes by Seperate Traders, than at any time before by the African Company, when Exclusive, and that Market has been so plentifully provided, that great Quantities of Negroes have been yearly Exported from thence to the Spanish West Indies, and there sold for Gold and Silver. That thereby the former Mischiefs and Hardships, of not having Negroes enough for their Plantations, and of being obliged to buy them of but one Seller only, (the African Company's Factor there) and to sell most of their Plantation Commodities again but to one Buyer (the same Person) at what Price such Buyer pleases, has been by this Liberty of Trade, wholly redress'd, to the great Benefit and Encouragement of that Island. That if the African Company should again obtain this Trade in a joynt-Stock Company Exclusive, they fear that all the same Prejudice and Inconvenience of a Monopoly of the Trade to Africa, so often complain'd of heretofore, and which has been so grievous to the Plantations, will return, and if granted, will occasion the Ruin of Jamaica, the Loss of the Spanish Trade, and the Decrease of Navigation; Wherefore they pray, That the Trade to Africa may be open and free to all the Subjects of Great Britain to Trade thither on equal Terms.[9]

And it must be admitted, that Jamaica in regard to its Situation, and the great share it has in the Assiento Trade, is more concern'd in the Negro Trade, than all the other British Plantations.

The Seperate Traders have laid before us a Copy of their Scheme

[8] July 10, 1710, C. O. 28: 13; also Eg. MSS. 1162 A, f. 61, signed, "Robt. Vaughan, Thos. Carney".

[9] This undated petition from Jamaica (C. O. 388: 14, 81) was transmitted to the Lords of Trade by Richard Harris, on Jan. 4, with the following explanation: "With it came a letter, that 'twas signed by some of the Council, most of the members of the late Assembly and all the considerable merchts., and if our Assembly had not been suddenly dissolved, it had been done by the whole body of the Island." *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1710-1711, p. 336.

for Settling the Trade to Africa in a Regulated Company, wherein they propose;[10]

That all the British Settlements in Africa be vested in Your Majesty, Your Majesty's Heirs and Successors, and that such Governors be appointed from time to time, as Your Majesty shall think fit.

That the Traders to Africa be Incorporated in a Regulated Company, like the Traders to Russia, in order to their being render'd capable of Choosing a Committee, who may at all times attend such Persons as Your Majesty shall appoint for taking Care and Managing the said Settlements, so as all Your Majesty's Subjects of Great Britain and the Plantations may have an equal Freedom of Trade.

That an Equivalent be given to the Royal African Company for their Interest in the said Settlements, according to a Valuation.

That for enabling Your Majesty to maintain the said Settlements, and for providing the Equivalent for the said Company, the several Duties appointed by the late Act for Settling the Trade to Africa, be continued and made payable to Your Majesty, Your Majesty's Heirs and Successors; And if those Duties shall not be thought sufficient, then that such further Duties be appointed as shall be thought necessary.

And that the several Clauses, Proviso's and Regulations, etc., mention'd in the said Act, with an Addition of such other Clauses as may be thought necessary, be continued.

The African Company objected hereunto, That the Trade to Africa is of such a Nature, that if laid open, there can be no security that the same will be preserv'd, carry'd on and improv'd, so as to produce a certain Sufficient Fund for maintaining such Forts and Settlements on that Coast as shall be found necessary to be maintain'd by Your Majesty for preserving, carrying on and Improving that Trade.

In Answer, the Seperate Traders say, they conceive there can be no greater security of the Continuance of any Branch of the British Foreign Trade, than the absolute necessity and the great Benefit thereof, as is the case of the Trade to Africa; That there being such a moral certainty that the said Trade will be carry'd on, the Duty charged upon it must consequently arise; and they say, That the Ten per Cent. Duty (upon a Moderate Computation of what it has yearly produced for several years past) especially if thereto be added a further Duty as propos'd, will be sufficient to defray the charge of maintaining the necessary Forts and Settlements in time of War, and will much exceed such Charge in time of Peace.

The Company further objected, That if the said Trade is laid open, 'tis impracticable to have a sufficient Stock of Goods lying in the several Forts to be from time to time, as Occasion shall require, charg'd and dispos'd of for preserving, securing and increasing the Number of Contracts and Alliances with the Natives, and with the

[10] The plan of the separate traders (C. O. 388: 14, no. 4), presented to the Lords Commissioners by Richard Harris and Humphrey Morice Jan. 3, 1711, was practically the one suggested by them on Jan. 24, 1710.

several Neighbouring Petty Kings of the Country, and for Increasing the number of Forts and Settlements, with sufficient and proper Powers for those Purposes, which they said, could only be perform'd by an Exclusive Company with a Joynt Stock.

To this the Seperate Traders answer, That in the Act to be pass'd for settling the Trade to Africa, and for Vesting the Forts and Settlements in your Majesty, there may be a Clause for Incorporating the Traders to that Coast, whereby they may be enabled annually to choose a Committee, who may have Power to send Factors or Warehouse-keepers with Goods to Cape Coast, or elsewhere on the Coast of Africa, as may be needful, which Factors or Warehouse Keepers may take charge of all Goods, and issue them for the forementioned Purposes by directions of the Governor and Council of Cape Coast, who may keep a constant Correspondence with the said Committee; which Governor the seperate Traders humbly hope they may have liberty of recommending to your Majesty: So that they say, there seems to be no more Difficulty as to this Point, under a regulated, than under an Exclusive Company, in regard that the Committee and Governor of the one, can doubtless do the same things as the Committee and Governor of the other.

Lastly, The African Company said, That while the Trade lyes open, and there are several Sellers of Goods from Great Britain, and several Buyers of Negroes, and other African Goods on that Coast, the British Goods will unavoidably be greatly depretiated, and those of Africa as much enhanced by the Natives, of which the Company said there have been many Instances since the Trade had been laid open.

To this the seperate Traders answered, That the Trade of your Majesty's Subjects to Africa is no way better secur'd than by their being able to sell cheaper than other Nations; whereas should they put their own Prices upon their Woollen Goods, or sell them dear, other Nations would quickly beat them out of that Trade, and the Natives of Africa rather cloath themselves with East India, than with Woollen Goods: So that the Depretiating British Goods, or selling them cheaper than other Nations, is an Advantage to the Kingdom; in that it occasions a larger Consumption thereof, however it may lessen the gain of the merchant; and if the seperate Traders, in being so many Buyers, buy dear on the Coast of Africa, it follows that they being many Sellers in the British Plantations, must sell Negroes cheaper to the Planters, which is wholly to the Advantage of the said Plantations.

To which may be added, That in an Exclusive Trade, there will be but one and the same Buyer of the many sorts of Woollen and other British Manufactures proper for Africa; but one and the same

Freighter of all Ships employ'd in that Trade Outwards; but one and the same Seller of Negroes to the said Plantations; but one and the same Importer of Gold from Africa; but one and the same Buyer, and but one and the same Importer of a very great part of the Productions of America; and but one and the same Seller thereof here, when imported into this Kingdom. Besides, that the said Trade will be confined to the Port of London, to the great Prejudice of the Trade of Bristol, and of several other Out Ports of Great Britain.

Upon the whole matter, we are humbly of opinion, That the Trade to Africa is very valuable, and of the greatest Importance to this Kingdom, and to the British Plantations.

That Forts and Settlements are necessary for the carrying on and Preservation of that Trade.

That the said Trade be speedily settled, in regard the Act, under which it is now carry'd on, continues to midsummer next, and to the end of the then next Session of Parliament and no longer.

And, That if the Regulations and Provisions contain'd in the aforementioned Scheme of the seperate Traders with such further Regulations and Provisions as may be made by Parliament, shall be judg'd by Your Majesty in Parliament proper and effectual for preserving and well carrying on the said Trade, for maintaining the said Forts and Settlements, and for raising the said Equivalent; We are humbly of opinion, it will be for the greatest and general Benefit of this Kingdom and the Plantations thereunto belonging, That the said Trade be free and open for all your Majesty's Subjects, to trade to Africa from any Part of Great Britain, or from the said Plantations, in a Regulated Company, under such Regulations and Provisions as aforesaid.[11]

WHITEHALL,
Febry. the 1st 1710/11

54. PETITION TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.[1]

April 14, 1711.

A Petition of the Dealers in Wool, Serge-Makers, Wool-combers, and Weavers, in behalf of themselves, and great Numbers of poor People, in and about the Town of Ashburton, in the County of Devon,

[11] The report is signed, "Stamford, Ph. Meadows, J. Pulteney, R. Monckton, Cha. Turner, Geo. Baillie".

[54] [1] *C. J.*, XVI. 595. Following the presentation of the foregoing report the House of Commons received petitions from the adventurers and creditors of the Royal African Company, and from merchants, artisans, and planters, both in England and in the colonies. On Mar. 1 the House called for the customs accounts, and on Mar. 15 the Commissioners of the Customs laid before the House all the papers on the African trade in their possession, but, as in earlier sessions, no bill was passed. *Ibid.*, pp. 521-522, 528, 534, 536, 549-552, 561, 570, 575, 588-589, 604; Stock, III. 246-251.

was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that of late Years the Trade on fine Serges has been lessened, we have been employed in making coarse Serges, commonly called Perpetuanas, for the Coast of Africa, which of late have been much encreased, and the Petitioners have not only by that a Manufacture of coarse wool, and many poor People are thereby employed in spinning for those coarse Goods; and being informed, that Endeavours are used to confine the Trade to a Company, whereby the Quantities made will be lessened, and the Petitioners exposed to the utmost Straits: And praying to be favoured in the Consideration of their Case.

Ordered, That the said Petition be referred to the Consideration of the Committee of the whole House, to whom the Petition of the Adventurers and Creditors of the Royal African Company and others, Subscribers for the Support and carrying on that Trade, is referred.

55. Seth Grosvenour and James Phipps to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cape Coast Castle 16 May 1711.

In our Last we advised your honours we could not come to an agreemt with Capt. Legg and Chadwick for your Ship *Camwood* [2] but Contrary to our expectation, they made a tender of her to us a Second time, after having kept her a month in their Custody in the Road and on pretence of doing your honours a piece of Service Capt. Legg told us we might have her with what part of her Cargoe was Remaining on board for five hundred pounds which we agreed to Conditionally if She is prove to be a prize, and have given Capt. Legg Bills upon your hon'rs for the Same of which we desire your Acceptance, hoping she will not prove to be a [*torn*] bargain, there being near three hundred pounds Cargoe on board her, prime Cost, and we have Capt. Leggs Certificate for the delivery of the Ship to us.

We have an Acco't there was Seventy Slaves on board your hon'rs Ship *Camwood* which retaken by Capt. Legg, that was purchased by the French with the Goods belonging to her and there was also sundry of the *Camwoods* Goods taken on board the *Cezar* prize which we made a demand of, but Capt. Legg refused us them Saying they was as properly his prize as the French ships was: and the Slaves Capt. Legg has since disposed of to the 10 per Cent. Ships and fourty Welch plaines we bought of him to put on board your hon'rs Ship *Broughton* to Compleat her Cargoe for the Windward trade: there was also two Neg'r Sailors taken on board the *Cezar* which belonged

[55] [1] T 70: 2, pp. 35-36.

[2] The *Camwood* (or *Camwood Merchant*) had been captured by the French and recaptured by Captains Legg and Chadwick of the *Anglesey* and the *Foy*. *Acts P. C. C.*, II. 658-659. See *post*, no. 57.

to your *Camwood*: but they like the other goods were prize; and we could doe no further in it then to give your hon'rs a true account thereof as far as came to our knowledge Capt. Ashby and Park was present at the retaking your Ship *Camwood* and Can be better able to give your hon'rs an account what was found on board her.

Wee should not have drawn bills upon you knowing it Contrary to your honours directions, but Considering the occasion it Could not be avoided, and doubt not your honours approbation.

It would have been much more to our Satisfaction to have p'd the mony here, Rather then have drawn bills, but your hon'rs Ship *Camwood,* being no Longer in the Enemy's Custody then twenty Eight days, our Opinion is She cannot be made a Lawfull prize, and that no more then Salvage can be demanded for her.

56. Memorandum from the Papers of Matthew Prior.[1]

[July, 1711?]

Memoire pour l'Etablissement des Comptoirs de Panama, Portebello, Cartagenne, Sainte Marthe, La Veracrux et la Havane etc.[2]

1. A l'Egard de l'Introduction des Negres comme les affaires de la Sciente francoise ont toûjours eté en decadence, il est dificile de dire la quantité de Negres que l'on pouvvoit vendre dans chaque Comptoir.

2. Il y a eu des tems qu'on a introduit a Panama jusqu'au 2000 Negres par an, a Cartagenne 1000 a 1500: a Sainte Marthe 5 a 600, a la Havanne environ 1000, et quelquefois plus sans tous ceux qu'on a vendues en fraude venus de part et d'autre ce qu'on peut empecher facilement a present.

3. A Panama il y a des tems qu'il y a des sommes immenses qui entreroient dans la Caisse de la Compagnie si Elle avoit quantité de Negres, et d'autres tems que l'on ne trouveroit pas a en vendre une 100'me [3]

4. C'est pourquoy il faudroit que Messieurs de la Compagnie Etablissent leur Magazin general a la Jamaique pour les Negres qui

[56] [1] Welbeck Abbey MSS., Papers of Matthew Prior, "Plenipotentiary in France, temp. Queen Anne". The document is endorsed by Adrian Drift, Prior's secretary, "Memorial relating to the Negro Trade". For the paper, the editor is indebted to the kindness of Richard W. Goulding, Esq., librarian for the Duke of Portland.

[2] Stanhope's failure to obtain the assiento with Spain in 1707 (see *ante,* no. 18 and notes) by no means discouraged England in her hopes of acquiring it. In July, 1711, Matthew Prior was sent to Paris to discuss in secret the English demands for a peace, among which was a demand for the assiento and for settlements within Spanish-American territory which the English might fortify. Though the answer to Prior's requests was such as to make his "heart ache extremely", the French had practically agreed to English terms by the end of September (*Portland MSS.,* V. 34-41). The memorial here printed was doubtless drawn up by Prior on the occasion of the visit to Paris. See Donnan, "Early Days of the South Sea Company", *Jour. Econ. and Business Hist.,* II. 421-422.

[3] Centime.

viendront de la coste de Guynée ou d'autre part, comme aussy les marchandises et a mesure qu'on en auroit besoin dans les dits comptoirs soit Negres ou autre choses, les Directeurs demanderont a celuy de La Jamaique de leur en envoyer ce que leur prudence jugeroit necessaire en observant de ne demander guere plus de Negres qu'ils en pouroient vendre, C'est pour éviter la mortalité et les grosses depenses que causent les Negres dans les Magazins de Panama etc.

5. Il se trouveroit que par la Suitte le Commerce seroit plus courant qu'il n'a esté par les tems passez, pour cet effet Messieurs de la Compagnie doivent avoir dans leurs Comptoirs des Directeurs habils et au fait du Commerce scachant les manieres Espagnolles et connoissant les gouverneurs avec lesquels Il faudroit vivre d'intelligence et d'estre Civils et affables avec les Espagnols.

6. Pour l'Introduction des Negres aux Indes, il faudroit avoir a la Jamaique quatre Barques ou Brigantins et mettre dans chacune des Barques qui iroit a Portebello ou ailleurs a la coste pour aporter des Negres chaque fois 100 ou 60 plus ou moins, l'on pouroit embarquer sur les dites Barques soit pour Portebello et Panama environ pour 12 a 15000 piastres de Marchandises chaque voyage.

7. Il est à Remarquer que plus les dites Barques feront de voyages, on introduira par ce moyen une plus grande quantité de Marchandises sous pretexte d'aller aporter des Negres.

8. L'on pouvoit disposer l'une des d. Barques pour aller et venir a la Coste de Caracque et a la ville de Saint Dominique d'ou l'on peut tirer des Cuirs, du Caco, et du Tabac de verine en leur aportant les Negres et ce qu'ils auront besoin.

9. Une autre Barque peut servir pour aller et venir a la Coste de Cuba pour fournir aussy des Negres et Marchandises et en raporter des Cuirs etc.

10. Une autre peut servir pour la Veracrux et la Havanne et en tirer de la Cochenille et des Cuirs etc.

11. L'autre Barque peut servir pour Portebello et Cartagenne etc.

12. Les Vaisseaux qui viendront de la Coste de Guinée avec les Negres a la Jamaique raporteront en Angleterre les Especes d'Or et d'Argent et les Marchandises qui viendront de la Coste des Indes Espagnolles qui se trouveront alors dans leur Magazin general.

13. La Raison est qu'il vaudroit mieux pour Messieurs de la Compagnie d'envoyer des Batteaux a la Coste Espagnolle que des vaisseaux par raport a ce que les vaisseaux sont de trop grande dépense et font plus de frais, il se trouve souvent beaucoup de malades dans les d. vaisseaux par la Longueur de leurs voyages, et a la Jamaique ils n'auront point de retardement comme s'ils étoient obligez de porter leurs Negres a la Coste des Indes Espagnolle[s].

Enfin s'il est necessaire on fournira un Memoire pour les Employez qu'il conviendroit pour le service de la Compagnie dans ces pays là.

57. Thomas Stewart and Raynes Bate to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbados 19th Sept. 1711.

The 12th Capt. Legg arrived with her Majesty's Ships *Anglesra, Foy* and *Scarborough,* and your Honours Ship *Camwood* Isaac Barber Master Retaken by Capt. Legg but delivered up to your Agents at Cape Coast upon Condition, If found to be a prise Your Honours to pay him Five Hundred pounds Sterling, If not, only Salvage, we shall doe what's in our part, and make the best Defence we Can.[2]

The 22d of May she Left the Coast with Two hundred Slaves and broug[h]t in here one hundred Sixty three, in a very poor Condition having had nothing to Eat the Greatest part of that Extraordinary Long Passage but musty decayed Corn and a Little Salt Sometimes. We believe they have been Likely People when first Shipt, and no Care wanting in the Voyage.

What are Sold have been to Good prices and in all is Eighty One. They want for no provisions, tho dear, but the feeding one Costs almost as much as three formerly.

The *Experiment* Man of Warr being bound upon a Cruise and to Convoy out Some Ships and particularly those to Nevis and St. Christopher's we Shall Ship in him for Mountserratt (believing these two Ships will at this time [*torn*] the Markett at Nevis) between fourty and fifty Negroes.

58. The Board of Trade to the Queen.[1]

[Whitehall, March 15, 1711/2.]

To the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.

May it please Your Maj'ty, In Obedience to Your Majesty's Com-

[57] [1] T 70: 2, pp. 35-36.

[2] On Oct. 25, 1711, Bate and Stewart wrote: "Capt. Legg and Capt. Chadwick Libell'd the Ship *Camwood* in the Court of Admiralty, our Lawyers made the best defence they could, after a Tryall of four hours, the Judge Condemned her, our Lawyers being very positive the Judgemt would be Reverted by the Queen and Councill If your hono'rs think fit to prosecute it, We have appealed and given Security accordingly" (T 70: 2, p. 36). Dudley Woodbridge, judge of the admiralty court of Barbados, sent the papers in the case to the Earl of Dartmouth, then principal Secretary of State, and the matter was referred by the Privy Council to the committee for hearing appeals for prizes. *Acts P. C. C.,* II. 658-659; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1711-1712, pp. 122-123.

[58] [1] C. O. 389: 22, pp. 447-451. On June 20, 1711, the Board of Trade had been instructed by the queen, who acted in response to a request from the House of Commons, to take up the manner of carrying on the African trade. At this time the commissioners concerned themselves almost wholly with an investigation of the strength of the African fortifications, on which subject they signed a representation July 27, then turned to other

mands signify'd to us by the Right Hon'ble Mr. Secretary St. John,[2] upon an address from the Hon'ble the House of Commons to Your Majesty, relating to the Settlement of the Trade to Africa; We have examined into the Nature of that Trade and have consulted the African Company, and seperate Traders, in what manner the same may best be carry'd on, and thereupon humbly take leave to represent to Your Majesty, That the African Company and Seperate Traders agree;

1st That for the preserving, better carrying on and Improving the Trade to Africa, it is necessary that Forts and Settlements be maintain'd and inlarg'd on that Coast.

2d That the charge of maintaining the said Forts and Settlements ought to be born out of that Trade.

3d That it is necessary, the Contracts already made with the natives should be maintained, and other Alliances from time to time made, for the inlargement of the Trade to Africa.

4th That the Plantations ought to be supply'd with sufficient Quantities of Negroes, at reasonable Rates.

5th That a considerable Stock is necessary for the carrying on the Trade to Africa, to the best Advantage of your Majesty's Subjects, and for preserving and improving the same.

6th That it is necessary, an Export of £100,000 at least, in Merchandize, be annually made from Great Britain to Africa.[3]

7th That a sufficient Stock of Goods be always kept in the several Forts and Settlements to be from time to time disposed of, as occasion shall require for preserving, securing and Increasing the Number of Contracts and Alliances with the Natives, and with the several Petty Kings of the Country, and that the Governors there may have proper powers to dispose of such Goods for those purposes, and for increasing and varying such Forts and Settlements as the Nature of the Trade shall require.

To Answer these severall Purposes, The Company say, That considering the Nature of that Trade the annual Export to Africa of £100,000 the value of Goods always to be kept in the Forts and Settlements; The large Credit necessary to be given to the Planta-

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business (*B. T. Jour.*, 1709-1715, pp. 288-289, 292-296). In January, 1712, a mass of papers was transmitted to them and they renewed their hearings, as a result of which they presented to the queen a report on Mar. 15 (*ibid.*, pp. 322-349, *passim*). The petitions brought forth by this renewed consideration are to be found in the *Commons Journals*, XVII. 55, 56, 76, 112, 131, 132; Stock, III. 276-295, *passim*.

[2] St. John had supplanted Queensberry as Secretary of State in 1710.

[3] On Mar. 31, 1712, the committee of the whole House brought in a report embodying the first six of these recommendations. Five of them the House of Commons agreed to, but it refused to endorse the necessity for sending £100,000 in merchandize to Africa each year. *C. J.*, XVII. 164; Stock, III. 288.

tions, and the making a Contract or Assiento for supplying the Spaniards with Negroes (if such Contract can be obtain'd to this Kingdom) can only be carryed on, and perform'd by an Exclusive Joynt Stock, which ought not to consist of less than £500,000, not including the value of their Forts and Settlements on the Coast. And the Company further propose, that if at any time complaint be made from the Plantations, either as to their not being supplyed with sufficient Quantities of Negroes, or the high price of them, that the Regulation thereof be submitted to your Majesty in Council.

The Seperate Traders say, That these Purposes may be answered and performed by a regulated Company, with the powers of a Body Politick, like that of Turkey or Russia, and that they can upon the Fund of the Duties rais'd by the 10 per Cent (which if it be found necessary may be augmented to fifteen) borrow money upon their Common Seal, for giving the present Company an Equivalent upon a reasonable valuation for their Forts and Settlements, and can establish Consuls on the Coast, with sufficient Quantities of Goods for paying Ground Rents, Presents and all other Occasions; That they shall then be capable of Managing that Trade to the Advantage of Great Britain and the Plantations, as well as a Company with an Exclusive Joynt Stock. And they are ready to give such security touching the Management of the African Trade (when formed in a regulated Company with the powers of a Body Politick) as shall be thought fit by Parliament.

They further propose that if at any time complaints be made from the Plantations as to their not being supplyed with sufficient Quantities of Negroes, that the Regulation thereof be submitted to your Majesty in Council.[4]

WHITEHALL March 15th 1711/12

59, RAYNES BATE AND THOMAS STEWART TO THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY.[1]

BARBADOS the 22d Aug. 1712.

. . . The 7th Instant the *Canada* Henry Wishart Comand'r arrived here in Company with Capt. Prince and Rogers who sayled that day for Jamaica, she took in at Whidah five hundred and ten Neg'rs and brought into this Road 487 most of them in a miserable Poor Condition,[2] but the Masters Mate and Surgeon say they were

[4] Signed, "Winchilsea, Ph. Meadows, Robt. Monckton, Cha. Turner, Geo: Baillie, Arthur Moore, Fr. Gwyn, Oxford, Buckingham, Dartmouth, H. St. John, R. Benson".

[59] [1] T 70: 2, pp. 49-53.

[2] On Apr. 11 the factors at Cape Coast wrote that the *Canada,* Capt. Thomas Lovell, had arrived there Mar. 24, and that they had placed on board corn and other provisions for six hundred negroes; that the captain was to take corn from Anamabo and Winnebah also, and to sail for Whydah, where he was to receive his negroes in eight days' time (T 70: 2, pp. 42-43). For a cargo in poor condition the loss here reported does not seem a large one.

much worse when first taken on board, so very bad were the first fifty that they refused to receive them beleiving they were not worth the freight but finding the Charter Party and your hon'rs Instructions Obliged them to receive what the factors tendered they Complied, they have given only a Certificate of the Number shipt without mentioning their ages or Quallifications they impute this to Mr. Hick's death, the Neg'rs in the two 10 per Cent Men are in Extraordinary good Case and they Generally Come better then the Company which we do not admire at if it be true of the Masters that they often Purchase their Choicest from the Factors, the ordinary they ship, this is a Great Loss to your hon'rs, as well as hard upon us who to keep up the Price are forced to give Extravigant and Long Creditt and that will not doe. . . .

As to the Extravigant Charges of Provisions and Nurseing the Neg'rs of the *Eliza.* and *Dolphin* there is no more than what was truely Paid neither of the Vessells brought Provisions into the Road and the Neg'rs in the worst Condition we ever saw any and had we not taken Extraordinary Care in feeding and nurseing them half of them had died, and it was at a time Provisions was very scarce and dear, the Perticulars are Expresst in the Acco't Sales, we never Charge according to the Number of Neg'rs but what we really Pay according to their wants and your hon'rs have formerly Encouraged our not Stinting the Neg'rs of what's necessary to raise them, and we thank God our Care and Charge has proved to be of great service to the Company in not only Preserving Poor sickly Creatures but in recruiting the Poor and mauger many of which that would not [have] sold for 40 *s.* has been raised and sold for Good Prices And you have Lost more Neg'rs before our time in one sale (and Perticularly by the *Jane*) then has Dyed with us in 6 years. these Losses were Chiefly want of Provisions and Care. If your hon'rs desire our Perticular Affadavit that shall be sent, but think it very hard you should suspect us in this and we do Protest we have to the Utmost of our Power always faithfully Endeavoured to Promote your Interest and have spared no Pains or Cost in doing it.

When we freight any Vessells for the future shall send Coppy the Charter Party, for the 45 Paid the Owners of the Sloop *Dolphin* Wee thought it what in Justice they ought to have and we have Sworne to the Acco't but you may have the owners of the receipt for it And we shall send it per next the 27.17 Charged for the Owners Part of the Sale, it was then Exactly made up and came to no more, all the time the Neg'rs were on board was at the Company's Charge for the time they were on shoar they were Charged the full Proportion and there was but seven Neg'rs of the Sloopes at Nurse, the 1. 10. 10 is no new Charge for bringing the Neg'rs on Shoar, you'l find

every Accot. Sales two Pence per head Paid for bringing them on Shoar. . . .

As to your Objections for your Levy on trade Referr to our Letter Nov. 2, 1710 Your hon'rs are Taxed per the name of the Royall African Company these 20 years for your trade, and for our trade we are Perticularly taxed besides and Last year were taxed and paid above three times as much as your hon'rs were that Year and its Generally in Proportion to the Neg'rs Imported, we may as well be Charged the 5 shillings per head. . . .

The Reason we hired Doct'r Sidney at a Sett Sallary to look after the Compa's Neg'rs was that the Great[est] Care might be taken in Constantly Attending and looking after the sick Neg'rs which the Surgeons of the Ships had not the means or Possibility of doing, we found it to be very much to your Interest both in the Expence and Safety of the Neg'rs and when we found no great Occassion Wee Discharged that and have done so for some time, But shall now be forced to renew it the Surgeon of the Ship having as much as he Can do to look after the Sick Neg'rs on board.

BARBADOS Sept. 18, 1712.

The fifth Instant the *Pindar* Galley Capt. Richd Rands Com'd arrived here from Cabo Corso Castle with Two hundred Ninety Two Neg'rs in the best Condition we have seen any this Six Years, he brought no Certificate but they Came Nearer the Ages than any of the former, Inclosed is Capt. Wishart's receipt for freight of 479 Neg'rs per the *Canada* amt. to £3832. . . . We have not Paid Capt. Wishart any Part of the Commission Neg'rs by reason we find in a Letter of your hon'rs of 25th October 1705 That if any Capt. of the Comp's Ships Dies in the Voyage before the Ship arrives with us that we stop the Capts. Com'n in our hands till we have your hon'rs Orders how the same shall be Distributed, And tho' this be not the Comp'as Ship yet the Present Master being inclinable himself to have it so, we thought it very reasonable and for your hon'rs Interest, for we understand Capt. Lovell Obliged his Mate to renounce the Com'n in Case of his Death and this Advantage being Lost may make the Succeeding Com'rs Less Carefull, tho upon Inquiry we find this Man has taken all the Care he Could.

The Hurry we have been in in Selling the *Pindar's* Neg'rs getting sug'r and freight etc. have hindered us ballancing the Old Debts Acco't. . . .

You have here the bill of Mortality of the *Canada's* Neg'rs and the Doct'rs Receipt for his head mony £23. 19 with the Bill of Mortality

of the Neg'rs per the *Pindar* and the Doct'rs receipt for the head mony £14. 12. . . .

We have sold of the *Canada's* Neg'rs 364 and of the *Pindar's* 272.

60. The African Company's Property in the Trade.[1]

An Explanation of the African Company's Right and Property in the African Trade. And of the Merit and Value of that Property. Both which will appear from these Facts and Considerations.

I. That the African Trade was often attempted, but could never be gain'd, and was absolutely lost, when the Company undertook the hazard of the Purchase.

II. That the Forts and Trade are inseparable; That the Trade without the Forts could never be gained, nor can now be maintain'd; And the Forts without the Trade, had never been thought of, much less had been built or preserved at such a vast Expence, as has been laid out upon them.

III. That the Company are Purchasers of both Forts and Trade, not only for an Immense Consideration, but at the hazard of Losing the whole in the Adventure, which makes their Right and Property equal to any Gentleman's Title to his Freehold or Leasehold in England, or in the Plantations.

IV. That the African Company's Right and Property in the sole Trade, is no Monopoly, nor Discouragement to Industry, nor Injurious to the Liberty or Freedom of their Fellow Subjects of Great Britain or the Plantations.

V. The present Value of the African Company's Interest in the sole Trade, and the true Reasons why their Estate and Credit are at this time low.

VI. The Nature of that Right the Legislature has, to take Care of the Management of the African Trade. . . .

The True Reasons of the African-Company's present Misfortunes are three,

1. The Calamities of the War that followed the Revolution, fell heavy on the Company, the French taking their Ships and Goods, to a very great Value.

But this they could have retrieved.

2. The Invasion and forcible Entries of the Interlopers, which prov'd a worse Plundering than the French Depredations; Yet this they could have avoided.

[60] [1] *An Explanation of the African Company's Property in the Sole Trade to Africa,* "Making their Right equal with any Subjects' Right to his Freehold. Do unto the Company and their Property, as you would have others do unto you, and your Estates" (London, 1712).

3. But the most grievous blow of all, was that hard Law made in 1697, which gave liberty to other Subjects, in the Nature of Lodgers or Inmates, to enter the Company's Forts and Settlements, and take the benefit of the Trade, for the space of thirteen Years, paying a small Rent of 10 per Cent. out of the Exports, only to keep the Company's Houses in good repair for these New Guests.

This stroke has held the Company under assured Bondage; they have groaned and languished under the Weight of it these thirteen Years. It forced them to stand by quietly, and see the Separate Traders (like the Sequestrators formerly) domineer in the Company's Houses, and devour the Profit of their Trade. But was it not an Invasion of Property? Would the Company have adventured their Substance in gaining the Trade, if they had foreseen this taking away of the Fruit of their Labours, Purchase and Hazard, and the giving it to their fellow Subjects, for no other Reason, but because they coveted, desired and asked it?

As to the present Value of the Company's Interest in the Trade.

They insist that their Estates being now returning into their Possession from under a long Sequestration; it will (when free) be of a Value equal to all their Disbursements and Adventures; it will (when in Possession) give them Credit, and means to improve it, and enable them to make to their Creditors full Satisfaction.

They insist, that the Fallacy touching the Value, as if they had no Interest, but what must arise from the Forts and Castles, as such only, shall not be imposed on them; they claim the Value of the Trade, and insist, that no Value can be put on the Forts, but what is the Value of the Trade; for the Trade is the Fruit or Jewel appendant in those Forts and Castles, and was gained by them, and without which, those Forts and Castles had never been built, at the prodigious Expences that have been laid out on them. . . .

VI. As to the Sixth, the Nature of that Right, the Legislature has to take Care, that the African Trade, or any other Subjects Trade, be used or managed for the Good of the Kingdom.

As to this the Company humbly submit to such Regulations as to the Exporting Manufactures and Merchandize from Great Britain, and furnishing sufficient Quantities of Negroes to the Plantations at reasonable Rates, and preventing Abuses: As the Legislature, in their great Wisdom shall think fit to direct (saying that their Right and Property to the sole Trade be not impoverished or taken from them.) The Company have sustain'd much Hardships and Damage, but have behav'd themselves peaceably: If any Misdemeanours were laid to their Charge, they might expect the benefit of a fair Tryal; But to be Demolish'd, to be Confiscated, to be Condemned as the worst of Malefactors, and their Estates taken from them, to the

utter Ruin of them, their Creditors and their Families, without Fault, without Crime, without Forfeiture, without Tryal, is so contrary to Natural Justice, so unprecedented, so shocking to Free-born Subjects, That the Company humbly hope they have no just Reason to fear any such thing from This Parliament.[2]

61. The Assiento Contract considered.[1]

[January 20, 1713.]

The Trade with the Spaniards from Jamaica (tho' Collusive) has been very considerable: and 'tis certain for seven Years past (about which time it commenced *de Novo*) the Spaniards have been supplied from thence, one Year with another, with three or four thousand Negroes, in return for which, and for Flower, Woollen and other Goods, there has been received of them in Gold and Silver and the Produce of New Spain, 200,000 *l.* or 250,000 *l.* Yearly. . . .

As to the Trade from Jamaica with the Spaniards, I fear from the Power the French King has over King Philip, and the growing as well as the present Strength of the French; as also the Encouragement they have given them by King Philip in those Parts, it must be soon at an end. 'Tis probable Great Britain may have the Assiento, or the supplying the Spaniards with Negroes, if there can be found any Persons, incorporated or not, so inconsiderate, as to accept it on the Terms her Majesty has acquainted her Parliament.[2] (pp. 2-3). . . .

[2] The arguments against the company's monopoly were: (1) it hindered the sale of woollens; (2) it contributed to the decay of the navy; (3) it advanced the trade of other nations; (4) it lowered the price of English goods; (5) it tended to ruin individuals; (6) it made it possible for the company to set its own price on vessels; (7) it allowed the company to seize the property of others; (8) it hindered the collection of customs; (9) it prevented African discoveries; (10) it would ruin the plantations: *a.,* by failing to supply a sufficient number of negroes; *b.,* by increasing the price of the negroes; *c.,* by transporting unfit negroes; *d.,* by controlling the prices of the planters' goods. *Some Considerations relating to the Trade to Guinea* (n. d.).

[61] [1] *The Assiento Contract consider'd: as also the Advantages and Decay of the Trade of Jamaica and the Plantations, with the Causes and Consequences thereof,* "in several Letters to a Member of Parliament" (London, 1714). The project of the South Sea Company, probably drafted by Robert Harley, had been introduced in Parliament in May, 1711, and the company incorporated in the autumn of that year. From the first it was assumed that once England achieved the assiento the privilege was to go to this company. The contract was not yet completed between the countries concerned at the date given to this letter, though there remained only the determination of details. See Donnan, "Early Days of the South Sea Company" (*Jour. Econ. and Business Hist. II.,* 423-431), for an account of the assignment of the contract.

[2] The objections to the contract with Spain, prevalent in the West Indies rather than in England, are forcibly expressed in these letters, which contradict the statement frequently made that the assiento was received by the subjects of Queen Anne with universal acclaim. The misstatements made concerning the effect of this contract on the English slave trade and the history of the colonies are too numerous to be cited. It of course dealt solely with the trade to Spanish America and could have only an indirect effect on the British colonies of the Continent. What the Jamaicans feared would be the effect can be seen from this pamphlet. As was pointed out in the first volume of this work, this was by no means the first time that the British had supplied the Spanish with

[April 20, 1713.][3]

As I have before acquainted you, that the private Trade from Jamaica to the Coast of New Spain, has been very considerable, and brought more Mony into her Majesty's Dominions in a Year, than the Contract can, admitting the 4800 Negroes, or more, should be taken off yearly by the Spaniards, so 'tis to be feared, that this Contract will soon put an end to the said Trade; and that by it numbers of Merchants, or Factors, and Sea-faring Men, will be prevented going to Jamaica, as well as many now Inhabitants of and belonging to the Island, will be obliged to leave it; and that as much less of the Manufactures of Great-Britain, etc. and Provisions from Ireland will be sent to the Island: so the quantity of Shipping that went yearly to it, will consequently lessen and fall short; whereby the Planter that can't Ship the Produce of his Plantations to Great-Britain, will be under a Necessity to sell it at a much lower Price, and he that can Ship it, must give a much higher Freight. That these and many more, will be the Consequences to Jamaica from this Contract is undeniable, unless those, who 'tis said are to have it, will not make use of the Power with the Government, etc. (stipulated in the said Contract, to prevent the Subjects of Great-Britain, and the Plantations, from importing Negroes, under Penalty of Forfeiture) or by their Agents, (as 'tis to be feared 'twill be in their Power) obstruct or hinder the Trade they may or can otherwise have for Merchandize with the Spaniards.

That the Contract for supplying the Spaniards with Negroes, has prov'd a loss to former Assientists, has been acknowledg'd by Contractors themselves (pp. 6-7). . . .[4]

We are told in the Preamble to this Contract, that it was given to her Majesty, in Condescension and Complacency to her, as the Draught was put into King Philip's Hands by Don Manuel Manasses Gilligan,[5] at which I am not a little surpriz'd, since by the said Contract I will take upon me to say (tho' by the Reservation to King

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slaves, though it was the first time that the government had been concerned in the formal contract to do so. The chief effect of the assiento was to give the countries England and Spain a subject of contention. For the English trade with Spain under the French assiento see Nettels, "England and the Spanish-American Trade", *Journ. Mod. Hist.*, March, 1931, pp. 19-25.

[3] Between the date of the first of these letters and this one, the assiento had been signed (Mar. 26). The text of the contract will be found in Frances G. Davenport's *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States,* vol. III., as yet unpublished. The transfer of the assiento to the English was provided for in art. XII. of the treaty of Utrecht.

[4] The 42d article granted permission to the English to enter in Spanish-American territory an annual vessel loaded with general merchandize, a privilege which was supposed to offset possible losses from trade in negroes.

[5] Manuel Manasses Gilligan, who as Spanish agent had had a large share in the conduct of the negotiations leading to the signing of the assiento, was to receive seven and one-half per cent. of the profits from the trade. He was one of the signers of the petition from Barbados of July 20, 1710 (C. O. 28: 13), and had for some years been concerned in the slave trade.

Philip in the 42d Article, as well as in the Hints, as to the Repayment of the 200,000 pieces of Eight to be advanced him in other Articles, it be taken for granted, it will be a very profitable thing for the Assientists, and has been given out and asserted in several Addresses to her Majesty, to be of very great Benefit and consideration to Great-Britain.) that not any Body of her Majesty's Subjects will be Gainers, or the Kingdom have any new Advantage, or Supply of Money accrue to Her thereby (pp. 7-8). . . .[6]

62. Raynes Bate and Thomas Stewart to the Royal African Company.[1]

Barbados May 12th 1713.

We are sorry your Hono'rs Complaine of the Charges on the Negr's after Landing and hope upon a Review of the Account we will make some Deductions, If your Hono'rs were to see some of them, and the miserable Condition they come in and the care taken of them in Washing, Bathing Dressing and feeding You would be of Opinion what we pay for it were very well laid out: for all these Poor creatures are fed every day twice with Broths and fresh Meat, which is very dear here, and they have but 15 *d.* a day for feeding and Looking after them, and we ourselves goe very often to see them and how they are fed, It is the lowest we could agree for or ever was that we know of, and as little as they can afford to feed them, for if well fedd, We doe assure your Honors we never Charged one penny more then we bona fide paid of which we Wrote you before, if you desire it we will send our Depositions and the Deposition of our Accountant that payes the money and is present at the Agreement. If we could make Deductions we were not fit to serve your Hono'rs for we must have wronged you of that, and we do not suppose you intend we should pay any of that Charge ourselves, the Charges we have been Obliged to by our Articles being very much above what our past business would allow, It hath yearly amounted to between four and five hundred pounds, with the Loss upon Lawyers Acc'ts more then the Court allows, And tho' Wee have made as few bad Debts as any for the time, that were before us, Yet upon a late Scrutiny we find three thousand pounds very Dubious and as much more we Judge Good, that we must come into Termes of Staying three or four Years or the Estates will be tore to pieces, and we put upon Land that will neither Rent or Sell, there's some of your old Debts under these Circumstances, so your Hono'rs are good Judges of our profitts hitherto. If our Comission and Interest will keep us on Ballance we

[6] In the letters which follow, dated Nov. 10, 1713, and May 5, May 10, May 25, and June 12, 1714, the author demonstrates that the assiento brings no advantages to Great Britain but tends to destroy existing trade. *Assiento Contract,* pp. 10-36.

[62] [1] T 70: 2, pp. 64-65.

shall be very glad, and we hope you'l be of Opinion not to desire us to be at any further and new Expence.

63. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Court of Directors.[1]

1713, June 10.

Ordered, That a Comittee be appointed to Consider of the Bill now depending in Parliament For Establishing the Trade to Affrica free and open to all her Maj'ties Subjects of Great Britain and the Plantations[2] And to draw up Such Clauses as they shall think convenient to be added thereto, as may be most for the Advantage of this Company with respect to the Carrying on the Assiento Trade, And Report the same to the Court And that the Chancelor of the Exchequer Mr. Blunt, Sr. Saml. Clarke, Mr. Doliffe, Mr. Hamond, Sr. Theo: Janssen, Mr. Moor, Sr. Joseph Martin, Mr. Maeter [Master?] Mr. Shepheard, Mr. Vernon, and Mr. Williams be that comittee whereof 5 to be a Quorum And all the Directors who came to have Votes and that they be summoned to meet tomorrow Morning at Seven of the Clock.[3] . . .

1713, June 27.[4]

The Minutes of the Committee for the Assiento of the 26th Instant were read And a Motion being made,

Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Court That for the Enabling this Company to Carry on the Assiento Trade of Negroes,

[63] [1] British Museum, Add. MSS. 25495, p. 116. The assiento, in Spanish and English, had been laid before the General Court of the South Sea Company by Lord Bolingbroke on June 2. The next day its provisions, article by article, were read and commented upon. A committee on buying was directed to ascertain how much clothing, medicine, provisions, and other necessaries would be required for negroes on the ships of 150 tons, how much money would be requisite to buy 4800 negroes, and whether it would be wise to plan to send out more than this number. *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 112, 114. See Donnan, "South Sea Company", *Jour. Econ. and Business Hist.*, II. 431-432.

[2] The African bill, providing for open trade, had been brought from the Commons to the House of Lords on June 9. It was read on the 17th and the 23d, with petitions from the African Company and certain West India planters against it, and was committed on the 25th. Nothing further happened (*Lords Journals,* XIX. 577, 580, 583, 586). A list of papers relating to Africa, presented June 24, will be found *ibid.*, pp. 584-585; *B. T. Jour.*, 1709-1715, pp. 438-439; Stock, III. 325-326. These papers are in large part those which the Board of Trade and the House of Commons had been considering during the years 1708-1713, some of which have been printed in this volume.

[3] On June 12 the African bill was read in the court of directors, and the committee was instructed to consult with separate traders and with the African Company about the best method of settling the trade. It met promptly, received proposals for its supply of blacks from the separate traders, and on June 19 conferred with a committee of twelve sent by the African Company. Add. MSS. 25495, pp. 118, 120.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128. On June 18 the company, in an address to the queen, expressed its thankful acceptance of "the Contract w'ch Your Majesty out of yo'r Princely Care for the Trade and Welfare of Your Subjects has been pleased to make with his Catho. Majesty, with Privileges beyond what any former Assientist ever Enjoyed", at least so the address seems to read. Its wording is ambiguous. Nevertheless, though it was everywhere taken for granted that the privileges of the assiento would go to the South Sea Company, the formalities incident to the assignment had not yet been completed. Add. MSS. 25559, f. 16, pp. 28-29.

proper Clauses be drawn up to be offered to the House of Lords, to be inserted in the Bill depending there for making the Trade to Africa free and open, that may be for the benefit and advantage of this Company. And that the said Clauses be upon the following heads, *Vizt.*

1. For Effectually Securing the true payment of the 10 £ per Cent. to be paid by all Traders to Africa.

2. For Re-exporting Such Goods as shall be Exported to Africa and bro't back to Great Britain without paying that duty again.

3. That this Company have Liberty to trade in their Politick Capacity in the Name of this Corporation.

4. For prohibiting any Director of this Company from being a Director or Manager of the Royal African Company or of the Company to be Erected by the intended Act, at the same time.[5] . . .

1713, July 8.[6]

. . . Ordered, That the Comittee for the Assiento do Sitt twice a Week, *vizt.* on Tuesdays at 4 in the Afternoon and Thursdays at 9 in the forenoon to Receive Proposals from all persons for the better Carrying on that Trade and that Notice thereof be given on the Exchange and at the door of the House And that all persons who are willing to go abroad in the Companys Service do make their application to the said Comittee.

Ordered, That the said Comittee do at their first Meeting Consider of proper Places in which to Settle Factorys or Settlements and how many and what Officers at each place And at what Sallarys or if by way of Comission, at what Comission, And that they Report their Opinion to the next Court.

Resolved, That it be Recommended to the said Comittee To Consider what shiping both as to the Number and Tunage will be requisite for Carrying on the Assiento Trade And in General to Consider of any other Matters or Affairs relating to the said Trade. And that all things may be forthwith Settled and adjusted which Concern the Company.

[5] A committee was appointed to draw up such clauses. On June 30 the court agreed that to the bill then pending in the House of Lords there be added the following provisions: (1) that goods exported, brought back, and re-exported should not pay a second duty; (2) that the company should trade to Africa in its own name and right; (3) that no officer of the South Sea Company should be an officer of the Royal African Company, and that no private trader to Africa should be an officer of the South Sea Company while engaged in private trade. At the same time the company expressed the opinion that it would be better for its interests if the bill did not pass. Add. MSS. 25495, pp. 129-130.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 133. The secretary was instructed to call for proposals in writing from the Royal African Company and the separate traders, as to the terms on which they would furnish 4800 negroes, *piezas de Indias,* for one year, to be delivered before Mar. 25 next—1200 at Buenos Aires, 3600 at Porto Bello, Vera Cruz, or Jamaica.

1713, July 14.[7]

[Letters from several separate traders and from the Royal African Company were read and Mr. Heysham, Kent, Thompson, Milner and Harris, traders to Africa attended and were discoursed with concerning supplying the company with 4800 negroes yearly.]

Resolved that they be asked to give in their proposals on Thursday. "For Delivering healthful Sound Negroes of all Sizes at Carthagena, Porto bello, Vera Crus or Jamaica. And also 1200 At Buenos Ayres yearly in Such Condition as to be able to go over the Ships side.

And How many Negroes they will deliver on or before the 25th March next And at what places.

Ordered, That the Secretary write to the Royal African Company to Give in to the Comittee for the Assiento by Friday next in the afternoon their Proposal Sealed for furnishing the Company with Negroes as before mencioned: And that it be an Instruction to the said Comittee That they do not open the Separate Traders Proposal til they have recd. that of the African Company Provided they deliver the same by Tuesday Evening next.

1713, July 22.[8]

[Proposals of the Royal Company and the Separate Traders read. The Committee of the Assiento was directed to determine how much money would be requisite for purchasing negroes on the coast and carrying on their own trade to Africa.]

Ordered, That it be also an Instruction to the Comittee of the Assiento That they make no Contract either with the Royal African Company or Separate Traders for furnishing the Company with Negroes for any longer time than One Yeare.

July 29.[9]

. . . Ordered, That it be referred to the Comittee of Shiping to provide Ships and the Comittee of Buying proper Cargoes wherewith to purchase 2000 Negroes on the Coast of Africa And that they dispatch the Same in all August next, if possible or as soon after as may be. . . .

Resolved, That a Comittee of 5 be appointed to Treat with a Comittee of the like Number of the Royal African Company, whereof 3 to be a Quorum. And that Mr. Andr. Harley Mr. Moore Mr.

[7] Add. MSS. 25495, pp. 134-135.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 138.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 141-142.

Dolliffe Mr. Vernon and Sr. Joseph Martin be that Comittee and that they make their Report from time to time to the Court.[10] . . .

1713, Aug. 14.[11]

The following Account of a Proporcion of Provisions for 100 Negroes to be taken in at Guinea Dated the 14th Instant Signed by Samuel Whittingham was by Sr. Samuel Clarke laid before the Court and ordered to be read, *Vizt:*

	Ackeys	Tackeys
80 Chests of Corn at 5 Ackeys per Chest is	400:	00
4 Bushells of Salt at 1 Ackey per Bushell	4:	00
20 Gallons Palm Oyl at 8 Tack's per Gallon	13:	04
50 ch Malagetta at Ackeys per	4:	00
	421:	04

421 Ackeys, 4 Tacks at 5 *s.* per Ackey is £105: 6: 8.

The Above is according to the present Usage of the Royal African Compa. . . .

9th Septemb'r 1713.[12]

The Court of Assistants of the Royal African Company attending were called in. . . . and a Minute of that Court, upon the Matters in dispute,[13] And also the agreemt. made on behalf of both Companys by the Comittees of Five of the 13th past were severally read.

And S'r James Bateman acquainted the s'd Court of Assistants That this Court was called on purpose to Conferr with them upon the Matters in dispute and to shew the readiness of this Court in coming to a Conclusion. They do agree.

1. That the 14 days for the Ships which are to go to Widah and to touch at Cape Coast shall not be deemed part of the 70 running days for the Ships to Stay upon the Coast of Africa.

2. That the Royal African Company may load on the Ships of this Compa the Goods and Stores they shall think fitt and which the Ships can conveniently Carry (over and above the Necessarys Stores

[10] Andrew Harley was a brother of Robert; Arthur Moore, a member of Parliament 1695-1700, 1701-1715, and 1720-1721, was a member of the Board of Trade 1710-1714, and a director of the South Sea Company. He was at one time accused of attempting an illicit trade with the Spaniards under cover of the assiento, and was suspected of being one of the favorites to whom Anne desired to assign her share of the profits of the Spanish bargain (Abel Boyer, *Quadrennium Annae Postremum; or the Political State of Great Britain during the Four Last Years of the late Queen's Reign,* London, 1718, VII. 535-540, 568-570). This committee reported on Aug. 12 and was directed to "treat and conclude" with the Royal African Company for 4800 negroes for one year on the most advantageous terms possible, and to report the same. On Aug. 14 their agreement was read and approved. Add. MSS. 25495, pp. 148, 150.

[11] *Ibid.,* p. 151.

[12] *Ibid.,* p. 164. The names of those attending are here omitted.

[13] The two companies had been in negotiation since July, and had arrived at an acceptable price scale: £10 for negroes over sixteen, £6 for those under sixteen (Aug. 12, 1713, T 70: 88). The questions here considered had been discussed on Sept. 3 and 8. Add. MSS.. 25495, pp. 158, 162.

and Provisions which shall be put on board for the use of the Ships their Companys and Negroes) the Ships to be loaded in such manner as shall be approved by the Surveyors of both Companys.

But That during the intended Contract with the Royal African Company This Company do insist upon a Liberty of purchasing Negroes in Jamaica or any other part of America Provided they are not of Ships which shall go from Great Britain after this day,

And That no more than 20 days demorage shall be allowed for the Ships to Stay upon the Coast of Africa Over and above the 70 running days, the same to be paid by the Royal African Company.

And after a long Debate upon these two heads the Gentlemen of the Royal African Company withdrew, And being returned, Mr. Pindar deliver'd into the Court, a Paper from them, which being read (they withdrew) and is as followeth, *vizt.*

9 Sept'r 1713.

The South Sea Company agree to be restrained from purchasing any Negroes out of this Contract (Excepting a Liberty which they reserve to themselves of Buying what Negroes they think fitt in the West Indies from such ships only as are already departed from any part of Her Maj'ties Dominions for America) which the Royal African Company agree to, Provided the South Sea Company recede from their other demands,

And the Court having debated thereupon, the Gentlemen were called in and acquainted That this Company cannot recede from the liberty of Purchasing Negroes in the manner already told them Nor allow them more than 20 days demorage upon the Coast of Africa, And then the Gentlemen withdrew, and being returned Mr. Pindar acquainted the Court That they were willing to accept of 25 days demorage; and being withdrawn: The Court Consider'd thereof: And they were called in again and acquainted by the Sub Gov'r That they cannot allow more than 20 days demorage on the Coast of Africa; where upon the Conference brake off.

64. Contract between the South Sea Company and the Royal African Company.[1]

Articles of Agreement Indented Made and Agreed upon the —— day of————Anno Dom 1713 and in the 12th Q. Anne etc. Between the Governour and Company of Merchants of Great Brittain trading to the South Seas and other parts of America, and for Encouraging the Fishery of the One part And the Royal African Company of England of the other part in manner and Form following (that is to say)

[64] [1] T 70: 38.

Imprimis The said Royall African Company for themselves and their Successors do hereby Covenant, Promise and Agree to and with the said Governour and Company and their Successors in manner and forme following (that is to say) that the said Royal African Company and their Successors shall and will Provide, Furnish and Deliver to the said Governour and Co: and their Successors Agents or Assignes Four thousand Eight Hundred, good sound healthy and Merchantable Negroes Consisting of both Sexes and of the Ages hereafter mentioned and deliver and put the same on board the Ships that shall be Provided and sent by the said Governour and Co: for receiving them on the Coast of Africa at the Places and times and at the severall Rates and Prices and under and Subject to the Conditions herein after mentioned (that is to say) Negroes from the Ages of Sixteen Years to the Ages of Forty Years At the price of Ten Pounds Sterling per head and Negroes from the Ages of Ten Years to the Ages of Sixteen Years at the price of Six pounds Sterling per head And that two third parts at Least of the said Negroes so to be delivered shall be Males, and that none of the said 4800 Negroes shall be under the Age of Ten Years, and that nine parts in Ten of the said 4800 Negroes so to be furnished shall be of the Age of Sixteen Years at Least and None of them shall Exceed the Age of 40 Years.

2. Item And that the said Royal African Company or their Successors shall and will deliver and put or Cause to be delivered and put on board the ships that shall be Sent by the said Governour and Co: as aforesaid for receiving the Same on the Coast of Africa the sd 4800 Negroes at the respective places and in the Proportions following *Vizt.*

At Whidah One thousand Nine hundred Negroes	1900
At Cape Coast and Factories adjacent One thousand five hundred Negroes	1500
At Windward Coast and Cape Coast five hundred Negroes	500
At Gambia Serraleon and Sherbrow two hund. Negroes	200
At Gambia and parts adjacent Seven hund. Negroes	700
	4800

3. Item That the said Number of Negroes so agreed to be delivered as aforesaid shall be so delivered and put on board the Shipps that shall be Sent by the sd. Gov'r and Co. for receiving the Same at the respective places and in the Proportions following And that the said Shipps shall depart from the Port of London within the following times (that is to say) In Ships to depart from the Port of London on or before the day of

At Whidah in two Ships at Least nine hund: Negroes	900
At Cape Coast and the Factories thereto near adjacent in two Shipps at least Six hundred Negroes	600
At the Windward and Cape Coast three hundr Negroes	300
At Gambia and the parts and Factories thereto near adjacent three hundred Negroes	300
At Serraleon Sherbrow and Gambia two hund. Negroes	200

And in Ships to depart from the Port of London on or before the day of next

At Whidah Five hundred Negroes	500
At Cape Coast three hundred Negroes	300
At Gambia two hundred Negroes	200

And on Ships to depart from Great Brittain on or before the day of next

At Whidah Five hundred Negroes	500
At Cape Coast three hundred Negroes	300
At the Windward and Cape Coast two hundred Negroes	200
At Gambia two hundred Negroes	200
	4800
	[4500]

Provided that in Case the said Gov'r and Co: shall be minded or desirous that the Negroes mentioned to be provided and Delivered at Gambia shall be provided and delivered on board the Ships of the sd. Gov'r and Co: on the Gold Coast and at Whidah or One of them and shall Signify such their desire by writing under the hand of the Secretary of the sd Gov'r and Co: for the time being to the Court of Assistants or Secretary of the said Royall African Co: That then and in such Case the sd Royal African Co: do hereby Agree for themselves and their Successors to furnish provide and deliver on board the Ships of the said Gov'r and Co: to be sent for that purpose on the Gold Coast and at Whidah Seven hundred Negroes to be purchased in those parts Over and above the Number of Negroes before agreed to be provided and delivered on the Gold Coast and at Whidah the Same to be in Lieu of the 700 Negroes before mentioned to be delivered at Gambia, And in such Case it is mutually agreed by and between the sd two Companies that the ships for the last mentioned 700 Negroes shall not depart from Great Brittain 'till on or after the ——— day of ———

2. 3. Item, the said Gov'r and Co: for themselves and their Successors do hereby Covenant, Promise and agree to and with the sd Royal African Company and their Successors that the said Gov'r and Co: and their Successors shall and will at the time above mentioned provide and Send from the Port of London to and for the respective places on the Coast of Africa aforesaid ships to take on board the respective Number of Negroes before agreed to be furnished and delivered by the said Royal African Company.

4. Item That the sd Gov'r and Co: and their Successors shall when and as often as they shall agree for any ship or ships to be imployed in Pursuance of this Contract give Thirty days Notice thereof and of the number of Negroes for which the Same is so agreed in writing under the hand of the Secretary of the sd. Gov'r and Co: to the

Court of Assistants or Secretary of the sd. Royal African Company in Order to the providing and shiping their Cargoes to be by them put aboard such respective Ships and in Case the said Royal African Company shall not before the Expiration of the said 30 days have provided and Shipt their Cargoes That then and in such Case it shall and may be lawfull to and for the sd Royall African Company and their Successors to detain such respective Ship or Ships in which they shall not have Laded their Cargoes within the sd 30 days any Number of days not exceeding 10 days over and above the sd 30 days upon paying such Sums of money for demorage for those days so Detained over and above the sd 30 days as shall be reasonable which Sums for such Demorage the said Royall African Co: for themselves and their Successors do hereby agree to pay to the sd Gov'r and Co: and their Successors accordingly within 10 days after the expiration of the days of demorage.

5. Item That the Ships which the sd Gov'r and Co: shall send for taking in their respective Complements shall if required by the Royal African Company's Chief Agent or Factor at the respective Forts, Ports, Factories or Places on the Coast of Africa where the said Ships shall respectively be for the time being remain on the Coast of Africa 70 Successive or running Days from the respective times of their arrival at their respective first Loading Ports, and in Case the Royal African Company's Chief Factor or Agent at the respective Forts, Ports, Factories or Places on the Coast of Africa where the said Ships shall respectively be for the time being shall by writing under their hands to be delivered to the Masters or Commanders of any of the sd Ship or Ships require such Ship or Ships to Stay upon the Coast of Africa longer than the sd 70 runing days That then and in such Case the Ships so required to Stay shall and may Continue on the Coast of Africa any time not exceeding 20 days over and above the sd 70 running days for which 20 days the sd Royall African Co: for themselves and their Successors do hereby Agree to pay to the sd Gov'r and Co: and their Successors such Sums for demorage as the sd. Gov'r and Co: shall be Obliged to pay those respective Ships and at such time and times Place and Places.

6. Item That the Ships which shall be taken up and appointed for Whidah shall touch at Cape Coast Castle and there deliver such Goods and Stores as shall be Consigned thither and shall there and at the Factories thereto near adjacent take in such other Goods and Merchandizes for Whidah and Corn for their Negroes as shall be required by the Royal African Compa's Cheif Agent or Factor there to be taken on board the time of doing whereof shall not be taken as part of the said 70 days But in Case more than 14 days shall be Spent in so doing It is mutually agreed between both the sd

Companies that the Number of days above those 14 days shall be deemed and accounted as part of the aforesaid 70 Successive or runing days and not otherwise.

7th. Item the sd Gov'r and Co: for themselves and their Successors do further Covenant and Agree to and with the sd Royal African Company and their Successors that the sd. Royal African Co: and their Successors may Load from Great Brittain to Africa on such Ships as shall be Imployed by the sd Gov'r and Co: in this Contract such Goods and Stores as the sd Royal African Co: shall think fitt and which such Shipps can well Stow (over and above the necessary Stores and Provisions for the Use of the Ships their Company's and Negroes) and that for such Goods and Stores so to be Shipt the Capt'ns or Commanders of such Ships respectively shall sign bills of Lading for delivering the Same to the Royal African Company's Agents freight free. And it is mutually Agreed between both the sd Company's that the said Shipps shall be Loaded in such manner as shall be approved of by the Surveyors of the two Companies.

8. Item the sd Gov'r and Co: do Consent and Agree that the Capt'ns or Commanders of such Shipps which shall be so imployed pursuant to these presents whilst on the Coast of Africa shall follow and perform the Orders and Directions of the Agents of the Royall African Compa and of such Factors as they or their Agents shall put on board them so as the Same be not Contrary to the terms Conditions and Agreements herein mentioned and shall also give the Assistance of them and their Ships Company's in Landing and Lading their Cargoes and furthering their dispatch in all respects.

9. Item That the Commanders, Officers or Seamen belonging to the said Shipps which shall be so imployed pursuant to these presents shall not Carry out from Great Brittain any Goods or Merchandize for Sale or Sell any Goods or Merchandize on the Coast of Africa other than and except such Goods and Merchandize as shall be mutually allowed them in Writing by the Court of Directors of the sd Gov'r and Co: and the Court of Assistants of the sd Royal African Company the produce whereof to be invested in Gold only.

10. Item The sd Gov'r and Co: do hereby for themselves and their Successors Covenant and Agree to and with the sd Royall African Company and their Successors That the Capt'ns or Comanders of the Ships which shall be so Sent as aforesaid Pursuant to this agreement shall receive and take on board all healthy Sound Merchantable and good Negroes within the tenour and true meaning of this Contract and as they shall be Sent or required by the Royall African Company's Agents or Factors to be received on board. Provided they be not in less Numbers than 40 Negroes at any one time unless it be the last parcell of Negroes to be put on board each such re-

spective Ship and that the respective Capt'ns or Commanders of each such Shipp shall give a receipt in writing for each parcell of Negroes so recd. and upon having their Complement of Negroes or the time for their Stay shall be expired which shall first happen shall give the Royal African Company's Agents upon delivering the Receipts *four* Certificates *thereof all of the same tenor and date* in writing under their respective hands and also shall sign such bills of Lading for the Same as shall be directed by the Court of Directors of the sd Gov'r and Co: and shall give 4 bills of Lading for each Ship all of them of the same tenor and date *Two of which bills of Lading or more shall be delivered to the sd Royal African Company's Agents.*

11th. Item the Royal African Compa. for themselves and their Successors do further Covenant and agree to and with the sd Gov'r and Co: and their Successors that the sd. Royall African Compa. and their Successors shall and will at their own proper Costs and Charges provide furnish and deliver on board each respective Ship that shall be imployed to carry the whole Number of Negroes which by this Contract they are Obliged to deliver on board such Ships as aforesaid during their Stay on the Coast of Africa a Sufficient quantity of African provisions as Corn Mallagetta Salt and Palm Oyle during their Stay on the sd Coast and at the departure of each respective Ship from the Coast of Africa shall also at their like Costs and Charges provide furnish and deliver on board each such respective Ship for the feeding and Sustaining such Negroes for the rest of the Voyage the following quantities of the said African Provisions (that is to Say) for every hundred Negroes of Corn Mallagetta Salt etc. Palm Oyle and so proportionably for a greater or lesser number than One hundred Negroes being the Usuall quantities of provisions allowed to Negroes from the Coast of Africa to Jamaica, and in Case any of the sd Negroes shall be design'd for any Port or place more distant from the Coast of Africa than Jamaica so as to require a greater quantity of Provisions that then and in such Case the Royall African Compa's Agent shall and will Supply and furnish such further Provisions for such Negroes as shall be necesary at a reasonable Rate and Price.

12. Item It is further agreed between the sd two Compas that the Capt'ns or Command'rs of each such Ship as shall be imployed in this Service pursuant to this Contract shall give to the Agents of the Royal African Company their Orders in Writing upon all Occasions for Supplying them on the Coast of Africa with what Stores necessaries and provisions they shall want on Account of their respective Shipps Seamen or Otherwise and on receipt of any Stores Provisions or Necessaries of any kind shall give Certificates thereof to the Royall African Compa's Agents under their hands in Writing.

13. Item that the sd Gov'r and Co: and their Successors shall not nor will on or before the day of Contract or agree with any Person or Persons body politick or Corporate whatsoever other than the sd Royal African Compa. for any Number of Negroes Unless for such part of the said 4800 Negroes as the Royall African Compa. shall fail to Supply according to the true intent and meaning of these Presents Provided nevertheless that it shall and may be Lawfull for the sd Gov'r and Co: at any time or times to buy Negroes at Jamaica or other parts of America so as the same Negroes or any part of them be not imported into any parts of America in any Ship or Ships which shall depart from Great Brittain on their Voyage to or towards Africa after the day of

14. Item that the respective Capt'ns or Command'rs of the Ships of the sd Gov'r and Co: which shall be imployed pursuant to these presents shall have the Liberty and freedom of Wooding and Watering their respective Ships in all and every the Ports and Places belonging to or possessed and Injoy'd by the Royall African Co: and to have all other accomodations and assistance of Stores Provisions and necessaries for their Ships and their Compa's which Can be furnished by the Agents of the Royal African Co: at the usuall Rates and prices on that Coast which the sd. Gov'r and Co: hereby agree to pay for the Same to the Royall African Co: or their Successors accordingly together with all such moneys as the Royall African Compa's Agents shall disburse for or on Acco't of the sd Gov'r and Co: in such manner as is herein after mentioned And it is mutually agreed by and between the sd two Compa's that One third part of the hire of Cannoes which shall be imployed in this Service in Africa shall be Equally paid by the two Compa's the other two third parts of that Charge being to be paid by the Owners of the respective Ships.

15. Item the sd Gov'r and Co: do hereby for themselves and their Successors Covenant and agree with the sd Royal African Compa. and their Successors that the sd Gov'r and Co: or their Successors shall and will Advance to the said Royall African Company or their Successors the Sum or Vallue of £20 000 of Lawfull Money of Great Brittain in the proportions foll. 9 *Vizt.* the amount of Nine Pounds Sterl. per head for the Number of Negroes that each Ship shall be taken up for to be paid to the Royall African Compa. when and so Soon as they shall have put their Cargoes on board the sd respective Ships three fourth parts thereof to be paid in money and the other fourth part in such Ranters as the sd Gov'r and Co: have already bought, the sd Ranters to be taken at the prices they Cost the sd Gov'r and Co: including all Charges Disbursed by them as part of the said £20 000 So to be advanced.

16. Item that the sd Gov'r and Co: or their Succes'ors shall and will within 30 days after producing to the Court of Directors of the sd Gov'r and Co: by the Royal African Co: or any Committee thereof a Certificate or Certificates or a Bill or Bills of Lading from the Capt'ns or Comand'rs of the Ships to be Imployed in this Service by the sd Gov'r and Co: for the Negroes which they shall respectively have received on board their respective Ships as aforesaid well and truely pay or Cause to be paid unto the said Royal African Company or their Successors for the Number of good Sound healthy and Merchantible Negroes which shall have been received on board such respective Ships so much Money as the same shall Amount unto At and after the rate and price aforesaid, And Also shall and will at the Same time pay for such Stores Provisions Necessaries and disbursem'ts as shall have been furnished the sd Ships by the Agents of the Royall African Co: Out of each of which respective payments for the sd Negroes the Royal African Company agrees that it shall and may be Lawfull to and for the sd Gov'r and Co: to deduct and Retain a proportionable part of the said £20,000 soe to be advanced as aforesaid to be Computed at 4 *l.* 3 *s.* 6 *d.* per head Untill the said whole 20,000 *l.* be fully allowed and Discounted And that in Case the said Deduction of £4 3 6 per head to be made by the said Gov'r and Compa. out of Each respective Paym't for the Negroes which the said Royall African Compa. shall furnish and Deliver in Pursuance of this Contract shall not be Sufficient to repay to the said Gov'r and Compa. the said £20,000 so to be by them advanced that then and in such Case It shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Gov'r and Compa. and their Successors to deduct, detain and keep out of the money payable to the Royall African Company for the Negroes that shall be Shipt on board the last two Ships so much Money per head as will be Sufficient to repay all that shall be then remaining due of the whole money for such Negroes if less than the whole shall not be Sufficient And in Case the Royall African Compa. shall not deliver a Sufficient Number of Negroes according to the true Intent of this Agreement so as by such Deductions as aforesaid to repay to the said Gov'r and Compa. the said £20,000, that then and in such Case the Royall African Compa. for themselves and their Successors do Covenant and Agree to and with the said Gov'r and Compa. and their Successors to pay to the said Gov'r and Compa. and their Success'rs so much as the Same shall fall short to pay together with Interest for the Same from the time of the receipt of such money by the Royall African Compa. to the time of Repaym't.

17. Item that in Case by any Accident of bad Weather, or Otherwise the said Shipps of the said Gov'r and Compa. or any of them shall depart the Coast of Africa before the Capt's or Commanders

of them shall have Signed the Bills of Lading and Certificates as aforesaid, Yet notwithstanding the said Gov'r and Compa. shall and will within thirty days after it shall Appear to them what Number of Negroes and of what Ages and Sex shall have been delivered on board such respective Shipps and what Stores Provisions or Necessaries shall have been Supplied by the Agents of the Royall African Company for the Use of such respective Ships well and truely pay or Cause to be paid into the Royall African Compa. or their Successors so much Money as such Negroes shall Amount unto at the rates and Prices as aforesaid, and also for the Stores, Provisions and Necessaries to such Shipps as shall after appear to have been furnished and Supplied by the Royall African Company or their Agents Deducting thereout the proportion of the said £20,000 as aforesaid.

18. Item the Royall African Company for themselves and their Successors do hereby Covenant and Agree with the said Gov'r and Company and their Successors that in Case the said Royall African Company or their Agents shall make default in delivering on board all or any of the Ships that shall be Sent by the said Gov'r and Company in pursuance of this Agreement at the respective places and within the respective times above limitted And agreed for that purpose, the Numbers of such Negroes as in pursuance of this Contract ought to have been delivered and put on board the said respective Ships that then and in such Case the said Royall African Company or their Successors shall and will well and truely pay or Cause to be paid unto the said Gov'r and Compa. or their Successors such dead freight for so many Negroes as shall be delivered short as the said Gov'r and Company shall be Obliged to pay to the Owners of such respective Ships and also shall and will make up the full Complement of Negroes in other parts of the Gold Coast or at Whidah, and make good all Reasonable Damages accruing to the said Gov'r and Compa. by reason of any failure or Non performance of any part of this Agreement on the part of the said Royall African Compa. And the said Governour and Compa. for themselves and their Successors do hereby Covenant and Agree with the said Royall African Company and their Successors to make good all reasonable Damages accruing to the said Royall African Compa. by reason of any failure or Non performance of any part of this Agreement on the part of the said Governour and Compa.

19. Item the said Governour and Company further Agree with the said Royall African Company that in Case any greater Number of Negroes shall be furnished and Delivered by the said Royall African Company's Agents on board the Shipps of the said Gov'r and Company than by this Contract the said Royall African Compa. are Obliged to furnish and Deliver That then and in such Case the said

Governour and Compa. shall and will well and truely pay or Cause to be paid to the said Royall African Company for such Number of Negroes as shall appear to have been so furnished over and above the said 4800 Negroes hereby agreed to be Supplied according to the Rates and Prices herein before agreed to be paid for the said 4800 Negroes And it is agreed between the said two Compa's that the Negroes which shall be so delivered over and above the said 4800 Negroes shall be Subject to all the Articles Provisos and Agreements Contained in this Contract as if the Same were part of the said 4800 Negroes.

19 [20]. Item It is mutually Agreed by and between both the said Company's that in Case any Dispute or Controversie shall happen or Arise between the said two Companies touching or Concerning any Article Matter or thing herein Contained or the Execution or performance hereof or of any part hereof that then and in such Case and so often as any such Dispute or Controversie shall happen the Same shall be Left to the Determination of Five indifferent Persons who shall at that time be no ways Interested or Concerned in Either of the said Companyes, and that in Order to the Chooseing such five persons for Arbitrators Six persons shall be Chosen And which Six persons the said two Companys do hereby agree to Choose in manner hereafter mentioned, *Vizt.* three of them by the Court of Directors of the said Governour and Company and the other three Persons by the Court of Assistants of the Royall African Company, Out of which Six persons such One of them shall be Left out as shall be determined by Lott to be drawn in the presence of both Courts or of a Committee of each Court to be thereunto appointed and that the remaining five Persons or any three or more of the Same five Persons shall be the Arbitrators and that Each of the said Companyes Shall Stand to abide and perform such award Arbitration and Determination as the said five Arbitrators or any three or more of them shall award and make the matters to them referrd, and which shall fall under their Determination.

Item For the true payment and performance of all and Singular the Payments, Covenants Articles, Clauses Conditions, Provisos and Agreements herein Contained on the part and behalfe of the said Gov'r and Compa. and their Successors to be paid, done, Observed, performed and kept, the said Governour and Compa. bind themselves and their Successors unto the Royall African Compa. and their Successors in the penal Sum of fifty thousand Pounds of Lawfull Money of Great Brittain, and for the true payment and Performance of all and Singular the Payments, Covenants, Articles, Clauses, Conditions, Provisos and Agreements herein Contained on the part and behalfe of the said Royall African Company and their Successors to be paid done

performed Observed and kept the said Royall African Company bind themselves and their Successors unto the said Gov'r and Compa. and their Successors in the Penal Sum of Fifty thousand Pounds of Lawfull Money of Great Brittain firmly by these Presents In Wittness whereof to these Present Articles the said two Companyes respectively have Caused their Common Seal to be affixed the day and year first above Written.

65. John Pery to the South Sea Company.[1]

African House, the 15th 8ber, 1713.

S'r, I am Order'd by the Court of Assistants of the Royal Affrican Company to desire you that you would acquaint the Directors of the South Sea Company, that they desire they would take up Two Ships more to be dispatched for Cape Coast Castle for 300 Negroes each It being their Opinions that the Ship now ready and the other Two now desired will meet with a speedy dispatch on the Coast.[2]

66. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Court of Directors.[1]

1713, Oct. 28.

A License for Capt. Solgard comand'r of the *St. Mark* for carrying Several Goods on his own private adventure to sell on the Coast of Africa Amounting to £145 : 0 : 0

And also another for Capt. Marshall comandr of the *Windsor* Frigate to carry Goods on his own private adventure and dispose there of on the Coast of Africa, Amounting to £225 : 0 : 0 both signed by the Royal African Company, were severally read.

Resolved, That the said Captains be permitted to Carry the said Goods to Sell on the Coast of Africa And that the Secretary Sign the Said Licenses in the Name of the Court.

The Minutes of the Comittee of the Assiento of the 23th and 27th Instant were read and Agreed to, And are as follows, *vizt.*

Resolved: That for the better carrying on the Assiento Trade there be Factorys at the following places *Vizt.* Carthagena, Vera Crus, Buenos Ayres, Panama, and Porto bello, Havannah, and Caraccas.

Resolved, That the Company have the Six following Officers: At Carthagena *vizt.*

[65] [1] Add. MSS. 25562, f. 6v, p. 8. John Pery was secretary of the Royal African Company.

[2] Endorsed, "Read in the Comittee of Shiping and order'd to be laid before the Court 21 8b'r, 1713". On the 14th the court of directors of the South Sea Company considered proposals for a surgeon, as a "means of better preserving the lives of the negroes". Add. MSS. 25495, p. 182.

[66] [1] *Ibid.,* pp. 188-191.

1. A President or Chief; 2. An Accomptant or Bookkeeper; 3. A Warehouse-keeper; 4. A Secretary; 5. Two Assistants or Under Factors whereof One (6) to be a Surgeon and both for any Business of the Company.

Resolved, That there be the like Six Officers at each of the Factorys of Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and Panama;

Resolved, That there be the Six following Officers at Porto bello, *vizt.*

1. A Chief; 2. An Accomptant; 3, 4, 5, 6, Four Assistants or under Factors for any business of the Compa. whereof One to be a Surgeon And that this Factory be dependent on that of Panama and its officers to reside at any place or places as the s'd Factory of Panama shall direct.

Resolved, That at the Havannah there be the three following Officers, *vizt.*:

1. A Chief, 2. An Accomptant, and 3. A Surgeon who shall likewise be Storekeeper and for other Affairs.

Resolved, That at the Caracas there be the like three Officers as at the Havannah.

Resolved, That the Sallarys of the Companys Officers in America be as follow, *vizt.*

			P's 8s	
Carthagena	The Chief	per ann.	4000:	
	The Second	1/2	2000:	
	The Third	1/3	1333: 1/3	
	The Fourth and 5th	1/4 each	2000:	
	The Sixth	1/5	800:	
				10,133: 1/3
Panama	The Chief	per ann.	5000:	
	The Second	1/2	2500:	
	The Third	1/3	1666: 2/3	
	The 4th and 5th	1/4 each	2500:	
	The Sixth	1/5	1000:	
				12,666: 2/3
Vera Crus	The same as at Carthagena			10,133: 1/3
Buenos Ayres	The same			10,133: 1/3
Porto Bello	The Chief	per ann	2000:	
	The Second	1/2	1000:	
	The Third	1/3	666: 2/3	
	The 4th and 5th	1/4 Each	1000:	
	The Sixth	1/5	400:	
				5,066: 2/3
Havannah	The Chief	per ann	2500:	
	The Second	1/2	1250:	
	The Third	1/3	833: 1/3	
				4,583: 1/3
Caraccas	The Same			4,583: 1/3
		per ann. P's 8s		57,300:—
		P's 8s 57,300: at 54 *d.* per pieces of 8s		£12,892: 10

Resolved, That in Consideration of the Sallarys allow'd as above to the Companys Officers and Servants in America, they are to maintain themselves in every thing, Except Rents.

Resolved, That this day Fortnight be appointed for reading the Peticions which are or shall be given by persons desirous of going to America in the Companys Service and that Notice thereof be Sett up at the Exchange and the Gate of the Company's House.

The Minutes of the Comittee of Correspondence of the 27th. Instant were read: and the Draft of the Instructions to the Commanders of the Ships hired by the Company to go to the Coast of Africa and America was read and with some Amendments agreed to and ordered to be Sent to the Royal African Company for their Perusal.

Mr. Chapman reported from the Comittee appointed to apply for the Assignment of the Assiento Contract that Mr. Lowndes had acquainted them that the same may be finished tomorrow.

A Letter of the 27th Instant from the Royal African Company Importing That they had Shipt their Cargo for Guinea on board the *St. Mark* and *Windsor* and that their Goods were also ready for Shiping on the *Canada* And the said three Ships being taken on for 1230 Negroes, they Desire this Court will give orders for payment of the money pursuant to the Contract, was read.

Resolv'd, That it be referr'd to the Comittee of Accompts and that they Report their Opinion thereupon.

67. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence.[1]

Wednesday the 4th Nov. 1713.

Be it known unto all men to whom these presents shall come that Capt. Peter Solgard Com'dr of the Ship *St. Mark* burthen 180 Tunns or thereabouts manned with the Said Com'dr and 25 Men is freighted by us the English Company of the Assiento to Saile from London to the Coast of Affrica and from thence with 280 Negros or thereabouts to proceed, for Carthagena or any other the Ports of the Spanish Domin's on the North Side of America pursuant to the Contract made between the Queen of Great Brittain and his Catholick Maj'ty signd at Madrid the 26th March 1713 for carrying on the Assiento trade for the furnishing Negros to the Spanish West Indies. Wherefore wee recomend him the said Comand'r Capt. Solgard or his Successor, his Ship, the *St. Mark,* all his men, and the said 280 Negros, or so many of them as shall be living at his Arrival in any of the said Ports and during his Stay there to protection of the Generalls

[67] [1] Add. MSS. 25550, "Instructions to go with each ship freighted by the Company to go to Affrica and America certifying that the same belongs to them and goes on acco't of the Assiento".

and Governours of his said Catholick Maj't and to request from them the Admission of the aforesaid Negros for Sale according to the Articles of the Assiento aforemencon'd, for truth whereof we have hereto affixed the Seal of the Said Company.

68. John Pery to James Pym.[1]

African House, the 24th Nov. 1713.

S'r, The Three Ships [2] belonging to the South Sea Company which are dispatched, being taken on for Twelve Hundred and thirty Negroes, The Cashier of the Royal Affrican Company of England has received of the South Sea Company Five thousand Pounds in part of the Payment that is to be made in money for the said Twelve Hundred and thirty Negroes according to the Agreement. But the same amounting to Eight Thousand three Hundred and two Pounds Ten Shillings, It is desired that the Court of Directors of the South Sea Company would give Order for Payment of the Remainder of that money.

I am also Directed to acquaint you that if the South Sea Company will take up Two Ships to take in Three Hundred Negroes each on the Gold Coast to depart in a Month, And one Ship to take in Five Hund'd Negroes at Whidah to depart in all January The Royal Affrican Company will upon Notice of their being taken up provide for their Dispatch.[3]

69. Journal of the Board of Trade.[1]

December 15, 1713.

Mr. William Heysham, Mr. Rowland and Mr. William Tryon, Colonel Cleland, Colonel Sharpe, Mr. Duport, Mr. Chester, Mr. Kent, Mr. Harris and Captain Boun [2] attending, as desir'd the 10th instant, in relation to the advantage or disadvantage it may be for Great Britain to have a liberty of importing negro's into the Brazils from the coast of Africa.[3]

[68] [1] Add. MSS. 25562, f. 6, p. 8. Signed, "Jno. Pery Secr'y", and directed to James Pym, secretary of the South Sea Company.

[2] The third ship was probably the *Canada,* Captain Cleveland, which on Nov. 10 the committee of shipping was directed to despatch to Jamaica, "in like manner as *St. Mark* and *Windsor*". Add. MSS. 25495, p. 198.

[3] This letter was read to the court of directors of the South Sea Company Nov. 28, 1713, and the committee of accounts was directed to make out a warrant for £3302 10 *s.* when the invoices and bills of lading were submitted to them. *Ibid.,* p. 206.

[69] [1] *B. T. Jour.,* 1709-1715, pp. 491-492.

[2] William Heysham and Colonel Cleland were agents for Barbados; Duport, for the Leeward Islands; Colonel Sharpe was Col. William Sharpe of Barbados; Richard Harris was a well-known African trader; William Tryon was doubtless present because of his familiarity with conditions in the Leeward Islands; Chester was probably Edward Chester of Antigua, though it is conceivable that it was Robert, a director of the South Sea Company; Charles Rowland was a Nevis planter.

[3] On Nov. 20 the Board of Trade had suggested to Lord Bolingbroke that the Portuguese be asked to allow the English free access to Brazil with negroes. Bolingbroke wrote asking further information, whereupon the Lords called upon the African Company

Mr. Heysham said, it was his opinion our carrying negro's to the Brazils would be prejudicial to our plantations in America, for that such supply of negro's to the Portuguese in Brazil would enable them the easier and cheaper to produce sugars, whereas it would have a contrary effect on our plantations, whereby the Portuguese would under-sell us in that commodity in the Markets of Europe.

But it being ask'd of these gentlemen, whether, after British plantations had a sufficient annual supply of negro's at moderate rates, it would not be our interest to carry the surplus to the Brazils, rather than suffer the Portuguese themselves, the French, Dutch or Brandenburghers to have that benefit, as at present, since there seems now to be a favourable opportunity of procuring the British subjects to be admitted at least into a share of this trade.

Colonel Cleland answer'd, That it was impossible our plantations should leave any surplus of negro's; that the only method which seem'd to him capable of supporting our Colonies in so declining a condition, was, that we should endeavour to exclude all other nations from the negro trade, etc., on the coast of Africa; that the ground in Brazil being much more fertile than our plantations, which Captain Boun, who had liv'd there eighteen months, and was lately come from thence, affirm'd to their lordships, and a less number of negro's requir'd to cultivate the same, the Portuguese could afford to give better prices for negro's, so that our Colonies would not be supply'd, and our rivals in the sugar trade very much encouraged.

Whereupon Mr. Kent reply'd that Colonel Cleland's proposal of our getting the whole trade for negro's, etc., on the coast of Africa, would be of extraordinary benefit, were it practicable; that the Dutch, Brandenburghers, and others, as well as the Portuguese, would not be prevented carrying negro's to the Brazils, and that the cheapness of negro's in America would put the French in a condition to cultivate more land in St. Domingo, which, as it was more fruitful than ours,

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for a conference on the subject. On the 8th Mr. Pindar, Mr. Hopegood, and other members of the company presented objections to the plan. For the English to carry negroes to Brazil would increase their price in English plantations, and decrease the price in Brazil. It would also prevent the English sales to the Portuguese in Africa at a fifty per cent. increase over the first price. On the 10th the opinions of several independent traders, and of Captain Boun, who had recently come from Brazil, were listened to by the board. Mr. Robert Heysham expressed his belief that, though such a trade would increase English navigation, it would injure the plantations. Mr. Kent differed from this, since if the Portuguese did not get negroes from us they would get them from the Dutch, French, or Brandenburgers. If the English could achieve a monopoly of the slave trade then it might be advisable to shut off the Portuguese supply. Dear negroes he believed to be advantageous to the planters because, were they cheap, the French would improve their sugar plantations in Hispaniola and undersell the English sugar. Mr. Harris thought that it would do no harm to furnish Brazil with negroes for a year or two. Captain Boun agreed that with more negroes the Portuguese would make more sugar, but thought that there was no chance at all that the Portuguese would allow the English to carry negroes directly to Brazil. *B. T. Jour.*, 1709-1715, pp. 488, 490-491.

would be a more immediate detriment to our trade. And Mr. Harris observ'd that the extraordinary profit of a negro's labour in the mines about [above] the producing sugars was the reason why the Portuguese could afford to give a better price for them; that our plantations were supply'd with more than 20,000 yearly, and some that could not be sold in the British Colonies, were carry'd to Martinique. To which Colonel Cleland answer'd, the dearness of those negro's occasioned the British planters not buying them, though the French allow'd greater prices; and in relation to the Brazils, Colonel Sharpe was of opinion that a negro sold there at 50 *l.* would not be of so much advantage to the interest of Great Britain, as one sold in the British plantations for 25 *l.*

Upon the whole, it being consider'd that the African trade is shared by so many several nations, the more persons are engag'd in supplying the Brazils with negro's, The cheaper will negro's and their labour be, and consequently their sugar-works better supported, these gentlemen all unanimously agreed that our carrying negro's to the Brazils would be prejudicial to the British plantations in America.

70. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence.[1]

Tuesday 5th January, 1713/4.

Mr. Kent and Mr. Thompson [2] attended this Comittee and being discours'd with concerning the Landing and refreshing the Comp's Negroes at Jamaica and reshipping them in Order to be transport'd to the Spanish West Indies they acquainted the Comittee that by the Practice of picking out the Refuse Negros and recovering them much money had been lost therefore the best way is to take them out to sell 'em for what can be obtain'd for them there being several persons on the Island who drive that Trade And that it is their Opinion the Compa. shou'd carry the Good Negr's over to the Coast in Sloops of their Own or hyred ones and not in the Ships that bring them for if they are Carried in Sloops they may be Sold for ready money but otherwise for trust which has proved Hazerdous, that the Agents in Jamaica should keep a Correspondence with the Spanish Ports to know where Negroes are wanted.

That the Cost of a Sloop of about 80 Tunns to carry 200 Negroes will be about £600.

That the Duty at Jamaica is annually raised being 20 *s.* per head for every Negro shipt off.

[70] [1] Add. MSS. 25550, pp. 2-3.

[2] Colonel Thompson was a Jamaica merchant interested in Spanish-American trade. *B. T. Jour.*, 1709-1714, p. 416.

That the usuall Commission in Jamaica for securing the Debts and Returns is £10 per Cent.

That the Commission on such Negroes as are Sent thence by Sloop for Carthagena or Vera Crus and looking after the Sloops and keeping the Accounts and paying the Wages would be ½ Com'n or Twenty Shill's per head.

That they would engage for the punctuality and faithfullness of their House at Jamaica.

The Hyre of a Sloop from the Island to Carthagena for delivering 200 Negroes upon Arrival and returning upon their Own Charge will be about £50 Victualling the men and wages and Negro Victualls excluded and the Sloop to bear all may be 20 *s.* per Negro.

Dr. Wright and S'r Charles Peers offered Mr. Wright the Doct'rs son who is Agent at Jamaica for the African Compa. to be this Compa's Agent and would give good Security for his faithfullness and referr'd the Com'n to the Court he is p'tner with Doct'r Stuart a Considerable Merch't.

A Memorial from Dr. Page relateing to Com'n for Negroes that may be Landed and Sold at Jamaica or exported from thence to the Spanish Coast was read.

71. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Court of Directors.[1]

1713/4, January 6.

Ordered, That the Committee of Shiping freight three Ships for Africa the one to Carry 500 Negroes or thereabouts from Whidah and the other two for about 300 Negroes each to be taken in at the Gold Coast and that the Secretary acquaint the Royl. African Company therewith. . . .

72. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence.[1]

Tuesday 19th Jan'ry, 1713/4.

Mr. Kent and Mr. Thompson attended the Comittee and proposed Mr. Jno. Morris and Mr. Edward Prater to be the Comp's Factors at Jamaica, will as to the Com'n submitt themselves to the Court of Directors, and be Obliged for their Fidelity and punctual performance.

They will also be Obliged (if the Company Desires it) not to Trade in Negroes from the Coast of Africa to Jamaica nor shall their Factors Trade from thence to the Coast of the Spanish West Indies whilst the Compa. imploys Them.

Resolv'd, That the said proposals be laid before the Court.

[71] [1] Add. MSS. 25495, p. 230.
[72] [1] Add. MSS. 25550, p. 3.

Wednesday 20th January 1713/4.[2]

Dr. Page in behalf of himself and Mr. Peter Beckford being call'd in and asked what Com'n they expected for selling the Comp's Negroes at Jamaica securing the Debts and making Returns acquainted the Comittee that the usuall Com'n is 10 *ll.* per Cent. but that they would undertake it for 8 *ll.* per Cent upon the Gross Sale.

Mr. Rowland Tryon and Mr. Woodbridge attending were also called in, and Asked what Com'n they expected for disposing of the Companys Negroes at Barbadoes they Demanded 10 *ll.* per Cent. Messrs. Kent and Thompson were likewise called in and discoursd with upon what Com'n they Expected for Selling the Comp's Negroes at Jamaica, and they acquainted the Comittee that they could not undertake to make the returns upon the Sale of the Negroes in less time than ½ in six months and the other ½ in Six Mo's after that the Com'n must be 8 *ll.* per Ct. 4 upon the Gross Sale and 4 *ll.* per Cent upon the returns.

Then Mr. Tryon and Mr. Woodbridge were call'd in again and insisted on 10 *ll.* per C. exclusive of the Provisions and Physick for the Negroes and make the returns ½ in Six Months and the other ½ in Six Mo's in the produce of the Country.

Mr. Tryon and Dr. Wright were discoursd with about the Com'n they demanded on the behalf of Dr. Stewart and Mr. Wright for disposing of the Comp's Negroes at Jamaica and insisted on 10 *ll.* per Ct., Dr. Page was call'd in again and demanded 8 *ll.* per Ct. upon the Gross Sale and 5 *ll.* per Ct. or 20 *s.* per head for Shiping all Negroes accord'g to Instructions but could not ascertain the Time for making the returns.

Messrs. Kent and Thompson being calld in again the Comittee proposed to them to make the returns 1/3 in 3 Mo's another 1/3 in 3 Mo's more and the remaining 1/3 in 3 Mo's after w'ch they said they could not Comply with but agreed to do it by 1/3 in 4 Mo's another 1/3 in four Months after and the other 1/3 in 4 Months more and to advance money for paying the freight of the Ships in the Comp's Service after the rate of 40 *s.* per head—each Negro without any Consideration and for their trouble in Shiping of Negroes etc. from Jamaica 16 *s.* per head.

Resolv'd: That the proposition made by Mr. Kent and Thompson is a reasonable one. . . .

Tuesday 26th January 1713/4.[3]

. . . The Comittee agreed to the following Orders and Instructions to be given to Mr. Dudley Woodbridge the Comp. Agent at Barbad. *vizt.*

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 4

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6, "Tuesday 26th January 1713, At a Committee of Correspondence. Present: Dept. Govern'r, Mr. Doliff, Mr. Gore, Mr. Vernon".

South Sea House, Londo. Jan'r [26], 1713/4.

Mr. Dudley Woodbridge,

S'r, The Court of Direct'rs of the South Sea Company having Elected you their Agent at Barbadoes, These are to acquaint you That they have ord'd three of their Ships (w'ch they Suppose may be by this time arrived on the Coast of Affrica) to touch at your Island, *vizt.* the *St. Mark,* Capt. Peter Solgard—which is freighted for 280 Negroes, the *Windsor* Frygate Capt. Geo Marshall for 450 Negroes and the *Canada* Gally Capt. Jno. Cleland [Cleveland?] for 500 Negroes.

Our Orders are that if upon their or any of their Arrivals you find the Market will take of all or any of the Said intire Carg's of Negroes at £24. —. — per head round, money of Barbad's that then you may dispose of all or any the Said intire Cargoes.

You are to receive from the Several Com'drs whose Negroes you dispose of all the Negro provisions and Stores which have not been expended giving them a Receipt of the particulars and transmit us a Copy of the Same.

The Comand'rs are likewise to deliver you their Com'n Negroes being 4 in 104 of what are deliverd alive for which you are to pay them 20 *ll.* Sterl per head in weighty Dollars[4] at the rate of 5 *s.* Sterl'g per Dollar if they require the Same of you and have fullfill'd the Condic's of their Charter party (w'ch has induced the Co. to give them So large a price for their Com'n Negroes) whereof inclosed is a Copy according to which they are intitled to ¼ pt. of their freight if they demand it in like weighty Dollars at 5 *s.* Sterling per Dollar for every Negro they Deliver which you are to disburse pursuant to your Agreem't with the Compa. upon giving Such a Certificate and Oath as required by the Charter party.

You are to make returns of the produce of Such Negroes as you may Sell in good Merchantable Sugars *vizt.* 1/3 in 4 mo's after the Arrival of the Negroes 1/3 in 4 mo's after that and the remaind'r in 4 mo's after conformable to your Agreem't.

But if you find that your Market will not come up to our Limitted price for any of the Cargoes of the Negroes, Then you are to dispatch the Ships forthwith And give to each of the Comd'rs your Letter directed to Messrs. Thompson Morris and Prater Merch'ts at Jamaica to whom they are consigned.

If it be found necessary to put any refreshments aboard for the Negroes Wee desire you to do it.

Should it so happen that any of our Negro Ships Should be Sickly of any infectious disease so as it is apparent that the proceeding further w'th them may be of Greater damage to the Compa. than your Landing and disposing of them at yo'r Market price then you

[4] Frequent references to Barbados currency are to be found in these papers; see pp. 105, 137, *ante,* 216n., *post.*

are to agree w'th the Cap'ts under hand and Seal for Such allowance of the freight as may be reasonable for Delivering them at Barbadoes instead of Jamaica and Sell them at the best price you can to the Compa's Advantage. . . .

Thursday 28th Jan'r 1713/4.[5]

P.S. You are likewise desired carefully to inquire into the Ages Sex and Quality of the Negroes whether they are conformabl. to the Agreement made with the Roy'l Affrican Compa. by which they are obliged to load none but Sound healthy and Merchantable Negroes 2/3 of which at least are to be Males and none to be under 10 Years or exceed 40 years Old and nine parts in Tenn are to be from the Age of 16 Years to 40 and to give us a perticular Acco't thereof and when the Several Ships arrived on the Coast of Affrica and when they departed from thence.

73. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Court of Directors.[1]

Munday 8th February, 1713/4.

Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the said Comittee, That they confer with his Lordp.[2] upon the following Heads, *vizt.*

1. Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Court That whoever are concerned in the ¾ part of the Assiento Contract, be the Assientists.

2. Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Court That the Assiento be carried on by a Joint Stock And that the Assientists who are concerned in the ¾ parts thereof do raise and pay in from time to time their proporcionable part of the said Stock And that out of the said Joint Stock shall be paid and advanced whatever is Stipulated to be paid or advanced for the King of Spain's Quarter part, And also the 200,000 Ps. $\frac{8}{8}$ to be paid in Madrid, The Duty of the 4000 Negroes to be paid half yearly, And all other necessary Payments whatsoever.

And that all concerned shall have their proporcions of the profits of the 800 Negros w'ch are exempted from paying Dutys, And also of the profits upon the Negros which may be Imported Yearly over

[5] Add. MSS. 25550, p. 6. "The following postscript to the Letter to the Comp's Agents at Barbadoes and Jamaica was agreed to."

[73] [1] Add. MSS. 25495, ff. 126-127, pp. 250-251.

[2] Bolingbroke. On Queen Anne's notification to the company in June, 1713, that the assiento now belonged to England, that body had made its plans for trade without waiting for a formal assignment of the contract. When that assignment came it was received with consternation. Not only had the queen withheld her fourth of the profits, which the company had tacitly assumed that it was to receive, but a charge of 7½ per cent. was laid against the share of the profits assigned to the company. On these terms the company hesitated to accept the grant. Early in February Bolingbroke wrote that the queen desired an answer, and the court of directors laid the matter before the general court. In the end the company won the queen's share of the profits (Add. MSS. 25559, p. 44, 25562, p. 5; Bolingbroke to the queen, *Bolingbroke's Correspondence,* IV. 453, 456-457; Donnan, "South Sea Company", *Jour. Econ. and Business Hist.,* II. 425-430). The resolutions here printed represent one step in the attempt to reach an agreement on the terms of the assignment.

and above the 4800 Negros, Ps. de India, which are to pay but half Duty.

3. Resolved, That all the Persons concerned in the said Joint Stock be intitled to all Advantages whatsoever granted in the Assiento Contract And that their respective Shares be Subject to all the Condicions Stipulated in the said Contract.

Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Court, That whereas by the Assiento Contract, the Same is to Commence from the 1st of May last, It Commence from the 1st of May next In Consideration That the Peace has not Sooner taken place.

4. Resolved, That it be an Instruction to the Comittee who are to attend my Lord Treasurer upon the aforesaid Matters That they know his Lordps pleasure when a General Court shall be called in order to Lay before them such a Draft of an Assignment of the Assiento Contract as her Maj'ty shall be pleased to Grant.

Ordered, That the Sub Comittee for the Assiento Attend the Companys Council and Consult, How far it may be Safe and advisable for the Company to Enter into any Covenants with the Crown, to perform the Several Articles of the Assiento, Or that the Company take the Assignment Subject only to the Condicions of the said Assiento.

74. Lord Bolingbroke to the South Sea Company.[1]

8° February, 1713/4.

That from the Uncertainty of the Proceedings of the Company, Her Maj'ty was not Sure, whether the Company would be the Assientists or not: Therefore Her Maj'ty had not given him any Directions to write to Madrid about the said Quoerys and Remarks, But that if Her Maj'ty was certain, that the Company would be the Assientists, As She had acted always with kindness and generosity to the Company, They need not doubt, but that her Maj'ty would exert herself in obtaining the Explanation of those Quoerys and Remarks to the Satisfaction of the Company. . . .

That as her Maj'ty had been, so she Expected now to be more pressed by the Minist'rs of Spain, to know who are to be the Assiento Company And therefore Her Maj'ty was very desirous to know the Companys Resolucions before that Courier was dispatcht that She might be able to write the Court of Madrid, who are the Assientists, And for that reason his Lordp. had sent the Message to the Court of Directors And do's suppose upon his attending Her Maj'ty tomorrow he shall have her directions to write to the Sub-Governor upon that Subject, in order to be Comunicated to the Court of Directors.

[74] [1] Add. MSS. 25495, f. 125, p. 249.

75. Accounts of the *Norman* Galley.[1]

London, 11th January 1714.

Invoice of Sundry Goods laden on Board the "Norman" Gally Simon Jones Commander Bound for Sherbrow for Account of the Royall African Company of England, and consigned unto John Clark the said Company's Factor or his Successor at Sherbrow Vizt:

		£	s.	d.
Earthen Ware—6 casks				
[details of packing of Barbaroons, Gallon juggs and Quart Juggs]		6	7	6
Swords and Hangers etc.				
50 Swords at 20 *s.* ea.	£ 4— 3—4.			
20 Bayonetts and Belts at 18 *d.*	1—10—0.			
50 Guilt Hangers at 4 *s.* 6 *d.* ea.	11— 5—0.			
20 Bayonets and Belts at 18 *d.*	1—10—0.	18	8	4
Chest. 20 musketts doglocks at 10 *s.* 6 *d.* ea.		10	10	0
Buccaneer Guns. 1 chest.				
20 Buccaneer Guns at 17 *s.* ea.		17	0	0
Knives and Sheaths. 2 casks.				
100 Doz. Knives at 2 *s.* 2 *d.* per doz.				
100 " Sheaths		10	16	8
Shoes and Slippers etc. 1 cask.				
24 pr. Shoes at 3 *s.* 4 *d.*	£4— 0—0.			
" " Slippers " 2 *s.* 4 *d.*	2—16—0.	6	16	0
12 Castor Hatts lin'd and bands at 7 *s.*	£4— 4—0.			
36 Pr. of thread Hose at 2 *s.* 2 *d.*	£3—18—0.	8	2	0
Pewter, 3 casks.				
20 Tun quart Potts at *s*/2	2—3—4.			
20 Tun pint Potts at 3 *s.*	£3—0—0.			
10 Doz. pewter plates at 10 *s.*	£5—0—0.			
20 Quart Tankards at 2 *s.*	£2—0—0.			
20 Two quart " at 4 *s.* 2	£4—3—4.			
		16	6	8
Wollen Fringe etc. 2 casks.				
100 lb. Red Fringe at 2 *s.* 4 *d.*	£11—13—4.			
9 pr. Wooll Cards at 13 *d.*	9—9.			
50 lb. red / 50 " yellow } Fringe at 2 *s.* 4 *d.*	11—13—4.			
3 pr. Wooll cards at 13 *d.*	3—3.			
3 bandes 159 oz. false corrall at 12 *d.* p. oz.	7--19.			
		31	18	8
Tobacco Pipes and Chest.				
6 groce of Tobacco pipes at 16 *d.* per groce			8	0

[75] [1] T 70: 921, "Invoice Book Outward of the Royal African Company of England, no. 19, from Jan. 11, 1714, to Dec. 8, 1720".

[*Invoice*—continued:]

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Iper Hollands etc. 1 cask.			
6 ps. iper Hollands (No. 914) 20 ells ea. yd. wide at 39 *s.* £11—14—0.			
50 ps. blue paper Sletias at 7/8 £19— 3—4.			
50 Doz. fine steells at 7 *d.* 1— 9—2.			
50 Doz. Do. larger at 9 *d.* 1—17—6.			
40 Doz. Pewter Spoons at 20 *d.* 3— 6—8.			
80 Doz. Brass Chains at 2/6 10— 0—0.	47	10	8
180 lbs. Leef Tobacco at 6 *d.*	4	10	0
2 Brass Musketoons at 25 *s.* 6	2	11	0
Norwich Stuffs. 1 chest.			
2 Ps. Norwich Stuffs at No. 1 and 2 at 23 *s.* 6 *d.* pr. ps. £2— 7—0.			
1 Ps. Do. No. (3) at 24 *s.* 1— 4—0.			
1 Ps. Do. No. (4) at 30 *s.* 1—10—0.			
1 Ps. Do. No. (5) at 40 *s.* 2— 0—0.			
1 Ps. Do. No. (6) at 34 *s.* 1—14.	8	15	0
Perpetts. 2 Bails.			
50 Red Perpetts at 10 *s.* each.	25	0	0
Red and Yellow Plains. 2 Bails.			
20 ells Red Plains at 31 *s.* £31—0—0.			
20 Yellow at 31 *s.* £31—0—0.	62	0	0
Iron Barrs			
cwt.			
1054 Iron bars wt. 241 at 17 *s.* per Cwt.	204	17	0
Gunpowder. 10 barrells at 60 *s.* per Barrell	30	0	0
Spiritts			
30 quartes casks wt. 726 galls. at 23 per Ton	66	5	4
Brass Kettles. 11 casks.			
[details]			
cwt. qr. lb.			
280—wt. 10—0— 1			
3—0—27 Tare 363			
6 . 3 . 2			
cwt. qr. lb.			
is 280 Brass Kettles wire bound wt. 6 3 2			
is 758 lb. at 16*d.* per lb.	50	10	8
5 Chests each 100 is 500			
Ditto 66			
6 chests is 566 Blew Paper Sleteas at 8 *s.* pr. Ps.	233	9	6
A chest 30			
Ditto 30			
a Baile 80			
140 Sallampores at 15 *s.* 10. [2]	110	16	8

[2]Salempool, a blue cotton cloth of Indian manufacture.

[*Invoice*—continued:]

		£	*s.*	*d.*
A chest 100 100 150				
350	Broad Chintz at 14 *s.* 2.	247	18	4
A chest 50 50 30	130 Yellow Perpetts at 13 *s.* 3 *d.* £86—2—6.			
20 50	70 Redd Ditto 15 *s.* 3 *d.* 53—7—6.			
200		139	10	0
A hhd. 62 Ditto 62				
124	Gallons of Brandy at 3 *s.* 6 *d.*	21	14	0
[Details of 14 Barrels containing] cwt. qr. lbs.				
28 2 00	Nett Cowries at £6. p. cwt.	171	0	0
A chest 50 Arda clowded Cloaths at 16 *s.*		40	0	0
100 Cases Spiritts at 8 *s.* 3*d.* per Ps.		41	5	0
11 Barrells Gunpowder at 98 *s.*		53	18	0
The 10% Sworn to at the Custome house		147	13	10
For Cask Custome and Shipping Charges		56	17	2
[The vessel also was laden with "Stores," Carpenters' tools, medicines etc. to the value of £96].		96		
Negro provisions for 300 Negroes Consigned to the said Capt. Joseph Lenton *vizt.*				
150 gallons mault Spiritts at 18 *d.*	£ 7—17— 6.			
15 Bushells Salt at 5 *s.* 6 *d.*	4— 2— 6.			
11 hogheads and ½ vinegar	2—12— 6.			
300 lb. Tobacco at 6½ *d.* per lb.	8— 2— 6.			
10 groce Pipes at 8 *d.*	6— 8.			
3 puncheons Old Beef at £3—15 *s.*	11— 5— 0.			
1 ditto ditto remaining of the Ship's Store	3—15— 0.			
3 cwt. 0 qrs. 10 lbs. flower at 10 *s.* pr. cwt.	1—10— 0.			
12 0. 0. Biskett 8 *s.* 6 *d.*	5— 2— 0.			
40 Quarter of Beans at 20 *s.* pr. Qr.	40			
	84—13— 8.			
The 10 per cent	8—11—10.			
For casks customs etc.	10— 8— 6.			
		103	14	0
		£2127	18	2

[*Invoice*—continued:]

		£	*s.*	*d.*
For all charges till on Board.		37	8	9
Stores and Provisions.				
Bread 8 cwt. 0 qr. 0 lb. at 11/6	£4—12— 0.			
Beef 9 — 1 — 4 " 22/—	10— 4— 3.			
Flower 4 — 1 — 1 " 14/—p. cwt.	2—19— 7.			
Peas. 7 bushells at 5 *s.* pr. bushell	1—15— 7. [*sic*]			
Butter 1 firkin	1—10			
Cheese 1—0—12 at 33/—	1—16— 6.			
Brandy 12 galls and quart at 4/— p. gall.	2— 9— 0.			
56 lb. Sugar at 46 *s.* p. cwt. 56 lb. Raysins Solis at 37 *s.* p. cwt.	2— 1— 6.			
4 coils Cordage wt. 4 cwt. 2 qr. 5 lb. at 43/—	9—15— 5.			
1 barrell Pitch 2 3 18 at 13/—	1—17—10.			
1 barrell Tar at 25 *s.*	1— 5— 0.			
Bundle of Sundries [details]	7—13— 0.			
Stock fish 2 cwt. at 22 *s.* p. cwt.	2— 4— 0.			
3 doz. Candles at 6 *s.* 6 *d.* pr. doz.	19— 6.			
To cask Custom and Shipping Charges	6—15— 6.	57	18	8
		724	0	11

76. John Pery to James Pym.[1]

African House, 26 April 1714.

S'r, I am directed to desire you to lay the following Particulars before your Comittee

That for as much as the rainy Season on the Coast will not be over untill the latter End of July or beginning of August the Comittees propose that the South Sea Companys Ships for the remaining Negroes be dispatchd as followeth

In all June	1 for Cape Coast for	300 Negroes
	1 for Do and Windward	300
	1 for Whidah	400
	3 Ships for	1000 Negroes
In all August the Same (like)	Ships and for the same Places	1000 Negroes
In all September	1 for Whidah	430
	In all	2430 Negroes

Each Whidah Ship to touch at Cape Coast Castle

77. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence.[1]

Tuesday 20 July, 1714.

The Committee pursuant to Order of the Court the 14th Instant took into Consideration the disposing of the Cargos of Negroes Laded on board, the three Last Ships *vizt. Hope* Gally, *Smith* Frygate, and *Elizabeth.*

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Comittee that whereas it is to late to Send Orders to reach the Said Ships on the Coast of

[76] [1] Add. MSS. 25562, f. 8v, p. 12.
[77] [1] Add. MSS. 25550, p. 8.

Affrica That Orders be Sent to the Said Capts. at Barbados to deliv'r their Negroes to the Companys Factors there And the Market at Jamaica being very Low as the Committee are informed, That the Said Negroes be Sold at Barbados if they can get 22 *ll.* per head Round But if there be a prospect of a better produce to the Company at Antegoa That then the Factors at Barbadoes have Liberty to consign them there Provided they Stand Obliged to make good Debts and to perform all other their Articles with the Company as if they were sold at Barbadoes. . . .

Wednesday 11th August 1711 [1714].[2]

Dr. Paige attending was calld in, and discours'd with upon the Subject of his Proposal which was referrd this day by the Court to this Comittee *vizt.* Of his being dispatched with the Companys Orders for Jamaica and one or more Factors to assist him to take from thence to the Several Spanish Ports such Negros as Shall be found fitt for that Market.

And Proposed to Serve the Company, either upon the terms in his proposal or by way of Sallary at £1000 per ann Jamaica Money[3] and £1000 per ann more for a Partner to be joined with him in case of Mortality.

Dr. Dover was also calld in and discourst with, upon that Subject, And proposed to Serve the Company, for himself and 3 Persons under him at £2000 per ann. Jamaica Money, or for himself alone at £1500 per ann.

And it was his Opinion that the Negros should be carried directly from the Windward Coast to the Spanish West Indies, without calling at Jamaica or else where.[4]

78. The South Sea Company to the Lords Justices of Great Britain.[1]

To their Excellencys the Lord Justices of Great Britain

In Obedience to your Excellencys Commands Signifyed in Mr. Addisons letter to the Sub Governour of the South Sea Company, The Court of Directors of the said Company do humbly crave leave

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[3] The rate of Jamaica exchange was about 130 at this time.

[4] To the end of 1714 the company seems to have reached no conclusion as to whether their West India headquarters should be established at Jamaica or at Barbados. At the meeting of the court of directors of Oct. 5 it was resolved that, "for the better carrying on of the Assiento trade a factory be established at Jamaica". That this by no means prevented Barbados from sharing in the benefits accruing from the assiento is evident from the fact that on Nov. 3 the committee of correspondence was directed to write to the agent at Barbados, telling him to buy 1000 negroes for Carácas and the Windward Coast. Add. MSS. 25495, pp. 419, 439.

[78] [1] Add. MSS. 25559, "Memorials", ff. 34-36, pp. 65-69.

to lay before yo'r Ex[c]ellencys a State of the Difficultys that remain upon the Assiento and Assignment thereof.

1st. There is in the 10th Article of the Assiento a Power only to Freight either at Panama or any other Part of the South Seas Ships of about 400 Tuns to carry Negroes to Peru Whereas we are well assurd the French had Liberty to Build or Buy Two Ships of 3 or 400 each at Panama or any other Part of the South Seas where are Yards for Building.

And the Company desire the like Priviledge if it be not provided for by the 39 Article.

2d. In the 22 Article It is Stipulated That if any Goods or Merchandize are found on board any Ships in which the Negroes shall be introduced the same shall be liable to be Seized and Subject to the same Penaltys as if found on Shore Whereas it often happens that Goods cannot be sold on the Coast of Africa and Ships bring them back in their return it is humbly submitted whether it may not be reasonable that Liberty be given in Such case to put them into the King's Warehouses and take them away on their departure provided Notice be given to the Royal Officers on arrival.

3d. It being provided by the 39th Article that all the Concessions in former Assientos to Don Domingo Grillo, the Consulado of Seville, Don Nicholas Porcio, Don Bernardo Marin y Gusman, The Companys of Portugall and France, not being contrary to the Contents of this Contract, shall be understood and declared to be in its Favour as if they were herein inserted.[2]

It will be necessary for the Company to have Authentick Copys of those Assientos, that they may know what Priviledges they are intitled to. . . .[3]

7. The Season of the Year is now so far advanced and the Company not yet so possessed of the Assiento as to be able to put in Execution the Powers thereof That it will be almost impossible for the Company before the 1st of May next New Stile to provide and introduce into the Spanish West Indies the full Number of 4800 Negroes P's de India which by the first article of the Assiento they are Obliged to Deliver, by that Time, And for which the full Dutys of 33 1/3 P's $\frac{8}{8}$ per head amounting in the whole for this Year to about £30,000 must be paid to the King of Spain whether they are introduced or not.

Therefore the Company do Humbly conceive it very reasonable, That as the Commencement of the Assiento, which by the Contract

[2] See this work, I. 105-107.

[3] By the 28th article of the assiento the Spanish king was empowered to appoint two factors to reside in London, two for the Indies, and one for Cadiz. The company wished to know how much power these factors were to have, and intimated a desire to have this privilege of appointment surrendered.

is agreed to take Place the 1st May 1713 has been (as is recited in the Draft of the Assignment there of from her late Majesty to the Company) by the Consent of the King of Spain agreed to be altered to the 1st May 1714 should now be enlarged and Commence the 1st May 1715 or that the Company may be obliged to Pay Dutys for this Year only for so many Negroes P's de India as they shall introduce into the Spanish West Indies before the 1st May next.

8. It is recited in the said Draft of the Assignment from her late Maj'tie to the Company that it is expected that his Catholick Majestie will Consent that the 200,000 P's $\frac{8}{8}$ which by the said 3d Article of the said Contract, were to be advanced to his said Majesty at Madrid shall and may be retained and employed by the Assientists as part of his said Majestys Proportion of the Sum which they should Judge necessary for putting the said Commerce into a Good Order and Method according to the 28 Article of the said Contract.

It will be a great ease and Security to the Company to be ascertained that the King of Spain would so leave the sd 200,000 P's $\frac{8}{8}$ in their Hands. . . .

10. As to the Assignment of the Assiento from the Crown to the Company Her late Majesty having on the 17th June last Signified to the Company her Royal Will and Pleasure to Grant them the Quarter part which by the 28 Article is reserved to her so that the Company were to have the whole Assiento Contract (Except what was reserved therein to the King of Spain and also Except 7½ per Cent which the Company are informed was her Majestys Pleasure should be granted to M. Manasses Gilligan Esqr. which 7½ per Cent he desires to have the Liberty of accepting or refusing for 8 Months and if within that Time he shall accept it, he is to give Notice to the Company in Writing and Pay down £8000 and within a Month after that to make up the £8000 his full proportion of the money the Company shall then have Disbursed on that Account [).]

If it be your Ex[c]ellencys Pleasure that the Assignment be made according to her late Majesties said Intention.

The Court of Directors knows of no Difficultys remaining relating to the Assignment but those above mentioned.

By order of the Court of Directors

J. Bateman Sub Gov'r

South Sea House, 17 August, 1714.

79. Accounts of Fort Commenda.[1]

Diary with Accounts, Commenda Fort, In Charge of Wm. Brainie, 1714-1718.

Comenda Fort the 23d Octob'r 1714.

Arrived here at Commenda with Instructions to receive into my Charge This Fort with all the Effects whatsoever belonging to the Royal African Company and here to Continue to manage the said Comp'ys affaires. Copy of the Inventory to be seen in the book of Acco'tts and of the Instructions in the book of Letters. . . .

1715, March 29th. Traders came into the Castle to Trade along with Jno. Cabess,[2] who came in Bawling and saying they were fools and he believed did not design to Trade for having Seen Two Slaves and asked them the price of them they had Told him Six Ounces Each and that he had offered them four Ounces and Told them it was the highest price we cou'd give for which he believ'd he cou'd gett them or a little more.

I answered Jno. to all this That I did not take it well in him that he should offer to Bargain for anything in a Town without my knowledge yet however Seeing he had offer'd four Ounces for the Slaves (tho it was the utmost farthing the Compa allowed for the very best) I to Save his Credit among the Traders wou'd give So much provided the Slaves were Good, Whereupon they were sent for, but when they came found them Two Old Fellows Not Worth 4 a. Each which made me very angry with Jno. and gave me Suspicion that he designd to put the Other Money into his Own pockett for which I checked him and told the Traders the Slaves were not worth buying. However bid them privately Return to me after Jno was gone, haveing something to Talk with them of. They accordingly did and Then upon Enquiry found they had Agreed with Jno Cabess for Ten pees [pieces] each slave whereby Jno Design'd to put Six pees in His own pockett of all this I Acquainted Winkey and Charg'd him to give account of every particular thereof to the Agents. . . .

1715 April 7th. This day rec'd advice from Cape Coast of their having no more goods to supply me with and desireing me to husband the goods I have to the Best advantage as also Intimation they can buy a good man Slave at Cape Coast for £10 or 11 pees of Spare[?] one Bendy Guns.[3]

Nota. This paragraph surprizes me very much for at this place they never stand to ask six ounces for a Slave it haveing of late been the Curr'tt price and it's with great difficulty I can gett any at the

[79] [1] T 70: 1464.

[2] John Cabess was a native trader with whom the English frequently dealt.

[3] A bendy or benda was the equivalent of two ounces in gold; a bendy gun would presumably be a gun or guns of that value.

Comp'ys price and I have been Bargaining for this Last Slave above a Month before I cou'd come to an agreement, so hard are the Traders to deal with.

In a postcript to this Letter I recd. orders to seize and secure all annamaboes I can any ways discover till further directions. . . .

Nota. Thereupon I immediately sent for Mr. Cabess and charged him to Discover and deliver up to me all Annamabooes in and about his Crooms [4] and that with the greatest Secrecy that if any are there they may not escape. I also ordered my own Boys to Look all about for them and acquaint me If they find any. But am afraid Mr. Cabess is such an Ingrain'd Rogue that rather than discover, he'll set them out of the way that they may not be catch'd, however he has promis'd other ways.

April 26th. I find my Totall Trade these Two months to have been as Follows *vizt:*

	Barter'd for Slaves		£	s.
2 Men 1 at 4 oz. and 1 at 3.4	14 Gunns	7 per 2 oz.[5]	4.	
	60 l. powder	20 per 5 oz		15.
	40 l. Brass	2 per	1.	4.
	1 Green p'p'te	5 oz. Ea.		5.
	3 firk[in] Tallow	4 oz. Ea.		12.
			7.	4.

May 19th . . . They advise me of the great disappointm't they met with in the *Dorothy's* Bringing so few Slaves being much in want thereof for Despatching the *Royal African* whose time is expired. And understanding a Great many Traders are on the 11th gone by way of Agwaffoo to Elmina Desire me to Encourage Jno. Cabess to procure what Slaves he can to be sent in a few days To Ca. Coast, and to use my utmost diligence to do the same and not to refuse any Good Slave, Now they are necessitated for a small difference of price.

Nota. This Letter was not sign'd by Mr. Blean who By a postscript to the Letter I understand is sick According to the Gent'ns Directions To purchase Slaves and their advice of their Necessity for them have this day sent to Elmina To a Cabb'r [6] there, Who has always great Dealing with the Traders with the Encourageing Offers of One Ounce for every Slave more than the Dutch. This man formerly promis'd to procure me all The Slaves he cou'd and am sure if there is any to be had, he will gett me them, I also order'd my Serv't Jm Kent, to speak privately to the Traders himself and to Encourage them to come here.

[4] Negro settlements.

[5] An ounce of gold was about £4 sterling. It was assigned as the nominal value of goods purchased in Europe for £2, but sold in trade at £4.

[6] Caboceer.

The same night return'd my Messeng'r from Elmina acquainting me that he had spoke to the Traders himself as also that Cabb'r But there is none to be had there being nothing but Salt Merch'ts however he promises to send about the Countrey To look for Slaves for me. Which Jno. Cabess has also done and I myself have sent privately to Chamah where the Chief generally has Slaves by Him, But at that time he had none.

May 22nd. Recd. a Letter from the Agents per the *Royal African* Capt. Sam'll Foote Comm'r [in] which They acquaint me they have sent to Windward to purchase Slaves and put on board her for that end, all the Goods They had at Cape Coast which being but few ord'r me if Mr. Broughton Supercargo and Capt. Foote should want and Desire any good of me, To Deliver them as also all The Slaves I shall purchase. . . .

May 23rd . . . This Night came on Shoar Capt. Foote who showd me a Letter which he had Wrote for the Gent'n and the Windw'd Curr'tt being over Thinks it needless to attempt goeing further to Windward with the Ship, which would also prevent his Getting of thos Slaves there. The people hereabouts by Our encourageing price wou'd otherwise probably bring him Because most of these hereabouts if they have Slaves do not care to keep them so long as he might be a comeing back Lest they should disoblidge me or oyn that they do not bring their Slaves to the Castle when they find the Ship not in the Road, but rather chuse to keep them till her Return. Whereas if the Ship were in the Road They'd go as soon aboard as the Slaves come to hand which is Generally known Through one means or other. But if The Ship were gone They'll neither Trouble and hazard themselves in Goeing To seek for her, Nor if they wou'd, can we permitt them Lest instead of Goeing To seek a Ship that it is uncertain where to find her, They chuse rather To Go to Annamaboe Road where they are always sure of a bettyr Mirkatt from the Interlopers.

Therefore Capt. Foote and I have thought it most Convenient and Expedient for The R. Compa. Interest that he send his Long Boat with a small Cargo und'r the Direction of Mr. Broughton.

24th To Windward in ord'r To try what is to be done there which Capt. Foote has order'd To be gott Ready To go this Night.

Thereof I wrote The Agents and Inclosd In it a Letter from Capt. Foote.

26th. Capt. Foote came on Shoar and recd. a Letter from the Gent'n Inclosd in one for me where they advise of their observing the Goods I delivered the *Roy. African* and further Enjoining our Diligence for procureing Slaves. But there came this day a Man from Tackerado To this place who acquainted us that Last Night a Cabb'r

haveing Brought some Slaves to sell Mr. Broughton at That place and after agreeing on the price and Goods The said Cabb'r Went on board to Receive the Goods, But when Mr. Broughton had Got him on board, orderd him To be seizd for selling Slaves To those he did not know To be Compa. people however if he woud Take a Bendy for Each Slave he was willing To Release him Where upon getting a Litle Respite from The Men who before held him fast he with his Slaves Jumpt out of the Boat and Swam ashoar by which Ill-management only designing to gain a Litle To himself, he Lost Good Trade There being a great many more Slaves at that place which he could have Bought. Hereupon Capt. Foote Lest the Trade might be thereby quite Lost and fearing his future Mismanagement, Resolv'd To go himself with The Ship haveing in his Last Letter more Time Granted him by the Agents and he accordingly saild This Night. . . .

May 29. But Besides all this whenever he [John Cabess] hears of Trade comeing he never Tells me but Borrows Goods To be p'd in 2 Months out of the warehouse and sending them up the countrey Intercepts the Traders and Buys their Slaves at a Small Rate and when he Brings them down if he find any Possibility of getting to Interlopers he is Sure to let me know of none of them But if he finds such Watch Kept as gives him difficulty to gett off he brings them into the Castle with some of his Crooms people whom he is sure I never saw before who Represent the Trad'rs with full Instructions To gett the full of my allowance for Slaves and the Best of Goods, and the ill Slaves which he buys for Litle or Nothing, he Brings To pay me what he owes me at the Compa. Rate which upon my Refusall of he Demands Liberty to carry them on board an Interloper that he certainly does. Thus dos Jno. Mannage. But I hope it will soon be over with him now the Traders haveing Generally conceiv'd an ill opinion of him or if that do not end it, he is not Likely to Live much longer being now old and beginning to grow Sickly and Infirm; and Till his End comes I am affraid the Compa. Trade will never begin To flourish. . . .

August 11th. Have this day got private Information of Jno. Cabess's designs to trade w'th Capt. Burgisson who still lyes here and who or his people are everyday with Jno. and when I look into their private dealings, Burgisson Tells me he will Complain of my Stopping his Trade and Recover his 15 per Cent that he paid for permission to trade here as he pleasd. Whereupon I ask'd him for her Clearance that I might take a Note of the Goods he p'd fifteen per C'tt for that I would allow him to sell. But he says he'll give me no such Satisfaction onely show me the Agents Orders To permitt him to Trade. But I have Refus'd and offer'd to prove by his own

people that he Trades for Interlop'rs or w'ch is the same sells them his Slaves and despatches them off the Coast Comeing with their Goods Impudently and openly to purchase more for them even dareing me to Look into his dealings. He has been now a whole year on the Coast and has not above fifty Slaves, Tho' changed his Cargo 3 or 4 Times that now amounts to Three Times the Value of what he p'd 15 per cent for in Ba[r]badoes. I have told him that Like a D'd Rogue he comes for his 15 per Cent to Take 15 per Cent from every Interloper on the Coast for permission to Trade or whats as much or more, Tradeing for them.

The Compa. think it very hard to allow even the first of their Servants to gain anything considerable on this Coast tho' Capt. Burgisson's Sailers (as I have it from their own mouths) have in this one voyage gaind some £60 others 70 and others 100 or more pounds. . . .

1715, Dec. In my way from Accra I, met at Shedoes with one Mr. Daniel Griffine, Supercargo of The *Jno. and Constance* an Interloper in Mr. Jos: Martine his Service who being almost Ready Slaved I Enquired into the Prices he allowed for Slaves and what he sold his Goods and found therein a pretty fair opportunity of doing the Compa. a peece of Service he offering his Guns at 4 a, Powder £ at 4,[7] p'p'tts at 3, Tallow at 3, Sheets at 40 per 2 oz. etc. and wou'd allow 18£ for Men and 14£ for Women wanting about 20 Slaves whereupon I freely offer'd him his passage To his Ship at Annamaboe and promisd if I cou'd assist him in Slaveing which he Thankfully accepted of and I accordingly proceeded and haveing put him on board his Ship went directly for Cape Coast where I Told the Agents of what had past and the fair opportunity of Tradeing for the Comp'y To Advantage [where]upon They orderd me on board at Night to invite him on Shoar And make a bargain with him and I accordingly went and haveing got his promise To Come on Shoar Returnd Next Morning about Eight o Clock with an Acc't of what I had done. But the Agents as I Came on Shoar Orderd their Bomboy off to take the flag out of my Canoe which I gave him on their message and as I came on Shoar they told me the Reason of their takeing down my flag was because I shou'd have gone Privately about that Business They Designing That nobody Shou'd have known of my goeing. To which I answerd that I did not think the Companys affaires were to be carryd on privately it Looke a Litle Suspicous and That I thought The Comp'ys Employment Authourd me to wear my flag. But recd. No Answer but Bitter words. The Gent'm Mr. Griffin being come on Shoar The Agents sold him 7 Men 3 Women 3 Boys and 4 gerles

[7] It is impossible to be certain what the amounts sold for 4 a and 3 a are; "p'p'tts" are perpetuanos.

at 4 oz Each and One Man 4 Women at 4 oz 8a. Each they Recd.

50 2 lb. Bassons
55 4 Bassons } pewter 105 *l.* 5 *s.* per a.

12th. My Servant Return'd from Warsaw [8] with a man Slave who wanted the first Joint of his Thumb and cost 3 oz whereupon Sent him This Night To Annamaboe To an English Interloper and Sold him for 56 Sheets. . . .

80. Ships despatched to Africa by the South Sea Company.[1]

[December, 1714.]

Day dispatch't	Ships Names	Comdrs Names	Number Negroes
5 Novr. 1713	*St. Mark*	Pet. Solgard	280 } 2
12 Do	*Windsor*	Geo Marshall	450 }

These two ships were designed for Carthagena but to touch at Jamaica but the peace not being proclaimed time enough for their Comd'rs to be informed thereof before their arrival at Jamaica the Negroes they had on board were obliged to be sold therein to the great Detriment of the Assientists.[3]

Day dispatch't	Ships Names	Comdrs Names	Number Negroes
19 Novr. 1713	*Canada*	Cleveland	500
22 Feby [1714]	*Hope*	Walt. Cronker	360
2 March	*Smith* frygat	John Taylor	280
10 Do	*Elizabeth*	Massie Owen	500

These four Ships were likewise designed for Carthagena but first to touch at Barbadoes or Jamaica. And since the Peace was proclaimed and this Company possessed of the Assiento they have sent Orders to those Islands that the Negros on board these four Ships Shall be sent either in the Said Ships or Sloops to Carthegena or Porto bello but they are not certain whether those Orders will arrive Time enough to prevent the Negros on board them being Sold at the said Islands which may prove greatly to the Damage of the Company.[4] . . .

[8] Wassau or Warsaw was an inland country north of Cape Three Points.

[80] [1] Add. MSS. 25555, p. 7.

[2] The minutes of Sept. 29, 1714, state that the *Windsor* had arrived at Jamaica with 193 negroes of the 201 put on board by the African Company's agents. Apparently therefore this record is of cargoes hoped for, not those actually carried. See Add. MSS. 25495, p. 415.

[3] In the manuscript this paragraph follows the brace above. The minutes of the court for Nov. 28 state that these two vessels were to touch at Barbados. *Ibid.*, p. 205.

[4] This paragraph follows the brace above. Four vessels, carrying 1540 negroes, were also provided for Buenos Aires. Throughout the spring and summer the practical details incident to sending out these ships had been dealt with by the directors or assigned to committees. On Mar. 10 Captain Owen, of the *Elizabeth,* was given the right to undertake a private venture amounting to £250 (Add. MSS. 25495, p. 275); Woodbridge was allowed to charge to the company the cost of provisions and medicines which he had purchased for the company's negroes (*ibid.*, pp. 287-288); the committee on shipping was instructed to freight ships to carry the remainder of the negroes (2430) called for in the contract with the African Company (*ibid.*, pp. 296-297). A difficulty between that

81. Gerrard Gore, James Phipps, and Robert Blean to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cape Coast Castle 23d March 1714/15.

Messrs. Gerrard Gore, James Phipps and Robert Blean write that they have taken care to Disappoint Interlopers, and have made Inquiry into the Company's Servants Trading with them.

Have found Mr. Anthony Franeia at Commenda concern'd in private Trade for which they Discharg'd him from that place. They sent him afterwards to Tantumquerry and for fear of a Disturbance at Accra, have join'd with Messrs. Gray and Stevenson there. They cannot get the Money from the King of Inamboe, but that will soon be repaid by the Ground rent.

Give a Long and particular Account of a Discovery they made of Capt. Holt's being Concern'd in private Trade at Anamaboe, which being made plainly to Appear, they Suspended him for about Six Weeks; But upon his Seeming repentance, and Earnest Application to be restored, they have sent him again to Anamaboe, where the Interlopers do not meet with so much Incouragement as before.[2] . . .

They are sorry for the *Elizabeth's* bad Success, and the *Pindar's* bad Circumstances, having lost her Capt. and has not above 140 Slaves aboard.

The *Royal Africa* arriv'd the 20th Feby. her Cargoe Sortable but Small. Her Arrival prov'd Seasonable. She is Gone to Shidoe; are afraid of her being Disappointed by Interlopers.

Capt. Hurle in the South Sea Comp's Service reports that Several More in the Same Service may be Shortly expected. This has advanced the price of Negroes from £20 to £26 per head at Annamaboe, and from £16 to £22 per head to Leeward.

The *Dorothy* arrived the 23d of February and brought from Sherbrow 39,312 ls. of Camwood 12 Slaves 1278 l. Teeth 134 high Cloth and 1344 ls. Rice. And from Gambia 60 Slaves, 2051 l. Teeth, 9

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company and the South Sea Company over the adjustment of payments was submitted to arbitration (Add. MSS. 25495, pp. 309, 324, 369, 375, 376, 380). A letter from Captain Solgard notified the company that he was proceeding to Jamaica, as the prices at Barbados were not up to the company's limit. *Ibid.*, p. 376.

[81] [1] T 70: 6, pp. 5-7, "Abstracts, 1714-1719".

[2] Captain Holt wrote from Anamabo on Mar. 12 that trade was so good that 12,000 perpets a year, besides guns, tallow, sheets, powder, pewter, and brass, could be disposed of. He would also undertake to sell 20,000 gallons of rum at an accy a gallon (T 70: 6, p. 10). A partial answer to the natural question that arises over the disposition of the woollens carried to Africa is to be found in a letter from Robert Parker, agent at Commenda in 1737, to Alderman Harvey of Norwich: "the Large quantity of Says, Persetts, Long Ells, etc. that comes upon this coast to severall Thousand pound per Ann, are most of them caried up into the Cuntry some Thousand some Fifteen Hundred Miles, th'are taken a Peices and unwove, and again made into Cloath of thier own devising". Hist. MSS. Comm., *Eleventh Rept. (MSS. of the Marquess Townshend)*, App. pt. IV., p. 355.

Deer Skins and 12 Cow hides. Four of the Gambia Slaves Died in the passage and half the rest not worth their provisions and they believe will not live till the *Royal Africa* can take them in. . . .

Wish the inconveniences by means of Interlopers were at an end.

They state the difficulty of a Cargoe of Rum purchasing a Cargoe of Negroes. . . .

It is impossible to send attestations of the Wrongs Comitted by some Interlopers, as was the Case of Captn. Hayward. The best information might be had from some of the Ship's Company.

Several Robberies have lately been Comitted by Interlopers. Captn. Clark had three Negroes who were Carry'd off by Interlopers to Windward, whose Friends he is to caution against Trading with any Ships who have not the Company's Jack. Send Certificates ab't Slaves being panyar'd to Windward by Captn. Thirticle in the Snow *Abigail* a 15 per Cent Man, and Capt. Malthus an Interloper.[3]

Were obliged, in January, to barter 13 Small boys and 3 Girls with Captn. Malthus for Goods to Supply the Athantees.[4]

Were fain to sell 23 Slaves to Capt'n Thirticle and 32 to a portugeze for Goods to Supply the Out Factories.

Shall make no Difference between the South Sea Comp's Ships and Interlopers. Believe the high prices and Inconveniences they'l meet with, will Discourage them.

The *Union* purchased 156 Slaves and some Gold.

82. The South Sea Company to Thomas Bowles.[1]

1715, April 21.

You know how Considerably we loose by the Negros we Contracted with the Affrican Company for the last year, which we were all forced to Sell in the plantations at Great Loss w'ch upon Computation may be 40 per ct and may be reasonably insisted upon why we should not Commence any Duties untill from the 23: Xber N. S.[2] . . .

Mr. Wood Adviseth the 174 negros by measurement are made to be 166¾ That the Fees demanded are as follows *vizt.*

[3] A letter of Mar. 13, from the agents, accused Capt. William Thirticle (or Thirtull) of panyaring eight men while on the coast. T. 70: 6.

[4] Ashantis.

[82] [1] Add. MSS. 25555, ff. 18v-19, pp. 33-34. This letter, as well as many others among the papers of the South Sea Company, is a greatly abbreviated summary of the original letter, copied into the company's books for reference and permanent record. Bowles was the company's agent at Madrid.

[2] This is but one of many letters in this volume which argue that the company should pay no duty for 1713, and, for 1714, only on those negroes actually introduced.

Guards from Boca Chica	8
Canoe hire for the visit	4
Scriviner before the visit	25
Doctr. for the visit of Health	87
A Lo fizial mayor de lay Roy Contaduria for the visit[3]	50
To the Head Guard for the visit	50
Secretary for measuring and regulating the Dutys	25
Ditto for the Register and Clearing	25
Secretary to the Inquisition	5
The ancherage	3
	282

You are to enquire and satisfy us what are the Legal and Established Fees the Company is to pay and forthwith acquaint us, either those must have been very compleat [?] Slaves or the Company severely treated in the measurement of them.[4]

83. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Court of Directors.[1]

April 27, 1715.

Ordered, That it be refer'd to the Joynt Committee of Buying and Shiping to Enquire what is necessary to be done in relation to the Duty of 20 per head upon all Negroes Shipt from the Island of Jamaica so far as it relates to this Company. . . .

May 4, 1715.[2]

Ordered, That it be refer'd to the Committee of Shiping that they take up either 3 or 4 Ships to go to Whidah for Negroes as they shall see best for the Service of the Company. . . .

84. The South Sea Company to James Stanhope.[1]

[May 25, 1715.]

To the Rt. Hon'ble James Stanhope

The Court of Directors of the South Sea Company having rec'd Letters from their Agent at Carthagena in America containing some Advices relat'g to the Commerce of the Spanish West Indies they have Ordered them to be Laid before you And Submit to your Hon'r w't is fitt to be done for redressing the matters therein Complaind of.

[3] The fiscal or financial officer who represented the royal exchequer in each port, whose business it was to see that the duty on the incoming negroes was correctly reckoned.

[4] This letter also informed Bowles that Woodbridge had written on Jan. 27 that he had sent the *Sarah,* John Stevens, to Cartagena with 300 negroes, and would the next day dispatch the *Three Brothers,* James Greenway, with 120 to the Windward Coast.

[83] [1] Add. MSS. 25496, p. 52.

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 56.

[84] [1] Add. MSS. 25555, ff. 22v-23, pp. 42-43. Stanhope was Secretary of State for the southern department.

Necessary Care ought to be taken to prevent Negros being brought from Jamaica, and Sold upon the Coast,[2] for it Seems very easy to Obtain Sufficient Instructions from his Majesty to the Gov'rs of the Several Islands not to Suffer any Negros to be brought to this Coast, as also to procure Directions for all Comand'rs of his Majestys Ships to Seize on any Ships or Vessels Bound to This Coast with Negros giving them for their Encouragement a Certain part, and, if it were possible, to get Commiss'rs from the King of Spain to Seize and take any Negros Coming to this Coast. . . .

85. Gerrard Gore, James Phipps, and Robert Blean to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cape Coast Castle 11th of June 1715.

Have not been able to Compleat the *Royal Africa's* Complement by 45 Slaves. They had but little assistance by the Slaves bro't from Gambia and Sherbrow per the *Dorothy*. The *Royal Africa* purchas'd but 36 Slaves, The *Dorothy* 39, and 104 were made up from the Castle. They come out at 3 oz. 14 ac. per head which is one Ounce per head Cheaper than any Interloper can purchase them on that part of the Coast.

The English Interlopers continue to Infest that Coast, Sev'l being lately Arrived, and Anamaboe is Seldom without Five or Six of them, and Shidoe Constantly frequented by them.

86. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Court of Directors.[1]

June 15, 1715.

The Court took up by Balott, according to the By Law in that behalf The *Dunwich Merchant* Capt. Blake, to carry 500 Negroes from Whidah to Jamaica [2] and the *Resolution* Capt. Trahern for 230 Negroes from the Gold Coast to Jamaica. . . .

A Petition of Mr. Isaac Fernandes Nunez on behalf of the Owners and Freighters of the *May Flower* Sloop relating to the said Sloops being Seized with 200 Negroes in the Spanish West Indies and Carried into Porto bello, was read,

Ordered That it be an Instruction to the Comittee of Correspondence That when they write to the Companys Factors at

[2] The letter from Cartagena which helped to bring about this letter to Stanhope reported that 16 negroes, brought from Jamaica, had been sold for from 115 to 120 pieces of eight. *Ibid.*

[85] [1] T. 70: 6, p. 18.

[86] [1] Add. MSS. 25496, pp. 79-80, 129.

[2] At Jamaica the *Dunwich Merchant* was to place her negroes on board sloops, to be carried to Porto Bello or Cartagena. News of the arrival of this vessel at Jamaica with 543 negroes reached the company on May 16, 1716. *Ibid.*, pp. 102, 238.

Carthegena or Panama they give them directions to claim the produce of the said Sloop and Cargo by vertue of the Assiento. . . .

August 31, 1715.

Resolved That the Capt. of the *Pearl* taken up to purchase Negroes on the Gold Coast be permitted to buy one half of them on the Windward Coast.

Resolved, That the Comittee of Shiping may Agree with the Owners of the *King Solomon* to purchase Negroes at Jacquin instead of the Gold Coast.[3] . . .

Sept. 14, 1715.[4]

Ordered, That it be an Instruction the Committee of Correspond'ce: to write a Letter to Mr. Woodbridge forbidding him to send to any place whatsoever, Any more Negroes till further order, and to let him know that the Company do not think fitt to buy the *Royal Assiento* Sloop mencioned in his said Letter. . . .

Oct. 5, 1715.[5]

Ordered, That the Committee of the Treasry affix the Company's Seal to one part of the Charterparty of the *Pearl* Galley Capt. Edward Tizard and to the Certificate in Spanish and English That the said Ship is freighted by the Company on account of the Assiento. . . .

A Letter from Mr. Mendes of this day, desiring that the Capt. of the *King Solomon* may have liberty to purchase 50 Negroes on the Gold Coast over and above the 50 which he has leave to purchase on the Windward Coast, was read. Ordered, that the Charterparty be made accordingly.[6]. . . .

1715, Nov. 16.[7]

Ordered, That it be referrd to the Comittee of Correspondence to write to the Companys Agents at Jamaica to dispatch a Sloop with Negroes for La Vera Cruz with orders to the Factors there to make returns in Cochineal or Indigo either by the said Sloop or the *Elizabeth*.[8] . . .

[3] The *Pearl* was to carry 300 negroes from the Gold Coast, the *King Solomon* 340 from Jacquin and the Gold and Windward coasts, to Jamaica, to be transported to Cartagena or Porto Bello. "Minutes" of Aug. 24 and Sept. 14, Add. MSS. 25496, pp. 126, 135.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 143.

[6] The warrants for that day include, "John Hoar Negro prov[isions?] £140 18 *s.* 7 *d.*".

[7] Add. MSS. 25496, p. 161.

[8] The same day the company despatched a letter to the Royal African Company, stating that the owners of the *Elizabeth* charged "dead freight" for 229 negroes and 20 days' "demorage" at Whydah, and asking whether the African Company accepted this charge. Add. MSS. 25555, p. 67.

87. The South Sea Company: Representations to the Marquis of Monteleon.[1]

[December 7, 1715.]

Representations made by the Court of Directors of the South Sea Company to the Marquis of Monteleon, with Answers to them and to the pretensions of the Company concerning the Assiento granted and adjusted with this Court in manner following.

. . . .

2. He [the Marquis of Monteleon] represents and sollicits the Directors that they wou'd please to make the three payments of the dutys due to His Catholick Maj'ty at the End of Octob'r Last N. S. which after the rate of 33 1/3 ps $\frac{8}{8}$ for each ps de India is Calculated may amount to 200,000 p's of $\frac{8}{8}$ Errors excepted So that the Two parcells w'ch ought to be Forthwith paid by the said Gent. in Madrid amounts to 400,000 ps of $\frac{8}{8}$.

Answer of the Company. As to Your Ex'ys demand of the payment at the said Court of Madrid of the 3 payments of the Dutys to his Catholick Majesty said to have become due the End of the month of Oct'r last N. S. The Assientists crave leave to say, That by the 18th Article of the said Contract It is 'specially and positively provided That peace should be proclaimed before any thing of that Contract cou'd be done or the Ass'o take place:[2] And forasmuch as the Peace was not proclaim'd until March 1714 N. S. It was not in the power of the Ass'ts to Introduce any Negroes into the Spanish West Indies between the 1st May 1713 and the 1st May 1714 N. S.

Therefore they Conceive they cannot be Liable to pay any dutys for that Year.

Moreover the Ass'ts have been very well assurd by the ministers of her said late Maj'ty And it is so specially mentioned in the Ass'o to this Company That his C. M. hath consented that the sd. Contract and Add'l Article[3] may take Effect from the 1st day of May 1713 for Introducing Negroes into the Spanish West Indies And for

[87] [1] Add. MSS. 25562, ff. 40-55, pp. 75-105. The selection here printed begins at f. 42, p. 79. Disputes over the interpretation of the assiento began almost before the signatures were dry on the document itself, and continued until the contract was finally abrogated. They are long, involved, and often unilluminating; they are also extremely difficult to abridge without omitting some point vital to the cumbersome argument. The statement which follows, with its summing-up of complaints, answers, and counter-answers, illustrates the character of the complaints which were constantly being sent to the Spanish court or to the Spanish ambassador by the company, or from the Spaniards to the company.

[2] Article XVIII. forbids further trade by the French after May 1, 1713, and grants to the company power to seize French vessels attempting to introduce negroes. It does not specifically forbid trade before peace has been proclaimed. Article XII. does make the inauguration of English activities in the Spanish ports depend upon the proclamation of peace.

[3] The "additional" article granted the privilege of introducing a vessel of 500 tons annually, loaded with general merchandize, to be sold at the yearly fair.

the other purposes in the said Contract mention'd shall Commence continue and be reckoned from the 1st May 1714 N. S.[4] . . .

And Forasmuch as the s'd Contract was not assigned to this Company till the 7th Sep'r last [1714] Whereby it will be Impossible for these Ass'ts to introduce into the Spanish West Indies the full Number of 4800 Negroes before the 1 May next N. S. Altho' they have used and are using their utmost endeavours for doing thereof The Ass'ts do hope That the dutys of the present year will not be Exacted with rigour but rather his C. M. will be Content with the Dutys for this year for Such a number of Negroes as they shall have Introduced before the 1 May next And the rather for that it will be impossible for them for this present year 1714 to Reap the benefit of Sending the Ship of 500 Tuns granted them by the s'd Add Article. And his C. M. may be assured That for the future the payment of the dutys shall be punctually performed according to the Tenor of Contract.

Reply to this Answer. In this Condition are two parts: The first is an agreement from 1st May 1713 that the Assiento should run for account of the English Company till they had taken possession of the Same nor afterwards neither the French Comp'y nor any other Person can Introduce a Slave into the Indies and in Case they do His Catho: Maj'ty will Declare them (as he does by these presents Declare them) Confiscated and Lost in favour of the Assientists and as the Contract shou'd be Signed as it was done they were to send Circular Orders to the Indies that they should not admit any Negroes of the French Comp'y in any of their Ports and the Same was to be notified to their Agent in this Court and in Effect. The one and the other was done accordingly.[5] . . .

The Two Conditions being proposed accordingly to the Letter it seems the Company value themselves on the latter only forgetting the letter of the former which indispensably requires that from the 1st May 1713 the Assiento should run for their Account to pay yearly Dutys of the 4000 p's for tho' it is articled by the 5th Article that the Introduction shou'd be 4800 p's yearly the dutys were payable on the 4000 only His Maj'ty excusing the 800 in regard of the Interest and risque which might attend the Assientists in the payment and Anticipation in this Court of the Dutys which correspond to the 4000 p's Moreover for that it was agreed that from the Aforesaid Day the French Company should determine requiring Circular Orders for that End from whence it follows they deprived the Royal Haz'da[6] from receiving yearly the Dutys from the French who

[4] The failure to proclaim peace promptly also deprived the company of the profits of the ship of 500 tons, for 1713.

[5] The second part refers to the publication of peace before the execution of the contract.

[6] The royal treasury.

would have paid the same and now the English Company excuse the doing it when we ought not to ask it of the French because of the prohibition. And if that was not done at the request of the English they cannot value themselves upon their Appeal in excusing themselves by what is Expressed in the End of the Article for they have against them the most plain and repeated Cause by their own Action which they ought not to deny as a proof of both the first part and the second. . . .

As to the part that says that till the Publication of the peace they could not make use of the Assiento this is to be understood in regard to all its parts for the reasons alledged not as to the indispensable payment of the annual Dutys. First for that prohibition actually was laid on the French Company without which they had paid it nor ought nor can His C Maj'ty loose the same receiving them from the one or the other And on the part of France the same was denyed them. Second For that as soon as the peace was proclaimed and even before there required an Indeterminate Time to prepare their Vessells for without them they could not put the Introduction in Practice which defect cannot be imputed to his Catho: Maj'ty tho it may to the Comp'y who for their own particular ends may have Suspended the Same.

And finally the 3rd is an undeniable argument that the Assiento is agreed for 30 years with the Express Clause to begin and run from the 1st May 1713 to the said day 1743 as by the first article And by Consequence the Exact Introduction of 120,000 Slaves p's of India in that Time and to pay indispensably for the Customs of them after the rate of 33 1/3 p's $\frac{8}{8}$ the payment stipulated to be made in this Court without dispute and Controversy in two only Times by half Every 6 Months. Now whether they introduce them or not the Accidents attending the same will no ways Affect the Royal Haz'da as to the dutys Whatever it does as to the Quarter part of the profits and so it follows what they shall not introduce in those months they may in the following For in the 6th Article it is Expressed that the Assientists shall have power after introducing the 4800 in Each year (which they may do during the 25 first Years) to introduce what more they please, paying half dutys which Exorbitant Clause the Comp'y have not regarded And by the want of them they will make the greater gain on those they may Introduce, as likewise in the Value of Such as shall be Seized and Indulted for being introduced After the prohibition, Since for this End they require the dispatches for the Same the receipt of which they cannot deny nor the use of them even before the Publication, and by the 8th Article is only Limited the Price as to Santa Martha, Cumana and Maricaiba but elsewhere they may sell at the highest price they can. And the ir-

regular pretension of the Company is the more Evident in that they Excuse the payment of the said dutys and oppose the satisfying them even after the Publication of the Peace to the beginning of May 1715 forwards when the former reasons neither admit of delay, Reply nor excuse In that they ought to have done it from the 1 May 1713. The Damages they suppose to receive in being obliged to pay the dutys of the Time past tho they have had no Introduction were foreseen at the Time of the Contract So as to have obliged them to the indispensable payment of the dutys from the 1st May 1713, Since it appears by the End of the Assiento His Catho: Maj'ty in consideration thereof Granted them that were to have the same a License of 500 Tuns for every year to commence and Trade for 30 Years which favour is Superabundant and without any Example of former Assiento.

Addition to this Reply. 2. This Answer contains all the Arguments to confute and convince the Company for tho in another reply as will hereafter appear they recriminate that the Gov'r of Carthagena refused to admit 175 Negroes sent in a sloop from Jamaica because the peace was not proclaimed tho they shewed him the Translation of the Assiento signed by the Secretary of the Council of the Indies and a Letter from the Gov'r of Jamaica whence they argue that they are not Obliged to pay the Dutys of the year 1713 And That Even of 1714 they ought only to pay for so many as shall appear to have been introduced. The Aforesaid Answer Comprehends even a Satisfaction to this new Excuse for this only shews an Indiscreet restriction of the Gov'r of Carthagena and Consequently a prejudice to the Interest of the Company but as His Catho: Maj'ty in this particular is comprehended as he partakes of the Comp'y he cannot likewise be prejudiced in the Dutys which Result from the Contract as a (Regalia) Acknowledgement for the Introduction of the same is prescribed to the Term of 30 Years. It is reduced likewise to the Introduction of 12,000 p's in that term which being done in the Time remaining not only compensate this but even an advantage accrues for be it as it will this is a Merchandize like others Introduced into the Indies and with the advantage of a greater necessity there having been none admitted in the preceeding year. The price encreases in proportion to their Scarcity and without a Miracle the profit must be the greater than had the Introduction been Continued. But were to be supposed it should not so happen these Accidents ought not to prejudice the Duty of the Regalia to His Catho: Maj'ty for he perfected the Contract the 1 May 1713 as to what was his part delivering into their hands this Jewell *(Alheja)* that he had deposited in those of the French for the price agreed, which His Catho: Maj'ty has lost from that day prohibiting them the Introduction and Im-

powering the new Comp'y to whom he had transpassed the Contract that they should confiscate for themselves the pieces of Negroes that the Company of France shall have introduced from that day. . . .

The Companys Answer, writt to Mr. Bowles 11 March[*?*] *1714/5.*

7. The Companys Agents at Jamaica have sent from thence a Sloop with 175 Negroes to Carthagena under the direction of Tho's Wood with a Certificate under the Companys Seal Importing that the Negroes were for Account of the Company An Orig'l attested Assiento Contract, A Letter from the Govern. of Jamaica to the same effect and the Proclamation of the Peace between Great Britain and Spain Notwithstanding which the Gov'r of Carth'a would not admitt the aforesaid Negroes upon pretence that the Peace was not regularly notified, without which he would not suffer them to be landed and sold there: This lessens not but it adds to the Strength of the Companys reasons why they should be eased from the charge of the dutys for the year 1713. And that for the year 1714 they should not pay for more than they can import.

Pretention. 10. That having liberty by the 25th Art. to carry Negroes from one port to another for the Supply of the Countrys that may want them most, there ought to be an Abatement of the dutyes in each Port for such Negroes as shall be there Shipt so that the Compa. shall not pay double dutyes: Only in those ports where they are sold they be obliged to pay under the regulation of the 15 days granted in the 25th Art. And this as often as it shall happen so that the Compa. may not be prejudiced by those Neg's which may happen to dye in their passage.

Answer. 10. That in the 25th Art. of the Assiento is expressly provided the form of debiting and paying the Customs of the Negros in the Ports and the Certifications of the Royal Officers that ought to intervene, that the Dutyes may not be paid twice so that nothing ought to be altered herein.

Pretension. 11. It is necessary that License be given to Erect such buildings in the Places assignd the Compa. as may Secure the Negroes from running away or falling upon the Fact'rs and for their Security against their Insults and where Ships may conveniently Anchor near the Settlement in the River Plate and that it be deliverd what parcels of Land his C. M. will please to assign according to the 9th Art. and the Preliminaryes of the Peace.

Answer. 11. As to this pretension His CM. will intirely comply with the Capitulations in Art. 9 and 35th,[7] in which this Assumption

[7] Art. IX. "It being hereby declared, that her Britannick Majesty, and the Assientists in Her Name, may hold in the said River of Plata some parcels of Land, which His Catholick Majesty shall appoint or assign, . . . sufficient to plant, to cultivate, and breed Cattle therein, for the subsistence of the Persons belonging to the Assiento, and their Negroes; they shall be allowed to build Houses there of Timber, and

is treated of so that in Consequence of the 35th he will permitt them to Rent in the parts of their Factoryes the lands that they shall want to Sow and Cultivate with the Necessaryes for the maintenance of their Factoryes Equipping of their Vessels and Slaves they being in the same form as in the said Art. is expressed. . . .

For all the other Specious pretences which they would introduce to Solicit larger Extentions contrary to those Capitulated are of such evil Faith as likewise groundless and of bad Consequences For the extraordinary Cheapness of the Country in their maintenance, the abundance of Flesh at little or no Cost, the prohibition or impossibility of planting Vinyards or other Fruits of that Nature in that land, and the dispisable Supposition or Jealousy that the miserable Blacks naked unarmed and in so weak a Condition as they arrive from the Ships Should they run away or rebell in the Short time they are kept betwixt their Arrival and Sale makes these disguised pretences plainly dispiseable and therefore under the precautions Stipulated in the Assiento they will be complyed with as the same is expressed in this Declaration and for the Execution and practice thereof such Dispatches shall be given the Co. as may be necessary or they may require.

Pretension. 12. That in the 10th Art. only is a power granted to Freight Ships in Panama etc.[8] Whereas the French had power to build or buy Ships in Panama or in any other Port of the South Seas Where are Yards for building: The Compa. desire the Same, if not sufficiently provided for in the 39th Art.

Answer. 12. In the 10th Art. quoted by the Company is provided that they may freight Imbarcations to Introduce their Slaves in the Provinces of the South Sea and in the 39th Art. are granted them all the Conditions contained in former Assientos So that both in the one and the other the Letter ought to be Observed.

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not of any other Materials, and they shall not throw up the Earth, nor make any the least (or slightest) Fortification." Art. XXXV. "For the refreshing and preserving in Health the Negro Slaves, which they shall import into the West Indies, after so long and painful Voyage, and to prevent any Contagious Illness or Distemper amongst them, the Factors of this Assiento shall be allowed to hire such Parcels of Land as they shall think fit, in the neighbourhood of the Places where the Factories shall be established, in order to Cultivate the said Lands, and make Plantations in which they may raise fresh Provisions for their Relief Subsistence". . .

[8] Art. X. "In order to the carrying and introducing of Black Slaves into the Provinces of the South Sea, Liberty is to be granted, as it is hereby granted to the Assientists, to freight either at Panama or in any other Dock or Part of the South-Sea, Ships or Frigats of about Four hundred Tons little more or less, on board which they may Ship them at Panama, and carry them to all the other Ports of Peru, and no others on that side". . . . Art. XXXIX. "That all the concessions in the former Assientos . . . not being contrary to the Contents of this Contract, shall be understood and declared to be in its Favor, as if they [were] herein literally inserted; and that all the orders that have at any time been dispatched in Favor of those forementioned assientists shall be granted to these whenever they shall ask them, without any Doubt or Difficulty."

Pretension. 13. It is stipulated by the 22 Art. That whatsoever Merch'dz shall be found on board the Ships shall be forfeited and liable to the same penalty as if landed:[9] whereas it often happens, that they cannot sell all the Merchandize on the Coast of Africa which are carried for the purchase of Negroes and the Ships carry them together w'th the Negroes to the ports of the Indies It is reasonable that liberty be given to deposit them in the Kings Warehouses and to bring them back again at their departure provided notice be given upon arrival.

Answer. 13. In the 22. Art. which the Compa. mentions is seen the highest Importance to prohibit the Vessels that come with Negroes from bringing any Merchandize on any pretext whatsoever: or the remedy of which the penalties are explained in the said Art. And the Compa. are desirous to pervert a thing so duly considerd under pretence that the merchandize which should remain unsold upon the Coast of Africa for the purchase of Negroes and with the Justification of depositing the same in the King's Warehouse to carry them away again And granting the first may happen and the Second may be practiced, doubtless it is a thing that the Company had present at the time of the Assiento And if the same was proposed then and not admitted, it ought not to be done now and much less if having then Concealed it with an evil design they propose it now with equal Sincerity they ought to abide by what is expressed in the 22th Art. without extend'g it in the least: For doubtless from thence an Infinite Number of Frauds would arise. It is enough that the means to avoid them are not so punctually provided as they ought.

Pretension. 14. The Assientists having power by the 25 Art. to return their Effects in the fruits and produce of the Country, they desire a liberty to go to the Bays of Campeachy and Honduras etc. to Cutt and Load Logwood.

Answer. 14. This Pretension of the Compa. Comprehends what is very far from the nature of the Contract: For in the 25 Art. is provided that they may Carry out the Fruits of the Indies such as they shall receive in payment for the Blacks they shall sell so that asking a Liberty to go to the Bays of Campeachy and Honduras to cutt and Load Wood, they ask an Extension not to be granted: For this belongs to his Maj'ties natural Subjects, without being able to participate the same to others and it suffices that the Compa. carry out after this manner as from the rest of the other parts what they shall acquire by the Sale of the Negroes.[10]

[9] The forbidden merchandize was to be burnt, those responsible for it to be excluded from all employment under the assiento. Art XXII., a long one, betrays the Spanish determination that the introduction of negroes shall not be a means of bringing in general merchandize.

[10] "Read in Court 7 Dec'r, 1715."

88. The South Sea Company to the Jamaica Factors.[1]

South Sea House,
London, 6 Feb'ry 1716.

Messrs. Thompson, Pratter and Hazelwood,

Gent'n, . . . We Note your Dispatching the *King Solom'n* with 289 Negros for porto Bello As Also the *pearl* Gally with 149 Negros for the same place, After taking out the Refuse, Which We should be glad you had supplied; not only because our Panama Factory advise us of the Want of them, but also for that We are obliged by Our Charter Partys to Pay Freight for the whole Number Bro't to Jamaica: Tho We Cannot but approve the not doing on it now for the Reason you give us of the Extravagant Price.

We renew our Former Directions that you take Care to Supply our Several Factorys with Negros as they write for them, And hope we shall be able from our Own ships to Furnish them But if not We must leave it to you to Buy them, if to be Had at reasonable prices.

We observe what you write Concern'g the Inconvenience arising to the Negroes from the Capts. taking in an Unreasonable Number above his Complement, which was the Case of the *King Solomon*. To prevent which for the Future we have Restrained all our Com'drs from purchasing with the surplus of their Cargoes above 6 Negros for every 100 they are taken up for: The Remainder of their Cargos being to be Invested in Gold or Elephants Teeth, for which We allow them a Commission.

The Number each Ship is Taken up for will appear by Our Instructions, and Copy of the Charter party, which each Comand'r takes with him, which you may peruse.

We Note your advice That of the *King Solomons* Negros, 1 Woman and 4 Children did not in Respect to their Ages Conform to the Charter party, and Desire you will Continue to give us Timely Notice of what ever Occurs Contrary to our Agreem'ts

Capt Cowards Rec't for 1000 pieces of 8 paid him by our Factors at porto Belo for Commission (instead of Freight as you and he agreed) and his Doct'rs Rec't for 55 pieces of 8 1 R'l paid by you for head Money, and also the said Capts. Rec't for 1046 : 10. paid by you For Freight are Come to Hand, and you will be Credited accordingly.

The Acco't of Sales of the 81 Refuse Negros per the *pearl*, and of their Charges is Come to Hand, the Net produce being £905. 13. 5½ which when Examined we shall Acquaint you therew'th.

[88] [1] Add. MSS. 25563, pp. 6-7.

The *King Solomon* is safely arrived, and has Deliverd us according to the Bills of Lading, The Teeth and returnd Goods, which you took out of the *Pearl*. . . .

We approve your Buying out of the *Mercy* from the Gold Coast the 154 Negros and sending 140 of them in our Brigantine with the provisions Mentioned in Capt. Farrils Rec't to the Havanah: . . .

We Note your shiping on Board the *Newport* under the Direction of our Factor Mr. Cumberlege for St. Iago de Cuba 14 Negros, being the Remainder of those you purchased out of the *Mercy*, with 2 Negro Men Bought afterwards, and giving the proper Passes: We are Glad to hear Negros sell so well on that Island, and Desire you to supply his Demands. . . .

Since Ours of the 8th June wherein We Informed you that We had Actually sent Out three ships for About 1000 Negros And that We Were taking up Ships for About 2000 More for Guinea, and your Island, We have now in part of the said 2000 Dispatched the Following ships *vizt.*

The *Clapham* Capt. Peal Dispatched in August last for	230
The *Prince* Capt. Snelgrove Dispatched the same mo.	350
The *Indian Queen* Capt. Mabbot Dispatched in Nov'r Last	390

And shall give you Notice when we Dispatch others for the'r better Governm't. . . .

We Understand That Notwithstanding your Endeav'rs in the Comp's behalf against the Bill for Imposing a Duty on Our Negros exported from your Island, that the same is passed.[2] We shall do what We Can here to prevent its taking Effect and in the Mean Time desire you to take the precautions you propose *vizt.* That none of our Ships Come into Your Harbour, but Lye at the Cays till Dispatched.

Our Factory at Vera Cruz advise us That the beginning of May Last Came in there a Sloop from Jamaica One Nixon Comand'r with 73 Negros bound as he pretended to Carolina, and obliged to put in there for Water etc. What Steps Our Factory have taken for Seizing them pursuant to the Assiento they have not advised us. We have Great reason to beleive she Came in there to sell her Negros, and what ever else she had on Board. We should be Glad to have from you an Acco't of this Affair and who were the persons Concerned in it, And Must repeat what We formerly Desired That you Timely advise as opportunity offers not Only us but our several

[2] On Feb. 28, 1716, the company asked that the duty of 40 *s.* which Jamaica had placed on negroes exported from the island be disallowed, since it would be a heavy charge on those negroes landed for refreshment only before they were sent to Spanish ports. In the end it would be a loss to Jamaica by causing negroes to be sent directly to their destinations. The subject was considered by the Board of Trade in March. Add. MSS. 25496, pp. 196-199, 206; 25550, p. 45; 25555, pp. 95-96; *B. T. Jour.*, 1714-1718, pp. 120, 121, 122.

Factorys of all Designs you can find out of any Clandestine Voyages that the Necessary precautions may be taken for Seizing them on Arrival. . . .

P.S. This Comes by the *London* Frygt being the Ship We Wrote you in our Last we would send for Vera Cruz, on Board which you are to Ship with all Expedition not Exceed'g 150 Negros and Dispatch her as soon as possible for Vera Cruz. We shall in Less than a Fortnight Dispatch the *Herbert* Gally for Cathagena to bring home the Effects of the *Bedford*[3] Cargo She will have Orders to touch at your Island to take in not Exceed'g 200 Negros Which We Direct you to provide for her And Dispatch her to Carthagena as soon after her Arrival with you as possible they being to stay but 15 Days with you by Charter party.

89. The South Sea Company to the Factors at Vera Cruz.[1]

South Sea House,

Londo. 8 Febry 1716.

Concerning Indultos Confiscat's and Illicit Trade and Cedulas and processes relating thereto.

1st We Note what you Write in a former Letter of the 29 Nov'r 10 Dec'r 1715, That you had got possession 9 Negros Clandestinely introduced from Campeachy, and that a Law Suit was Like to Ensue thereupon, but you have been Silent ever since as to the Issue.

2. It appears from your Letters of Correspond'e between yourselves, and Mr. Thorowgood, which we have read, That a Sloop from Jamaica Josiah Nixon Comd'r came into your Port w'th 73 Negros bound as Pretended to Carolina and forced in for Water etc.: And that you advised with Mr. Thorowgood to buy them, and their Provisions, and some Wine And that he procured leave from the vice Roy for that purpose at 120 pieces of 8 per head.

If you had Studied our Interest you would have Made the proper Application to have got them seized and Condemned pursuant to the Assiento, and not have Consulted the Buying them, and thereby given an Encouragem't to carry on that Illicit Trade, to the Detriment of our Own: We have great reason to Beleive this Sloop, came in to sell her Negros, and Whatever Else she had on Board, And We Cannot but Resent it, That you have not thought fit to Acquaint us with any thing relating to this affair which together with the Familiarity, that seems to be between the Capt. and your Selves gives us

[3] The *Bedford* was one of the two ships, carrying merchandize, allowed to the company by the king's cedula of 1714.

[89] [1] Add. MSS. 25563, pp. 14-15. "To Messrs. Thomas Bedell, Will'a Clark, John Newton, John Strode, and David Patton, Factors at Vera Cruz."

no little Suspicion, that it was Concerted at Jamaica: We Expect from you a True Account of the Costs Expences and Produce of these Negros, And as you sell our Negros, or any other Goods for our Acco't tho you have not Time to Compleat the Acco't of Sales, Give us particular Items of all your proceedings from Time to Time in your Letters.

You will do well to let us Know if any Negros have been Clandestinely Introduced Since our Assiento.

90. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Court of Directors.[1]

1716, May 16.

Resolved, That this Court agree with the King of Spains proposition for one hundred Negroes to be delivered at St. Domingo, and that the Comittee of Correspondence write to Barbadoes to procure the said Negroes.[2] . . .

The Court took into consideration Mr. Woodbridge's Proposition relating to a Sloop and some Negroes sent to Havanah mentioned in his Letter of the 14th Febr'y last.[3] . . .

June 6, 1716.[4]

Mr. Chester having several Correspondents at Barbadoes Ordered That he or any other Gentn. of the Court write to their Correspondents there to send Proposals for supplying the Windward Coast with negroes according to the Assiento.[5] . . .

[90] [1] Add. MSS. 25496, p. 237.

[2] The king had asked that 100 negroes, all men between the ages of 25 and 35, be supplied at Santo Domingo, the price to be 250 pieces of eight per head. Jan. 31, 1715/6, Add. MSS. 25550, p. 43v. In 1717 the company wrote to Mr. Bowles that of the negroes sent to Santo Domingo the governor had refused 40, who later were sold in Havana for 300 pieces of eight per head (letters to Bowles, Apr. 8, June 6, 1717, Add. MSS. 25563, pp. 59-60, 75). The contract was eventually carried out: "Ordered That it be referr'd to the Comittee of Correspondence to send Mr. Bowles the Certificates transmitted from St. Domingo of the delivery there of the 100 Negroes p's of India pursuant to the King of Spain's cedula in Order that the amount may be made good to the company out of the duties which shall next become payable to his Catho. Majesty." Minutes, July 10, 1717, Add. MSS. 25497, p. 98.

[3] "Ordered That a Mulct of One hundred P's of $\frac{8}{8}$ be put on Mr. Woodbridge for every Negroe which shall be delivered alive from on board the *Prince* Sloop at the Havana and Ten per cent on the first Cost of the Flower and Provisions carried in her thither and that the said Sloop and Cargoe be on Mr. Woodbridge's account" (Minutes, May 25, Add. MSS. 25496, p. 241). On May 24 the committee of correspondence had considered Mr. Woodbridge's adventure. He had purchased and sent to Havana 14 negroes with provisions, without the company's orders. This was considered to be in violation of the assiento. In August the committee apparently learned that in this venture the *Royal Prince* had carried 50 negroes, and that he had also sent the *Philip 5th* with 60. It was the opinion of the committee that these must all be upon his own account and that he must pay 100 p's of $\frac{8}{8}$ for each negro delivered, with 10 per cent. on the first cost of provisions (Minutes of the Com. of Correspondence, May 24 and Aug. 30, Add. MSS. 25550, pp. 51, 62). Despite the fact that the ventures were to be Woodbridge's the company placed £4500 insurance on the two sloops. Add. MSS. 25496, pp. 299, 302.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 251-252.

[5] Thompson, Morris, and Pratter, the Jamaica agents, were instructed to send someone to Havana to recover duties on negroes unlawfully introduced.

Report of Vessels already taken up for negroes.

The *Royal Africa* Captn. Foot, for the Gold Coast and Jamaica or the Spanish West Indies for	240 Negros	
The *John* Galley Captn. Dunckley for the same Places	260	
	500 negroes	
The *Sarah* Galley Captn. Bloom for Madagascar and Buenos Ayres for	400	
The *Catherine* Captn. Heartsease for Whidah or Jaquin and Jamaica or the Spanish West Indies for	500	
The *George* Captn. Malthus for Angola and Buenos Ayres for . .	540	
		1940

Those Proposed to be taken up are as follows

	negroes	
1 Ship more for Whidah for	500	
3 Ships more for the Gold Coast	900	
1 for Angola	400	
1 for Gambia and Parts adjacent	300	
1 for the Windward Coast	300	
		2400
		4340

Ordered That the said Comittee[6] do forthwith treat and agree for ships accordingly.

91. Mr. Baillie to the Royal African Company.[1]

Whidah, June 25, 1716.

The Great Number of Ships has rais'd the price of Slaves. At his first Coming he could have bot the best Men for 100 ls of Cowries, 12 Fuzees,[2] One Anchor of French Brandy or Rum, Five Rolls of Tobacco and 25 Sletias, Whereas now they give Seven Rolls of Tobacco, 36 Sletias, 136 ls of Cowries, 2 Anchors of Brandy and 15 or 16 Fuzees. His predecessors Sunk the Co's Stock and Reputation. Desires Mr. Welch may be recall'd. Gives an Instance of his Imprudence by his Endeavours to Incence the King the Dutch and French ag'st Mr. Baillie. Has reced. of Messrs. Welch and Branston what they had overcharg'd in Sallaries amo. to NK 2 : 5 : 5 : 4½ and of Mr. Branston Oz 4 : 2 : 10 due from Mr. Errington, which was said to be NK 1 : 1 : 6 : 10. has also reced. the Ballance of Mr. Green's and Robt. King's Estates, amo. to NK 1 : 1 : 5 : 1 as for the Money said to be Delivered by Mr. Green as the balance of his accts to Messrs. Mason, Welch and Branston, it Never was De-

[6] The committee on shipping. The vessels engaged in the next few months were the *Prince,* 350 negroes; the *Clapham,* 230 negroes; the *African,* 230; the *Indian Queen,* 390; and the *St. Quintin,* the *William and James,* and the *Woosley.* Minutes, Aug. 2, 22, Sept. 26, Dec. 12, Add. MSS. 25496, pp. 288, 300, 320, 358.

[91] [1] T 70: 6, p. 40.

[2] Flint-lock muskets.

livered, but given to the King as per Capt'n Simpson's declaration: tho' Messrs. Welch and Branston say Mr. Green was willing to Deliver it. Has reced. the Stores per Capt'n Sanders, except a Cask of Nails: Most of the people there have been Sick, he presented Capt'n Sanders with a Man Slave for his passage and Care of the Compa's Stores. Capt'n Coward gave his Tongue a great deal of Liberty in reflecting on the Co. saying they were broken, and that he came from the great Compa. of England. Observes an over Charge of powder in Messrs. Welch and Branston's Accounts.[3]

92. Jamaica and the Assiento.[1]

The Island of Jamaica flourished till the Year 1716, and a considerable Trade was carried on, to near as great a Value as ever was before; and they employed from twelve to fifteen hundred Men in that Trade, which was a great Defence upon Occasion, as well as a Benefit accruing to them from so many Men spending their Money there. And indeed no small Number of these were properly Inhabitants, as being either married, or born there. But in the Year 1716, when the Assiento Factors settled in the West-Indies, that Trade, which was of such prodigious Advantage to that Island, and by which they could gain from twenty-five to thirty per Cent. Monthly, and which was generally allowed to bring in from three to four hundred thousand Pistoles a Year, was, tho' not quite destroyed, yet so affected thereby, as to be rendered very inconsiderable and more precarious: So that it is thought at present, that by the Assiento Company, and private Traders together, there are not near one half of the People now employed that used to be. The ill Effects of this upon the Island of Jamaica are visible and palpable. Whether this Assiento Company have made a better hand on't since they have been concerned, deserves the Enquiry of those who regard the Publick Good. They hitherto have not enjoyed one half of their Time free in Trade, and yet are obliged to pay the whole Duties to the King of Spain, conformable to their Contract, with all other their excessive Charges so constantly increasing. In short, if the Company can make it appear that they have got any thing by the Contract,

[3] On Nov. 20 Baillie wrote: "The prices of Slaves at his arrival were, For men 100 ls. of Cowries and Pow[d]er, 12 Fuzces, 25 Sletias, 5 Rolls of Tobacco, and an Anchor of French brandy. And for Women 40 Iron bars, 80 ls Brass and 4 Rolls of Tobacco. The prices at present are for Men 130 ls. Cowries, 150 ls powder, 12 Guns, 36 Sletias 1½ anchor of French brandy, And 7 Rolls of Tobacco. The price of Women is much the Same as before. But such Slaves as are fitt for Portugueze (which must be without beard and almost as fine as wax work) are not to be bot under 20 per Ct advance on those prices. at Jacquine, Slaves are plenty but dear being in Cowries at 140 ls. and in Fuzees at 15. but the goodness makes amends." T 70: 6, p. 50.

[92] [1] From *The Importance of the British Plantations in America to this Kingdom: with the State of their Trade, and Methods of Improving it: as also a Description of the Several Colonies there* (London, 1731), pp. 43-44.

they ought to go on and be encouraged; but if it should appear that the Nation has lost by the Bargain, and that one of the most valuable Trades and Islands which we have abroad is well nigh ruined, or in Danger thereby; in stead of sueing to the Spaniards for their Favour in granting us a Trade, which some apprehend to be so much to our Advantage, it is high time to get off from the Contract, and make sure of that which we know hath been, and may again be beneficial. . . .

93. The South Sea Company to the Factors at Panama.[1]

South Sea House

London 15th Janry, 1717.

Gent'n, Whereas We have appointed Dudley Woodbridge Esqr. to be Our Agent and Director General at the Island of Barbadoes and for the Windward Coast, the Island of Cuba, St. Augustine and the Coast between the River Nicorago and the City of Campeachy, both River and city inclusive for the managing our affairs relating to the Assiento and such other Matters as We shall think fit to commit to his Trust, Care and Management, And have delivered to him Blank Licences or Passes under the Common Seal of the Company signed by Daniel Wescomb Our Secretary all dated in London the 18th December last (and to be countersigned by the said Mr. Woodbridge and sealed with the Company's arms without Supporters) For Introducing from the Island of Barbadoes into such Port or Ports in the North Seas of the Spanish West Indies of America such and so many Negroe Slaves *vizt.* men Women, Boys and Girles as the respective Licences or Passes shall specify which Licences or Passes are of Two kinds, One giving Liberty to the Persons taking out the same to transport the Fruits of the Spanish West Indies from one part thereof to another, and the other without such Liberty, And whereas We have also Delivered unto the said Mr. Woodbridge A Power under the Company's Seal dated also the said 18th December for Filling up and Issuing out the said Licences or Passes, upon the Parties taking out the same paying a Certain Indulto, and entring into Articles and Bond with Sureties for the Performance thereof, copies of both sorts of which Licences, And of the Company's Power for filling up and Issuing out the same, And also of the Respective Articles adapted to each sort of Licence as the same are Printed in Blank and Delivered to Mr. Woodbridge you have herewith And Whereas We have also Delivered unto the said Dudley Woodbridge a Power under the Company's Seal dated the 18th Dec'r

[93] [1] Add. MSS. 25563, pp. 222-224. "To Gilbert Grimes Esqr. and the rest of the Factors of the Royal Assiento Company of Great Britain at Panama."

authorizing him or his Substitutes in the name and to the use of the company to Seize and Confiscate or lay an Indulto on all negroes unduly Imported, or which shall be unduly imported, as well before as since the Present Assiento, into all or any the Ports or Places of the Windward Coast from the Rio Oronoco to the Rio Grande Magdalena, both Rivers Inclusive, Including also therein the Islands of Hispaniola, St. Juan de Puerto Rico, Trinidad, Margaritas and all other Islands and Places within those Limits And Likewise St. Augustine on the Shore of Florida and the Spanish Coast between the River Nicorago and the City of Campeachy both River and City Inclusive with power to Mark all Negroes so Seized confiscated or Indulted and to give the necessary Certificates and Dispatches concerning the same, copy of which last mentioned Power also you have herewith: And for the better enabling the said Mr. Woodbridge to transact our affairs with success, We have delivered to him several cedulas and circular Letters from the King of Spain to his Governours in the Indies which he is accordingly to present. And whereas We have put the Factories at the Havana and St. Iago de Cuba under the care and management of the said Mr. Woodbridge, He is to Supply the same as also all the Island of Cuba, with such Negroes, Stores and Provisions as the said Factories shall from time to time write for, or as he in his discretion shall think may be there sold to advantage or used.

You are to take notice, that in case any Person taking out a Licence with Liberty of Transporting the Fruits of the Country as aforesaid cannot sell his Negroes at the Particular Port or Ports Limitted by his Licence, In such Case the Licenced Persons may carry the Negroes, or so many as he cannot sell at such Port or Ports, to any other Ports of the Spanish West Indies where the Company have Factors residing, and sell them to the said Factors for account of the Company at the Price of 125 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ per p's of India according as the same shall be regulated by the Spanish Royal Officers there, which Negroes you are to take and pay for accordingly giving such a Person a Certificate thereof in order to Mr. Woodbridge's paying him back the Indulto money he paid for the Negroes so sold.

94. Account of Negroes from Jamaica to the Spanish West Indies.[1]

[October 8, 1716-August 3, 1717.]

Account of Negroes sent to the Spanish West Indies on Account of the Assiento from the Island of Jamaica Since the 8th October 1716 the Time when the act took Place as the same was extracted

[1] Add. MSS. 25559, ff. 69v-70, pp. 136-137.

out of the Companys Letter and Accounts for which duties have been demanded.

Ship's Name	Places sent to in the Spanish West Indies	No. of Neg's bot in the Island	No. of Neg's brot to Jamaica in the Cos Ships and sent forward thence in the same Ships without Landing or in Sloops of Jamaica	Total No. of Neg's in each Ship or Sloop	Day when each Ship sailed
George Augustus Brig'ne	Carthagena	20		20	5th Dec. 1716
Ditto	La Vera Cruz	83			
Do. taken out of the *John* Galley from Africa on the Co's Accot			47	130	10th Febry 1716
Roy'l Africa Capt. Foott from Africa on the Co's Accot	Carthagena		186	186	12th Febry 1716
Dragoon Sloop	Portobelo	58			
Do. taken out of the *Jno* Galley from Africa on the Co's Accot			154	212	Do.
Endeavour Sloop	St. Jago de Cuba	75		75	20th Do.
James Brigantine taken out of the *Kath.* from Africa on the Co's Account	Portobelo		250	250	3d March
Spee[d]well Sloop	Carthagena	4			
Do. taken out of the aforesaid Ship *Kath.* from Africa on the Companys Account			6	10	22 March 1716
London	La Vera Cruz	25			
Do. taken out of the *Kath.* afores'd			125	150	4th May 1717
Herbert	Carthagena				
Do. taken out of the *Clapham* Capt. Hallum and the *Kath.* from Africa			160	160	24th Do.
Gree[n]bay Sloop	Portobelo				
Do. taken out of the *Prince* Capt. Snelgrave from Africa			186	186	
Neptune Sloop	St. Iago de Cuba	4			
Do. taken out of the *Kath:* and *Clapham* aforesaid			82	86	5th June 1717
Eagle	Havana	80			
Do. taken out of the *Prince* and *Royal Africa*			52	132	3d Aug'st 1717
		349	1248	1597	
			349		
			1597		

[October 2, 1717.]

95. On Board the *Dorothy*.[1]

At Sea in the Latitude of 20M South Ab'd the *Dorothy,* Mr. Gunsley, John Ayerst writes that there being 184 Slaves put ab'd the *Dorothy* on Capt'n Alwright's accot. pursuant to Charter party dated 19th September 1717, and 36 Slaves on accot of Wm. Johnson Esqr. at £4 per head freight, it was the Gen'l's opinion that some person should be put aboard to see that Justice be done the Compa., he accordingly by Instructions dated 24th Sept. 1717 appointed Mr. Ayerst, for that purpose, and also gave him Sealed Instructions, which were not to be opened, but in case of the Capt'ns Death.

On the 2d of October he opened those Instructions (Capt'n Barry being Dead) and has taken Charge of the Ship accordingly; promises to take care of the Compa's affairs and to follow Instructions. Sends Copies of his Instructions from Wm. Johnson Esqr.

Mr. Johnson's Instructions to Mr. Ayerst are dated the 24th Sept. 1717, and recommend to him the care of the Negroes, and the speedy return of the Ship: To take care that nothing be put ab'd but what belongs to the Compa., and what shall be put ab'd on Mr. Johnson's particular Acco't. To pay Mr. Gohier £4 per head for the 36 Slaves of Mr. Johnson's, And in Case Mr. Gohier be dead or gone for Europe, to buy for the Compa. Seventy barrels of beef, Forty ½ barrels of pork, Sixty barrels of Flower and One thousand Gallons of Rum, And to Remitt the Money that shall remain, out of the freight of the Negroes, to the Compa. in bills payable at sight.

Mr. Johnson by his Sealed Instructions dated 24th Sept. 1717, Constitutes Mr. Ayerst Commander of the *Dorothy* in Case of the Death of Capt'n Barry.

96. Journal of Fort William, Whydah.[1]

Journal of Occurrences, Trade and Changes commencing The 1st October, 1717.

W'me Fort, Whedah.

Oct. 10, 1717 . . . Sent Bank and Fettera to Dedoon to open a correspondence with that King for Trade, that I may have all his Slaves Such as are Good for my Self and the rest to sell for him to Shipp. But withall they are to stipulate it so as that he may not demand more for his Slaves than the common price nor ask better Goods than the Capt'ns at Town give. What Advantages I propose to him is that if I have any Goods better than another which none else shall happen to have, he may take them all unto his hands and by that

[95] [1] T 70: 6, p. 54.
[96] [1] T 70: 1464.

means be able to command them at what price he pleases. As also when there is any certain Sort of Goods which he may want and I have not I can secure them to him either from my Windward factorys or the Shipping So soon as they come into the road. I sent him a wickerd Bottle Sperits with a flask for his head Cabb'r [2] and another for Sabezouga who lives in the way and [has] some Influence with him. . . .

Oct'r 15. Returned Bank and Fettera from Dedoom they acquaint me that the King there Seems mighty well pleased with my proposals and promises to send all his Slaves hither. He sent along with him Two of his Boys and 2 Slaves for Boogus [3] and Sletiaes which being so ill as that I cou'd not purchase sent them to Moses to sell for him to the Eng: Capts. . . .

Nov. 5th . . . Sold a man Slave for 4 : 15 Gold by Peter in Jones's crooms

Lent Moun Bauhus' Son 12 cwt. Cow[ries?] for a Man Slave to Bury his father who died This day . . .

1718 Feb. 2. Sold by Simine Sundry Slaves, *vizt.*

3	Men for	81 Sletias
¼	Do for	15 Gunns
2	Women	16 W Botles
8	Boys	36 Chints
		24 culgees
		6 Romaules
		6 Taff:[4]
		40 I. Barrs
1	Girle for	10 Furees [5]

pd all But 27 Sletiaes.

3rd. Pany'd on Tabogahs head—2 men and rec'd 1 woman in full of his Debt . . .

4th. Sold Capt. Blincko 1 man 1 Boy and 6 Women Slaves for 1 M 1 B . . . 14 Searsimors,[6] Man 8, Boy 6. Sld . . . 108 Blue Perpetts 18 Eac. Sold by Sinome to Capt. Tublay 2 Boys for 240 l. Cowries pd me. . . .

5th. Sold the new portuguese Capt. 8 men Slaves for Gold 43 oz. . . .

March 1st . . . Resolve to buy up all the Slaves I can for any Goods except cowries and sell them again to advantage to Capt. Huntington.

Nota. Daniel Vanchesterfleet haveing some time ago lost some Slaves, which were supposd Stolen by Blanco his Boy haveing assisted

[2] Caboceer.
[3] Bowgies or cowries.
[4] Probably taffetas. Culgees were thin, figured silks.
[5] Probably these are fuzees.
[6] Seersuckers?

the Robbers to Ship him on the way after Takeing his Slaves, I sent a woman on Board Capt. Blinco to Change one that was sold to him, But Baily who was the only man that knew her not being on board I did not get her. However am certainly informed that Capt. Casur sold the Woman as one of his Wives and as such she was markd at his Countrey house and carryd to the Land in the Night. This gives me occasion to reflect on our precarious footting who stay here when he who is the only man Europeans have to depend upon for any pallavor proves himself one of the greatest Rogues. . . .

March 6. Bot: a Boy Slave for 20 I. Barrs—Clois' Received from Daniel Vanchesterfleet 1 man of mine and also a Boy to sell for Tobacco.[7] . . .

97. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence.[1]

October 10, 1717.

An Assortment of 400 Negroes to be deliver'd for the Service of the Royal Assiento Compa. of Great Britain *vizt.*

240 Men from 20 to 25 Years Old
80 Women from 16 to 20 Years
40 Boys from 10 to 15 Years
40 Girls from 12 to 15 Years

400

Qry. At what time to deliver them at Curaseau or on the Coast of Guinea. And the distinct prices of the Men, the Women, and the Children delivered at each respective place and where to be paid.

Qry. The Prices also of the Angola Negroes NB The Women as Near as possible to be all Virgins.

400 is a Supposed Quantity the Company are willing to Engage for more. . . .

98. Dudley Woodbridge to the South Sea Company.[1]

London Octo. 16, 1717.

Gent'n, In Obedience to your Commands relating to my Laying a

[7] The journal continues till June with similar items.

[97] [1] Add. MSS. 25550, p. 84v. The Dutch West India Company, through Lewis Renard, had offered on Oct. 3 to supply the South Sea Company with negroes, delivered at such time and place as the company desired. In reply, the committee of correspondence asked for prices on the list here given. On Nov. 5, Renard submitted an estimate for 800 negroes, which was refused (*ibid.,* pp. 83r, 95v). On Sept. 13, 1717, the committee of correspondence had considered a proposal for a supply of negroes from the Danish island of St. Thomas, where they were to be purchased for 104 pieces of eight per head and sold for 250 in Porto Rico. *Ibid.,* p. 83v.

[98] [1] Add. MSS. 25550, pp. 84-87. "Mr. Woodbridge pursuant to the desire of this Comm'er the 3d Inst. laid before them an Abstract or Short State of the Companys Affairs

Short abstract of the Companys Acco'ts that have been under my Management A Scheme for the better carrying on the Negro Trade And what Offers in relation to Farming the Windward Coast Mine and the Several Factors Acco'ts, being under Examination I shall only Just mention that the Neat proceeds of the Sales of Negroes and provisions that came into my hands Amounted to the Sum of £19,150 : 9 *s.* 3 *d.* Barbados money[2] That what has been paid and Remitted on the Companys Acco't (including the 30,000 p's $\frac{8}{8}$ payable by the King of Spain) Amo'ts to £29,183 : 1 : 8¼ so that there has been more return'd already than I had in my hands to the Value of £10,032 : 12 : 5¼ Barbados money.

In which Abstract it must be Observed there's neither an Acco't of what Duty has been paid to the King of Spain, Of the outstanding Debts belonging to the Company in New Spain nor of the produce of 29 Negroes left by Mr. Ramsay at St. Domingo, 7 of which were sold there and 22 at Maracaybo by Mr. Jonathan Sisson but no Acco't of Sales nor proceeds thereof come to hand.

The Duty to the King of Spain I take to be about £6552 : 18 : Barbados money, The Debts outstanding to be £2029 : 16 and the Produce of the Negroes left by Mr. Ramsay may yeild £1740: So that deducting the two latter Sums from the former there remains £2783 : 2 which taken from the £10,032 : 12 : 5¼ Barbados money after Deduction of Duty and all Charges it will appear there has been actually cleared by the Barbados Account, as to my Transactions of the same, the Sum of 7249 *ll.* 10 *s.* 5¼ *d.*

I can Gentlemen make no further Remarks on the gain or loss of the whole, not having had the first Cost of the Voyages to Africa, the Subsequent Charges thereon; or the Neat proceeds of the Invoices I have forwarded.

In order to have the fullest Views for carrying on the Windward Trade, I shall beg leave in the 1st place to refer to some passages in my Letters and Papers that have been allready transmitted to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors. 2dly To lay before you what Negroes have been Introduced by the Company and how many of them have been sold there. 3dly The present State and Circumstances of the Islands and provinces that are generally esteemed to be in the Barlovento or Windward Coasts of New Spain, and then 4thly Will follow the Methods of the Companys carrying on the Same with

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under his Managem't. Also how the Negro Trade may be carried on to the best Advantage, And also what had Offer'd relating to the Farming out the Windward Trade and referring therein to the Several paragraphs in his Letters and the said Abstract, with the paragraphs of Letters referr'd to were read, which Abstract or State is as follows *vizt.*" Committee of Correspondence, Oct. 17, 1717, Add. MSS. 25550, p. 84.

[2] The rate between sterling and Barbados silver was about 133 to 100; the paper issued early in the century had fallen about forty per cent. below the island's silver. For Barbados, as well as Jamaica, the silver was a miscellaneous collection of Spanish coins.

the helps and Impediments that may happen therein with some Remarks as to former Assientists.[3] . . .

But I shall proceed in the 2d place to Lay before you what Negroes have been imported and Sold by the Company on the Windward Coast.

Though there has been at Times sent thither 521 Negroes yet the Factors could not get Sale there for but 166 in the space of about 19 Months which were Sold at Low prices and in the following places:

At Caracas	103
At Margarita	3
At St. Domingo	38
Transported from St. Domingo and Sold at Maracaybo	22
Negroes	166

And about 6 or 7 piezas des India, at the Island of Trinidad in very small Negroes (Introduced by Messrs. Denneys by way of Indulto) none of the Inhabitants there being able to come up to the price of a Grown Negro.[4] . . .

This being the present State of those provinces let us consider as to the Companys carrying on the Trade which as I conceive if they keep Intire to themselves can be effected but one of these two ways.

1st By settling Factories, Trusting the Inhabitants, taking their produce and Shipping it for Vera Cruz, the Havana and Old Spain. In such case it would be needfull to have 3 Factories one on the Island of Hispaniola, one at Caracas and one at Maracaybo, what the Charges thereof will amo't to may be computed from those already Settled, only these will require more Servants and Carriers for the Countries are Large and the Debtors will often want dunning. The Compa. may Sell greater or Lesser quantitys of Negroes According to the Length of the Credit they give the Planters. The purchasers depending on the Product they get from the Earth by the Labour of those Negroes for payment, I have been inform'd by Letters from those places that the provinces remain Indebted to the Portugueze Assiento above one Hundred Thousand peices of $\frac{8}{8}$ and to the French

[3] Woodbridge had been an indefatigable correspondent. He here designates some nine letters, some of them containing sixteen sections, in which he had set forth the poverty of the Windward Coast, the character of the Dutch trade and methods for preventing it, a proposition for farming the trade of the Windward Coast, methods for dealing with Spanish officials, the desirability of sending an inspector through the Spanish settlements, and a projected sale of negroes in Santo Domingo.

[4] According to Woodbridge, Trinidad could pay for no more than 5 or 6 *piezas de Indias* a year; the Margaritas took but three negroes from the company's vessels; Hispaniola took but 38 of 85 sent there; Porto Rico was not able to purchase any negroes; the settlements on the Windward Coast of South America could take none; Carácas, the centre of the Venezuelan province, could scarcely pay for more than 50 or 60 slaves a year; 40 would supply Maracaibo; from Rio de la Hacha to Santa Martha there was no sale for negroes. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

nigh that Sum which they are under very small Expectations of ever getting.

The other Method is, by Sending Sloops down calling at each port and what Negroes they can't sell and receive some payments for in a few days, to proceed with to the more Leeward parts, and what are not Sold there to be Deliver'd to the Companys Factorys at Carthagena Puerto Bello, Havana, or Vera Cruz, as shall be Order'd. . . .

By 4 Sloops being Imploy'd in this Trade one may go out every Month in the Year from Barbados allowing them three Months each in a Voyage which may be more than Sufficient for it has been made by Several Sloops Stopping at St. Domingo to the Havana, and return'd thro the Gulph in two Months, and some few days. . . .

The best Method of Renting esteemed by former Assientists has been by the pieza de India, fixing a certain Number to be Introduced, per Annum at Some Large Indulto and a Less rate on what Exceeded the Number agreed on. And this has been preferr'd to Letting by any Gross Sum (without regard to the Pieza de India) which in many Cases did not so Equitably Answer.

So that there remains to be consider'd, in Case the Company should rent out the Windward Coast together w't quantity of Piezas de India and what rate for each may be thought reasonable.

But if the Company should rather chuse to let them in Seperate parcels, Or to let persons Introduce by Indulto for particular Limited Voyages, Perhaps in either of those Cases more Mony might be had but greater Inconveniencys might arise by Letting in so many Persons, at such a Distance for such small Affaires. Damages mought be considerable e're prevented, and the Dependences or Expectance the Company might have, very precarious, And in such Case the Bargains and Accomptings could often be much more Advantageously made by some person impower'd from the Company in those parts, than possibly by always resorting to the Company at Such a Distance.

And if rented together I question whether any person can advantageously propose to be tied up to Introduce more than 100 piezas de India per annu. and pay 80 ps $\frac{8}{8}$ for each pieza de India, with a smaller Duty for what he exceeds that Number.

The Renter to be Intitled to the Priviledges of the Assiento Contract, and to bear and Save harmless the Company from all Expence and Charges.

And this for the whole Windward Coast, *vizt.* from the River Oronoque to Rio Magdalena on the Continent Including the Islands of Trinidad, Hispaniola, Margaritas and Puerto Rico, but in such

Case it would be proper for the Company to Limit the Renter not to Introduce above 20 piezas de India into S'ta Martha or any place to Leeward of Rio de la Hacha, for fear of Damaging the Trade of S'ta Fee as formerly hinted.

99. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence.[1]

Tuesday, 22d Octo'r, 1717.

Present: S'r W'm Chapman, Mr. Chester, Mr. Blunt. [Mr. Woodbridge read as follows:]

A Method for carrying on the Assiento to the Windward Coasts to the Havanah, and the other parts of the Island of Cuba without Hazard or Charge, And with a certain Profit to the Company.[2]

1st That the Company impower their Agent at Barbados to give out passes or grant Licenses to any person or persons to carry any Number of Negroes to any of the said ports for such Indulto as the Company shall think fitt to Limit.

2dly That the Indulto be allways paid down or good Security taken for the same in behalf of the Company before the License and Dispatches are delivered.

3dly That each License be for one Limited Voyage only and that on the Conclusion thereof the Licens'd Persons return Directly to the Island of Barbados.

4th That the Indulto to be paid to the Company in Consideration of such pass be either so much upon every pieza de India as they shall be regulated at by the Spanish Royal Officers or else by the Heads that shall be Ship'd off (by Virtue of the pass granted) In which last Case it will be necessary to make a difference between grown persons and Children something like what is done by the Royal Officers *vizt.* Children under 6 Years Old to be allow'd two or 3 for one, Boys between 6 and 16 Years Old, and Girls from 6 to 12 or 13 be allowed 3 for 2 and Males from 16 Years upwards and Females from 12 or 13 Years upwards every head to be a pieza.

5th If the Indulto for the Windward Coasts was 80, And to the Havanah 100 p's $\frac{8}{8}$ per head for Grown persons and pro rato as above for Children it is very probable a great many Licenses would be Annually taken.

6th But the Indulto to be paid may be either Settled by the Company, and so their Agents at Barbados will have no Trust in that re-

[99] [1] Add. MSS. 25550, pp. 88-90.
[2] Resolutions 2, 3, and 4 correspond to nos. 4, 9, and 10 of Woodbridge's suggestions.

spect reposed in them but only to grant Licenses to all such as shall desire them, or Else it may be left to the Agents at Barbados to Agree for the prices of the Indulto from time to time with every person on the best Terms that can be got for the Company.

7th If the Indulto should be paid on the Numbers Ship'd off, If any dye before Landing, or the Ship be lost with the Negros therein it Seems reasonable to grant a License, for the like Number and to the same place Gratis, In Lieu of those dead or Lost.

8th The persons taking the License to be Obliged to have all the Negroes regulated by the Spanish Royal Officers and to deliver such Regulations together with their Licenses and Dispatches to the Companys Agents at Barbados on their return thither, Since such Regulations (by the Royal Officers) are not only Necessary for the Company in Order to the making up their Accounts of the Dutys with the King of Spain, but are also of Use to Check the Licensed, in respect to the Numbers of Negros they carry.

9th That the Companys Agent Mark every Negroe, with the Companys Mark before the Shipping thereof.

10th If any Negro not Mark'd be found on board any Vessel having such License with any Appearance of Intention to be Ship'd off, The person taking the License to forfeit £100 for every such Negro.

11th Children generally sell best on the Windward Coast, where the people are very poor, and few can reach the price of a grown Negro. So that if the Company should think fit to Order any of their Ships from Africa, when they have too many Children to Touch at Barbados and deliver some of them to the Company's Agents there, They would probably yeild a better price there than Else where and farther enable persons by the purchase thereof, to Carry on the Licensed Trade to the Windward Coasts.

12th Cocoa being almost the only produce of the Windward Coast, If the Licensed persons can have the Liberty to carry the same from thence to any more Leeward Places of the Spanish West Indies, or to Old Spain, As the Company have by the Assiento Contract, they mought afford to give 100 p's $\frac{8}{8}$ for those Windward Licenses as well as to the Havana and in such Case they may be put under all imaginable Restrictions and Severe penaltys to carry nothing but Cocoa to any of the said Leeward Spanish ports in the West Indies.

Resolutions of the Committee. Resolv'd, That it is the Opinion of this Comm'ee that it Appears to them the most likely way for the Company to reap any Benefit from the Windward Coast is to Impower their Agent at Barbados either to Grant Licenses or Passes from time to time to any person or persons to carry any Number

of Negroes as they shall desire from Barbadoes to the Windward Coast at 80 p's for every Grown Person and proportionably for Children as herein after is mentioned or Else to farm the Sole Trade to the Windward Coast as farr as Rio de la Hatch Inclusive to any Person or Persons for a certain Term not exceeding 3 Years and for any Number of Negroes not less than 100 at 80 p's per head for Grown Persons and proportionably for Children as after is also Mentioned. . . .

5. If any dye before Landing or the Ship be lost with the Negros therein upon proof thereof a like Number may be Imported Gratis in Lieu of those Dead or lost, The Persons importing the Negros to be Obliged at their Charge to have all the Negros Regulated by the Spanish Royal Officers and to deliver such Regulations together with their Licenses or other Dispatches to the Companys Agent at Barbados on their return thither since such Regulations by the Royal Officers are not only Necessary for the Company in Order to the making up their Accounts of the Duties with the King of Spain But are also of Use to Check the Licensed Persons or Farmers in respect to the Number of Negros they Carry.

6. That if it be by way of License the Indulto be always paid down to the Companys Agent in Barbados or good Security taken for the same in behalf of the Company before the License or other Dispatches are delivered.

7. If by way of License every such License to be for one Limited Voyage only and that on the Conclusion thereof the Licensed Persons return directly to the Island of Barbadoes. . . .

100. The Directors of the South Sea Company to John Cumberlege and Peter Walsh.[1]

South Sea House,
London, 31st Octob. 1717.

. . . We have received from Our Carthagena Factory Acco't of Sales of the 40 Negroes you carried from thence and are pleased with the good Markets you find and approve yo'r remitting to that Factory the Accounts of your Proceedings which also do to us as often as opportunity offers.

We note the 3 Prizes bro't in by the Guarda Coast Sloop, One with 6 negroes reg'd at 3 p's India 1/6. Another with 44 reg'd at 36 Do. after Regist'd in the Kings Books 25 ps. Another with 3 reg'd at ½ and 1/3 p's India which negroes you had bo't of the

[100] [1] Add. MSS. 25563, pp. 165-166. Cumberlege and Walsh were South Sea Company factors at Santiago, Cuba.

Captors at 110 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ per p's India pursuant to Cedula granted to the French Ass'o Company and afterwards sold, which we approve and would have you continue so to do upon all occasions. And herewith you have a Like Cedula granted by the King of Spain to this Company, whereby the Captors are obliged to sell you all Prize Negroes at pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ 110 per p's India.

We note the Supplies of Negroes you have received, 16 per Mr. Cumberlege from Jamaica 30 from Catha. and 75 per the Sloop *Endeavour*. But of these Negroes you don't say that you have sold any except 2 Negroe Women to the Governour at 150 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ each and 1 Negroe man to the Royal Officers at the same Price on account of their low Regulations. But you are to observe that We can have no Manner of Benefit from low Regulations unless We import above 4800 Negroes ps of India per annum which hitherto We have fallen very short of and therefore cannot be worth while to buy that favour.[2] . . .

We have received from Carthagena the Process relating to the Negroes Stranded on the north side of yo'r Island, and sold by your Gov'r and Royal Officers, and observe you got it determined in our favour upon entring into obligations to be accountable for the Produce should his Cath: Maj'ty revoke the Sentence. We have transmitted these autos with the Account sent of the net proceed of these Negroes to Madrid with the necessary directions to Our Agents for getting the Sentence ratify'd, and when finished shall advise the Carthagena Factory and you.

We understand the Duties for the said Negroes amo. to 1157 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$, 4½ for 34¾ p's India have been made good to the King's Chest at Carthagena, so We have writ to Madrid to Our Agents to take care We be not charged there with the said Duties.

We approve Your bringing Garvey the French Factor to Account for the Negroes he introduced since May 1713, being 25 negroes making 9 p's India and your compounding it with him for 1000 p's $\frac{8}{8}$ he to pay the King's duties being 300 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ more which was all you could get. Will it not be necessary that you send us Certificates that the said Duties are paid in order to Our accounting with the King of Spain? We approve the reasons you give for deferring to publish the Indulto, and observe that yo'r Gov. is expecting the King of Spain's Comm. for Indulting Negroes Illicitly Introduced in the French's time which may be of Disadvantage to us, unless We procure a General Cedula of Indulto as you recomend,

[2] That is, in the payment of the customs no advantage could be gained by the English until 4800 *piezas de Indias* had been introduced. Low regulation, which called for more negroes to a *pieza,* only postponed the achievement of that goal.

which we are endeavouring at and in a little time You'l know the Result.

You complain of the Prize Negroes being Congos and apt to run away. You'l caution against any being sent you of that sort. . . .

We note yo'r having Imployed a Doctor at 80 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ per ann'm and he to find Medicines and a Serv't to look after the Negroes at 100 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ which we approve of. And that the Carthagena Factory had not named Mr. Walsh's salary but refer it to us. You should have given us some hint what he expects from our Government, for want of which We give Our opinion you may allow him from 5 to 600 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ per ann'm if you find he deserves it.

We note the Vent of Negroes in yo'r Place 150 to 200 per Ann'm and that you could sell much more in Barter for Sugars and Tobacco and have considered what you propose as to giving Orders to Our Agents at Jamaica on yo'r advice to send you a ship of about 150 tuns to be Loaded with Sugars for Our Account and sent to Cadiz, and being desireous from the encouragement you give Us to make such an adventure, do now give directions to Our Agents at Jamaica, That on your advice they hire such a ship on the best Terms they can and send you with such a Quantity of Negroes as you shall write for and on her arrival having cleared the Negroes, load her with Sugars which you will provide against her coming consigning them to Messrs. Braddyl and Horn at Cadiz with orders to sell them for Our account.

You are to give the Ship all Possible dispatch to prevent demorage and take care to give the M'r such an Authentick Certificate That the Effects put on board are the Produce of the Negroes and also such Authentick Reg'r of the Goods put on board as are required by the 17th and 26 Arts. of the Assiento.[3]

You are also to take particular Care that nothing be put on board, but what is the Produce of our Negroes, nor any Spanish Passengers, it being contrary to the 26th Art.

We would not have you baulk the Sales of Our Negroes for want of them but always give timely notices to Our Agents at Jamaica who have Our Orders constantly to supply you against such times as you write for 'em. Our Agents at Jamaica advise us of the return of the Sloop *Neptune* from your Place having delivered you the 86 Negroes put on board in good order.

[3] Art. XVII. gives to the assientists liberty to load those goods which are the produce of the negroes, and if desired to send them under convoy of the flotas. Art. XXVI. provides that if such goods are sent to ports of Spain the captain shall give to the Spanish minister an authentic register of his lading; if to ports of Great Britain, such an account is to be sent to Spain.

101. Vessels for Guinea, Jamaica, and the Spanish West Indies.[1]

Oct. 31, 1717.

			negrs.
7	June	*John* Galley Captn. Coward	350
1	July	*Hannover* Galley Captn Robt. Sikes	240
30	Do	*Melcomb* Galley Captn Wall	260
27	August	*George Augustus* Captn. Huntington	440
5	Sept.	*Crown* Galley Captn. Cunningham	300
			1590

102. Daniel Wescomb to William Popple.[1]

South Sea House,
15th Novem'r 1717.

Wm. Popple Esqr.

S'r. Your letter of the 6th Inst. to Mr. Ury has been laid before the Court of Directors of the South Sea Company, and as to that part where You Signify the desire of the Rt. Hon'ble the Lords Com'rs for Trade and Plantations to be informed what Proof the Company have that the Duty has been demanded and paid for the Negroes who are only put into Jamaica for Refreshment, I am commanded to acquaint you for the Information of their Lordships that they have annexed hereto Extracts of Letters on that Subject which they have receed. from their Agents on the said Island. And an account of Negroes sent from Jamaica to the Spanish West Indies on account of the Assiento, since the Act for laying the Duty took place: As well as those which were bought in the said Island as those which were Imported by the Company in their own Ships, tho' only so many were Landed in order to recover them as were sick And the others carryed off in the same Ships as well as those landed and Refreshed and carried off in the Sloops of the Country.

And as to their Lordships desire to know what objections the Company have to the paying the Duties upon the Exportation of their

[101] [1] Add. MSS. 25563, p. 173. This statement is contained in a letter from the directors of the company to the agents at Cartagena. They go on to say that in future they may send cargoes directly from Africa to the factory, since the charges for exchanging the refuse for the fit in Jamaica are heavy and since they wish to avoid the Jamaica duty of 20 per cent., levied by an act of November, 1716. If this is done the factory at Cartagena must be provided with provisions, and places to care for the sick negroes. *Ibid.*, pp. 173-174.

[102] [1] Add. MSS. 25559, f. 67. Wescomb was secretary of the South Sea Company, William Popple of the Board of Trade. On Feb. 3, 1717, the company sent to Popple a statement of the reasons why it objected to paying the Jamaica export duty, along with extracts from letters from the Jamaica factors, testifying that the duty had been demanded from them (Add. MSS. 25555, pp. 149-153). On Oct. 23 a committee of the company prepared a petition against the duty act, which was referred to the Board of Trade on Oct. 31, 1717. *Acts P. C. C.*, II. 727-729.

Negroes bought in that Island as the Inhabitants there do, The Directors refer their Ldships to the reasons set forth in their Petition and in the Representation of their Agents Annexed thereto by which may be seen the many advantages arising to the Island from the Companys Ships touching there and Refreshing the Negroes and sending them to the Spanish Ports in their own Ships or the Sloops of the Island.

Besides which the Company conceive it to be contrary to the Practice of all Nations where Goods are imported duty free to Burthen them upon their Re-exportation and they cannot but deem this Duty to be an Infringement upon the Assiento Contract, In which his Maj'ty and the King of Spain are parties. That after a Contract has been entered into for 30 Years that Trade should be burthened with new Dutys and may occasion a misunderstanding with the King of Spain, and be of ill consequence: Where fore the Company humbly hope their Ldships will be pleased duly to Consider the same and make such report to his Majesty as may Incline him to grant what the Company have desired in their Petition.

Extracts of Letters from Messrs. Thompson, Pratter and Haselwood, Agents to the South Sea Compa. at Jamaica to the Court of Directors.

7th Febry 1716/7. We have twice applyed to our Gov'r and desired that the Com'rs for receiving the Duty of Negroes exported might have directions to Permit Us to Bond the Negroes exported to be paid on the first Notice of the Acts passing at home: Or that His Excell'y would receive the said Duties himselfe, and keep it in Possession to pay it back to Us in Case the Act don't pass at home, he at first denyed it; but on our pressing him a 2d Time, Answer'd he would advise with some Friends, and if he found it in his power would do it to Serve Your Hon'rs which when known shall acquaint you with it.

On the 3d Inst. arrived the *Royal Africa* Capt. Foott at the Cays with 251 Slaves. On Application our Gov'r has given us leave to Wood and Water.

On the 29 Ulto. arrived the *John* Galley Capt. Dunckley with 242 Negroes, has buried 2 since in Harbour. We have carefully looked over His Negroes and find shall be obliged to take out 32. This ship was by the Pylot brought to at the Cays in order to save the Duty laid on Negroes Exported, but as it has happened it could not be done, Capt. Dunckley off of Hispaniola in the night Time met a hard Squale of Wind that did a great deal of Damage to his Rudder and Starnpost, so that his Ship not capable to proceed without careening w'ch obliged her to Come into Port and Since that the Master has hired a good Sloop to carry his Negroes to Portebelo, so that We shall be obliged to pay Duty for these Negroes.

5th March 1716/7. Our Governor has given Us for Answer in relation to our Bonding the Duties, That he will not meddle with it, As yet we have only paid for the 20 Negroes sent to Carthagena per the *George Augustus.*

On the 18th arrived Capt. Samuel Heartsease in the *Kath:* Galley with 464 Negroes. The Pilot went on board with our Letter to desire him to bring his

Ship to at Cays, but as he broke his Windliss at Jaquine came into the Harbour, and told it was impossible to secure his Ship at the Cays and that his Men were very Refractory so that he did not care to go down in the Ship, but would rather hire Vessels to carry his Slaves.

7th April 1717. We observe Your Hon'rs will do what you can to prevent the Act passing, And as We have told You the Misfortune of your own Ships that obliged them to come into Port, makes your Duty amount to a large Sum which at present is unpaid save only £20 and till we hear further from Your Hon'rs have resolved to stand their Duns and even Arrests, if the Government shall think they ought to use such means to make Us comply rather than part with the Money, We believe the Com'rs will not Permit us to Ship any more Negroes before the Duty is paid down. . . .

20th July 1717. Since Our last the Government have order'd a Bill in Chancery to be filed against us for the recovery of the Duty of the Negroes Capt. Foott carried for Carthagena. We presume it is already adjudged Yo'r Hon'rs must pay for them as well as those that come into Port, tho' for those per Capt Foott the Gov'r [2] would hardly permit us to put on board what was absolutely Necessary for the use of the Slaves, nor was the Ship within Gunshot of the Harbour, We have fee'd Council to defend it, in hopes your next will bring an account of the Acts being rejected and an order for the Dutys being paid back.

20th Aug'st 1717. The Com'rs for receiving the Duty on Negroes exported would not Permit the Sloop *Eagle* to pass the Fort before had paid down the Money. And We have since reced. a Summon by order of the Government for the payment of the Duties of the other Negroes exported, and unless a Vessel arrives in a few Days and brings an account of that Acts being rejected, and an Order to have the Dutys paid back, We shall have Judgement passd against Us for it, unless we can find some Flaw in that Declaration, and by that means put the Clause by for 3 Months w'ch shall endeavour to do.

Our Assembly is now sitting and We fear will lay the same or a greater Duty on the exportation of Negroes than last Year being told by some of our Friends, the Major part are very warm on that Subject. We believe they think it an easy way of raising Money to pay the debts of the Country. We were the other day told by one of the Gentlemen of the Council that tho' your Hon'rs might have Int'st enough to prevent any Act of this Island passing at Home; Yet as soon as one was rejected they could make another, which would remain good till the Arrival of advice that the same was rejected. We cannot think of any other ways to prevent those people Imposing what Duty they please on Your Hon'rs than an Act of Parliament or an Instruction from his Majesty to the Gov'r that no Act wherein your Interest is Concerned shall be in force till his Royal Pleasure be known.[3]

[2] Sir Nicholas Lawes.

[3] The Board of Trade reported unfavorably on the bill and on Jan. 9, 1718, the Privy Council annulled it, with a general order forbidding the passage of any similar act (*Acts P. C. C.,* II. 728-729). For the action of the board see *B. T. Jour.,* 1714-1718, p. 319.

103. Dudley Woodbridge to the South Sea Company.[1]

London, November 18th 1717.

Gent'n, . . .[2]

7. Messrs. Andrew Thomson and John Riddock who Went down to Carthagena with 300 of the Comp's Negros, and were to have had 3 per Cent for Commission on Sales and 3 on Returns, but Mr. Thomas Wood being there before them they could not be Admitted, without they would part with the Moiety of their Commission to said Wood, which at length they Submitted to, as they Allege purely for the Interest of the Company. They therefore think it Equitable that the Company Should in Some Measure releive them, and reallow them that Sum which Amounted to 1600 p's $\frac{8}{8}$ and was so Extorted from them, especially Since they were at Great Expences after Mr. Pyms Arrival to get back to Barbados via Jamaica etc.: inso much that the Commissions they recd. did not bear their Charges till their return.

8. Mr. Nathaniel White who went to Carracas with 140 of the Comp's Negros, and not Selling but few [of] those the Remainder were deliverd to Mr. Wm. Cleland, and Carried to the Havana. When he engaged in that Voyage, he proposed that the Negros would have Sold at least for 250 p's $\frac{8}{8}$ per head per which his Commission would have come to 1050 p's $\frac{8}{8}$ And that Voyage to be Compleated in 8 or 9 Weeks at farthest, But instead of that he was out 8 or 9 Months and returned by the Way of Curaçao, Martinique etc.: and was out of Pocket he says above 300 *ll.* He Complains heavily to me on this Head and hopes the Company will have Some Consideration for him.

9. Mr. Wm. Ramsay, who was the Companys Factor, and who toucht at Several Ports, and after staid at St. Domingo, Likewise was much disappoint'd in his Expectations of Commission (by the Negros not Vending) and was long out at Great Expences loosing the Business he had been in before at Barbados, and hopes the Company will have Some regard to Such his Disappointm't.

[103] [1] Add. MSS. 25550, pp. 97-99. At a meeting of the committee of correspondence on Nov. 19 two papers from Mr. Woodbridge were read. The first presented to the committee a series of questions, the most important of which were: (1) What indulto should be demanded for negroes illicitly imported? (2) Ought not St. Augustine, which might take from 10 to 15 *piezas de Indias* a year, to be included in the territory for which licenses could be granted? (3) Ought not a second factor to be appointed at Havana, since one had resigned? The second paper presented is here printed.

[2] No. 1 suggests the desirability of having copies of all cedulas granted to former assientists in the hands of the factors; no. 2 urges a general order forbidding Spanish officials to appoint themselves judges conservators; nos. 5 and 6 complain of the activities of the Spanish *guarda costa* ships, which have seized a number of English vessels that were carrying no contraband.

10. Mr. Jonathan Sisson who recd. the Negros left by Mr. Ramsay at St. Domingo and Sold them at Maracaybo has not Sent up Account of Sales or any Returns nor the Regulation of those he Carried by way of Indulto, nor any Account of what Debts he recd. of the Companys at Carracas, but remains there or Passes backwards and forwards from Curaçoa to Carracas altho he gave Security to leave the Spanish Coast before the first of October 1716 and to return and Account at Barbados: The Reasons he gives for his Stay there is, (as he says) on the Account of Some Law Suits that he has Engaged in by the Seizing of Several Contraband Negros for the Company, and that he is preventing the Dutch Trade from Curaçoa in Flower etc.

He informs me Likewise that he has Introduced more Negros which he Bought at Curaçoa besides the 25 he Carried with him from Barbados, So that if your Hon'rs please, I think it may be necessary that I be directed how to behave in this Affair That if Mr. Sisson should return to Barbados whether on his Accompting for the Comp's Negros Sold, Debts recd. and paying Indulto for those (tho more than Included in the Pass) that were Introduced, whether I should accept of the Same and acquit his Bonds, or what other Method to take with his Securitys in Barbados either on his Returning or how to Act Should he not Return All which is humbly Submitted to your Hon'rs Comands by etc.

104. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence.[1]

November 19, 1717.

And the Committee having Considerd the Several Clauses Contained in the said Papers and Discoursed Mr. Woodbridge thereupon, came to the following Resolutions *vizt.*

Res'd, That as to the first Clause in Paper No. 1 relating to the Indulto on Negros Illicitly imported on the Windward Coast It is the Opinion of this Committee that the Said Indulto be Settled on each P's of India So Introduced at 100 p's $\frac{8}{8}$ One third whereof after Deducting the King of Spains Duty to be allowed to the Person who shall be Employ'd in recovering the Said Indulto for his Pains and Trouble and Charges therein, and in recovering, and paying the Money and towards the Rewards which may be given to the Gov'rs Royal Officers or others who may be Assisting therein, or 40 p's $\frac{8}{8}$ clear to the Compa. and 26 2/3 to the Person for all his Charges and expence as above.

[104] [1] Add. MSS. 25550, pp. 99-101.

As to the 2d Article. The Committee are of Opinion, That St. Augustine lyeing on the Continent upon the Florida Shore near the Mouth of the Gulph be Included in the Licences. . . .

As to the Paper No. 2.

First Clause. The Committee are of Opinion That Mr. Woodbridge endeavour to Obtain Abstracts of all the Cedulas Granted to the French in the Several Places under his Managem't in Order to the Comp's enjoying the Same Priviledges and Advantages which they had and where he finds it Material Copies. . . .

As to the 3d. That the King of Spains Cedula be Obtained to remove the French Agents at Carracas or elsewhere.

As to the 4th relating to the 8 Negros Seized by the Presid't of St. Domingo. The Committee are of Opinion that it be Left to Mr. Woodbridge to Determin that Matter either by Confiscation or Indulto in the best Manner he can for the Companys Advantage And that he have Power out of the Produce to gratify the Government. . . .

As to the 10th relating to Mr. Sisson. The Comittee are of Opinion that if he returns soon to Barbados to render a Just and true Acco't to Mr. Woodbridge of all the Comp's Negros under his Managem't and also an Acco't of what Debts he has rec'd of the Comp's at Carracas, and Pays the Produce to Mr. Woodbridge Also Pays to him Such Indulto as Mr. Woodbridge shall think Proper [2] for the Negros he has Introduc'd more than those he Carried with him from Barbados, in Such Case that his Bond may be Cancell'd otherwise that the Same be Sued, and that he also use Proper Measures to Compel him to return.

Ord'd, That the Secretary Prepare Drafts of Articles and Instruc's to be given to Mr. Woodbridge upon the foregoing Matters and other Matters agreed on by the Committee. . . .

105. The South Sea Company: Minutes of the Court of Directors.[1]

Nov. 20, 1717.

Resolved That it is the opinion of this Court That the Company is not chargeable with Freight for the Twenty Eight negroes taken out of the *Royal Africa* Captn. Foott by the Pyrates nor for any Comission thereupon, But that in case any of the Negroes shall be recovered, in such Case that the Company will make good freight and comission for those recovered. . . .

[2] This was reaffirmed at a meeting of the court of directors Nov. 20, 1717, with the additional phrase, "not under One hundred p's of India". *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

[105] [1] Add. MSS. 25497, pp. 160-164. The resolutions passed by the directors, reaffirming those of the committee of correspondence of Nov. 19, are here omitted.

Resolved That Mr. Woodbridge be allowed 4 per cent for issuing the Licences when the money for the same shall be received and Four per cent for remitting the returns thereof, and Four per cent on the net proceed of the Indulto and the same on the net proceeds of all Prize Negroes.

Resolved That a Commission of Ten Shillings per head be allowed on all negroes he shall take out of the Company's ships and Reship on any other vessel or sloops and that for all negroes, which he shall buy or sell for the Company's Account Four per Cent Commission.

Resolved That it be an Instruction to Mr. Woodbridge that he endeavour all he can to avoid paying the King of Spain's duties in the Spanish West Indies for Negroes Indulted.

106. The South Sea Company to the Factors at Jamaica.[1]

15th January, 1717/8.

. . . We direct that you endeavour to Procure as many Good Merchantable negroes as you can, not exceeding 200 to be reserved out of any that shall arrive for Our Accounts and for want of such to Purchase them on the best Terms you can with the necessary Provisions that they may be ready to be put on board on her [the *London*] arrival so as not to detain the said ship in your Port. . . . Dispatch her directly to Portobelo.[2] . . .

107. The Case of the *Anne* Galley.[1]

15 Feb'ry 1717/8(?).

Derick Hanson et Socii nuper Nautae Navis cujusdem nuper vocatae the *Anne* Galley (cujus Benjaminus Clarke defunctus nuper et postea Nicolaus Kidgell fuerunt Magistri) contra Sherman Godfrey armigerum Gulielmum Coleman et Socios proprietarios seu in parte proprietarios dictae Navis ejusque apparatuus et accessiones in quadam Causa substraccionis Salarii ac Civili et Maritima.

Garrett. Sayer

Quo die Sayer nomine procurationis ac ut procurator ultimus dictorum Sherman Godfrey armigeri et Gulielmi Coleman nuper proprietorum 3/9 partium dictae Navis the *Anne* Galley omnibus melioribus et efficacioribus via modo et juris forma necnon ad omnem quemcunque juris effectum dicit allegat et in hiis scriptis in jure proponit articulatim prout sequitur vizt.

[106] [1] Add. MSS. 25563, p. 212. This letter encloses the Order in Council repealing the export duty on negroes and forbidding the passage of any act in future laying a duty on negroes landed for refreshment only.

[2] On Feb. 26 the destination of the *London* was shifted to Cartagena. *Ibid.*, p. 261.

[107] [1] Admiralty Court, Instance and Prize: Libel Files, file 132, no. 32, pt. 4.

1. Imprimis. That Derick Hanson, Richard Page John Griffee and John Hornby the marriners mentioned in the Summary Petition given in and admitted in this Cause were all hired in or about the begining of Dec'r 1716 by the said Benjamin Clarke deceased late Master of the said Ship the *Anne* Galley to serve as marriners on board her in her then intended Voyage from this Port of London to Gamboa and other places on the Coast of Guinea in Affrica and from thence to the Island of St. Christophers in America and back again to the Port of London under the Command of the said Master and were to receive no Wages for their service on board her til her Arrival and delivery at the Island of St. Christophers afores'd And this was and is true publiq and notorious and soe much the said Mariners or sev'l of them have confessed and declared to be true Ponit tamen de quolibet alio tempore etc. Et ponit conj'n div'm et de quolibet.

2. Item That the said Ship the *Anne* Galley together with her Tackle Apparell and Furniture and the fitting her out to Sea for the said Voyage and the Cargoe of Goods then carryed in her on her Owners Accompt from this Port of London to Gamboa and other places on the Coast of Guinea with incident Charges cost the said Sherman Godfrey Esqr. William Coleman and the rest of her then Owners at this Port of London ab't the Summe of 1800 *l.* sterling and all such part of her said Cargoe as she deliver'd at Gillifree, Tower [Joar?] or elsewhere on the Coast of Guinea were sold and barter'd away on board her for 82 Negroes ab't 10 l. w't of Elephants Teeth and 10 oz. of Barr Gold and no other Goods on the joynt Accompt of her then Owners and consign'd to be deliver'd to Drewry Ottley and Thomas Ottley who were then Owners of 2/9 parts of the said ship at the island of St. Christophers afores'd ponit tamen de quibuslibet aliis valore bonis etc. Et ponit ut supra.

3. Item That all the aforesaid Negroes, Elephants Teeth and Barr Gold were brought on board the said ship at sea by persons inhabiteing upon the said Coast of Guinea, and the Goods which they had in barter for the same were carryed by them from on board her on shore as is usually done by the said Inhabitants upon their tradeing with English ships there. And this was and is true publick and notorious and well known to the said Derick Hanson Richard Page and Company aforesaid ponit tamen de quibuslibet aliis valore et bonis etc. Et ut supra.

4. Item That none of the aforesaid places where the sd *Anne* Galley traded at and deliver'd the said Goods upon the afores'd Coast of Guinea are ports of delivery or soe accompted reputed or taken and this was and is true publick and notorious and well known to

the said Derick Hanson Richard Page and Company afores'd Et ponit ut supra.

5. Item. That the place where the said Ship the *Anne* Galley was forced on shore staved in peices and lost which was at or near Mountserat on or ab't the nineteenth of Aug't last past was and is about Ten Leagues from the Island of St. Christophers and the sixteene or seventeene Negroes which were then saved out of her swam all on shore and saved themselves without any aid or assistance from the said Derick Hanson Richard Page and Compa. afores'd or any of them and all the rest of the aforesaid Negroes which were on board her when she soe ran on shoar were drowned and lost and soe much the said marriners or several of them have confessed and declared Ponit tamen etc. Et ut supra. . . .

7. Item. That all the afores'd Negroes Barrs of Iron Masts Yards and other Materialls and things which were saved from and out of the said ship as aforesaid [2] were delivered to the said Drewry Ottley and Thomas Ottley at the Island of Mountserat or St. Christophers afores'd who there sold all the said negroes (except an old Man and an old Woman of little worth and another old Woman which was much bruised and dyed there for ab't the summe of 470 *l.* 12 *s.* 9 *d.* of that Country money and not more, the charges of such Sale and provisions for the s'd negroes and cash given the sailors for cloths deducted and all the afores'd masts yards Materialls and other things (Except the said Iron) were and are of little worth at the s'd Islands of Montserat and St. Christophers to wit of the value of ab't 70 *l.* and not more out of which upwards of 40 *l.* to be deducted for salvage etc. And soe much was and is well knowne to the said Derick Hanson Richard Page and Company afores'd Ponit tamen de quibuslibet aliis bonis etc. Et ponit ut supra.

8. Item. The party proponent for supply of proof of the Three next precedent articles doth here exhibit two Letters bearing date the Twenty Eighth of Aug't [3] and the thirtieth of October last past and

[2] One hundred and twenty bars of iron, and masts and rigging, all amounting to £70, were saved from the vessel.

[3] Aug. 28, 1717, Drewry Ottley to William Coleman: ". . . I am now to give you the Melancholy Acc't of that unfortunate shipp, *Ann* Galley, sometime in June Dyed poor Clarke in Gambo River, and in the beginning of July, the negroes Rose upon them, by which means, six of them jumpt over Board, and Two was kill'd, on the 17th they sayl'd out of the River, and on the 19th Instant were cast ashore in a storm on the Island of Montserat and all the slaves (except sixteen) were drown'd . . . all the Slaves they purchas'd was not upwards of 80, Instead of 160, and I hear of no more of the Cargo that was Return'd Except some small Armes. . . . Notwithstanding so few of the slaves were saved there is no Ready pay to be had for any, unless att a verry low Rate, and provision of all sorts so verry scarce and Dear, occasion'd by the storm, that feeding them would be verry Expencive, and Four of them are so very much Cutt and Bruised comeing ashore in so great a Sea, that they will not be fitt to Expose to sayle in less than 2 or 3 Weeks. Shall make the most I can possibly of them. A Shipp of Mr. Cabibells arriveing the next day with 90 negroes is some small hindrance; I have

the Accompt of the Sales of the aforesaid Negroes which the said William Coleman received from the said Drewry Ottley from the Island of St. Christophers afores'd and are now remaining within the Registry of this Court and alleageth that the same were and are all wrote subscribed and superscribed or at least subscribed by and with the proper hand of the said Drewry Ottley and soe knowne to be by severall persons who were and are well acquainted with his handwriting and that the contents of the afores'd Exhibits were and are true and soe had and done as is therein contained. And that the said Ship *Anne* Galley and Nicholas Kidgell her late Master therein mencioned and the Ship *Anne* Galley and Nicholas Kidgell mentioned in the said Summary Petition were and are the same Ship and person and not several and soe accompted reputed and taken. Et ponit ut supra.

9. Item. That neither the said Sherman Godfrey Esqr. or William Coleman nor Richard Rawlins or George Letton of London Merchants two other of the late Owners of the said Ship have as yet received any part of the produce of the said Negroes. . . .

10. Item. That the aforesaid late Owners of the said Ship and Cargoe have by reason of her being lost as aforesaid sustained Damage to about the summe of Fifteen Hundred Pounds Sterling Ponit tamen de quolibet alia Summa etc. Et ut supra.

11. Item That the said William Coleman neither is nor ever was the Husband or Mannager of the affaires of the said ship *Ann* Galley nor had the mannagement thereof dureing the Voyage in question nor was any wayes concerned in the Repaireing or fitting her out for such Voyage or for any former Voyage or Voyages and he neither has received nor is to receive Freight for any Goods or Merchandizes which were laden in her nor ever had in his hands any such Freight and in reallity and truth the said ship never made any freight after the said Messrs Godfrey, Coleman, Rawlins, Letton and the Ottleys became Owners of her which was in or ab't the month of Oct'r 1716 and this was and is true publick and notorious and well knowne to sev'l persons who were well acquainted with the affaires relateing to the said ship for all the time aforesaid. Et ponit ut supra.

12. Item. That the aforesaid pretended Summary Petition at the time that the same was given in and admitted by this Court (which

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been plauged with the Saylors, for Cloths and Subsistance. I could not gett Clear of them by any Means, so that I was under a Necessity of giveing them provisions, and money to gett Each of them something to putt about them, the whole amounts to £8. They pretended though their Wages was lost something was due for Salvage: I hope you have made Insurance. . . . P. S. *Augt. 30th.* I have sold since the above Ten of the Negroes to be paid in the Beginning of the Cropp at £37 per head." Admiralty Court, Instance and Prize: Libel Files, file 132, no. 32, pt. 2.

was on the 5th day of this Instant February) consisted but of the first three or four Articles but sometime after the same was soe admitted Mr. John Cook Clerk to Mr. Garrett came to Mr. Sayer at his Office and told him that his Master desired that he might add to the Copy of such Summary Petition which he had delivered to the said Sayer, an Article to the effect following *vizt.* That William Coleman one of the Owners of the said Ship *Ann* Galley was and is the Husband or mannager of the affaires of the said Ship and had the sole management thereof dureing the Voyage in question. Whereupon the said Sayer in his own Office immediately deliver'd to and left with him the said Cooke the aforesaid Copy to make such additional Article, and went abroad and did not returne to his Office til the next morning during which time the said Cooke without the consent or privity of the said Sayer added to and wrote upon the said Copy the sixth pretended Article, and the said Sayer the next morning as soon as he saw the same cross'd such Article out and shortly afterwards acquainted both the said Garrett and Cooke with the aforesaid imposition And that he would not consent to the admission of the said sixth Article and would oppose the same and in reallity and truth the said Sayer never consented to the addition or admission thereof and therefore prays the same may be suppressed. Et ponit ut supra. Car. Pinfold.[4]

108. The South Sea Company to the Factors at Jamaica.[1]

26th Febry 1717/8.

. . . We observe you gave 29 per head for the 136 Negroes You sent to the Havanah and the like price for the 200 for Portobelo which we take to be very extravagant prices.

We note the arrival of the *Indian Queen* Captn Mabbot with 306 Negroes and your Observation which were not qualified according to Charter Party which we Desire you to Continue So that we may have timely Notice before the Comandr passes his Accounts. . . .

We are glad to find so brisk Sales for our Negroes at Panama and approve your Supplying them as they write for 'em where you Can do it out of such of our own Ships as arrive with you. But not to buy on the Island, Unless they write pressingly for them for a particular Occassion by reason we have many ships sent to Guinea which you may Expect will be dropping in every week.[2] . . .

[4] Endorsed, "Hanson et Socii con Godfrey et Coleman nuper proprietarii 3/9 Navis the *Ann* Galley. Allegatio".

[108] [1] Add. MSS. 25563, p. 250.

[2] This order was reiterated in a letter of July 30. *Ibid.*, p. 400.

109. The South Sea Company to the Directors of the French Assiento Company.[1]

Gent'n, We have recd. the Letter you were pleased to Write us the 6 Dec'r last upon the Subject of the prosecution against Mr. Touchee Your Agent at the Havanah on Account of his Introducing Negros into that Place after the 1 May 1713, And should have Answerd you Sooner, but that We could not properly proceed in Negotiating this Matter, with Mr. Robt. Shea till Such Time as he had recd. from you the Necessary Powers and Instructions; he has since produced to us his Power, and the same has been Admitted And in pursuance thereof he has represented to us That he is ready to Agree to the Payment of Such an Indulto, as shall be thought reasonable on all Negros Introduced by or for Account of your Company into the Several Ports of the Spanish America from or after the Peace of Utrecht was proclaimed in those Respective Ports. To the End Mr. Touchee may be Dischargd from his Confinement And the Effects Imbarg'd in the Several Ports be released: To which We Now Answer.

That We Cannot think that the proceedings of our Factor at the Havana against Mr. Touchee were any ways Irregular Seeing what he did was by the Authority of the Govern'r of the place who was Our Judge Conservat'r,[2] and to whom the Assiento has reserved the Cognizance (Exclusive of all Others) of all Causes Affairs and Suits with full Power and Jurisdiction from whose Sentences an Appeal in Such Cases as the Law allows shall lye to the Supreme Council of the Indies.

Besides We Conceive there was a Just and Sufficient Cause for Such Prosecution And a Necessity for it. Our Factor upon his first Arrival at the Havanah finding that Your Said Agent Went on in Introducing Negros and Selling them at Low prices to the Great Prejudice of our Market, Resolved to put a Stop to it, and to make Enquiry what Negros had been Introduced there on your Companys Account Since the 1 May 1713, And Accordingly took out of the Royal Contaduria An Authentick Account, whereby it appears that the Number So Introduced was 586 Negros. This Introduct'n (as well as Others of the like Nature) has been adjudged unlawfull and the produce of these Negros Confiscated and forfeited in favour of the present Assientists.

[109] [1] Add. MSS. 25563, pp. 304-305.

[2] In the ports of America in which the company traded it had the right to nominate a Spanish judge conservator, who should have cognizance of all suits relating to the assiento. The directions issued to the company's factors were that in choosing this officer they were to select one of "great authority in the service of the King of Spain but well inclined to the interests of the company", specifications it must sometimes have been difficult to meet.

As to the 3 Years Liberty, which you are Pleased to Say, you have by Treaty to Introduce Negros after your 10 Years expired Our Assiento takes no manner of Notice of it But on the Contrary has particularly forbid the French Company by Name the Introducing any after the 1 May 1713, And though Our Assiento Could not be put in Execution till Peace was Proclaimed Yet it Subsisted from the Time of its being Signed, And when Once the Peace was Proclaimed must necessarily take Effect from the 1 May 1713 And as to the Intermediate time between its Signing and taking Effect Perticular Provision is made Against your Companys or any others Introducing Negros It being Stipulated by the 18 Article of Our Assiento "That from the 1 May 1713 till We should take Possession of this Assiento Nor After Our taking such possession it should not be Lawfull for the French Guinea Company or any other Person w't soever to Introduce any Negro Slave into India, And if they do his Cath Maj'ty will declare as he does thereby Declare them to be Confiscated and forfeited in favour, and for the Benefit of the Present Assientists."

Moreover it is further Stipulated in the same Art. "that So Soon as the present Assiento Should be Signed Circular Orders in the most Ample Form should be Dispatched to America, that there be not any Negros for Account of the French Compa. Admitted into any of the ports" And those Orders were Dispatched Accordingly, And if due Notice was not Given to your Agents of such prohibition We are not Accountable for that Omission.

The Peace not being proclaimed and signified to your Agents did not give you power to Introduce Negros after your Time Expired. Neither can it be Supposed That his Cath: Maj: would So Solemnly Ent'r into this Treaty with the Crown of Great Britain, and make it a part of the Articles of Peace And at the Same Time give your Company a Liberty of 3 Years to Commence and be Concurrent with Our Assiento which gives us the Sole Liberty of Introducing Negros into the Spanish West Indies.

Upon the whole we are sorry our sentiments do not Agree And that there should be any Occasion of Difference And for our Parts We Should be very ready to Contribute all in Our power to bring these Affairs to an Issue in the most Amicable Manner, But as the Same is Gone out of our Hands and the Autos relating to this Law Suit have been a Considerable time transmitted to Madrid to be determind by the King of Spain in his Council of Indies We hope the Issue will be Agreeable to Justice and Equity.

Lond'n 9 April 1718.

110. William Johnson to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, 15th Aprill, 1718.

The Dispatch of the two Ships hindred by the badness of the Weather. Has been disappointed in his Expectation of receiving a greater Quantity of Teeth. Cannot serve Effectually for two Reasons. The first is Want of Qualified Factors and other Persons. Gives his thoughts how Factors should be Qualified. How those are Qualified that are there. Wants half a Score Discreet Sober and industrious Men, whereof Six as Coast Factors the rest Writers. The other is from the Interlopers Method of Trading. Has traded with sev'rl Interlopers on the Compa's Accot. By which a Considerable Profit has been made. Wants India Goods and abt a thousand Blanketts. There will be a Necessity of Exporting Seven or eight hundred Slaves to the West Indies. Thinks it best to send them to Barbadoes to sell them for ready money for good bills of Exchange and save the Charge of Agency. The *Experiment* Sailed the 5th June last for Serraleon. Could not get Water Casks on B'rd or to Slave her as intended. Sent a Valuable Cargo by her. Refers to the Copies of his Letters and Instructions to Messrs. Plunkett and Callow and Capt'n Wheeller. Has made Mr. Walter Charles Accountant and Chief Merch't at £150 per and till the Compa's pleasure is known. Mr. Charles acceptance was on Mr. Johnson's intreaty and Expectation of being Established at the usuall Salary of a Chief Merch't. Mr. Edward Richardson Complaints against them. The Ship[s] *Dorothy* and *Broughton* are not arrived but dayly expected. Whidah sends Letters from thence. Intends to send one of the Compa's Shipps with Slaves to the West Indies. The Annamaboors Insolent. Complaints against Mr. Peter Holt.[2] Desires a ship with what he writes for by the last of September. And then could send by the Compa's Ships 5 or 600 Slaves to the West Indies and Trade with Interlopers with as many more. It would be for the Companys Interest to advise him of Interlopers bound there and the Sortment of their Cargoes. Thomas Highfield Soldier Discharged. Sends Mr. Alex. Archbold Factor to Sherbrow per the *Experiment*. He has done but little Service at Cape Coast, not being Qualified. Desires a further Supply of People. Has made an agreement to Supply an Irish People with 40 Slaves. 400 Dutch Gunns sent to Sherbrow. Provisions by the *Dispatch* short of Weight, the *Dorothy* and *John-*

[110] [1] T 70: 6, pp. 64-65. On Mar. 20 William Johnson wrote: "Interlopers and South Sea Compa's Ships give from £28 to £32 per head for Slaves and sell their goods much cheaper than we do. . . . The Bristol and Leverpoole Men give great prices. Most of the Ships have not carry'd off ⅔ and some not ½ their Complements." *Ibid.*, p. 63.

[2] Peter Holt was the company's agent who had been suspended from Cape Coast Castle for private trading and later re-established at Anamabo.

son not arriving in time was a great Disappointment. As was the bad Success of the *Litchfield* and *St. George* in their Windward Voyages. Notwithstanding the Disappointments the Stock is not Diminished, but the Compa's affairs are on a better foot than they were on his Arrivall. The *Johnson* and *Experiment* may be Expected in a Month after these Shipps. Charles Butler Writer has Deserted the Service and is indebted for some Slaves who Escaped thro his Neglect. Wishes the Endeavours for a Parliamentary Establishment may meet with success.

In a Postscript of the 17th Aprill 1718 he writes that Mr. Blean died the 16th. Gives him a good Character. Gives an Accot of Interlopers Slaved by him who had a much better Dispatch than those who stood off, of which he gives particulars.

111. The South Sea Company to the Factors at Jamaica.[1]

South Sea House, London, 30th April 1718.

. . . We note the arrival of the *John* Galley Captn. Coward the 20th Janry with 267 Slaves from Whidah in a bad Condition after burying 92 in the voyage and that you were obliged to take out and sell 102 notwithstanding which the remaining 165 were an ill assortment and not proper for Carthagena, for which reason you detained the said ship on demorage (rather than let her go so much dead Freighted) in expectation of Our ship the *Evelin* which you advise us arrived the 10th February with 159 Slaves out of which you took 122 and put them on board the *John* Galley for Portobelo with the remainder of the *Evelyn's* Provisions, as also your Intention to sell the remainder of that ships negroes.

That you had entred and paid the Duties for the aforsd. 105 negroes, which you must receive back as well as all the money you have paid for duties and especially since the date of the Order of Repeal, which you are Imediately to endeavour at and Proceed in the manner We directed you in Our last.

112. Ships for Guinea and Barbados.[1]

May 8, 1718.

14	Nov. 1717	*John* Galley	Thos. Dunckley	Gold Coast	300
27	Do.	*Sarah,* Galley	Robt. Potter	Do	230
3	Janry	*Clapham*	Edwd Hallum	Do	240
17	Do	*Katherine*	Sam: Heartsease	Whidah	500
15	Do	*Ormond*	Henry Baker	Do	420
12	Feby	*Jane*	Edwd. Tizard	Gold Coast	300

[111] [1] Add. MSS. 25563, p. 315.
[112] [1] Add. MSS. 25563, p. 331, enclosed in a letter from the South Sea Company to Dudley Woodbridge.

There are also on their departure the fall Ships *vizt.*

Rebecca	Thos Abbis	Gold Coast	260
Anne	Thos Gadsden	Whidah	450

And 2 others will depart in a Short time *vizt.*

Assiento Frigat	Saml. Foott	Gold Coast	350
James	Richd Wadding	Gambia	230

113. The South Sea Company to the Factors at Havana.[1]

South Sea House, London, 12 June, 1718.

. . . The Writer is to Supervise the Negroes, Duplicate the Books, Copy Letters, take the Minutes and Do every Thing as Directed by the Factory. . . .

You are to take Speciall Care of what Negros Come to your hands for the Companyes Account in regard to their Health and to releive them all you can in time of Sickness.

You are to sell for ready money as much as possible, But where you are under an absolute Necessity of Trusting You are to make strict Enquiry after the Ability and honesty of the Partyes taking such Security as you think will be punctually performed and to be very Cautious and Circumspect that the Company may not Sustain any Losses thereby.

At the Entry or Coming in of any of our Ships or Sloops with Negros the Dutyes being very high You are to gett as large Measurement as you can, but by no means to be at any extraordinary Expences on that account, it being not worth our while, unless wee Imported more than the 4800 p's India per ann which at present wee have no Prospect of Doing.

You are to procure and send us the proper Instrument of Regulacion of each Ships Negros by themselves advising us in your Letter what Regulacions you do send.

You are also to send us a Certificate of what Dye within the 15 Dayes after Landing, And if they have been Regulated Send a Certificate that they may be Deducted out of the p's of India regulated, Wee not being obliged to pay Dutyes for such as Dye within the 15 Dayes after Landing.

As to what Negros are Landed sick you are to avoid as much as possible their being regulated till after the 15 Dayes to avoid the trouble and Charge of a Certificate on that account.

You are to keep a Regular and exact account of what Negros come by each Ship, how many Men Women Boys and Girls and their

[113] [1] Add. MSS. 25563, pp. 374-375. "Instructions to Richard Farril, Wargent Nicholson, Factors, and John Garrard, Writer, at the Havana." The "Writer" was an official attached to all the factories of the African and the South Sea companies.

ages, and how they are Disposed of to whom and at what prices, and what for Time, and how long, and what for ready Money, and to Ballance the acco't of Negros by each Ship.

A Weekly or Monthly Account of the said Negros is to be laid before the Councill from time to time in order to be Enter'd in the general Books of the Factory. . . .

114. The South Sea Company to Dudley Woodbridge.[1]

South Sea House, 25th Sept. 1718.

Mr. Woodbridge, Inclosed is copy of our last of the 30th July[2] since which Our Fleet has destroyed greatest part of the Spanish Fleet as you will see by the inclosed Printed Accounts. And the Court of Madrid have thereupon seized on all the English Effects in Spain, and *avisos* are immediately ordered to the Spanish West Indies to do the like there.[3] Therefore you are not (till further Order) to send any more Negroes to any part of the Spanish Dominions. But if it should so happen that there should be any opportunity We desire you will advise Our Several Factories thereof, And if any of Our Ships come into yo'r Port with Negroes from Africa you are to dispose of them there to the best advantage for our account, and make us the Speediest returns in Bills of Exchange or such effects as you think will turn to best Account here. But if you don't find a reasonable Market for the Negroes at Barbadoes you may forward some of them to Jamaica with directions to Messrs. Pratter and Haselwood our agents to dispose of them there.

115. James Phipps and John Stevenson to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, Aprill the 17th, 1719.

Sends Copy of Capt'n Petts Account of Trade which Shows the Difference in the price of Slaves at Annamaboe and other parts of the Coast[2] and the Illconveniency of parting with the best of their

[114] [1] Add. MSS. 25563, p. 424.

[2] July 30, 1718. "We Direct that you refrain from Sending any more Negroes to the Several Factorys, until Such Time as they write for them But Sell Such as Our Negro Ships Shall Deliver at your Island for the most you can Get And in Case the Spanish Market Shall happen for sometime not to be so fully Supplyed by us as it requires, We hope it will be attended with this Advantage of being a Means to Encourage People to take out the More Licences of which We find by your Letters you have Issued but 4 for 93 Negroes Regulated at 81⅓ Ps of India." *Ibid.,* p. 401.

[3] The outbreak of war, which caused the seizure of English goods, may be dated from the spring of 1718, though there was no official declaration of war until December. The company estimated that the property seized by virtue of this order amounted to £225,000. Adam Anderson, *Origins of Commerce* (Dublin, 1790), pp. 305-306, 490.

[115] [1] T 70: 6, p. 93. Of James Phipps, Atkins said that as general at Cape Coast he was "so nettled at failing to receive from a visiting vessel a salute equal to the one fired from the fort that it took his Stomach off Victuals two or three Days" (Atkins, *Voyage to Guinea,* p. 78). He was removed to Gambia not long after the writing of this letter.

[2] By way of Barbados, the company had received word in March that ships were paying £28 and even £32 for slaves at Anamabo. T 70: 6, p. 90.

goods, which hath unsorted the Warehouse. And pray a New Supply of the Perticulars formerly mentioned to you by Mr. Deane, The want of which will be a detrim't to our Trade being in Expectation of a Few English Interlopers on the Coast to Vie with There being but four Ships to the Leeward who will depart in a fortnight and only two Vessells to Windward. . . .

116. Richard Harris to the Secretary of the Board of Trade (?).[1]

London the 21st Septemb'r 1719.

Sir, In answer to yours of the 17th inst. touching the information their Ldps have received, of a considerable trade for Negros being carryed on by the Dutch, from Eustatia to the Leewards Islands, and Barbados etc: And that by reason of the cheapness of Goods in Holland proper for the purchase of Negros in Affrica, they can afford them cheaper than we can: I must beg leave to acquaint you, that I believe there is, and allways was, a Clandestine Trade carryed on, between our Islands and the Dutch, as well as the French Islands, for linnens, spice, brandy, wine and many other Commoditys, and in former times for great Numbers of Negros also, but for some years past, and particularly the two or three last, Barbados hath been so over supplyed, and the price so low, that very great Numbers of Negros have been carryed from thence, both to Martinico, Virginia and all the Leeward Islands; so as 'tis impossible that can be the case there now. indeed the Island of Antegua, by reason of their unfair dealing, our Negro Ships have not so much frequented as other Islands, because when they have purchased Negros in Exchange for Sugar, agreed to be paid the following Cropp, at twelve Shillings the hundred, they would not pay for them unless at twenty five, or keep the Sellers out of their money seven years, and their Cropp haveing fail'd the year before last, they were forced to Sell divers of their Negros, from their Plantations for necessarys, so that 'tis plain this could not be the case of that Island; and as to Nevis and St. Kitts, I certainly know they have been rather over stocked, because I myself orderd a Ship of mine about two years agoe, with four hundred good Negros thither, and then they were so over stocked, by English Ships then in the Road who came before mine, that I was forced to go to Jamaica.

As to Dutch goods, 'tis true that some African goods are usually cheaper in Holland than here, as Powder, French-brandy, Dutch-

[116] [1] C. O. 152: 13. Miss Mary Clarke states that William Popple was succeeded by his son William, who would therefore be the secretary of the board at this time. According to the *Journal of the Board of Trade,* 1718-1722, index, the office was held at this time by Henry Popple, who is there described as the father of Alured, the next secretary. Mary P. Clarke, "The Board of Trade at Work", *Am. Hist. Rev.,* XVII. 26.

pipes and most Sorts of East-Ind'a Goods, proper for that trade, (all which cannot be imported here, but we are now at liberty to go thither to take them in, as severall of my Ships and many others have lately done) by reason that our East india Compa. have not, for severall years past, imported one fifth part of those goods wanted for that Trade, and none of some sorts till lately, so that I expected the whole trade must at last have been driven on from thence.

I presume what is said before may convince their Ldps. that there cannot be any great weight in that information, touching the Dutch carrying Negros from Eustatia, or that the Leew: Islands can want if they can pay for them, to which I shall only add, that all this last year, Negros have been sold from sixteen to eighteen Pound (West india mony) at B'bados in an avarage, which is not twelve pound Sterling, and near two years Credit is given for the same, and more of them have been bought to carry to other Islands, than B'bados could take off, so that two Ships of mine which were ordered thither this year, by reason of that markett being over glutted, were forced to go down to Jamaica for a markett, and there is one certain rule, that whenever B'bados is over Supplyed, the Leeward Islands can never want, there being a great Trade allways carryd on from thence to Leeward, for Negros, Provisions, and many other Goods by many Sloops dayly employed therein, all which is humbly offer'd to their Ldps Consideration.

117. Warrants drawn by the South Sea Company.[1]

1719, Sept. 30.

To Mary Ex' of Geo: Huntington	Comm. on Negroes	£242. 6
Capt. Thomas Gadsden	Do.	233. 1
Capt. Henry Baker	Do.	176. 18
Owners of the *Ormond* galley	Freight	915. 6. 10
Owners of the *Anne* Galley	Do	557. 19. 8

118. James Phipps and John Stevenson to the Royal African Company.[1]

Cabo Corso Castle, Jan. 12th 1719/20.

Have received a Letter from the Secretary of 11th August, by Capt. Green. Write about the *Craven* Gally. Capt. Murray in the *Mary* Gally of Barbadoes refused to trade but for 4000 Gall'ns of Rum. Charge him with £10 per Cent for his protection. Receive from him £80 value in Rum.

[117] [1] Add. MSS. 25498, p. 18 (2d numbering).

[118] [1] T 70: 7. "Abstracts of Letters received by the Royal African Company of England from the Coast of Africa, no. 3, from Jan. 12, 1719, to Aug. 26, 1723", p. 2.

Arrive the *Farlton* and *Filsly* both from Liverpool, and the *Reynolds,* Captain Christian from London. Trade with him for his Cargo am'ting to the Value of 155 Slaves. Contracted with Capt. Green for his Cargo, consisting of 7000 Gall'ns of Rum and Some dry Goods to deliver him Men Slaves at £26 and Women at £18 each. Trade disturbed by quarrels in the Up-Countrys.

Proposal for delivering Slaves to the Compa's Creditors at £14 per head, and with the advancement of £10,000 in Sortable Goods they would in two Years time clear the incumbrances occasiond by the Subscription at Mr. Johnson's coming over. A Meeting with the King of Cuiffdroe,[2] hope to establish Officers in the County of Fetue.

Mr. Baille arrives from Whydah, complains of the decay of Trade on that Coast by reason of Pyrates.[3] He is ready to deliver up that Charge agreeable to his Contract with Mr. Johnson, which they shall postpone for some time.

Mr. Branston dyed at Whydah; only 4 White men living there, *vizt* the Gunner, Serjeant, Surveyor, and Bom boy.

Pyrates design to range on the Coast to Windward till end of Febry, then for the Coast of Brazil, and thence to Madagascar. Pyrates take 2 large French Ships.

Mr. Booth appointed Chief at Winnebah, and Mr. Young at Dixcove in the room of Mr. Franklin, whom they design to employ in the Accompting house. . . . Received into the Warehouse Some Goods from Capt. Green on acc't of Mr. Morna till called for.

A Portuguese Vessell arrives at Dixcove.

119. The Royal African Company: Minutes of Committee.[1]

July 8th 1720.

Capt. Lyel came and acq'ted the Committee that Mr. Buck had been here with him, but business obliged him to go away, and that he came to discourse and treat with the Comm'ee for the purchase of Slaves, and gave in an acc't of the Ages of each.

[2] This may be Guiforo, north of Cape Three Points.

[3] "London . . . There is an Account that the Pirates have done a great deal of Mischief on the Coast of Guiney, and have taken and plundered ships to the Value of 2000 *l.* upon one of which ships and Cargoe, it is said six Thousand Pounds were insured here" (*Boston News-Letter,* June 9, 1720). "London, April 11. We hear that the African Company have received an account from the Coast, that since their Letters from thence, the *Peterborough* Gally of Bristol, Capt. Owen, and the *Victory* of London Capt. Rideout, were fallen into the Hands of the Pyrates, who had plunder'd the latter and let her go, but had taken the former and fitted her up for a Pyrate" (*ibid.,* July 4, 1720). "London, April 30. Our Merchants have an Account, that the ship *Europe,* Capt. Bound, has been taken by the Pirates on the Coast of Guiney, loaden with slaves for the River Plata in the Spanish West Indies. The Pirates have done great damage and infest that Coast, and ruin Commerce, to the great Detriment of our Merchants." *Ibid.,* July 18, 1720.

[119] [1] T 70: 123, "Minute Book", pp. 2-3. "At a Committee appointed to treat with Mr. Buck and Capt. Lyel for purchasing Slaves of the Company held Fryday July 8th, 1720, present, Mr. Neal, Mr. Hopegood, Mr. Wachter, Capt. Pannwell, Mr. Grosvenor."

Upon this the Comm'ee told him, the Ages he had putt down did not agree with those which the Compa. usually contract for, and therefore gave him a Copy of theirs, as follows, *vizt.*

Men	**from 16 to 40 Years**
Women	**from 15 to 35**
Boys	**from 10 to 15**
Girls	**from 10 to 14**

This he said he would consult the rest of the Gent. upon whom he was concerned with.

At a Comm'ee appointed to treat with Mr. Buck etc. held Wednesday July 13th 1720. . . .[2]

Capt. Lyel, Mr. Buck and Mr. Hyde gave in their proposal of the Ages of the 300 Slaves they desire to purchase of the Compa. *Vizt.*

Men	from 16 to 30
Women	from 19 to 30
Boys	from 10 to 15
Girls	from 10 to 14

Upon which a Debate arising, the Comm'ee so farr conceded in the first Article as to offer the Men from 16 to 39 Years old: But Capt. Lyel, and the other Gent'l insisting upon the Ages they gave in as above.

120. Accounts of the *King Solomon*.[1]

London, 27th July 1720.

Invoyce of Sundry Goods laden on board the "King Solomon" Joseph Traharne Comd'r for Acct. of the Royal African Company of England and consigned to James Phipps Esq'r Captain General and to the chief merchants at Cape Coast Castle:

K. S. Being marked and Numbered as pr. Margent.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
2 Cuttanees—3 Trunks			
No 1. a Trunk 55			
2. " 55			
3. " 60			
170 Pieces Cuttanees at 20 *s.* /6 pr. Ps.	174	5	0
Brawles—4 Trunks.			
4–7. [details given similar to those for the Cuttanees]			
320 Pieces Brawles at 5/6 pr. Ps.	88	0	0
Carridarys and Chellows[2] 1 Trunk.			
8. a Trunk 45 Check'd Carridarys at 13/—pr. Ps.	29	5	0
31 Pieces Chellows at 11/—pr. Ps.	17	1	0
Carridarys 1 Trunk.			
9. a Trunk 70 check'd. Carridarys at 13 shillings pr. Ps.	45	10	0

[2] Present: Mr. Hopegood, Mr. Grosvenor, Mr. Wachter, Capt. Pannwell.

[120] [1] T 70: 921, "Invoice Books Outwards of the Royal African Company of England, No. 19".

[2] Chillows were coarse calicoes; derries were also cottons of brown or blue color.

[*Invoice*—continued:]

		£	s.	d.
Carridarys and Romauls[3] 1 Trunk				
10. a Trunk 25 check'd Carridarys at 13 *s.* pr. Ps.		16	5	
30 cotton Romals at 11 *s.* pr. Ps.		16	10	
Cotton Romals 4 Trunks.				
11–14. [details]				
309 Pieces cotton Romals at 11 *s.* pr. Ps.	£169—19—0.			
Photaes—9 cases.				
15–23. [details]				
402 Pieces Photaes at 18 *s.*	£361—16—0.	918	11	0
		[531	15]	
Brass Kettles. 4 Casks				
24–27. [details]				
cwt. qrs. lbs.				
99 wt. 8 — 0 — 5 at 1 *s.* 4 *d.* per lb.		60	1	4
Guinea Brass Pans. 3 casks				
28–30. [details]				
cwt. qrs. lbs.				
500 wt. 6 — 2 —11 at 1 *s.* 4 *d.* per lb.		49	5	4
Pewter Basons. 9 casks.				
31–39. [details].				
c. q. lb.				
1000 wt. 17—3—11				
is 1999 lbs. at 10 *d.* per lb.		83	5	10
Guinea Juggs w'th Corks 1 cask				
40. a Caske 22 Guinea Juggs at 9 *s.* 6 *d.*		10	9	0
Guinea Juggs and Tankards 1 cask.				
41. a Caske 3 Guinea Juggs at 9 *s.* 6 *d.*		1	8	6
40 three pint Tankards at 2 *s.* 9		5	10	0
Tankards 1 caske				
42. a caske 60 Quart Tankards at 1 *s.* 11 *d.*		5	15	0
40 Pint " at 1 *s.* 5		2	16	8
Old Sheets 60 chests ea. 65 is 3900 at 1 *s.* 11 *d.* ea.		373	15	0
Tn. Cwt. qr.				
Voyage Iron 440 Barrs 5 — 2 — 3 at £18—15 *s.* pr. Ton		96	6	6
cwt. qr. lb.				
Tallows 130 Caggs 18 — 1 — 17 nett at £2—10 pr. cwt.		46	0	1
Slezeys 2 Boxes.				
43, 44. [details] 176 ps. Slezeys at 7 *s.* pr. Ps.			12	0
Scimiters 2 boxes.				
45. a Box 3 doz. dou. shell'd Scimiters at £2. 10 *s.* pr. doz.		7	10	0
46. " 3 " single shell'd " at £2—4 pr. doz.		6	12	0
Cruell—2 boxes.				
47, 48. R2 boxes 60 lb. Cruel at 2 *s.* 7 *d.* pr. lb.		7	15	0
Coral and Arangoes 1 Trunk.				
49. a Trunk 157 oz. Coral at 4 *s.* 7 *d.* pr. oz.		35	19	27
5600 Arangoes at 11 *s.* pr. [hundred]		30	16	0
Salampores and Beades 1 Trunk				
50. a Trunk 17 half Ps. Salampores at 18 *s.* pr. Ps.		15	6	0
130 lb. beades at 2 *s.* 1 *d.* pr. lb.		13	10	10

[3] Romalls or romauls were sea handkerchiefs.

[*Invoice*—continued:]

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Cowries 10 Casks.			
51–60. [details]			
cwt. qr. lbs.			
Nett Cowries 15 3 9 at £8 pr. Cwt.	126	12	10
Fine gunns. 1 chest.			
61. a chest 12 guns walnut Tree Stocks £2—2—6 ea.	25	10	0
Tradeing Gunns—25 chests.			
62–96. [details]			
25 chests—625 gunns at 10 *s.* 6 *d.* each	328	2	6
. . . [97—111?]			
Buckaneer Gunns—2 chests.			
112–113. 2 chests ea. 25 makes 50 at 16 *s.* ea.	40	0	0
Gunpowder			
[details]			
345 Caggs—8280 lbs. at £3—10 pr. Cwt.	289	16	
114–181. Blew Ranters 68 bales			
[details]			
68 bales—1716 ps. Blew Ranters	989	11	3
182–186. Blew Sayes. 5 bales.			
5 ditto ea. 10 makes 50 ps. at 35 *s.* each	87	10	0
187–188. Welch plaines 2 bales			
2 bales 20 ps. 411½ yds at 1 *s.* 4 *d.* p. yd.	27	8	8
189. Knives and Fine Steals 1 barrel			
a barrel 3 gros. large horn knives at 2 *s.* 7 *d.* pr. doz.	4	13	0
18 doz. Fine Steales 8—6 pr. ps.		12	9
1 gros. large ditto 10 *s.* 6 *d.*		10	6
Spirits 60 wicker'd Bottles and 80 Cases			
gs. qts.			
60 wickered bottles 199 3 malt spirits at 10 *s.* 6 *d.* ea.	31	10	
40 whole cases Spirits 7 *s.* 6 *d.*	15	0	0
40 half cases ditto 3 *s.* 9 *d.*	7	10	0
gs. qts.			
Brandy. 7 casks 237 3 at 3 *s.* 3 *d.* per gal.	32	12	8
Flints 1 caske			
190. a Caske 10,000 French flints at 7 *s.* 6 *d.* p. M	3	15	0
Carridarys, Cuttanees and Romalls—1 Trunk			
[details].	52	11	0
Phoetaes, Chellows and Romals 1 Trunk			
[details]	37	13	0
Carridarys 1 Trunk 30 at 13 *s.*	19	10	0
Slezeys—1 chest—176 ps. at 7 *s.* ea.	61	12	0
Trading guns 8 chests—200 at 10 *s.* 6 *d.*	105	0	0
Buckaneer Guns 1 chest—25—at 16 *s.* ea.	20	0	0
Fine Guns " 6 42 *s.* 6 *d.* ea.	12	15	0
Gunpowder 60 caggs. 1620 lb. at £3—10 *s.*	56	14	0
	£4215	5	10
To custome Entries, Shipping Charges, Cartage, etc.[4]	36	14	7
	4252	0	5

[4] Here follows a list of "Negro Provision", vinegar, tobacco, beans, and "stationary wares", for the use of the forts. In many of these accounts it seems impossible to arrive at the totals given in the manuscript.

LONDON 28th July 1721.[5]

ST. CHRISTOPHERS 21st March 1721.

Sale of two hundred ninety six Negroes Imported in the Ship "King Solomon" Joseph Traherne Comd'r from Cabo Corso Castle on the account of the Royal African Company of England.

Francis Carlile Esq.			1	1	60	0	0
Edward Chester Esqr. Sr.	3	1			144		
Capt. Thos. Watts	1		1		64		
Walter Hammilton Esq. Gen'l	10	2			460		
. . .							
Captain Joseph Traherne	8	2	1	—			
	206	49	30	11	£9228	2	0

To the Doctor for head Mony	14	16	0
To Wine and provisions sent on board at Sale	12	0	0
To be Nett Proceeds which I carry to acct. curt.	9201	6	0
	9228	2	—

Errors excepted this 1 June 1721
for John Helden

121. MESSRS. PHIPPS, DODSON, AND STEVENSON TO THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY.[1]

CABO CORSO CASTLE, 2d Aug't, 1720.

This comes by a Dutch Ship being the 13th L're to which they have had no Answer yet. Enumerate the Severall L'res and Ways of Conveyance.

Agreemt with Capt. Bull of the *Elizabeth*. Propose to send him to Maryland with Slaves. Arrived the *Greyhound* Capt. Evans of London and *Robert* Gally Richard Arding of Bristol to whom they put off 13 Maugre Slaves at 6 ozs. 8 ac's Men, and 4 ozs. 8 ac's Women.

A Sloop from Barbados Capt. Henry and the *Victory* Capt. John Bull and the *Levant* Capt. Finly from London, and Severall Mississippi Ships.[2] *Adventure* Gally Capt. Hudson of London, Contract with him for 200 Slaves at 13 A per head.

Difficultys of providing a Number of Slaves to be ready for any Vessell. From Scarcity of Corn. Fear a Famine. Desire any Ship Sent out may take in Rice at the Grain Coast and Mallaguetta for the Slaves use but

To Caution the Command'rs how they Send a Shore to Windward of Sestos,[3] Capt. Edw'd Riders behaviour having incensed

[5] T 70: 957, "Invoice Book Homewards of the Royal African Company of England", H 28, Jan. 26, 1715-Jan. 11, 1721. Many of the items are omitted.

[121] [1] T 70: 7, pp. 9-10.

[2] For an account of the Mississippi trade see this work, vol. III., Louisiana.

[3] Atkins in 1724 speaks of the fact that most of the English vessels buy rice at Sestos. See *post,* no. 128, n. 3.

the Natives to do a great deal of mischief in those parts. Instances thereof. . . .

122. Journal of the Board of Trade.[1]

August 18, 1720.

. . . Mr. Humphrey Morrice, Mr. Richard Harris, Mr. Travers, Mr. John Merryweather, Mr. Marmaduke Pain and others, attending, as desired, in relation to the seizures and incroachments made by the French on the trade and effects of His Majesty's subjects on the Coast of Africa, Mr. Travers presented a memorial to the Board, with copies of two petitions delivered sometime since to their Excellencies the Lords Justices, from himself and brother, relating to three of their ships seized by the French on the said Coast, which memorial was read; and their Lordships enquiring what other losses His Majesty's subjects may have sustained from the French since the late Edict of the French King,[2] referred to in Mr. Pulteney's letter of the 10th inst., N.S., which was read the 15th of this month O.S. (and is the same as that received with Mr. Delafaye's letter of the 11th inst., now read). Mr. John Merriweather acquainted their Lordships that he was concerned in the ship *Amazon,* which he hears is lately taken, and is in expectation of the particulars, which when received, be promised to lay before their Lordships; and Mr. Marmaduke Pain, who said he was taken in the *Betty* Gally, between Portadally and Gambia, promised to bring their Lordships a memorial thereof. Mr. Richard Harris then observed to their Lordships that the English had originally all the trade on the Coast of Africa before the French had any commerce there; but that in King James the 2nd's time there was a private stipulation or agreement made between the English Royal African Company and the French Senegal Company, though without the intervention or authority of the Government of either nation, by which agreement the English consented not to go with their ships into the River Senegal, as the French on their part agreed, not to come into the River Gambia.[3] That by the said agreement all the Coast of Africa was left free to both nations. And these gentlemen being desired to give the Board their thoughts in writing on the subject of the late French Edicts concerning the trade to Africa, they promised to do it, if their Lordships would

[122] [1] *B. T. Jour.,* 1718-1722, pp. 199-200.

[2] Daniel Pulteney, a member of the Board of Trade at this time in Paris, had written to Secretary Craggs that the French king had recently granted to the Company of the Indies exclusive trade to Africa (*B. T. Jour.,* 1718-1722. p. 196). This company was John Law's creation, into which he was merging the powers and privileges of all the French trading companies. See *ante,* introduction, p. xxiii.

[3] This may refer to the agreement made at the beginning of the century. The editor has not come upon such an arrangement in the time of James II.

please to let them have copies or extracts of the said Edicts, which were thereupon ordered them. . . .

August 19.

Some members of the Royal African Company attending, as desired, they acquainted the Board, that they have as yet no accounts of any of their ships being lately taken by the French on the Coast of Africa; and as to the Edicts lately passed in France concerning the Senegal and India Companies in that kingdom, they desired copies or extracts of such Edicts, upon which they promised to give their Lordships their sentiments in writing in a short time; whereupon ordered that a copy of the French letters patents published at Paris in 1696, relating to the Senegal Company, and also a copy of the 5th Art. of the Edict, published likewise there in July last, for granting all the privileges of the Senegal Company to the India Company, be sent to the gentlemen above mentioned. . . .

Ordered that a letter be writ to desire of the Royal African Company that this Board may have a copy of the Agreement or Stipulation, which their Lordships are informed was made between the said Company and the French Senegal Company in the reign of King James the 2nd, relating to their commerce in Africa.

123. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the Committee of Trade.[1]

At a Comm'ee of Trade Friday Febry 16th 1721.

Present: D. Chandos, Mr. Acton S. G.,[2] Mr. Gore, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Drummond.

S'r Robert Davers[3] came to the Committee, and being discours'd with touching his being furnish'd by the Company with Negroes at Barbadoes, He agreed to the following Contract *Vizt.*

1. That He should be furnished with 60 Adult Negroes from 14 to 30 years of Age half Men and half Women; as also 30 Boys

[123] [1] T 70: 123.

[2] Subgovernor. Sir Bibye Lake was deputy governor at this time. The Duke of Chandos, who had recently become a director of the company, was responsible in large measure for its increased activity for the few years after 1720. James Houston (*Memoirs of James Houston,* pp. 126-127) explained his efforts in the African trade as the result, in part at least, of his losses in the South Sea Bubble: "His Grace the Duke of Chandos then patronized the Royal African Company of England, and he was deeply engaged in their Stock, and, as all Stocks fell in Proportion to the grand Bubble, his Grace lost an immense Sum of Money here. However, he stuck by it at all Hazards, and was willing to retrieve their Misfortunes, if possible, by putting their Trade on a better footing and surer Foundation than they had been on, since that Company had been under the Direction of the Duke of York, the late King James II. Accordingly he united the old with the new Company, and made Proposals for the Improvement of their Trade, which made some Noise in the World, and their Stock rose considerably, when all the rest were sunk. He declined being chose Governor, under his Majesty, who is always Governor; but enlisted himself as one of the Court of Assistants."

[3] Sir Robert Davers, sr., was agent for Barbados and a separate trader to Africa.

and Girls, or as many more as his Agent shall desire to have from 10 to 14 years of Age and this to be done between December and July.

2. That they be Negroes of Cape Coast, Whydah or Jaquin.

3. That they be deliver'd to S'r Robert Davers's Agent at Berbadoes out of the 3 first Ships of the Companys which shall arrive there within the time limited in the first Article in manner following. That is to say, 20 Adult and 10 young Ones out of each Ship, all Merchantable Negroes to be approv'd of by his Agent.

4. That the Sums to be paid for each Negroe be in Sterling Money as follows, *Vizt.* For each Man £23, For each Woman £22, For each Boy and Girl £21.

5. That the said Sums be paid by S'r Robert Davers to the Company here sixty days after the Arrival of his Agents Receipt for the Negroes.

Lastly That this Contract hold good, and Continue for three years from the date hereof.

124. The Royal African Company: Committee Report on the State of the Trade.[1]

Febr. 23, 1720/1.

The Committee appointed to propose and lay before the Court a State of the Trade of this Company, having accordingly considered thereof, do report as follows *Vizt.*

As it is evident the Trade to Africa remaining open depreciates Our European Commoditys, and advances the prices on Slaves to Such a degree That the Compa. by carrying on that Trade to the West Indies, upon the present foot may be loosers, Therefore the following Observations are Offer'd to consideration, in order to the better regulation of the Trade, and the Supplying the plantations with Negroes at more easy and reasonable rates. . . .

2. In regard the opening a Trade with the Portuguese would be of advantage to the Company and Kingdome, by making a vent for such Slaves as are not fit for Our own plantations, That Your Agents promote the disposing of Slaves on the Coast to the Portuguese for Gold. Teeth and Redwood, or any other Commoditys proper to make returns of to England at reasonable rates. And that the Plantations may be the better Supply'd That Your Agents have Liberty to dispose of Slaves on the Coast, to any other Europeans, for the before mentioned Commoditys, at Such prices as they Shall think will produce a reasonable profit to the Company upon the first Cost.

[124] [1] T 70: 123, pp. 9-14. This report is one of the fruits of the new energy infused into the company by the Duke of Chandos.

3. That if Your Agents should have a Companys Ship with them to Slave, and at the Same time Should have an Opportunity of disposing of Slaves for Gold, teeth or Wood at advanced prices, It would be the Companys Interest they should do it, and send the Said Ship off the Coast Short of the Number of Slaves she was intended for, unless they have a prospect of compleating their Number in a Short time. But that they take no European Goods for Slaves, unless they should want any particular commoditys to assort their Warehouse.

4. That Your Agents constantly keep Coasting Vessells to Windward and Leeward, to collect all the Gold, Teeth etc. they can, and to give the Masters and Super Cargos of the said Vessells Instructions to Sell what Slaves they may purchase (if they have opportunity in their Voyage) to the Portugueze, or other, for Gold Teeth etc. at such advanced prices as they shall direct them.

5. [That 30 Sloops of about 70 tun each remain at Cape Coast and be always employed in the coasting trade: that 3 pacquets of 100 tun each be constantly going to and from England to Africa; that 3 sloops of 30 tun each already in Africa remain there in the service of the factory and river trade.] [2]

6. That in some of those Coasters there be Factors sent out to try if an allyance cannot be made with the princes of the Country in the Bight, and to learn what Sort of Trade may be carryed on there, and make their report thereon to the Chiefs at Cape Coast, who if they find it feasible, may Settle a Factory there for the Enlarging of the Trade.

7. That those trading Vessells which are sent to the Bight, the River Gabon and Cape Lopez have orders to call at the Islands of St. Thomas and Princes on their return to Cape Coast, and there Sell what goods or Slaves they may have to the Portugueze for Gold etc.

8. [The trade to the islands of St. Thomas and Princess to cater especially to the needs of the Portugueze.]

9. [The agents are to put on each trading vessel an experienced factor who is to keep regular books which are to be turned over to the company.] [3]

14. That till the Manufacture of Rum can be brought to perfection the Chiefs consider what Rum they shall have occasion for Six Months before hand, and Send timely notice thereof, to the

[2] The bracketed paragraphs are summaries of the originals. One attempt to revive the African trade had been tried the summer before, when the court of assistants directed the committee of goods to send to Africa samples of goods new to the inhabitants, as an encouragement to trade. T 70: 131, p. 21.

[3] Sections 10, 11, 12, and 13 deal with the collecting and sending home of gold, teeth, and wood, the raising of cotton, indigo, and pepper, the making of rum, and the commissions to be allowed to agents for these products.

Agents at the Plantations, that they may be enabled to Supply them accordingly. And that the Agents at Barbadoes, St. Christophers, Nevis and Antigua have directions to comply with such Orders from the Chiefs by sending Vessells from the said Islands with the quantitys of Rum they shall from time to time have notice to send: provided they hire Vessells to carry the said Rum to the Coast Freight free, and bring back Slaves upon the best terms for the Companys advantage, not exceeding £6 : 10 *sh* per head, West India money.

15. That the Chiefs on the Coast have liberty as occasion may require to send a Small Vessell of the Compa's with Slaves to such Island as they judge most for the Compa's advantage, to return to the Coast laden with Rumm, when they esteem it most for the Compa's Interest, and that the Compa. Supply the Factorys on the Coast with Staves and Iron hoops to make proper Casks to export the Rum from one Factory to another.

16. That your Chiefs or Agents be advised, It will be a Standing rule with the Compa. to Send them Shipping every three months constantly, with full Supplys of Sortable goods, and that therefore they take care to be provided for their dispatch, particularly with Corn for your Slave Ships going to Whydah, so as to have a Store in Granarys at Cape Coast, Dixcove, Accra, Tantumquerry and Winnebah of 200 Chests in each place. In case at any time Corn should be Scarse and You have advise of Ships coming that they take care by the Coasting Vessells to gett a quantity of Rice from the Grain Coast to supply that want.

17. That Your Agents always lett the Natives have what goods they want for Gold, Teeth, Wood, etc. And when they have no Ships with them for Slaves, then to endeavour to putt off Such Goods as are least in demand for Slaves.

18. [That your agents be directed to put all the settlements into the best repair possible, sending to England by the first opportunity for the materials needed and the expense involved in putting the factories in perfect condition.]

19. [A strict enquiry is to be made into the capacities and behaviour of all the company's servants. In case of complaints their answers to the accusations to be made in writing; if the answers appear unsatisfactory to the council the said servants are to be sent home, together with the accusations and answers and the council's remarks thereupon.]

20. [Every six months copies of their journals and ledgers with all their account books and papers, a list of the living and dead, with samples of any sort of goods the natives like which are brought them by any other European nation, are to be sent home, also the

minutes of the council meetings which are to be held at least twice a week.]

21. [Gold and teeth from Whydah to be sent to Cape Coast or by slaving vessels to the plantations and England.] . . .

24. That the Factory at Cape Coast have Orders to Supply the Settlement at Whydah with such quantitys of Rum, Arrack and other Spirits, as they shall be advised from time to time they can dispose of to advantage there, to be sent by such trading Vessells as they send to the Leeward parts of the Coast, in small Cask proper for that place.

25. That Dr. Stewart at Jamaica be wrote to, That in Case he finds it practicable he sends some Negros to the Spanish West Indies, to be disposed of there for the Company's Account, and the produce to be returned home in the Same Commoditys for which they are sold there.

26. The Compa. of late have entred into a Method of allowing their Captains of Ships from £100 to £200 Each, by way of an Equivalent for their being debar'd the liberty of Trading on the Coast for their own Acc't. Least this should not prevent their so doing, It is proposed, as more the Compa's Interest to Save that Expence, and permit the Captains to carry out a Small adventure, to be invested in Such Goods as the Court of Assistants shall from time to time allow. But that this Liberty be proportioned to Your Capt's according to the Tunage of their Ships, after the Rate of 30 *sh* per Tun, *vizt.* 20 *sh* to the Captain and 10 *sh* to his officers; And that the Captains do always lay a List or Inventory before the Court of what Goods they desire to carry, for the Courts approbation; and the Clerks of the Comm'ees of goods and Shipping to be ordered to inspect these Goods before Shippd and to make their Report to the Court, if agreable to the List the Court allowed; The said List or Inventory when allowed by the Court to be signed by the Secretary.

27. It is further proposed, That the Returns the said Capt's make upon such their privat Trade, be in Gold only, at Such places where Gold is to be had, and where it is not, in the Goods or Commoditys of that Country, but Consign'd to the Company to be disposed of with the Company's Goods at their Sales, and to be payd them in an Average as the Sales arise; And that the Capts. of Ships which go on a Slaving Voyage, have liberty to invest the produce of their privat trade in Slaves, provided they buy them of the Companys Agents at such prices as shall be agreed on between them; who are to give the Capts. a Certificate of the number, and quality of said Slaves to be carryed to the Agents at the West Indies, and Send a Duplicate thereof home to the Company for their Information.

28. The Captains for himself and officers obliged to give Bond with a penalty attached for not giving a true Inventory. The goods to be seized and the Captain dismissed if his Inventory be proven false.[4]

29. That for the future the Capts receive £4 per Cent upon the Gross Sales instead of 4 Negros by lot in 104, as has hitherto been usual, and that notice be given thereof to the Agents at the plantations, and a Clause to that purpose inserted in the Charter partys and Captains Instructions.

30. And in regard a Thorough knowledge of the Inland parts of Africa may prove of very great advantage to the Company, In Order to be the more likely to come at it, That Your Agents have Orders, as often as any parcells of Negros are brought down to be sold, to make as Strict an Enquiry as possible to find out what Sort of Country they came from; and if no Linguister can be had who knows their Language, it may not be amiss to choose out 2 or 3 of the most likely ones, to make house Slaves of, by which means either some of your own Slaves will in all probability in a years time, learn enough of their Language, or they will of yours, to be able to understand each other, and then by asking proper questions, usefull discoverys may in time be made.

The Questions most pertinent on these occasions to ask seem to be such as these *vizt.*

How many days they have employd in their March down from their own Country, whereby its distance from the Forts may be pretty near guessd at?

Whether they have any large or Navigable Rivers in it?

What form of Government they have? and in what manner Justice is exercised? Whether they are guided by any Written Laws, or Customs, or Absolutely by the Will of their Prince?

Of what Extent their Country is? What manner of Citys they have? How large and of what Materials they are built? and of what distance, and how many days journey they are Situated from the Neighbouring Nations? as also what sort of people those Neighbouring Nations are?

[4] Section 22 directs the sending home of samples of indigo; section 23, the purchasing of "country cloaths" at Whydah, to be sent to Cape Coast Castle. Sections 25, 26, 27, and 28 are inscribed in the margin, "referred to further consideration". James Houstoun (*Observations,* pp. 10-11, see no. 135, note 1) relates one attempt to carry out this policy of developing native industries, which illustrates the company's basic ignorance of African conditions. Governor Plunkett, at Sierra Leone, had set some negro women to making mats for chair bottoms and backs, which he "design'd for a Present, to shew the Ingenuity of the Natives to a truly Noble Peer [the Duke of Chandos], who honours your Society by being a member of it; on which your Honours made a demand on him for Fifty Thousand such for the Use of the Company; whereas to my certain Knowledge, it was with the greatest Difficulty he cou'd get so much Rattane, and as many Hands to manage those few he sent for a Sample".

How populous they are? or how many fighting Men their Armys generally Speaking Consist of?

Their manner of making Slaves? Whether they become so by any other misfortune than that of being taken Prisoners in War time? And whether they have any other method of Trading for them than this of bringing them down to the Coast of Africa to Sell to the Europeans?

How large are the Revenues and Riches of their Princes? and in what do they Consist, and how Collected?

What sort of meat Drink and Cloathing have they? whether any manufactures and if they have in what manner, and of what Materials they are workt, and to what uses applyd?

How are their people generally employd? Whether they drive any Trade with their Neighbours, and if they do, what sort of Merchandise it is carryd on with?

What Commoditys their Country Yields, and the better to find this out 'twill be proper to Shew them Samples of Solid Gold, Gold Dust, Silver, Elephants Teeth, Gemms or any other valuable Commoditys; And if it appears by their Answers they have any of the first originaly in their Country, to be particular in finding out the manner of their Coming by it, whether They get it by washing the Earth after floods, as at Annamaboe, or by digging it out of Mines?

It will be also proper to Shew them Several Sorts of Colours, to know whether they dye any such in the parts from whence they come, and if they do, in what manner and of what materials they prepare them?[5] . . .

If any of the Negros are brought from Countrys bordering on the Sea, 'twill be proper to Shew them Specimens of Pearl, Amber or Amber greice in order to know whether they ever find any such in their own Country?

These Examinations to be very Carefully made and Sent over constantly with their Journals, for the Perusal and Information of the Royal African Compa. And if from these enquirys there may appear at any time a probable prospect of advancing the Service by opening a New Trade with any of their Countrys, That it be proposed to the Negros, by whose means the knowledge of it is come at; And in order to engage them the more firmly to Your Interest, especially where any of them shall be discoverd to be of a Superior Rank or better understanding than the Generality of them, that Your Agents be allowd to restore them their Liberty and permit them to return back to their own Country, with Samples and little Cargos of such goods as they shall declare will be most pleasing to their own Countrymen, taking Care to send a Factor and Writer, with

[5] Then follow questions concerning birds and animals.

Some Soldiers along with them, to bring back the returns of this Trade, or to Settle, if it should be found convenient a Factory in Some part of the Kingdome They belong to.

That all Endeavours be used to teach the Negros to read and write.

125. Daniel Wescomb to Francis Lynn.[1]

Feb. 23, 1721.

The Committee of this Company having again Consider'd the Subject Matter of their last Discourse with the Committee of your Company, are enclined to have the Proportions of the sorts of Negroes as follows *vizt.*

2000 Whydah and Jacquin and 1000 Angola

That 2/3 of these be Men and Women, and 1/3 Boys and Girls not under 10 years old, part of which may be of the Gold Coast or Cormantine sort.

That in consideration the South Sea Company are willing to take so much a larger proportion of Boys and Girls, and none of the Gold Coast Negroes, which are much the Dearest to your Company and sell best in the Plantations; This Committee expects the age of the Men and Women to be from 16 to 25. They wou'd add to the Explanation of the 4th Article of your Companys Proposals the following words *vizt.* "or any Lameness or Material Defect." And instead of 10 days, They wou'd have it 14 for Delivery of the Negroes. This I am order'd to signify to you, and that the Gentlemen of our Committee desire your Committee to meet them here on Tuesday morning next at 10 of the Clock precisely in order to the perfecting the Agreement.

126. The Royal African Company: Minutes and Further Report of the Committee of Trade.[1]

At a Committee of Trade, Tuesday Mar. 14th 1720[/1.]

The Comm'ee read over and approved the draught of a Second Report of their proceedings Since 23d Febr. last, and

Order'd, That it be layd before the Court for their consideration *Vizt.* The Comm'ee appointed to prepare and lay before the Court a State of the Trade of this Company having further Considered thereof, do Report as follows *Vizt.*

1. That the Company be regular in their Exports, That they Observe every Six Months to send out a Supply of Provisions,

[125] [1] Add. MSS. 25556, f. 20v, p. 50, "Home Letters and Memorials". Francis Lynn was secretary to the Royal African Company.

[126] [1] T 70: 123, pp. 15-20. Those present were Mr. Acton, the Duke of Chandos, the Earl of Clarendon, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Hayes, and Captain Pannwell.

Madera Wines etc. for the Use of the Servants on the Coast, with Stores of all Sorts for the Coasting Vessells, as also Factors, Writers, Artificers, and Soldiers by all oppertunitys.

2. That the Company be Carefull in the choice of their Factors and Writers they Send abroad, whose Characters and qualifications ought to be Strictly enquired into here.

3. Upon due Applycation to some persons of note at Lisbon a Correspondence might be settled with the Portuguese from thence and to the Brazils, to deliver them on the Coast of Affrica or any more convenient place Such a number of Slaves as they shall require; And the Compa. to encourage that Trade might let them have Slaves much cheaper than they could buy themselves, or any other Supply them.[2]

4. This leads the Comm'ee to lay before the Court Some proposals which have been made to them by Mr. Playter Onely for a Contract to be made with some Lisbon Merchants for Slaves *vizt*:

For 500 Annualy, Small Slaves Male and Female from 6 to 10 Years old, to be delivered

at St. Iago at	£10 per head
in the River Gambia at	£ 9
at Lisbon at	£15

to be paid for at Lisbon one Month after delivery, at the rate of 5 *sh* : 6 *d.* per mill rec [rei], which will be 540 : 545 Bus[3] per head delivered at Lisbon. In Case the Slaves are delivered in the River Gambia, or at St. Iago,[4] the Payments are to be made in England by the Agents or Corespond'ts of the Contractors in two Months after the Certificates of such delivery shall be by the Company presented to the said Contractors Agents in London.

For 1000 Adult Slaves annually from 12 to 40 Years of Age half Men and half Women, to be delivered at St. Iago according to the time which may be Stipulated at £18 per head to be paid for as above.

If the Company think it their Interest to be concerned in Slaves to be delivered at St. Iago, in order to be transported to the Brazills for their own Account, the Contractors are willing to cover such Slaves under Portuguese Names, as they do their own, allowing about a Moider[5] per head for letting the Said Slaves go to the Brazils in their Names, and allowing Freight to the Ships that carry them of about £5 : 10 to £6 per head, with a Commiss'n to those that sell them at the Brazils of abt 5 per Cent, and the Gold for which they are sold, to be consigned to the Contractors at Lisbon.

[2] For an earlier discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of this trade see *ante,* no. 69.

[3] The editor suggests the possibility that "Bus" may be a misreading for bits, or Spanish reals, which passed for 7½ *d.*

[4] One of the Cape Verde islands.

[5] Moider, 46 *s.*

It is proposed Mr. Onely may have liberty to treat with Some English Gentlemen at Lisbon of Credit and reputation for any Number of Negros to be delivered annually in such manner as may be agreed on at the Island of St. Thomas at £20 per head half Men, half Women, from 12 Years of Age to 40, to be paid for in Lond'n 2 Months after the Certificates are presented to their Agents here: as also Boys and Girls from 7 to 10 Years of Age at £14 per head.

Mr. Onely proposes in regard to himself, that in case he meets with Success, a Gratuity be made him in proportion to the Service he may do the Company. That an Allowance of about £200 per Anno be granted for his Expences, to Commence from the time of his Setting out, and Submitts to the Consideration of the Court his having already lost an opportunity of going in the Company's Service on this very account.

5. That the Company observe it as a Standing Rule, That all Shipps and Vessells Sent to the Coast of Africa be Sheathed. . . .

The Comm'ee do find that Since the New Ingraftment[6] the Compa. have sent out Sundry Ships and Vessells with proper Cargos to their Several Settlements on the Coast of Africa; And they are of Opinion it will be necessary to provide several others, the Cargos to be bought, and the Ships to be ready to take in Goods by Such a day or days as hereafter mentioned: All which they Submitt to further Consideration.

They do find the Compa. have already sent out the following Ships and Vessells *vizt.*

Gambia

	Burthen	Sail'd		Cargos		
Otter	170 t.	Dec'r 25th	From Ireland Capt. Tho. Forster Went to Cork to take in provisions from thence to Maderas for Wine, so to Gambia, thence with 240 Negros for Virginia	407:	19:	10
Martha	250	Febry 4th	Capt. John Levett to proceed from thence with 400 Negros for Maryland	6965:	2:	9¾
Gambia Castle	280	Feb. 4th	Capt. Chas. Russell rem'n as a Guard Ship	3010:	12:	5½
Gambia Sloop	30	Feb. 4th	Capt. Ira Edwards for the Service of the Factory	550:	2:	10
James Island Sl.	24	Feb. 4th	Capt. Nath'n Fincomb, ditto	70:	17:	1

It is further proposed by the Comm'ee, That a Packett of about 80 Tun be bought or built to be ready to Sayl by the 1st of May

[6] This probably refers to the subscription to the capital stock of which Atkins speaks (*post,* p. 267).

next, to carry a Cargo of £2000 And to come home again directly with what Wood teeth etc. They may have Collected there, and to bring advice what progress they have made in their Settlement.

In regard it may be difficult to procure 640 Slaves in the River of Gambia for the *Otter* and *Martha* in any reasonable time, that it be left to the Chiefs there, in case they find they cannot do it, to Send the *Otter* to Cape Coast, there to take in 240 Slaves, and from thence proceed to the West Indies.

That directions be given to try what trade can be made on the Gumm Coast, or Coast of Arguin: And if a Vessell be Sent, that She may Call at Cape de Verde Islands to purchase Cloaths made there, proper for Gambia, or any other part of the Coast of Africa.[7]

Sierraleone

	burthen	Sailed		Cargo
Providence Sneau [Snow]	90	Oct. 26th	Capt. James Gaine, to return directly back with what trade they have there	2388: 6: 7½
Sierraleone Sloop	32	Oct. 26th	Capt. Mich. Grimmington rem'n there for the Service of the Factory	586: 18: 9

Further proposed, That the *Sherbro* Galley proceed to Sierraleone and there remain for the Use of the Settlement so long as may be necessary, according to the directions in the Lt [Letter] wrote to Mr. Plunkett of the 9th Febry last; And if in the time She Stays a Cargo of Wood Teeth etc. can be provided, then to dispatch her home, Otherwise to Send her to Virginia with 240 Slaves and dispatch her by the middle of June, That She may arrive at Virginia in a proper Season. But should they find it necessary to keep her till the Season is over for Sending her to Virginia, Then to dispatch her with Slaves to [*blank*].

That a Packett of about 100 Tun be bought or built to be ready by the 1st of May, to take in £2000 in Goods Stores and provisions and to come home directly with a loading of Wood and Teeth.

Cape Coast Castle

	Tun	Sayld		Cargos
King Solomon	200	Aug. 19	Capt. Jos. Trahern to slave there and thence Consignd to Mr. Helden at St. Christophers	4503: 17: 1
Dispatch	80	Aug. 19	Capt. James Willis. If the Chiefs can put a valuable Cargo on board to return home directly, otherwise to take what Slaves She can carry consignd to Antigua	2576: 3: 0

[7] The exploitation of the Gum Coast, that is, the coast north of the Senegal River, had heretofore been left almost entirely to the French.

	Tun	Sayld		Cargos		
Hanibal	90	Octr. 2	Capt. Christ'r Onsley went to holland for a Cargo and so to Cape Coast, to return direct to England. But if the *Mary* Brig. be out on a Trading Voyage, She is to carry 60 Slaves to Gambia.	1504:	4:	6
Sarah	120	Octr. 2	Capt. John Bulcock to Spend Six Weeks in her way trading for Gold etc. and after delivering her Cargo at Cape Coast to be freighted with Negros for Virginia. But if timely notice arrives by the *Cape Coast* Fregat She is to go to Berbados instead of Virginia.	2646:	13:	4½
Cape Coast Fregat	120	Feby 4th	Capt. Thos. Canning, to proceed with Slaves to Berbados	3562:	0:	3
Cape Coast Sloop	30	Feby 4th	Capt. Robt. Willson proceeds to Gambia to take in Wines for Cape Coast and rem'ns for the Service of the Settlement	156:	16:	3
Guinea Sloop	30	Octr. 9th	Capt. Saml. Pett Calls at Sierraleone to deliver lres [letters] then remains at Cape Coast for the Service there	1088:	18:	7½
Whydah Sloop	30	Feb. 4th	Capt. Robt. Potter for the Service of this Settlement	190:	15:	8
Greyhound Sl.	75	Feb. 4th	Capt. Will'm Powis, went to holland to take in two Cargos one for Cape Coast and one for Whydah, after delivering which he is to be sent home with what Trade they have ready at Cape Coast, or out on a Trading Voyage	1350:	15:	7

Further proposed, That the *Guinea* packet burthen 134 Tun Cargoe £9952 . 9 . 5¼ now ready to Sail do go directly to Cape Coast and home again.

That a Ship of about 150 Tun be hired to be ready to take in Goods by the 1st of May to the Value of about £4000, and to Call in Ireland to take in provisions, and Such a Quantity of Tallow, as may be thought proper for Six Months Trade, from thence to proceed directly to Cape Coast and to be dispatched with 250 Slaves for the West Indies.

That this Article be referr'd to the Comm'ee of Shipping to Consider what provisions are proper to Order in Ireland, and to the Comm'ee of Goods for the Quantity of Tallow.

That a packett of about 100 Tun be bought or built, to be ready to sail by the 1st of May, with a Cargo of abt. £1000, part whereof to be proper for the Windward Trade, and the Ship to Spend a Month or more in trading from Cape Mount to Cape Coast for Gold, Teeth, Slaves and Malaguetta all which with his Acc'ts he is to deliver at Cape Coast and then to be under the Orders of the General and Chiefs there.

Mem'dum A Factor to be joyned with the Capt. of this Packet to keep an Acc't with him of his Windward Trade.

That a Proper Cargo be provided for the Bight, to proceed by One of the Cape Coast Ships, and there to be lodged for that Service, and the Trade carryed on by the Coasting Vessells.

Whydah

	Tun	Sayld		Cargos
Whydah Fregat	300	Febry. 4th	Captain Sam'll Barlow. After the Settlem't is fixd to be freighted with Slaves for Jamaica. Has liberty to call for refreshm't at Berbadoes, and if the Agents there can Sell his Slaves for £28 per head sound they must do it, otherwise he proceeds for Jamaica.	11945: 9: 0
Greyhound Sl.			carryes a Cargo from Holland to Whydah then returns to C. Coast	1866: 2: 3

Further proposed, That a Ship of 300 Tun be hired to carry a Cargo of £10,000 and also what Stores and necessarys may be thought proper to be sent to Cape Coast Castle and Whydah for repairing the Fortifications. The Ship to be ready to take in Goods by the first of May; to stop at Cape Coast to deliver her Gold Coast Goods and Stores, and to take in her Negro provisions then proceed to Whidah, and take in a Cargo of Slaves for the W. Indies.

Cabenda

	Tun	Sayld		Cargo
Royal Africa	330	Feb. 4th	Capt. Nurse Hereford Proceeds to make new Settlement there, After which to be freighted with Slaves for the W. Indies	7205: 16: 9
Accra Sloop	30	Feb. 4th	Capt. Arthur Mathews for the Service at Cabenda	320: 16: 10
Congo Sloop	24	Feb. 4th	Capt. Rich'd Collins proceeds to Gambia to take in provisions for this Settlement and then to remain for the Service thereof	125: 5: 8

Further proposed, The *Prince George* Capt. John Mitchell 210 Tun already taken up to depart Gravesend by 20th March by Charter Party, to take in a Cargo of about £3000, And to carry 350 Slaves to Virginia.

That there be Sent by this Ship for Cabenda: 3 Factors, 5 Writers, 6 Soldiers, A Chaplain, 2 Surgeon Mates.

That a Packett of 120 Tun be bought or built to be ready to take in Goods by the 1st of May, with a Cargo of £3000 to proceed near as far as the Cape of Good Hope, And to trade all down that Coast to Cabenda making what discoverys may be for the Improvement of the trade, and from thence to be sent home directly with what Gold, Wood, and Teeth, Copper, Pepper or any other Commodity they have proper for England. An Experienced Captain and Super Cargo or Factor to be put on board this Vessell from hence with Instructions to make discoverys and purchase any Sort of Commoditys proper to bring home.

That the *Royal African* Packett Capt. Cornwal Commander be app't for this Service and got ready to Sayl with all Expedition.[8]

127. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the Committee of Trade.[1]

At a Comm'ee of Trade held Tuesday May 2d 1721.

The Committee went through the consideration of the Orders and Instructions to be sent abroad by the Sloop now going to Gambia. As also read and considered A Mem'll referr'd to them by the Court of two African Princes Brothers of the King of Delagoa,[2] who desire to be sent home by the Compa. And Resolvd upon the following Report to be made next Court day *vizt.*

The Memorial of the two African Princes referred to this Committee by the Court of Assistants being read, wherein they desire the Company will give Orders for their being sent home to their Brother the King of Delagoa, on the South East Coast of Africa, And, Colonell Twogood who has hitherto taken care of these Princes declaring, That the Expences he has been at on their account has been from no private view nor other motive but in pure compassion to their unhappy Circumstances, till he could find some means of getting them sent home to their own Country, which if the Company agrees to do, he expects no reimbursement from them of the charges he has hitherto been at.

[8] "Read and approvd by the Court March 21st 1721. F. L."

[127] [1] T 70: 123, pp. 22, 24, 25. Present: Mr. Lockwood, ch., Mr. Acton D.G., Earl of Clarendon, Duke of Chandos, Mr. Gore, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Neal, Mr. Walcot S.G., Mr. Hayes.

[2] De Lagoa was on the southeastern coast of Africa.

Resolved thereupon to represent to the Court as the Opinion of this Committee, That they do esteem it to be for the Service of the Royall African Company of England to take care of these two African Princes, and Provide in the best manner they can for Conveying them to their own Country.

And in order to render that more effectual for the Service of the Company: That a Settlement be made to the Southward of Cape Negro,[3] which by the account the Committee have received, as well in regard to the nearness of Situation to the Portuguese, as to the Inland Trade driven by the Negroes with them, may tend to the opening a new Trade for the Company in all respects as advantageous, as any branch which they all ready Enjoy. And the Committee are of Opinion, that the Sending these Princes along with the Ship that is to make that Settlement will very much contribute to the Success thereof, the Negros in those parts bordering so near the Emperor of Monomatapa [4] Brother-in-Law to these Princes, that in all probability they cannot but be known to some or other of them; tho' if they should not, the apperance of these Princes amongst them, and the relation of their Case and treatment they have mett with from the Royal African Company cannot fail so to conciliate the Affections of the Natives to the Company's Interest as in all probability may facilitate the Establishing the Settlement and produce very happy consequences from it.[5]

After which Settlement is made, It is likewise the Opinion of this Committee that a proper Conveyance should be thought of for Sending these Princes home into their own Country; and two or three proper persons chosen to go along with them, who should [be] Commissioned by the Royall African Company to proceed to the Capital of Monomatapa (w[h]ich these Princes represent to be a Moon from their own Capitall) with full power to treat and agree

[3] Cape Negro is on the west coast, south of the equator.

[4] Monomatapa, on the eastern coast, west of Madagascar. All the evidence of intercourse with the southeastern section of Africa is of especial interest because of the meagreness of the material on this subject. We know that the South Sea Company was despatching Madagascar negroes to Buenos Aires in considerable numbers (Add. MSS. 25563, p. 204), but we know very little of traffic with the mainland of East Africa.

[5] These elaborate plans were never carried out. On Aug. 31, 1721, the princes were consigned to the *Northampton,* Captain Sharrow, who was to carry them home. On Sept. 19 and Oct. 3 Captain Sharrow presented bills for their maintenance amounting to £15. 14. 11½. On the 5th the East India Company granted permission to the Royal African Company to carry them home. Bills for maintenance, amounting to about £5. 10 *s.* per week, came in until March, 1722. In February the S. P. C. K. appointed two persons to accompany the princes to their home. On Feb. 20, Captain Sharrow was granted £100, to lay out for provisions for his passengers. Then on May 9 came word that one of the two princes had hanged himself before the voyage was begun (T 70: 91, pp. 15, 31, 33, 36, 41, 99, 106, 138). In December, 1723, two chests of books and clothing, belonging to the African princes, were delivered up by Captain Sharrow, and consigned by the court to the committee of trade and correspondence. This seems to indicate the death of the second prince also. T 70: 139.

with that Emperor for opening a Trade between him and his Subjects, and the new Settlement Proposed to the Southward of Cape Negro; and that it be stipulated with those Princes that One or both of them should accompany those Persons to Monomatapa, in order to introduce them to the Emperor their Brother-in-Law, and the better to engage him to come into Such Treaty and Trade.[6]

128. Voyage of John Atkins to Guinea.[1]

Remark 1. The Trade for our African Company here [Sierra Leone], is carried on from Bense or Brent Island, about 5 Leagues distance from our Anchorage, by Factors, of whom Mr. Plunket is chief.[2] The private Traders are about 30 in number, settled on the Starboard side of the River; loose privateering Blades, that if they cannot trade fairly with the Natives, will rob; but then don't do it so much in pursuance of that trading Advice, (Amass Riches, my Son) as to put themselves in a Capacity of living well, and treating their Friends, being always well pleased if they can keep their Stock at Par, and with their Profits purchase from time to time, Strong-beer, Wine, Cyder, and such Necessaries, of Bristol Ships, that more frequently than others put in there; of these, John Leadstine, commonly called old Cracker, is reckoned the most thriving.

They all keep Gromettas (Negro Servants) which they hire from Sherbro River, at two Accys or Bars a Month. . . .

[6] "Read and approved by the Court, May 4th, 1721. F. L."

[128] [1] *A Voyage to Guinea, Brasil, and the West-Indies; in His Majesty's Ships, the Swallow and Weymouth. Describing the several Islands and Settlements, viz. Maderia, the Canaries, Cape de Verd, Sierraleon, Sesthos, Cape Apollonia, Cabo Corso, and others on the Guinea Coast; Barbadoes, Jamaica, etc., in the West-Indies. The Colour, Diet, Languages, Habits, Manners, Customs, and Religions of the respective Natives, and Inhabitants. With Remarks on the Gold, Ivory, and Slave-Trade; and on the Winds, Tides and Currents of the several Coasts,* by John Atkins, Surgeon in the Royal Navy (London, 1735). A second edition, little changed, was brought out two years later, in which Atkins was described as a "Gentleman of Plaistow". The narrative is here placed at the date of the events described, but it must be borne in mind that the author is writing some years later, and frequently illustrates his remarks by references to later happenings.

The purpose of the expedition, which sailed Feb. 5, 1721, was to disperse the pirates who, by their depredations on the West Coast of Africa, were destroying the trade of the company. Atkins implies that this expedition, as well as other undertakings already referred to, was one evidence of the new life infused into the company by the Duke of Chandos. The records of the company for 1722 contain many accounts of the depredations of pirates on the West Coast. The boldest of these was Roberts, of whom Charles Johnson, in his *General History of the Pyrates* (ed. 1724, pp. 208-329), gives a long account. One report from the coast stated that this marauder had captured ten vessels. The *Swallow* and the *Weymouth,* after a long chase, overtook his vessel and defeated him. See J. F. Jameson, *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period* (1923), pp. 313-318.

[2] The presence of the *Swallow* and the *Weymouth* on the coast was, in part at least, due to the capture of Plunkett's fort the year before by Roberts. For an account of this see William Smith, *Voyage to Guinea,* p. 41. Governor Plunkett was soon after this transferred to Gambia, where he lost his life in 1725. Smith, p. 33.

The Men-servants work in the Boats and Periagoes, which go a trading in turns with Coral, Brass, Pewter Pans, Pots, Arms, English Spirits, etc. and bring back from the Rio Nunes, Slaves, and Teeth; and from Sherbro, Camwood for Dyers; a Sloop or two is the most that is loaded from the latter Place in a Year, and that with difficulty; being obliged to go far up the River, narrow and beset with Mangroves, which makes it sickly (pp. 39-40). . . .

The Slaves when brought here, have Chains put on, three or four linked together, under the Care of their Gromettas, till opportunity of Sale; and then go at about 15 Pounds a good Slave, allowing the Buyer 40 or 50 per Ct. Advance on his Goods.

As these Slaves are placed under Lodges near the Owner's House, for Air, Cleanliness and Customers better viewing them, I had every day the Curiosity of observing their Behaviour, which with most of them was very dejected. Once, on looking over some of old Cracker's Slaves, I could not help taking notice of one Fellow among the rest, of a tall, strong Make, and bold, stern aspect. As he imagined we were viewing them with a design to buy, he seemed to disdain his Fellow-Slaves for their Readiness to be examined, and as it were scorned looking at us, refusing to rise or stretch out his Limbs, as the Master commanded; which got him an unmerciful Whipping from Cracker's own Hand, with a cutting Manatea Strap, and had certainly killed him but for the loss he himself must sustain by it; all which the Negro bore with Magnanimity, shrinking very little, and shedding a Tear or two, which he endeavoured to hide as tho' ashamed of. All the Company grew curious at his Courage, and wanted to know of Cracker, how he came by him; who told us, that this same Fellow, called Captain Tomba, was a Leader in some Country Villages that opposed them, and their Trade, at the River Nunes; killing our Friends there, and firing their Cottages. The Sufferers this way, by the Help of my Men, (says Cracker) surprized, and bound him in the Night, about a Month ago, he having killed two in his Defence, before they could secure him, and from thence he was brought hither, and made my Property (pp. 41-42).[3] . . .

[3] The *Weymouth* had left the *Swallow* and gone to Gambia, where she left the new governor and delivered presents to the King of Barra, who gave to the company permission to build a fort at Gillifree, fifteen miles up the river, and at this time commanded by a woman. The two vessels joined each other again May 1. In the pages which follow, here omitted, Atkins, after describing the country of Sierra Leone and its people, resumes his account of the voyage along the coast. Leaving Sierra Leone May 1, the vessels reached Cape Mount on May 4 and Mesurado the next day. Here they found the natives fearful of panyaring, as they had "often suffered by the Treachery of Ships". On May 10 they anchored at Sestos, "a Place where most of our windward Slave ships stop to buy Rice, exchanged at about 2 *s.* per Quintal". In the Sestos market they found "brass Pans, pewter Basins, Powder Shot, and old Chests" to be exchanged for "Rice, Goats, Fowls". Before they left Sestos they attended a court reception given by King Pedro to the officers of the two vessels. From Sestos they sailed to Cape Palmas, Jaque a Jaques, Bassam, and Assinee, and reached Cape Apollonia June 6.

To return to Jaque a Jaques; we met there the *Robert* of Bristol, Captain Harding, who sailed from Sierraleon before us, having purchased thirty Slaves, whereof Captain Tomba mentioned there was one; he gave us the following melancholly Story. That this Tomba, about a Week before, had combined with three or four of the stoutest of his Country-men to kill the Ship's Company, and attempt their Escapes, while they had a Shore to fly to, and had near effected it by means of a Woman-Slave, who being more at large, was to watch the proper Opportunity. She brought him word one night that there were no more than five white Men upon the Deck, and they asleep, bringing him a Hammer at the same time (all the Weapons that she could find) to execute the Treachery. He encouraged the Accomplices what he could, with the Prospect of Liberty, but could now at the Push, engage only one more and the Woman to follow him upon Deck. He found three Sailors sleeping on the Fore-castle, two of which he presently dispatched, with single Strokes upon the Temples; the other rouzing with the Noise, his Companions seized; Tomba coming soon to their Assistance, and murdering him in the same manner. Going after to finish the work, they found very luckily for the rest of the Company, that these other two of the Watch were with the Confusion already made awake, and upon their Guard, and their Defence soon awaked the Master underneath them, who running up and finding his Men contending for their Lives, took a Hand-spike, the first thing he met with in the Surprize, and redoubling his Strokes home upon Tomba, laid him at length flat upon the Deck, securing them all in Irons.

The Reader may be curious to know their Punishment: Why, Captain Harding weighing the Stoutness and Worth of the two Slaves, did, as in other Countries they do by Rogues of Dignity, whip and scarify them only; while three other, Abettors, but not Actors, nor of Strength for it, he sentenced to cruel Deaths; making them first eat the Heart and Liver of one of them killed. The Woman he hoisted up by the Thumbs, whipp'd, and slashed her with Knives, before the other Slaves till she died.[4]

From this Ship we learned also, that the inland Country who had suffered by the Panyarrs of the Cobelohou[5] and Drewin People, have lately been down, and destroyed the Towns, and the Trade is now at a stand; and perhaps the Consciousness of this Guilt increases their Fears of us. The Ceremony of contracting Friendship and Trade, is dropping a little salt-water into the Eye, or taking it into their Mouth, and spurting out again; which must be answer'd, or no Trade will follow.

[4] Compare with Mary Johnston's *Slave Ship* (1924), pp. 211-216.
[5] Cape Lahou on the Quaqua Coast, at the mouth of the Rio de Lagos.

At Cape Apollonia, the Natives are of a jet black, very lively and bold, accustomed to Trade, and better fetished than their Neighbours; have cleaner and larger Tomys,[6] wear Amber Beads, Copper Rings, Cowrys, and their Wooll twisted in numberless little Rings and Tufts, with bits of Shell, Straw, or Gold twisted in them. They have all a Dagger cut in their Cheek, and often in other Parts of their Body; A Custom preserved among a few, down to the Gold Coast. . . . All we learn is, its being a very ancient Custom, and distinguishes them from the Country, who they Panyarr and sell for Slaves, naked at 4 oz. per Head; allowing 100 per Cent. on Goods, they cost at a medium 8 *l.* Sterling. The Cabiceers, out of this, demand a due of 20 *s.* and the Palaaver-Man 10 *s.* whence I conjecture they are more regularly trained to Panyarring or thieving, than the Towns we have past (pp. 71-74). . . .[7]

Cabo Corso. . . . The Company about this time of our Voyage had raised by Subscription 392,400 *l.* and, in December 1722, made a Call of 5 per Cent. allowing the Proprietors, as had been accustomed, a Dividend of 3 per Cent. In December 1723, they exposed to Sale 200,000 *l.* Stock at 30 per Cent. which shewed their Affairs had an ill Aspect, notwithstanding their late Flourishes; confirmed next Winter, when they petitioned the Government (I find in a Pamphlet printed a few Years since)[8] that they were undone, and the African Trade lost, unless they were impower'd to scheme it over again: The Projectors for the Company righteously proposed, that if the Legislature would give a Sanction, they would engage to raise the Stock-jobbing Humour, and raise a Million, whereof they would be liberal.

The Factory consists of Merchants, Factors, Writers, Miners, Artificers and Soldiers; and excepting the first Rank, who are the Council for managing Affairs, are all of them together a Company of white Negroes, who are entirely resigned to the Governour's Commands, according to the strictest Rules of Discipline and Subjection; are punished (Garison fashion) on several Defaults, with Mulcts, Confinement, the Dungeon, Drubbing, or the Wooden Horse; and for enduring this, they have each of them a Salary sufficient to buy Canky,[9] Palm-Oil, and a little Fish to keep them from starving: for tho' the Salaries sound tolerably in Leadenhall-Street (50 to 90 *l.*

[6] A garment worn by both the men and women.

[7] The omitted passages deal with the sojourn at Three Points, the government of the native chief John Conny, and the customs of the natives of this part of the coast.

[8] It is probably bootless to conjecture what this pamphlet was, since we do not know when it was actually published, and can only guess at the date at which Atkins wrote this sentence. *The Case of the Royal African Company,* published in 1730, may have been the publication to which the author refers.

[9] Conky. At a later point Atkins says that this was boiled by the negroes to the bigness of half-penny rolls. The English baked it. He adds, "an Accy purchases nine a day of them for a Month".

per Ann. a Factor; 50 an Artificer)[10] yet in the Country here, the General (for the Company's good) pays them in Crackra, a false Money which is only current upon the spot, and disables them from taking any advantage of buying Necessaries from Ships coasting down. If the Subjects should have other, it's against the Interest of the Company to suffer its being laid out any where from themselves, because their Stock would by that means lie dead. So that for the Support of Nature, or perhaps indulging youthful Follies, these thin Creatures are obliged to take up of the Company, and in effect by it sign over their Liberty; none being admitted to depart, 'till he has adjusted all Accounts. When the Man is too sober to run in Debt, there are Arts of Mismanagement, or loss of Goods under his Care, to be charged or wanting. Thus they are all liable to be mulcted for Drunkenness, Swearing, Neglects, and lying out of the Castle, even for not going to Church, (such is their Piety:) and thus by various arbitrary Methods their Service is secured *durante bene placito.*

The same Method he takes with The Town Negroes, who, inconsiderate Wretches, are continually scoring up for Goods or Drams, and thus become Pawns to the Company, *i.e.* liable to be sold when the General thinks fit.

The Director-General is Supreme, or first Person in the Factory, at 2000 *l.* per Ann. Two other Merchants at 300 *l.* and a Secretary at 200 *l.* are what compose the Council for the Company's Affairs; send Factors to their outer Forts, and Supercargoes on board Vessels to collect the Trade, who are to transmit and make up their Accounts here. The General supports a Table for them; a Chaplain and Surgeon,[11] who have orderly Meals, without any idle Bottles.

Tho' the General has but one Vote in Business, yet it's tacitly consented, from his better Allowance and Power as Governour, that he shall lead the others, who sign only for their Salaries: He therefore disposes solely of Preferments to the Factors and Writers, who, as they please or displease, may be continued at, or removed to their advantage. For, as on Service from the Fort they are allowed a Commission in Trade, additional to their Pay; so, in some of the outer Forts (such as Accra, or in a Ship) they make considerable Increase; while at others again, Anamaboo, or Dixcove, they find a great deal of Trouble, wet Lodging, Scarcity of Provision, and no Profit; and as these last outnumber the good, I observed most of our Factors to have dwindled much from the genteel Air they brought; wear no Cane nor Snuff-box, idle in Men of Business, have lank

[10] This seems, by a comparison with Francis Moore's salary, to be a more generous remuneration than the Gambia establishment paid ten years later.

[11] A note gives their salaries at "80 *l.* per Ann".

Bodies, a pale Visage, their Pockets sown up, or of no use, and their Tongues tied. One Cause of their Slenderness indeed, is a Scarcity of Provision; little besides Plantain, small Fish, Indian Corn, and a great deal of Canky, to be bought at Market (pp. 89-92). . . .

In the Area of this Quadrangle [of Cape Coast Castle] are large Vaults, with an iron Grate at the Surface to let in Light and Air on those poor Wretches, the Slaves, who are chained and confined there till a Demand comes. They are all marked with a burning Iron upon the right Breast, D. Y. Duke of York. . . .

Within the Castle is a Smith's Shop, a Cooperage, Store-houses, a Chappel, and Houses for the Officers and Servants. The General's Lodging communicates with the Chappel; a capacious Hall, which serves to preach and dine in, pray or drink, serve God or debate on Trade; hence they can over-look what the Company's Servants are doing, and how comply with their respective Duties. A Bastion runs out from it that has a pleasant Prospect to the Sea, discerning with a Glass the Ships coming down the Coast, and very distinctly all those in the Road at Des Minas.

Having done with the Factory and Castle at present, I come now to the Natives, who from a long Acquaintance with Europeans, are much the best Negroes of the whole Continent (pp. 98-99).[12] . . .

At Anamaboe our private Ships finish their Slaving, few or none being got downward, till you reach Whydah.

At Montford, Shallo,[13] and thereabouts, they make up the Deficiency of Rice and Corn for the Voyage, the Country appearing fruitful, and with better Aspect than any of those we have passed to Windward, intermixed with Hills and Vales; at every League almost, a Town; many Corn-fields, Salt pans and other Marks of Industry, particularly about Accra, which shews they are extricated out of those Difficulties with their Neighbours behind them, that the manner of persuing the Slave-Trade exposes others too.

At Accra, we, the French, and Dutch, have each a Factory and Fort, and make there great quantities of Salt, supplied to Windward, and to the inland Provinces, where it is always a precious Commodity (p. 107). . . .

Whydah. . . . White People are seldom or never admitted to Presence [of the king], but at the times they pay their Customs; very considerable from Europeans, who drive here the greatest Slave-Trade of any on the whole Continent: Besides these Dues, the King augments his Revenue by a Duty on every thing bought or sold by his People. . . .

[12] The account of the natives which follows is chiefly concerned with fetish.

[13] Montford, or Mumford, is on the Gold Coast west of Winnebah; Shallo is probably Sheddo, east of Winnebah.

The King of Ardra is his potent and warlike Neighbour; a populous Country, full of large Crooms or Towns, and all of them obsequious Slaves, who dare not sell or buy any thing without Licence, and both ways he exacts a Custom. It is by means of this Country that so great a number of Slaves are brought down to Whydah and sold to the Europeans naked (p. 111). . . .[14]

It was lucky for Mr. Rowry, Master of a Bristol Vessel, that the Man of War came in;[15] his Men had made him Prisoner, and were disposing of the Slaves at a very easy Rate with the Governor, who rejects no Schemes of Profit. Rowry, who had been discountenanced by him upon his Men's Complaints, was now heard indeed; but not knowing rightly the Method of getting Men to bring away his Brigantine in our Company, he was obliged to take what Price the Governor would set on her and her Cargo, and took Passage with us for Cape Corso (p. 140). . . .

1.[16] In the windward Coast, Gambia, Sierraleon, and Sherbro Rivers may be reckoned chief; the African Company having Factors and Settlements there. Less noted, but more frequented by private Ships in this part of Guinea, are Cape Mont, and Montzerado, Sesthos River, Capes Palmas, Apollonia, and Tres Puntas. A number of others intervene, of more or less Trade; which it is their Custom to signify at the sight of any Ship by a Smoke, and is always looked on as an Invitation to Trade; but as each is alterable among them from the Chance of War, the Omission shews they decline it, or are out of Stock.

This Change of Circumstance found on different Voyages, proceeds from weak and bad Governments among themselves, every Town having their own Cabiceers or ruling Men, (or it may be three or four in Confederacy) all so jealous of the others Panyarring, that they never care to walk even a mile or two from home without Fire-Arms; each knows it is their Villanies and Robberies upon one another that enables them to carry on a Slave-trade with Europeans; and as Strength fluctuates, it is not unfrequent for him who sells you Slaves to-day, to be a few days hence sold himself at some neighbouring Town; this I have known.

The same way of reasoning answers for the Panyarrs and Murders so frequently between them and us, and never that I heard with the French or Portuguese. For if any of our Ships from Bristol or Liverpool play tricks, and under pretence of Traffick seize and

[14] At this point Atkins inserts a long account of events at Whydah in 1727, taken in part from Snelgrave's *A New Account of Some Parts of Guinea,* pp. 1-18. See *post,* no. 167.

[15] The *Swallow* had touched at St. Thomas, "the chief of these Portuguese Islands", for fresh provisions.

[16] Atkins, having concluded a consideration of the winds, turns here to a discussion of the slave trade, which occupies pages 150 to 180.

carry away such of them as come on board, and trust themselves on that Confidence, the Friends and Relations never fail with the first Opportunity to revenge it; they never consider the Innocence of who comes next, but as Relations in Colour, Panyarr the Boat's Crews who trust themselves foolishly on shore, and now and then by dissembling a Friendship, have come on board, surprized and murdered a whole Ship's Company. Captain Piercy's Lieutenant was killed on shore on some such Pretence, or because he had a good Suit of Cloaths, or both. Captain Canning of the *Dove* Brigantine 1732, was cut off by the Natives of Grand Bassau from an Inadvertency; first, of tempting the Negroes with the sight of a fine Cargo, and then by trusting the Mate Mr. Tho. Coote on shore; the one prompted them to rob, and the other was an Hostage for their Security, they ventured off in their Canoos and murdered all the Company under the Conduct of a Fellow they called Thomas Grey, who run the Vessel in short; the Mate remained with them unhurt, about sixteen days, and was then redeemed by Captain Wheeler for 17 Pounds worth of Goods, which as an Encouragement to the Service, he was suffered to repay at London (pp. 150-152). . . .

In it's [the African Company's] first flourishing Condition, it was allowed by authentick Accounts to have gained annually to England 900,000 *l.* whereof in Teeth, Camwood, Wax and Gold, was only 100,000 *l.* and the rest in Slaves; which in the Infancy of their Trade were in very great demand over all the American Plantations to supply their own wants, and carry on a clandestine Commerce with the Spanish West-Indies. On Computation, Barbadoes wanted annually 4000 Negroes, Jamaica 10,000, Leeward Islands 6000; and because the Company ('twas complained by such as wished them ill Success) could not supply this Number, having only imported 46,396 Slaves between the years 1680 and 1688;[17] Interlopers crept in, and contended for a Share; which the Company represented as contrary to the Privileges of their Patent, and withal, that the Accusation was groundless and unjust, because they did supply enough for demand, and maintained Forts and Garisons at a great Charge, for awing and subjecting the Natives to trade, and maintaining an Industry equal to the Dutch, without which it was plain to all impartial Considerers, it would be but very difficultly carried on. However, their Adversaries, after some years of grumbling, obtained an Act of Parliament 1697, whereby private Traders for making good this deficiency of Slaves, should have Liberty of Trade, allowing the Company 10 per Cent. towards defraying their extraordinary Expence.

[17] See G. L. Beer, *Old Colonial System* (1912), pt. I., vol. I., p. 344 n.

From this time the Company more visibly decayed, insomuch that in eight following years they only imported to the West-Indies 17,760 Slaves; and the separate Traders in that time 71,268.[18]

Their 10 per Cent. in the first ten years amounted to 87,465 *l.* and therefore finding their trade under great disadvantages with these new Inmates, they resolved to make the best shares they could in this Money, by lessening their Expence about the Forts. They accordingly withdrew all Supplies from their Garisons, leaving them to subsist by their own Management or starve. Gambia Fort having only twelve men, was taken by a Privateer of eight Guns in 1709,[19] Sierraleon thirteen men, Sherbro four, and these not of any Charge to the Company, but were possessed by such, who having a long time resided in their Service, by help of those Fortifications were capable to do something for themselves, and so the private Traders by degrees got entirely quit of their Impost; the reason in a manner ceasing for which it was at first allowed.

About 1719, their Affairs seemed to revive again, under the Auspices of the Duke of Chandois, who became a very considerable Proprietor in their Stock, and promised from his Figure and Interest a Renewal of those Privileges that had depressed them; their Objections ceasing, (the number demanded being now very short of what it was formerly.) More Ships were imployed than for many years past, but whether it were their too large Expence, or Corruption of their chief Officers, who too often in Companys think they are sent abroad purely for their own Service, or both; they soon felt that without a separate Act they were uncapable of contending with private Traders, and every year more and more explaining their Inability they applied to Parliament, and now support their Forts by an annual Allowance from the Government, of 10,000 *l.*[20]

Those who are the Favourers of Companies suggest, that if the Trade must be allowed, and the Christian Scheme of enlarging the Flock cannot well be carried on without it, that then it seems necessary and better for the Publick that some rich and powerful Set of Men should have such exclusive Powers to encourage and enable the subsisting of Forts and Garisons, to awe the Natives and preserve the Trade from being engrossed by our dangerous Rivals here, the Dutch; which, as we relinquish, falls an acquisition to them, and

[18] See figures presented in the report of the Board of Trade, Jan. 27, 1709, *ante,* pp. 62, 75.

[19] Fort James, at Gambia, was attacked twice in 1709, once by the French under M. Parent, who carried away a load of slaves, and once by a pirate whose booty was £2000 in gold bars. After that the African Company obtained from the government a company of soldiers to protect it. H. F. Reeve, *The Gambia, its History Ancient, Mediaeval, and Modern,* p. 63.

[20] The annual allowance from Parliament for the support of the company began in 1730. Atkins's account was written sometime after 1732.

renders all precarious; they could also bring (as an exclusive Company) foreign Markets to their own Price.

The Company's Trade wanting that Encouragement, every year grows worse; buying dearer than in times past on the Coast, and selling cheaper in the West-Indies; the reason at Guinea, is a greater Scarcity of Slaves, and an improved Knowledge in the trading Negroes who dispose of them; and at the West-Indies it is the Demand failing, more disadvantageously still for them, because separate Traders are not under the delays they are subject to: They take the whole Coast in their way, while the other is consigned to the Governour, and can afford to undersel their Goods (necessary Requisites for Dispatch and Success) because they stand exempt from all Coast-Charges. On the other side, our Colonies are now pretty well glutted with Slaves, and their Call consequently not nigh so large; 2000 in a year perhaps furnishes all our Plantations, and tho' more are imported, it is in order to transport them again to the Spanish West-Indies, where tho' the Assiento Ships are of late years only indulged by Treaty, all others being liable to Confiscation, and the People to Slavery if taken by the Spanish Guard le Costa; yet the Prospect of Gain inciting, they still find means to continue on, and maintain a forcible Traffick for them, under the Protection of their Guns. This clandestine Method, by the way, hurts the South-Sea Company, beating down the Price of their Slaves, who cannot so well afford it, because bought, and brought there at a greater Charge (pp. 153-157).[21] . . .

I now proceed to our Method of Trade, and shall sum the Rules of it up, under the head of Interlopers. Private trading Ships bring two or three Boats with them upon this Coast for Dispatch, and while the Mates go away in them with a proper Parcel of Goods, and Instructions into the Rivers and By-places, the Ship is making good her Trade at others near hand.

The Success of a Voyage depends first, on the well sorting, and on the well timing of a Cargo. Secondly, in a Knowledge of the places of Trade, what, and how much may be expected every where. Thirdly, in dramming well with English Spirits, and conforming to the Humours of the Negroes. Fourthly, in timely furnishing proper Food for the Slaves. Fifthly, in Dispatch; and Lastly, the good Order and Management of Slaves when on board; of each, a Word or two.

First, on the Timing of a Cargo: This depends at several places much on Chance, from the fanciful and various Humours of the Negroes, who make great demands one Voyage for a Commodity,

[21] Atkins here turns to a description of Whydah, from which he says 20,000 slaves have been exported in a single year.

that perhaps they reject next, and is in part to be remedied either by making the things they itch after, to pass off those they have not so much mind to, or by such a continual Traffick and Correspondence on the Coast as may furnish the Owner from time to time with quick Intelligence, to be done only by great Merchants, who can keep imployed a number of Ships, that like a Thread unites them in a Knowledge of their Demands, and a readier Supply for them, as well as dispatch for their Master's Interest, by putting the Purchases of two or three Ships into one. The late Mr. Humphry Morrice [22] was the greatest private Trader this way, and unless Providence had fixed a Curse upon it, he must have gained exceedingly.

Secondly, Of the Sorting, this may be observed in general; That the Windward and Leeward Parts of the Coast are as opposite in their Demands, as is their distance. Iron Bars, which are not asked for to Leeward, are a substantial Part of Windward Cargoes. Crystals, Orangos, Corals, and Brass-mounted Cutlasses are almost peculiar to the Windward Coast; as are brass Pans from Rio Sesthos to Apollonia; Cowreys (or Bouges) at Whydah. Copper and Iron Bars at Callabar; but Arms, Gun-powder, Tallow, old Sheets, Cottons of all the various Denominations, and English Spirits are every where called for. Sealing-wax, and Pipes, are necessary in small Quantities, they serve for Dashees (Presents) and a ready Purchase for Fish, a Goat, Kid, or a Fowl.

To be more particular, here follows an Invoyce bought at London about the year 1721.

A Guinea Cargo.[23]

		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
10 Cotton Ramalls	at	0	11	0	5	10	0
10 Silk Do.		1	00	0	10	00	0
20 Herba-longees		0	10	0	10	00	0
20 Photees		0	17	6	17	10	0
30 Tapseils		0	12	0	18	00	0
20 Blue swaft Bafts		1	02	0	22	00	0
20 Chintz		0	12	6	12	10	0
50 Nichanees		0	13	0	32	10	0

[22] Humphrey Morice frequently appeared before the Board of Trade on behalf of the separate traders. Of him William Smith wrote: "I have heard that all the Dutch Chiefs, at the Out-Ports, were ordered to supply no English Ship whatsoever with either Wood or Water, except the Ships belonging to a certain worthy and eminent Merchant of London" (*Voyage to Guinea,* p. 118). For further references to him see Snelgrave's account, esp. pp. 193-194, 288. The *Judith,* a part of the log of which is later printed (*post,* no. 168), belonged to Morice.

[23] Some of these articles have already been identified, others can only be guessed at. Photees, or photaes, were piece goods of East India manufacture; herba longees, tapseils, and nicconees were also East India cottons; bafts, coarse cottons, made first in India, then in England, especially for the African trade; sletias were thin silks or linens; rangoes, or arrangoes, and ranters were English woollens. A few years before this the factors at Cape Coast Castle had written that they had on hand too many woollen goods, that the company's perpets were too small, and trading guns a "Meer Drug" (Oct. 11, 1718, T 70: 6, p. 83). The proper choice of a cargo apparently called for a fine discrimination in estimating native taste.

	Ct.	q.	l.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
176 Blue Paper Sletias				0	7	6	66	00	0
650 Crystal Beads No. 221 *per Mill.*				2	00	0	13	00	0
2500 Do.—No. 30				2	12	0	6	10	
4500 Do. No. 36				2	18	0	13	01	0
2000 Rangos *per Cwt.*				0	11	0	11	00	00
4 Cases and Chests							1	15	0
Charges and Entry at Custom-house							3	12	6
20 Brass Kettles qt.	2	0	02						
28 Do.	2	0	04						
25 Do.	2	0	06						
251 Guinea Pans	3	0	18						
	9	1	02						
per Cwt. 7 £ 7 *s.* 0 *d.*							68	02	5
4 Casks							1	03	00
20 Chests of Old Sheets each qt. 65, at				0	1	10½	121	17	06
130 2 lb. Guinea Basins									
73 3 Do.									
13 4 Do.									
In all 4 *Cwt.* 1 *q.* 11 *l.*							18	04	09
Box of Scales, Weights and blue Pans								19	00
Cartage, Wharfage, Portage, etc.							4	10	00
84 Quart Tankards at 2 *s.* 2 *d.*							9	02	00
96 Pint Do. at 1 8							8	00	00
A Cask								14	09
11 Groce of slope-pointed Knives at 1£. 6 *s.*							14	06	00
200 Blue Ranters at				0	08	00	80	00	00
50 Narrow green Do.				0	08	00	20	00	00
50 Broad blue Do.				0	11	06	28	15	00
25 Says at				1	15	06	44	09	06
8 Cases with Carriage							2	10	06
150 Trading Guns at				0	08	03	61	17	06
50 Do. dock Locks				0	08	06	21	05	00
150 Cags				0	00	07	02	10	06
21 Cwt. Tallow				2	01	00	43	01	00
For melting and putting up per Cwt.					00	02	2	03	00
Cartage, and 10 large Cags					00	11	00	16	08
35 Small Cags at				0	00	08	1	03	04
10 Barrels of Powder				3	05	00	32	10	00
Wateridge and shifting the Powder							00	08	06
50 Wickered Bottles				0	03	02	9	03	04
172 Gall. malt Spirits				0	02	00	17	04	00
40 Cases of Spirits				0	07	00	14	00	00
Freight of a Vessel to Portsmouth							5	10	00
Expences and Postage of Letters							0	11	00
Commission at 2½ per Cent.							22	03	03
							900	00	00
10 Cwt. of Cowrys at 5 £							50	00	00
Total							950	00	00

I was but a young Trader, and could not find out till I came upon the Coast, that this Cargo was ill sorted. At the first place we touched (Sierraleon) where commonly may be got twenty or thirty as good Slaves as any upon the Coast, I found I had neither Cutlasses, iron Bars, a better sort of Fire-Arms, Malt, and other strong Liquors, the delight of those Traders. At none of the others, quite down to the Gold Coast, were many considerable Articles of my

Invoyce ever asked for; so that I was forced to make friends with the Factorys, and exchange at such a loss, that had it not been for the small Wages our Ship was at, and some lucky hits, the Owners must have suffered much; but to give an Insight.

The Sale of Goods. At Sierraleon.

	Gold Bars.
1 Piece of Planes	10
7 77 lb. Kettles	26
3 Pieces of Chintz	12
1 Piece of Handkerchief Stuff	2
The Price of a Woman Slave	50
7 50 lb. Kettles	20
5 Pieces of Brawls	10
1 Piece of Ramal	4
1 Bar of Iron	1
The Price of a Boy Slave	35

At Apollonia

	Accys.
2 Photees	14
2 Cotton Ramals	8
1 Piece Longee	4
2 Sletias	5
7 Sheets	7
32 Brass Pans	32
A Man Slave	70
3 Photees	21
41 Sheets	41
2 Longees	8
A Man Slave	70

At Gambia

	Gold Bars.
9 Gallons of Brandy	9
6 Bars of Iron	6
2 Small Guns	10
1 Cag of Powder	10
2 Strings of Pacato Beads	2
1 Paper Sletia	3
A Woman Slave	40

At Assinee

8 Trading Guns	32
1 Wicker Bottle	4
2 Cases of Spirits	6
28 Sheets	28
A Man Slave	70

At Anamaboo and Cape Palmas

	Accys.
A Cag of Tallow	2½
A quart Pewter Tankard	1
A Pint Do.	½
4 lb. Pewter Basin	1

	Accys.
2 lb. Pewter Basin	½
Sealing-Wax	3
A qr. Barrel of Powder	8
A gallon Cag of Musket-Shot	6
A gallon Cag of small Shot	8

At Whydah, Cowrys sell per Cwt.—12 £. 10 *s.* or in their way of reckoning, 10 *grand Quibesses.*[24]

At Angola, the Duties are about 100 £ Sterl. every Ship; and Goods sell, *viz.*

	Pieces
A Gun	1
A Cag of Powder	1
A deep blue Baft	3
A Culgee	3
A Tapseil	2
A Nicanee	2
A Cutchalee	1½
A red Chintz	1½
A Bundle of Anabasses qt. 10 lb.	1
10 Brass Pans small and large	1
4 2 lb. Pewter Basins	1
1½ Case of Spirits	1
A whole Case Do.	1½
4 Cutlasses	1
A Guinea Stuff	½
2 Bunches of Beads	1
4 King's Cloths	1
4 Looking-Glasses	1
10 Pint Mugs	1
A Brawl	½
9 Foot of black Bays	1
16 Inches of Scarlet Cloth	1
16 do. of blue Cloth	1
1 Photee	2
1 Pair Cotton Ramal	1½

As I propos'd only a general View of the Trade, I have pointed out here the best I could, what Goods are asked for, the Price, and at some places, the Proportions; the Slaves selling at a Medium of 15 £. a Man, and 12 £. a Woman; a Gun and Barrel of Powder being always parts of the Truck (at Cabenda) for a Slave. They have Canoos there, will carry 200 Men; matted Sails to them, and Cordage twisted from a wild Vine that grows in plenty about the Country; with these they pass frequently from Congo to Loango. A Slave-Ship in the former River would intercept much of the Trade to Cabenda, and Angola. The Duties are easy with the King of Soni,[25] and the Harmony they live in with a few defenceless Portuguese Missionaries, shews they are a peaceable People.

A Second Requisite for Success in this Trade, is an acquaintance with the Places, what may be expected at them, either as to the

[24] A grand cabess, or quibesses, was one pound sterling.
[25] Soni adjoins Angola.

Manner of Trading, bold or fearful of one another, and the Number of Slaves they are able to bring.

Where the Company's Factors are settled, as at Gambia, and along the greatest part of the Gold Coast, they influence the Trade something against private Ships; so also at Sierraleon some separate Traders live, who voyage it with Boats into the adjacent Rivers, and most of what a Ship can purchase, is thro' their hands; but those from London seldom strike higher upon the Coast than Cape Mount, Montzerado, and Junk, falling from thence down to Leeward; many of the places in their Course being rendered dangerous, from the Tricks and Panyarrs the Traders have first practised upon the Negroes; a mutual Jealousy now keeping each side very watchful against Violence. We trade on board the Ship, often keeping our Sailors in close quarters abaft, because few: while the Slaves are viewing and contracting for at the fore part; at night also keeping a good Watch, some of these Negroes attempting now and then to steal with their Canoos athwart our Hawse, and cut the Cable. Captain Cummin at Whydah, they stranded 1734.

They again, are as often diffident of coming nigh us, and will play for hours together in their Canoos about the Ship, before they dare venture (pp. 158-167). . . .

If hardy enough to come on board, they appear all the time shy and frightened, and from the least appearance of a Panyarr, jump all over board. Downwards to Bassam, Assinee, Jaquelahou, Cape le Hou [Lahou], Jaque a Jaques, Cape Apollonia, and Three Points, or where they have possibly gained a Knowledge of the English Factorys, there is a better Understanding and Security: These are places that sell off a number of Slaves, managed however wholly on board the Ships, who anchor before the Town, hoist their Ensign, and fire a Gun: Or when the Natives seem timorous, do it by their Boats coasting along the Beach, and pay at some of them a small Duty to the Chief Cabiceers.

Thirdly, To give dispatch, cajole the Traders with Dashees of Brandy, and tell them, you cannot possibly stay above a day or two, and that on their account. To a Country-Man, if he joins where there is prospect of Goodee Trade, you are to form some Story that may carry him farther to Leeward if possible, two or three Leagues will hinder his doing you any Damage for that Voyage. The Lye did me most Service, and for which I had the Merchant's Dispensation, was informing my good Friend that at Cobelahou they had taken a great number of Captives, and that Captain——had got his Freight there in ten days: this I did with an air of Diffidence, to make the greater Impression, and at the same time dashee'd his Negro Friends to go on board and back it. If on better Intelligence

such like Story should not take, and he resolves to stay and share, your Reputation is secured by the diffidence of your Report, and you must resolve with him now upon a Price in your Slaves, not to outbid one another; but at the same time make as strong a Resolution not to observe it. And here the Master has room to display his talent, the frequency of the Trick having made all very cautious and diffident.

When a Ship has gathered up all this Trade, she makes up the deficiency of her Freight at Anamaboo, three Leagues below Cape Corso, where they constantly stop, and are sometimes two or three Months in finishing. It is a place of very considerable Trade in itself; and besides, the Company have a House and Factor, keeping always a number of Slaves against those demands of the Interlopers, who, they are sensible, want dispatch, and therefore make them pay a higher Price for it than any where on the whole Coast; selling at six Ounces and a half a Slave (in exchange for Goods) tho' the poor Creatures look as meagre and thin as their Writers.

If the Company should want rather to buy than sell, as is sometimes the case, and fits both; then such a difference is paid by the General, as shall make it worth the Ship's time to go to Windward again.

Hence I make this deduction, that if the Adventurers Stock be small, only sufficient to employ one Vessel, to have her a Sloop; because less hazard is run in lengthning out time, which subjects to Sickness and Mortality among the Slaves; saves the aggregate Charge of supporting them and a Ship's Company, and likewise such a Vessel will have less remains of Cargo, after her Slaving is compleated; what is left, usually going off to the trading Cabiceers and Factories at a low Price, or what is worse, kept on board and spoiled.

Contrarily, great Traders who can imploy many Ships, obviate in a great measure such Inconveniencies: They put the Trade of two or three Ships into one at Anamaboo, (the largest and most chargeable) and with the conjunction of their remains, go to Windward, and begin anew.

Fourthly, giving way to the ridiculous Humours and Gestures of the trading Negroes, is no small article for Success. If you look strange and are niggardly of your Drams, you frighten him; Sambo is gone, he never cares to treat with dry Lips, and as the Expence is in English Spirits of two Shillings a Gallon, brought partly for that purpose; the good Humour it brings them into, is found discounted in the Sale of Goods.

A fifth Article, is the wholesome Victualling, and Management of Slaves on board.

The common, cheapest, and most commodious Diet, is with Vegetables, Horse-Beans, Rice, Indian Corn, and Farine, the former, Ships bring with them out of England; Rice, they meet to Windward, about Sesthos; Indian Corn, at Momford, Anamaboo, etc. and further Supplies of them, or Farine, at the Islands of St. Thomas, and Prince's; Masters governing themselves in purchasing, according to the Course they design to steer.

This Food is accounted more salutary to Slaves, and nearer to their accustomed way of Feeding than salt Flesh. One or other is boiled on board at constant times, twice a day, into a Dab-a-Dab [26] (sometimes with Meat in it) and have an Overseer with a Cat-of-nine tails, to force it upon those that are sullen and refuse.

The further Management and Caution to be taken with Slaves on board, till their delivery in the West-Indies, I shall intermix with what I know of the method of Trade at Whydah, and Angola, because Cautions where a Cargo is of one Language, is so much the more requisite.

Whydah is the greatest trading Place on the Coast of Guinea, selling off as many Slaves, I believe, as all the rest together; 40 or 50 Sail (French, English, Portuguese, and Dutch) freighting there every year. The King is absolute as a Boar; making sometimes fair Agreements with his Country Neighbours, it being often the Interest of Traders to be honest (perhaps the only reason that makes them so) but if he cannot obtain a sufficient number of Slaves that way, he marches an Army, and depopulates. He, and the King of Ardra adjoining, commit great Depredations inland.

On the Ships he lays these Impositions, and to prove his Folly, does it mostly for the benefit of those that rule him; First, of having the refusal of all Goods; Secondly, the Value of twenty Slaves from every Ship, small or great, as a Duty; and thirdly, forces his own upon them at an advanced Price.

The French, Dutch, and English, have each a House, or mud Fort about three Miles from the Sea, keeping Tents on the Beach for the convenient receiving and securing their Cargoes as it comes from the Ship, and transmitting the Returns; which, by a dangerous double Barr upon the Coast, is rendred impassable sometimes (by the alteration of the Winds) for a fortnight together; the Negroes only know how to paddle thro' it, and when they think it safe, a Signal is made to the Ships, from those Tents, by hoisting their Flags.

The chief of either Factory that gets first on board any Ship coming into the Road, has a right to serve her with Boats and Servants, and has a Due of seven Slaves for it.

[26] Note: "A Word used by our Sailors, for the Grout is made of it."

The Commanders, with their Surgeons, (as skilled in the Choice of Slaves) attend the whole time on shore, where they purchase, in what they call a fair open Market.

The Mates reside on board, receiving from time to time their Master's Directions as to the Goods wanted, and to prepare the Ship for the Reception and Security of the Slaves sent him; where this is a Rule always observed, to keep the Males apart from the Women and Children, to handcuff the former; Bristol Ships triple such as are sturdy, with Chains round their Necks; and to keep their own Men sober, and on a barricado'd Quarter-deck: tho' the natural Cowardice of these Creatures, and no other Prospect upon rising, but falling into the hands of the same Rogues that sold them, very much lessens the Danger: Nevertheless, it is adviseable at all times, to have a diligent Watch on their Actions, yet (abating their Fetters) to treat them with all Gentleness and Civility (pp. 168-173). . . .

Here [Angola] they force about twenty Servants, which the Ship is obliged to pay, after the rate of six Fathom of Guinea Cloth per month, and every Sunday morning, two Knives to each of them. Their Business is to attend every Morning, and carry up your Goods safe to the Factory, where others take the Charge, and are accountable for all Losses.

The Bum-boy again supervises the Slaves, to do justice between Buyer and Seller, and by the Custom or Law of the Country, the Ship is to stand charged with neither them or other Effects, till delivered into the Boat. However, considering what are their Courts of Justice, it will behove all Masters to have a diligent Inspection upon the Slaves themselves, and to keep the good Locks and Bolts upon their Goods: for it is here, as at Whydah, the commonest People, who cannot arrive at, or forbid Trade, are all Thieves and Beggars, the King and Courtiers chief, but openly more honest, because they get more by it.

Your Gold-takers are, Peter Griffin, (the King's Brother-in-law) Thomas Boon, and John Brown. Sometimes Ships settle an Agency at Mumbalar, or other neighbouring Place, and get considerable Trade; I have known 70 Slaves purchased there in a Month, with the additional Duty of six Pieces, and giving to the Servants who fetched up the Goods, each a single Annabass, a bundle of Beads, three Knives, and a Dram: with all, let your Agreements be as positive as possible, for they are very difficultly kept to their Words.

When we are slaved and out at Sea, it is commonly imagined, the Negroes Ignorance of Navigation, will always be a Safeguard; yet, as many of them think themselves bought to eat, and more, that Death will send them into their own Country, there has not been

wanting Examples of rising and killing a Ship's Company, distant from Land, tho' not so often as on the Coast; but once or twice is enough to shew, a Master's Care and Diligence should never be over till the Delivery of them. Some Negroes know well enough, that the preserving one white Man may answer their Purpose in an Exchange; however, generally speaking, we allow greater Liberty in our Passage, as conducive to their Health; we let them go at large on the Ship's Deck, from Sun-rise to Sun-set, give such as like it, Pipes and Tobacco, and clean and air their Dormitories every day.

Having given my Sentiments of the way and method of Trade at different parts of the Guinea Coast, I have still some remaining Observations to make under the chief Articles of it, *viz.* Slaves, Ivory, and Gold (pp. 174-176).

Slaves . . . Slaves differ in their Goodness; those from the Gold Coast are accounted best, being cleanest limbed, and more docible by our Settlements than others; but then they are, for that very reason, more prompt to Revenge, and murder the Instruments of their Slavery, and also apter in the means to compass it.

To Windward they approach in Goodness as is the distance from the Gold Coast; so, as at Gambia, or Sierraleon, to be much better, than at any of the interjacent places.

To Leeward from thence, they alter gradually for the worse; an Angolan Negro is a Proverb for worthlessness; and they mend (if we may call it so) in that way, till you come to the Hottentots, that is, to the Southermost Extremity of Africa.

I have observed how our Trading is managed for Slaves, when obliged to be carried on aboard the Ship. Where there are Factories, (Gambia, Sierraleon, the Gold Coast, Whydah, Calabar, Cabenda, and Angola,) we are more at large; they are sold in open Market on shore, and examined by us in like manner, as our Brother Trade do Beasts in Smithfield; the Countenance, and Stature, a good Set of Teeth, Pliancy in their Limbs, and Joints, and being free of Venereal Taint, are the things inspected, and governs our choice in buying.

The bulk of them are country People, stupid as is their distance from the Converse of the Coast-Negroes, eat all day if Victuals is before them; or if not, let it alone without Complaint; part without Tears with their Wives, Children, and Country, and are more affected with Pain than Death; . . .

Whydah Slaves are more subject to Small-Pox and sore Eyes; other parts to a sleepy Distemper, and to Windward, Exomphalos's. There are few Instances of Deformity any where; even their Nobles know nothing of chronical Distempers, nor their Ladies, of the Vapours. Their flattish Noses are owing to a continued grubbing in their In-

fancy against their Mother's Backs, being tied within the Tomee, whether upon Travel or Business, for a year or two, the time of their sucking (pp. 179-180).[27] . . .

129. Glynn and Ramsey to the Royal African Company.[1]

Gambia, 1721, June 24.

A Snow from Bristol and a Sloop from the West Indies carryed off all the Slaves at 55 Barrs per head. We bought Slaves of the Merchants for 30 Barrs. Since have paid the Customary price of 40 Barrs per head of the Portuguese and lend 'em goods to trade with the Merchants.

130. Deposition of John Turner and Nicholas Billet.[1]

1721, July 13.

John Turner and Nicholas Billet, being duly sworn, deposeth and saith, That they were Sailors, belonging to the *Westbury* Galley of Bristol, Jabis Beglow Master; that on the 21st of March last, in their Passage from Guinea to Jamaica, having 177 Negroes on board, they were taken in the said Ship off of Cape Mavilla, on the Coast of Hispaniola, by a Sloop called the *Santa Cruz Depadro,* one Rodrigo Commander, and carried into Baraco, on the Island of Cuba; that Nicholas Browne and Christopher Winter, two Englishmen, were on board the said Sloop, and that the said Browne and Winter forged Orders under the Owners Names in England, directed to Mr. Loyd in Jamaica, to send the said Ship with her Negroes, and £1200 worth of dry Goods, to the South Keys, and brought them to these Deponents, and threatened to hang them if they would not swear these Orders were true. These Deponents further say, that the said Ship was bound with her Negroes to this Island and designed to no other Place.

Sworn before me July 13, 1721, Peter Vallet.

131. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the Committee of Shipping.[1]

At a Com'ee of Shipping, 3d August 1721.

Agreed with Capt. Thos. Allwright to Freight the Ship *King George* Burthen 280 Tunns to be ready to take in Goods by the 15th

[27] In the following pages Atkins discusses the ivory and gold trade, the capture of the pirate Roberts, from whom 60 or 70 slaves were taken, and his voyage to the West India Islands (pp. 181-254). Pages 254 to 265 give an excellent summary of the voyage but add nothing new. Atkins reached England, and was paid and dismissed on May 11, 1723.

[129] [1] T 70: 7, p. 27.

[130] [1] *State of the Island of Jamaica,* pp. 62-63. This is one of many depositions taken to show the character and extent of Spanish depredations on English commerce.

[131] [1] T 70: 131, p. 75, "Minute-Book of the Committee of Shipping". Signed by William Dilke. This volume also contains occasional minutes from the court of assistants, and brief orders.

day of this Instant and depart Gravesend by the 15th day of Sept'r Next to Whidah in Africa there to take in four hundred and fifty Negroes certain not Exceeding five hundred And to deliver them at Jamaica or Barbados in the West Indies.

132. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the Court of Assistants.[1]

At a Court of Assistants, Tuesday Aug. 22th 1721.

The Minutes of the Com'ee of Trade of the 15th Inst. being read and Approved by the Court,[2] It was thereupon ordered,

That the *King Solomon* Capt. Jos. Trahearn take in a windward Cargo And another for Cape Coast and proceed to the Maderas, there take in 25 Tun of Wine for the men of warr and from thence proceed with Capt. Heartsease to Sierraleone and along the Coast for making Trade and Settlements till they arrive at Cape Coast where Capt. Heartsease is to be left, and the Ship to be Freig'd with Slaves for Jamaica.

That it be recommended to the Com'ee of Shipping to purchase the Ship of 240 Tun building at Mr. Kerbys yard at Deptford, on the Best terms they can, And that she take in a double Cargo for Jaquin and call at Cape Coast Castle to take in Capt. Heartsease and carry him thither, and then be slaved for Jamaica.

That Capt. Minzeis have the Command of this Ship.

That Capt. Allwrights ship the *Carlton* take on board the 60 Tun of provisions for the men of warr, and deliver the same at Cape Coast, and after that proceed with her Whydah Cargo for Whydah, and Slave there for Jamaica.

At a Court of Assistants, Thursday Aug'st 24th 1721.

The Minutes of the Com'ee of Trade of Yesterday being read and approv'd by the Court, It was ordered thereupon as follows *Vizt.*

1. That the Ship of 120 Tun building at Mr. Graves's yard which was designed for Capt. Minzeis be appointed to take in a small windward Cargo, and then proceed to Ireland to take in provisions for Cape Coast Castle and the Settlements under that District for 6 Months.

2. That the other ship of 120 Tunn building at Mr. Swallows yard of which Capt. Buchannan is Command'r be appointed to take in a Cape Coast Cargo, then proceed for the Maderas to take in Wine

[132] [1] T 70: 131, pp. 77, 79. Signed by Francis Lynn.

[2] The committee of trade had on the 15th decided on a scale of commissions to be paid the factors for each slave laden, ranging from 7 *s.* 6 *d.*, to the chief merchants at Cape Coast Castle, to 1 *s.*, to the factors at Jaquin, a factory subordinate to the governor of Whydah. T 70: 123, pp. 37-38.

for Cape Coast as also the rest of the King's Wine, which the *King Solomon* cannot take in.

3. That the ship of 100 Tun building at Mr. Taylors dock of which Capt. Hill is Command'r be apointed to proceed to Golfo des Voltas with the African princes.[3]

4. That the Brigantine of 80 Tun building at Mr. Swallows, of which Capt. Levingston is Command'r be appointed to goe to Sierraleone, and if there be a Cargo there fitt to send Directley home, that She Return therewith if not that she be full slaved there and proceed as shall be directed, but if She cannot be fully Slaved, that she take what Slaves, Wood and Teeth etc. they can put on board her, carry the same to Cape Coast and afterwards proceed as she shall be Consigned.

That it be recommended to the Com'ee of Shipping to provide a ship or two for the Bight, as also one for Cabenda and another which will Carry 200 or 250 Negroes to goe to Gambia.

133. Robert Plunkett to the Royal African Company.[1]

Bence Island, Sept. 18th 1721.

Incloses Copy of the *Providences* Invoice and Bill of Lading per the *Sherbro* Capt. Hardy. 231 Slaves. . . . Consigned to Jamaica.

Is sorry the ships should lye so long undispatched—have many Enemys few hands and their Arrival unseasonable. Desires, Ships may arrive Earlier, and more Factors.

Mr. Knox in the *Sherbro* purchased but 13 Slaves in 3 Months time, and two of them died of the Lethargy Soon after.

Finding so many Traders to the Northward. Sent the Ship as far as C. Lahau to the Southward, and in two Months time bought but Nine Slaves.

Provisions allmost exhausted. 19 Slaves dead since their being put on board. Mr. Trashall the Doctor Negligent. Can't prevent putting the Slaves so long on board, for want of conveniency a Shore.

Has given a full acco't of Affairs by the *Providence* has not time to send a Duplicate.

134. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the Court of Assistants.[1]

At a Court of Assistants, Thursday Oct. 26th 1721.

Allowance of Priviledge given to the Commanders and Officers of the Royall African Companys ships.

[3] See *ante*, no. 127. The Golfo des Voltas is on the southwestern coast of Africa.

[133] [1] T 70: 7, p. 28.

[134] [1] T 70: 131, pp. 89, 91, 93, "Read and Approved by the Court Oct. 12, 1721. Signed Fra. Lynn".

That every Commander that Carrys from 400 to 500 Negroes shall have, £300; that every ditto from 2 to 300, £200; that every packett of 100 Tuns and Upwards shall have, £150; that every small Vessell, £100.

That all Captains be oblidged to carry at Least 1/3d of their allowance in Provisions Wearing Apparell such as Shoes, Stockings, Hatts and other Necessarys and as much more as they please and that the other 2/3d or the remainder be invested in Staple Goods to be viewed and packed at the African House, The Goods to be viewed by the Com'ee of Goods and the Stores and Necessarys by the Com'ee of Shipping and the Captain to make Affidavit that he carry no more directly or indirectly than what is allowed him by the Company.

That all the Commanders have Liberty to Invest their own adventure upon the Coast in the Best manner they can.

That al[l] Captains have the Liberty of 2 Slaves freight free in every hundred Slaves he carrys for the Company, and if he carrys 150 to have 3 Negroes free, if 250 to have 5 free and so on, the Capt. marking his own slaves, in the presence of all his Officers and what more slaves he shall carry to pay freight in proportion as the freight is Agreed on.

That the first mate have the priviledge of one Negro freight free.

That the second mate and Surgeon have one between them, if a third mate the third mate and Gunner one and Boatswain and Carpenter one. But if two mates then the Carpenter, Boatswain and Gunner to have one between them freight free, to be bought with their own goods and mark'd immediately when bought with a Brand mark in presence of the Captain.

That all Returns they Bring home in teeth and wood be sold at the Comp's sale.

Allowance for the Officers of ship that goes for 500 Negroes: The First Mate, £40, the Second, 25, the Third, 25, the Carpenter, £10, the Boatswain, 10, the Gunner, 10, the Surgeon, 30.

Allowance for the Officers of Ships that go for 400 Negroes: Every first mate, £30, the Second, 20, the Third, 20, the Carpenter, 10, the Boatswain, 10, the Gunner, 10, the Surgeon, 30.

Allowance for the Officers of Ships that go for 300 Slaves: the first mate, £20, the Second mate, 15, the carpenter, 5, the gunner, 5, the Boatswain, 5, the Surgeon, 20.

The Officers of such Ships as go for 200 Slaves to have liberty to carry out the same vallue as those that go for 300 Slaves.

Allowance for the Officers of Ships that go for 100 Slaves: the first mate, £10, the second mate, 5, the Boatswain, 5, the Gunner, 5, the Carpenter, 5, the surgeon, 10.

Thursday, April 5th, 1722.[2]

The Court observing that Capt. James Castle is reported by the Com'ee of Shipping as Comma[n]der of the *Sarah* Gally now to go out in the Service, And having receiv'd some acco't of his Character and behavior on the Coast of Africa particularly his having panyard some Free Blacks and carryed them to Berbadoes and Sold them there the Court thought fitt to discharge him from the Comand of the Ship.

135. James Houstoun's Account of Guinea.[1]

I hope your Honours will pardon me, if I tell you, that I have talk'd with the most sensible of these separate Traders in this Place,[2] whom your Honours look upon as a Nuisance to the Company, and have heard the Proposals your Honours made to unite them as Servants to the Company: But give me Leave to say, there's no Occasion of Articles with them, provided you give them a better Price for what Slaves they make, than Interlopers, which you propose in your Articles; and take off their Hands whatever Number they are able to make, which will naturally lead them to be voluntary Agents for the Company only. And indeed, it's my Opinion and I think it demonstrable, that it wou'd be infinitely for the Advantage of the Company, that your own Servants were under such Regulations; which I shall humbly propose in the Sequel of this Narration, when it shall more naturally fall in with Proposals for Regulations, for the better Preservation of your Servants Health abroad (pp. 13-14). . . .[3]

[2] T 70: 91, "Minute Book of the Court of Assistants of the Royal African Company of England, No. 18, Aug. 1, 1721 to Oct. 17, 1723".

[135] [1] *Some New and Accurate Observations, Geographical, Natural and Historical, containing a true and impartial Account of the Situation, Product, and Natural History of the Coast of Guinea, so far as relates to the Improvement of that Trade, for the Advantage of Great Britain in general, and the Royal African Company in particular.* By James Houstoun, M.D., Humbly Addres'd to the Honourable the Court of Assistants of the Royal African Company of Great Britain (1725). Dr. James Houstoun, at one time in high favor with the court party of his day, accepted the position of chief surgeon at Cape Coast Castle and physician to the company's settlements on the coast, because of heavy debts, he being one of the losers in the South Sea Bubble. His duties as a physician involved the care of the company's employees, and the examination of slaves offered for sale to the company. His account, however, betrays great interest in the products of the country, which the Duke of Chandos was then investigating, though he says, "I always looked upon my principal Business and Care, to see if I could contribute anything to the Preservation of your Servants Health Abroad, and that the Company was not imposed on by their Agents, purchasing sickly and disabled Slaves" (p. 5). He wrote with the avowed purpose of "disclosing the villanies" of an agent of the company, in other words, to present his side of a quarrel with Governor Baldwin of Whydah. Before publication, his manuscript was submitted to the Duke of Chandos, whose appointee he was, and to Francis Lynn, secretary of the company. For a full account of the chequered life of this truculent physician see his *Memoirs* (1747).

[2] Sierra Leone, where Houstoun had been received by Governor Plunkett in July, 1722.

[3] Having supplied Sierra Leone with medicine and done what he could for the sick, the author proceeded to the Gold Coast.

There are a great many little Towns all along this Coast, built on the Sands by the numerous Negroes flocking from the Inland Countries, and building their little Hutts by the Sea-side, for the Conveniency of trading with the Coasting Ships; such as Jaque Lahoe, Jaque a Jaque, Assine, Great and Little Bassam, with many others; so that I assure your Honours, if we had had a Power to Slave our Ship, we cou'd have put more Slaves on board, besides Teeth and Gold, in one Month's Time, in that Coasting Voyage, than your Governor and Merchants were able to do in Five Months at Cape Coast. I remember we put in at Cape Three Points, the only Watering-Place on that Coast; there stands Fredericksburg Fort, which formerly belonged to the present King of Prussia, now in Possession of one John Conny,[4] a very great Caboceer of that Country; for he has almost all that Country at his Command: Hearing from his Domesticks that came on board, on Embassy from him, with his Gold-headed Cane, as a Badge of their invested Power, to demand of us some little trifling Affair for watering there; that he was a great Lover of the English, but a mortal Enemy to the Dutch.[5] My Curiosity led me ashore to visit King Conny in his Castle, who receiv'd me very kindly, with the usual Ceremonies, of their Country Musick, Drums and Horns, . . . If we had been empower'd to trade with him on Account of the Company, I cou'd have purchased from him a considerable Number of Slaves, with what Quantity I pleased of Rice, the only Product of this Country, for the Soil seems agreeable for nothing else (pp. 15-17). . . .[6]

This Country [Whydah] produces nothing fit for Exportation but Slaves, from whence there are incredible Numbers carried off Yearly; the contiguous Countries producing only a few Teeth, so that all along the Coast, where your Honours have any Concern, from Gambay to this Place, I compute there are carried off by different Hands, above 30,000 Slaves yearly, and of that Number more than one Half are carried from hence. How many of that

[4] Whether or not the Brandenburgers had ceded Great Friedrichsburg to the Dutch in 1717, it was held for some years after that by natives under John Conny (Lannoy, *Histoire de l'Expansion Coloniale,* II. 137, and *ante,* introduction, p. xivn.). "John Conny, who is the principal Cabiceer, exacts a Duty from all Ships, of an Ounce of Gold, for this Privilege [watering]; and sends off a Servant with his Commission, a large Gold-headed cane, engraved John Conny, to demand it. Our Neglect herein, with some opprobrious Treatment of the Agent, occasioned John Conny next day to come down with a Posse and seize our Water-casks ashore, carrying away ten or a dozen of our Men Prisoners to his Town." Six oz. of gold and an anchor of brandy soothed John's spirit and released the prisoners. Atkins, *Voyage to Guinea,* pp. 75-76.

[5] Atkins describes the attempts of the Dutch to dislodge John Conny from the Brandenburg (or Danish) fort to which he had fallen heir. *Voyage to Guinea,* pp. 76-77.

[6] In the section omitted Houstoun writes of this inspection of the English settlements on the Gold Coast. At Dixcove he talked with a native chief who traded with the Dutch: "But I'm perswaded, that if we cou'd have furnish'd this Man with Goods, free of the Tyrannical Power of the Governor [Dutch], he was able to have furnish'd us a considerable Number of Slaves to a good advantage for the Company" (pp. 19-20).

Number are purchased by your Honours Agent here, for the Benefit of the Company, you are competent Judges; but I must beg leave to acquaint your Honours of the Manner, which I take to be my indispensible Duty, in discharging the Trust of a faithful Servant to the Company, by laying open to the World the Villanies committed by one of your Chief Agents, to the Disgrace of the Directors his Masters, and intire Ruin of the Company.

Mr. B-ldw-n having about Two Hundred and Eighty Slaves, which were the Refuse of a much greater Number sold to the Portuguese, and having your Honours Ship the *Whydah,* Capt. Levett Commander, waiting to be slav'd by him; he sent the Ship, and put Mr. Mabyn, your chief Merchant, on board of her, to be slaved to the Windward, and must needs put those Two Hundred and Eighty Slaves on board to take the Air; for indeed they wanted it much, for they were so meagre, and old, and lame, they cou'd scarcely stand upright. I told him my Opinion was, he had better keep them Slaves in the Trunk till Capt. Levett's Return, which was ordered in three Months Time; for they were more fit for an Hospital than a Voyage, meerly to take the Air, for so it appeared; for the Inconveniencies of stowing Negroes on board was the cause of a much greater Mortality than otherwise wou'd have happen'd, to the great Loss and Detriment of the Company. I exerted my self on this, as on other Occasions, for the Honour and Interest of the Company, and suffer'd the utmost Misery by tyrannical Villany on that Account; which I now lay open to your Honours, and can attest every Fact; and only appeal for your Judgment, whether or not it was my Business to look into Slaves that I was to attest were merchantable, when at the same Time I was convinced they were not worth One Shilling per Head, tho' undoubtedly they were stated at a good Rate, as merchantable Slaves to your Honours Account; and Mr. B-ldw-n only wanted to have them die out of his Custody that there might be no farther Enquiry made about them; for a dead Slave was better in his Pocket than a living one. . . . he ordered me on Board the *Chandos* Galley, which was to carry 500 Slaves to Jamaica.[7] I was entered as Surgeon to the Ship; and I exerted my self honestly, as I ought to do, even in that Station, by reviewing the Slaves, and rejecting those that were not merchantable, and entered a Protest against Fifty Four old, lame, decrepid Invalids, not worth a Farthing, and several Children which he stated in the Company's Books for Women, that were not Ten Years of Age. But that prevailed nothing, for he obliged the Commander, as he did others, to sign a Bill of Loading for the whole Number, as merchantable Slaves; and

[7] Governor Baldwin had confined Houstoun in a dungeon for 33 days, before sending him off on the *Chandos.*

gave an Order to the Commander of the *Cleveland,* an interloping Ship, to pick out what Slaves they had agreed for from the whole Cargo; which the Interlopers in general brag of in the West Indies, and with very good Reason, to the Dishonour and great Detriment of the Company. . . . I can't omit telling you, that he has not only ruined the Trade here at present, but left it irretrievable for the future, to serve his own mercenary Ends, by buying a large Quantity of Cowries for his own Use from Interlopers, and selling the Company's Cowries to the Portuguese: which put the Slave-Trade intirely into the Hands of the Portuguese, and lowered the Price of Cowries, which were always formerly current Money at Five Ackes of Gold for a grand Cubesse in Booges, but are now reduc'd to Three Ackes. The Mystery is plain! every grand Cubesse [8] in Cowries put Two Ackes in his Pocket, and the Accompts ballanced in the Company's Books, to the utter Ruin and Destruction of Trade in general, and the Company's Interest in particular (pp. 27-33). . . . This [9] with the Product of 30,000 Slaves, besides those that are carried from Angola, which I have not as yet brought under Computation, reckoning those sold to the Spaniards and Portugueze, as well as those to the English, French and Dutch Plantations, your Honours will find them, one with another, even Children included, some out at 30 *l.* Sterling per Head, which amounts to 900,000 *l.* Sterling; which, with the 70,000 Ounces of Gold, come to 1,110,000 *l.* Sterling. This is besides Wax, Teeth, Majombo, Palm Oil, etc. which I have not brought under Computation. Now, I say, let us reckon 6000 Slaves more carried from Angola and the Bite, which I can't exactly compute, being an entire Stranger to those Places, but I take the Computation to be modest enough and within Bounds, which, at the former Rate amounts to 180,000 *l.* and the whole Product of the Trade of this Coast amounts to 1,290,000 *l.* Sterling per Annum, besides Wax, Teeth, Majombo, Palm Oil etc. which indeed I cannot bring under Computation, which are carried off the Coast by the English, French, and Dutch, and are imported into Europe.

[8] Atkins (p. 113) states that a grand cabess (quibess) was equal to twenty-five shillings; William Smith (p. 178), that it was the equivalent of one pound.

[9] The gold exported from Africa, which Houstoun has reckoned to be 70,000 oz. per annum. Houstoun is here demonstrating the value of the African trade to England. "'Tis a known Maxim in Policy, that the Richness or Poverty of a Trading Nation depends intirely upon its being more or less populous, so that the Number of Hands in that Nation are so much standing Riches in it; and consequently, that Trade which least depopulates the Country, and is carried on by its own Manufactures and Products, must indisputably be the most advantageous to the Nation, especially when most, if not all the Returns are made in ready Specie. How far this will answer with the African Trade, your Honours, who are a Society of the politest Gentlemen and finest Merchants, perhaps, in the known World, are the best Judges. I only humbly beg leave to submit to your Judgment some Matters of Fact, which by travelling the Coast, are consistent with my proper Knowledge, are perhaps unknown to your Honours" (p. 41).

Indeed, we must allow a considerable Draw-Back on the Slave Trade; for the Number of Slaves carried off the Coast by the Portugueze, which they purchase directly from the Negroes with their Tobacco and Stinckabus Rum, and our Cowries, to the great Detriment of our European Trade in general, and your Honours Interest in particular; which has been intirely owing to the Mismanagement of your Honours late Chief Agent, Mr. B-ldw-n, to satiate his own mercenary and avaricious Ends, by selling them your Honours Cowries at a low Rate, for ready Gold, as I hinted pag. 32.[10]. . . the Dutch are the only formidable Antagonists we have to deal with.[11] This Dutch Guinea Company is an united Branch of their India Company, of which the States General bear the greatest Share, exclusive of all Interloping Traders of their own Nation, besides a Tax of 10 per Cent. on all the Portugueze Ships trading to this Coast, which they had granted them as an Article, in exchanging Brazil with the Portugueze, in lieu of this Trade; which they strictly demand, and keep a Man of War a cruising always on the Coast, to put their Orders in Execution, as well against the Portugueze, as the Interloping Ships of their own Nation. So it plainly appears to your Honours, what great Advantages that Company have over ours; and, indeed, as I has only the Interest of Britain at Heart, I cou'd and do wish from my very Heart, that his most gracious Majesty, who Honours your Society by being your Governor, wou'd take into his Consideration in Council; and, by Consent of Parliament, grant your Company a Conditional, exclusive Charter: For it is unreasonable to expect or demand such a one as your Company had formerly, whilst under the Direction of the Duke of York, in King Charles the Second's Reign; the sad Effects of which plainly appear'd by the numerous Complaints of his Majesty's Subjects of his Plantations beyond Seas; which, if carried any higher, must have tended to their utter Ruin and Extirpation.[12] Nor is it to be supposed, that even now, if the Company had an unlimited, exclusive Charter, that their Agents wou'd furnish his Majesty's Plantations with Slaves at 30 or 40 *l.* per Head of that Country Money; whereas, in a few Days they can waft them over to the Spanish American Coast, where they fetch 300 Pieces of Eight per Head, including the King of Spain's Taxes, and other Duties, which makes them come out at above 60 *l.* Sterling;

[10] A rhetorical outburst over the importance of the African trade to Great Britain and the mischief-making of the interloping trade follows.

[11] In Houstoun's *Memoirs* he adds at this point: "Now the French are more dangerous to us than the Dutch" (p. 149 n.).

[12] In the *Memoirs,* after reviewing the entire story of his African experience, Houstoun remarks that the history of the African company demonstrates the truth that trade cannot be confined to any single nation or company within a nation (p. 145).

a Price that won't answer with our American Plantations: But if his Majesty's Subjects were to compute their Yearly Demand of Negroes that are absolutely necessary for their Service, which might be easily done; and at the same time his Majesty wou'd be pleased to grant the Royal African Company, either singly, or united with the South Sea Company, a Charter conditionally, to be obliged to furnish his Majesty's Plantations with their Quota of Slaves, demanded at 30 *l.* of the Country Money per Head, including Children above Eight or Ten Years of Age; which might answer both the Ends of the Planters of our American Plantations, and enable the Company to carry on a Trade, not only exclusive of all English Interlopers, but to enhance their Trade solely to themselves, exclusive of all other Nations, and to fetch into England, from the Manufactures and Commodities of our own Country, above a Million of Money Sterling Yearly in ready Specie; which is entirely stifled at present, through the Inability of the Company's struggling with such Difficulties, as the great Charge of the Company's maintaining their Settlements Abroad, whilst Interlopers come to take the Bread out of their Mouth; and even assisted in so doing by their own Agents, to serve their own mercenary Ends; whilst thus weakening one another, the Dutch, never forgetful of their own Interest, assisted by other Nations, come in to carry off the Profit from both. Such a limited Charter as this, where there is not one Objection left against it, put in the Hands of any Society, empowering them to raise a sufficient Sum of Money to carry on that Trade, wou'd not only enable us to furnish our Quota of Slaves, *viz.* 4800 per Ann. to the Spaniards, as stipulated by the Assiento Contract, and to make good former Deficiencies; but naturally bring the Slave Trade entirely into our Hands, exclusive of all other Nations; so consequently reap the Fruits of the American Mines, which they only give themselves the Trouble to dig, but in Hopes of such a glorious and advantageous Trade to England (pp. 42-48). . . .[13]

[13] Here Houstoun expounds a plan for the management of trade on the coast, which would deprive the governors of despotic power and create a more efficient service. The volume continues with an account of the diseases of the coast, further details of the villainies practised by Governor Baldwin, and some sensible suggestions for the care of the company's African employees. At one point Houstoun apologizes for the advice which he has offered on the development of native resources, since the health of the factories was his mission. His great interest in the company's desire to extend its trade, clear throughout the narrative, doubtless resulted from his admiration for the Duke of Chandos. In his *Memoirs* he states that the duke, upon hearing his account of African conditions, sold his stock in the company, apparently regarding the revival of its trade and the reformation of its administration as hopeless tasks (p. 144). Further evidence of the interest of the Duke of Chandos in the slave trade may be found in an inquiry of his as to whether there would be encouragement for the African Company to trade to "these plantations", by which he probably referred to Connecticut. *Cadwallader Colden Papers* (New York Historical Society, *Collections,* 1918), II. 23.

136. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the Court of Assistants.

1722, Apr. 9.[1]

Ord'd, That it be recommended to the Com'ee of Shipping to endeavor to agree with the owners of the *Holden* Fregate, that she may make a double voyage by returning to Cabenda for another Cargo of Slaves, after her having delivered her first at Jamaica. Also that they do the Same in regard to the *Prince George* Capt. Mitchell.

1722, Apr. 26.[2]

In case the South Sea Company's Ship arrives in the time Cornwall is there he is to assist in Slaving that Ship, that She may have the first and quickest dispatch possible, and after that Endeavour to Slave himself.

1722, May 10.[3]

The Com'ee of Shipping reported to the Court their having agreed with the Owners of the *Prince George* for a double Voyage from Cabenda to Jamaica for 350 Negroes each voyage at £6. 10 per head Subject to the Same Covenant as the last Voyage. To which the Court agreed,

And recommended to the Com'ee of Shipping to oblige the Capt. to take out a greater number of seamen in consideration of his double voyage.

137. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the Committee of Shipping.[1]

At a Comm'ee of Shipping, The 19th July, 1722.

Agreed with Capt. Thomas Young Commander of the *Squirrel* to Freight his Ship burthen 270 Tons 14 Guns men Answerable for a Voyage to Cape Coast and Whydah for 450 Negroes Certain (and Fifty more in Case she can Conveniently carry them) at Six pounds fifteen Shillings per head freight for all he Delivers alive at Jamaica and to be ready to take in Goods by the 1st of August next.

[136] [1] T 70: 91, p. 131. The *Holden* arrived at Cabenda on Aug. 10, and by October had received 450 slaves. T 70: 7, p. 49 (2).

[2] T 70: 123.

[3] T 70: 91, p. 139. On May 31 Captain Mitchell wrote to the company that he could not make the voyage to Cabenda, as some of the *Prince George's* owners declined fitting out the ship (*ibid.*, p. 142). On June 10 it was agreed that the *Clarendon* should perform the "double voyage" between Jamaica and the coast. T 70: 123.

[137] [1] T 70: 131, p. 115, "Sign'd, Wm. Dilke".

138. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the Court of Assistants.[1]

July 25, 1722.

The Court being acquainted that Capt. Bulcock has shipped on board the *Sherbro* Galley his adventure for private trade, without being viewed as the Court directed, and having been guilty of several other misdemeanors Upon the question being put it was unanimously agreed that he has not done his Duty. Ord'd, That he be dismissed from the Command of the *Sherbro* Galley and that Capt. John Lake have Comm'd of her. . . .

139. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence and Trade.[1]

At a Comm'ee of Corresp'dce and Trade, Wednesday, Sep'r 26, 1722.

The Committee read over Sev'll Letters which have been received from Mr. Kerby[2] of Antigua from the 14th Aprill last, and having duely considered the Same, are of Opinion to Report to the Court

That They are not Convinced by any arguments Mr. Kerby hath therein offered that the Company have been so well used by him as they ought to Expect, on the contrary the Sales of the last Negroes by the *Margarett* as well as the former by the *Dispatch* and *Lady Rachell* came out at so low rates that the Committee do not think the Company have any Encouragem't to Send more Slaves thither, unless it can be put upon some better foot by a Contract for a certain Price.

And, therefore the Committee do propose that the Accomptant make out a State of the produce of the Negroes which have been sent to Antigua Since the Ingraftment, One Copy thereof to be Sent to Mr. Kerby to let him See how little reason the Company have to Continue the trade with him, Another to be Sent to Govr. Hart, that he may be judge how unsuccessfully that Trade has hitherto been carryed on, and to desire his opinion, whether Contracts might not be made with Some of the principal Merchants there to Supply the Island with a certain number at a certain price as is done with Mr. Wragg at Carolina and Sr Robert Davers at Berbadoes.[3]

[138] [1] T 70: 91, p. 154. The *Sherbro* was to carry 350 slaves from Cabenda (T 70: 91, p. 147, 2). It arrived there on Nov. 14, and sailed for Jamaica on Jan. 23, 1723, with 350 slaves (T 70: 7, p. 50, 2). The bill of lading for these slaves, specifying 249 men, 48 women, 6 men boys, 33 boys, and 14 girls, was received by the company Aug. 20, 1723. T 70: 139, "Minutes and Copies of Orders of Court, 1720-1727".

[139] [1] T 70: 123. "Present, Mr. Acton, S. G. S'r B. Lake D. G., D. Chandos, Mr. Lockwood, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Walcot, Mr. Gore, Mr. Hopegood, Mr. Hayes."

[2] Probably Thomas Kerby, who was the company's factor in Antigua at this time; in 1744 he was nominated as agent of Antigua, but did not attain to that office.

[3] See this work, vol. III., South Carolina. The company had completed a contract with Sir Robert Davers, Feb. 27, 1722 (T 70: 91, p. 109). It had also an agreement to

140. Daniel Wescomb to Francis Lynn.[1]

9 Jany. 1723.

I have received back the Draft of the Contract between the 2 Companys.

As to the Alteration Your Company propose of Lengthening the Time for the 2d Ships Departure to the 15th of next Month I am orderd to acquaint You, that our Company have already given as long Time as they possibly can *vizt.* to the 31s Inst., Which is longer than was intended at the Meeting of the 2 Committees, it being then mentioned that Your Company had already in that Country a great Quantity of Goods, And that they did Intend to advise their Agents, of this Contract, by a Ship that was then about to Sail. And as the Rains set in, our Company, may suffer great Damage in the Mortality of the Negroes, And Consequently the Owners in their Freight, if any further Delay be put to the Ships Departure.

As to any Damage which may happen to Yo'r Companys Goods a Clause will be inserted in the Charter party for making it good, so that our Compa. consent, that what shall be recovered on that Account shall be paid to Yo'r Company.

And as to the Matter of the Port Charges, as it is a Duty every Ship pays to the King of the Country, our Company think it reasonable that a Proportion thereof, as in the Draft, should be paid by Yo'r Compa. as well as the Canoe hire.

This You'l Please to Communicate to the Gent'n of Your Company who have the Management of this Affair, and let me know their Answer as soon as possible.

141. Daniel Wescomb to Captain Smith.[1]

South Sea House, 20 Feb'ry, 1723.

The Company having Received a Letter from Capt. Opie dated 3d Sept. last at Cabenda on the Coast of Angola whither You are

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furnish the South Sea Company with 3000 slaves, Mar. 21, 1722 (T 70: 91, p. 117). Sir Robert Davers died before his negroes reached him and, since his son declined to accept those which were carried out by the *Dilligence,* Harper and Lascelles, the agents of the company, were instructed to sell them in the island (Jan. 4, 1723, T 70: 123).

[140] [1] Add. MSS. 25556, f. 47v, p. 92. The treaty of Madrid was signed on June 13, 1721, and the South Sea Company prepared to continue its trade. It received bids for its supply of negroes from separate traders and the African Company. Among the separate traders interested in supplying the company was John Becher, mayor of Bristol (Add. MSS. 25500, p. 38). The negotiations with the Guinea Company had been going on since March, 1722 (*ibid.,* pp. 77, 83, 86-97). The factories were re-established, with the following agents: Cartagena, James Pym, John Thompson, Thomas Butcher, James Black, Gibson Datrell, John Burmest; Vera Cruz, John Pitt, Wadham Windham, Glover Jesson, Shadrach Bastie, Harry Spenser, William Patton; Panama and Porto Bello, Gilbert Grimes, Batho Swartz, Julius Buller, James Hutchinson, Henry Johnson, Thomas Blenchenden, Thomas Bacon; Havana, —— Nicholson, James Calden, John Gerrald. *Boston News-Letter,* Mar. 5, 1722.

[141] [1] Add. MSS. 25556, f. 50, p. 97.

bound giving an Account of the Destruction of the Royal African Companys Settlement there by a Portugueze Man of War assisted by the Natives there,[2] but that the Trade is open, And that he could have procured Slaves enough had he been at Liberty to have procured them himself; and not been Restrain'd to take them from that Companys Agents; The Court thought proper I should give You Notice for Your Government in providing Your Slaves, and furnishing Your Self with what further Provisions You may Want, none being to be had on the Coast of Angola. As soon as the Company had Received this News I wrote You a Letter the same with the foregoing and sent it to Mr. Knight of Deal to be Sent on board You in the Downs, but You being Sail'd before his Receipt of it, he Returnd it me, And Mr. Pentyre of Plimo. advising Your being put in there by Contrary Winds I thought proper to send this under Covert to him, which I hope will Reach You before you Sail. I wish You a Good Voyage.[3]

142. Daniel Wescomb to Captain White.[1]

South Sea House, 20 Febr. 1723.

. . . A Conference hath thereupon been had between the two Companys here, and the African Company have Agreed, That if You Should upon this Emergency Employ the Cargo which they put on board Your Ship, in purchasing the 325 Negroes, which by Contract their Agents were to Deliver You, and also in purchasing a further Number towards Compleating what may be wanting in the *Carteret,* the said Company will approve thereof, provided Your Conduct therein shall be Satisfactory to the Court of Directors of this Company who recommend it to You to exert Your self upon this unfortunate Occasion That so the Disappointm't and Damage to this Company may be as little as possible Which I am directed to Signify to You for Your Government and send You this by Capt. Smith of the *Essex* to be delivered You in Case he shall meet with You on the Coast.

143. The South Sea Company to Lord Carteret.[1]

A Memorial of the Court of Directors of the South Sea Company to Lord Carteret, His Maj'ties Principal Sec'ry of State.

The South Sea Company being Obliged by the Assiento Treaty to Furnish 4800 Negroes in the Spanish West Indies for which they

[2] A brief account of the destruction of the company's settlement is to be found in the *Boston News-Letter,* Apr. 30, 1724; the *News Letter* of July 16, 1624, prints the statement that the King of Portugal has agreed to make restitution for this loss.

[3] Enclosed in this was the letter to Captain White which follows.

[142] [1] Add. MSS. 25556, f. 50, pp. 97-98. The first paragraph duplicates that in the letter to Captain Smith. After the words, "take them from the Companys Agents", the extract here printed occurs.

[143] [1] Add. MSS. 25556, f. 51, p. 99.

pay an Annual Duty to the Crown of Spain Amounting to 133,333 p's of $\frac{8}{8}$ and 1/3 and upon the performance of which Supply the Priviledge of an Annual Ship with Merchandize to those parts depends. The said Company the better to Enable themselves to put the same in Execution have Enterd into Several Contracts with the African Company now depending for furnishing Negroes on the Coast of Africa, and particularly at Cabenda and have sent Out Shiping to Transport the same from thence to the Spanish West Indies. But are Concernd to find that from an Accident which has befell that Company on the African Coast by the Insult of a Portugueze Man of War, which We Suppose they have Represented to Your Lordship, the Execution of the said Contracts is not Complyed with whereby the South Sea Company are Greatly disappointed.

The Obligation the South Sea Company lyes under as is above mentioned to furnish so Great a Number of Negroes Leads them humbly to represent to Your Lordship, That as it is of Great Importance to the Plantation Trade in General, so it is particularly to the South Sea Company that the Right of British Subjects Trading to and Settling upon any of the Coasts of Africa should be protected.

And We beg leave further to Acquaint Your Lordship that the Portugueze Man of War did in a Hostile Manner Attack and Endeavour to take or Destroy the Ship *Carteret* Capt. Opie Entertain'd in the Service of the South Sea Company to Transport some Slaves from Cabenda to Buenos Ayres, in which Unjust and Unreasonable Action the said Ship Received Considerable Damages, for which the Owners of the said Ship will Expect Satisfaction from this Company at her Return.

We therefore humbly pray Your Lord'p earnestly to Represent this Matter to his Majesty, For his Majestys Directions and Interpositions in such Manner as his Maj'ty in his Great Wisdom and Concern for the Trade and Property of his Subjects Shall See Just and Reasonable.[2]

South Sea House
20 Feb'ry, 1723

144. Captain Japhet Bird to ————.[1]

Mounseratt, Feb. the 24th, 1722/3.

Sir, I made bold per this oppertunity for to aquaint you of my helth and wellfair, beleving that a good friend would be desireouse to here of. I arriv'd at mounseratt the 22d of January with 239 slaves which Now all sold better then Expectation; so that am in

[2] Signed, "By Order of the Court of Directors of the South Sea Company, D. Wescomb."

[144] [1] Bristol Public Library, Jefferies MSS., p. 23.

hopes to make a Tolerable good voyage Notwithstanding I've had the misfortune of beuring seventy odd slaves, as good as any Now sold. I am somew't Dissatisfied that it shou'd happen to a young begginar, but thank god it Can't be said that its owing to Neglect for sr I Can asure you that it have been the Constent care and Indeavor of me for the Interest of those Gentlemen that have Imploy'd me; which I hope will answ. the end and expectation of my Good friends that Recommended me; I have been Very Unhapy with the Doct'r the best part of the voyage (which I Little thought when I left bristoll) the subject of which I'le ommit (untill I see you).

[P. S.] Capt. Holland gives his Humble servis to you and to mr. John Jones Including myselfe. I belive he is bound for bristoll; that is the Last proposition the owner mr. gold have made but he is mighty fickele, four or five voyages she have been goeing since I ariv'd.

145. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the Committee of Trade.[1]

At a Committee of Trade, Wednesday, March 6th 1722/3. That the £8186 Remainder of the Cabenda Cargoe be provided to go out One half by the Expedition which in all probability will be ready to Sail in all May, or June. That She take in at Cabenda as many Slaves as She can Ship, and proceed with them to St. Thomé, where if She cannot dispose of them all, She is to Carry the rest either to Jamaica or to Cape Coast, as Shall hereafter upon Intelligence from thence be thought proper, if the latter shall be judg'd not adviseable, after delivering the residue of the Slaves to the Capt. General, She is to take in what goods Shall be ready for her, and proceed to Whydah, where having perform'd the like Service She is to make the best of her way home, and that the residue of the Cabendo Cargoe be got ready to go by a new Ship propos'd to be built for 450 Negroes to Sail in all July.

And in regard the number of Slaves to be purchased is greater, than it is to be apprehended can be Sold on the Coast, it is proposed, that Such Slave Ships as the Company are at present possessed off, and are not appointed for any other particular Service, (*Vizt.* the *Sarah, Cape Coast* Frigatt, *King Solomon, Hamilton, Whydah* and *Chandos*) shall as Opportunity offers be Ordered to the proper Settlement to take them on board, and Carry them to Jamaica, but as the Company have Suffered very much by the length of such Voyages, it is further proposed that their Stay at the respective Settlements be limited to a certain number of Days as it is practised with hired

[145] [1] T 70: 124, "Committee of Trade, 1722-1725." Present: Sir Bibye Lake, S. G., Mr. Neale, D. G., the Duke of Chandos, Mr. Acton, Mr. Gore, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Hayes.

Ships, and at the Expiration thereof to proceed to the West Indies with as many Slaves as there Shall be ready to take on board, tho' they want by this means of their full Number, and a like limitation for their Stay at the Plantations unless there be very good reason for their Exceeding it from a certainty of a good Freight home, and no danger of their being detain'd so long, as to render it hazardous whether they can return in such a time as to be fitted out again in the proper Season for the next Year's Service. And for the better Enforcing the observance of this regulation, it is propos'd, That the Captains Shall not be entitled to their Gratuity if they fail in compliance herewith. And in regard the *King Solomon* is almost worn out, and by no means a proper Ship for the Slave Service, by reason of the great Charge She Stands the Company in, compar'd with the number of Slaves She is able to Carry, it is propos'd, that at her return She be fitted out for the Wood Trade of Sierraleone, and join'd to the *Mary* Brigantine for the Service of that Settlement, and that a new One be forthwith provided of the Size and Burthen, which the Committee of Shipping Shall judge most proper for the Carrying of 500 Negroes to be ready to proceed in all July with the residue of the Cabenda Cargoe as above proposed.

1723, April 11.[2]

That it be recommended to the Comm'ee of Shipping to take up a good sailing Ship which will carry 160 Tuns of Goods, to go to Holland and take in a Cargo there for Cape Coast from thence proceed to Cabenda to take in Slaves for Jamaica. . . .

146. Captain Edward Hollden to the Owners of the *Grayhound*.[1]

Barbados, Aprill the 30th, 1723.

Sir, This With My Humble Servis to you and the Rest of the Gentlemen Owners of the Ship *Grayhound* Galley and is to certifie you of my Arivall hear haveing seven Weeks Passage from Bony but very Dismall and Mortall for outt of 339 Slaves I brought in hear butt 214 for the Like Mortalaty I think Never was known for Jolly Likely Men Slaves to Eatt thair Diett over Night and the Nex Morning Dead 2 and 3 in a Night for severall Days after Wee Came from Bony as for Managementt I think itt Could Nott be Better I allways had their Victtualls in good order and Took that Care to keep them and the Ship Sweet and Cleane allthoyt I Did itt my Self and Nott to Sufer any of them to Wett Their Foott on No Acctt: att my Arivall hear I aplyd my self to Mr. Crump and

[2] T 70: 91, p. 217 (2).

[146] [1] Jefferies MSS., p. 52.

Heasell as Orderd I haveing on bord aboutt 20 or 25 Slaves outt of flesh and do think itt for your Intrust to Leave them With Mr. Crump and Mr. Heasell for I think there Will be More Gain then Loss for to Run the Risk in Carrying them to Virginia and besids Discomodeing them as is in health. Provicions I have an Nought as Bread, beefe, Rice, beanes, yames so I Desire to Take in hear Sum Plantains a barrell of Flower a few Limes and sum Rum for a Recrute and so Make the best of My Way to Virgina as Directted by your orders hear Capt. Coster is hear butt is under sum Troble his Vesell was seise on the Acctt of his being a foriner as I under stand itt is Nott over itt [yet] Nor No one knows when itt Will. Gentellmen I Purchase att Bony 339 Slaves 189 Men and 128 Women 16 boys and 6 Girles I buried 17 before Came over the bar and 113 after Wards and have bought 28 Teeth Weighing between 15 and 16 hundred pound and Sum Red Wood. Dockter Smith is Dead and the Copper [cooper] and four Sailors and one boy besides.

147. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the Committee of Trade.[1]

At a Committee of Trade, Wednesday May 29th 1723.

The Committee having made the following Proposal to Capt. Stibbs as the terms on which he is to go to Gambia,[2] *Vizt.*

That he be paid as Capt. of the Ship till the time of his Setting out from the Settlement at Gambia up the River, and from that time at the rate of £10 per Month till his return to Gambia Settlement again.

That he keep a Table proper for the Station he goes in, and the number of persons that go with him, with as much frugallity as may Consist with the honour of the Company, An Account of the Expence thereof to be kept, and deliver'd to the Councill at Gambia on his return thither.

That he have the following Commissions *Vizt.*

2 *sh* a head on Slaves

£2 per Cent on all other Trade he makes

£5 per Cent upon all new discoverys in trade for 7 Years

£3 per Cent On all Gold got by Mines, Washing or Buddling.

That he give the following Security, *Vizt.* His own Bond of £1000, and 2 other Substantiall persons in £500 Each. To which

[147] [1] T 70: 124. Present: the Duke of Chandos, Sir Bibye Lake, Mr. Neale, Mr. Acton, Colonel Bladen, Mr. Lockwood, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Gore, Mr. Brown, Mr. Tryon, Mr. Hayes.

[2] On May 23 the committee had agreed to represent to the court that in their opinion Capt. Bartholomew Stibbs was the proper person to send on an expedition up the Gambia in the *Dispatch*. He was to have with him a surgeon, artisans, a still, and a supply of enumerated drugs. T 70: 124.

Proposal Capt. Stibbs agreeing, It is the Opinion of this Committee, That the same be laid before the Court for their approbation, and in regard it is of the utmost consequence, that an affair of this nature Should be carry'd on with the greatest privacy, That the Court be moved to Empower the Committee of Trade to name a private Committee for drawing up such Instructions, giving directions, and holding such Correspondence in relation thereto as may be necessary.

It is the further Opinion of this Committee, That it be recommended to the Committee of Goods to provide a Cargoe of about £2000 Value to go by this Ship *Dispatch* to Gambia.

The Committee are also of Opinion, That some Acknowledgement Should be made by the Company to S'r Chaloner Ogle and Capt. Herdman for the Service they did upon the Coast in regard to the Pirates.[3]

That it be recommended to the Committee of Goods to provide a Cargoe for Cabenda to be put on board the South Sea Ship *Sea horse* which is going thither to receive 325 Slaves, And That Anabasses may be borrowed of the South Sea Company to be repaid in the same Species of Anabasses. . . .

Then the Committee Enter'd upon the Consideration of a Representation proper to be laid before the General Court Soon to be Called.

And in Order thereto, Do direct, That Mr. Beaumont the Accompt. and Mr. Cleeve the Cashier Do make out an exact State of what Accounts of the Borrowers have been made up and Settled, and what remain unsettled, as also a State of the payments on the last Call of £5 per Cent, and the Deficiency thereon, to be laid before and Examined by the Committee of the Treasury, who it is desired may be Summoned for that purpose on this Day Sevnight.

That it be recommended to the Committee of Law Suits to lay before the Court a State of what has been done in regard to the foreclosing the Stock of those who have not paid the Calls upon the Ingraftment, and the prosecuting those Borrowers who have not come in to Settle their Accounts according to the Directions of the General Court.

That the Opinions of the Councill touching the method for bringing in the Deficiency upon the last Call of £5 per Cent be laid before the Court, That a By-Law may be drawn up pursuant thereto to be laid before the General Court, and that the General Court be acq'ted That the Committee of Law Suits have directions to prosecute to a foreclosure those who have not paid the Calls upon the Ingraftment.[4]

[3] For John Atkins's brief account of the capture of the pirates by the *Swallow* and the *Weymouth* see his *Voyage,* pp. 191-193, and *ante,* no. 128, notes.

[4] "Read and Agreed to by the Court, May the 31st 1723, F. L."

At a Committee of Trade, Friday June 14th 1723.[5]

It is the Opinion of this Committee, That as the *Royal Africa* appears by the last Letters from Cabenda to be in a good Condition, and fitt to go off the Coast with Slaves, That the *King Solomon* may be fitted out to Carry the Materialls desired by the Governor and Council there to finish the Fortifications, and relieve the *Royal Africa,* And that Capt. Hereford be Indulged in his request to Carry off the *Royal Africa* with Slaves at the Expiration, of his time, and being relieved by another Governor. . . .

The Receipt for the 300 Slaves put on board the *St. Quintin* at Cabenda with the bill of Lading given to Mr. Cleeve to attend the South Sea Company, and gett an order passed for the payment of the money due thereon according to Contract.

It is the Opinion of this Committee, That the Money payable by the South Sea Company upon the bill lately received for the Negroes by the *Royal African* Packett and the *Sherbro* Galley, and the money payable for the 300 putt on board the *St. Quintin* amounting both to £7197 : 10 be appropriated towards paying the Dividend, and that it be recommended to the Committee of Treasury to take care it be not otherwise disposed off.

At a Committee of Trade, Wednesday Sep'r 25th 1723.[6]

The Committee read over and Considered Gov'r Hart's Letter of 9th Aprill last from Antigua, And are of Opinion, That the thanks of the Court be return'd to Gov'r Hart for the regard he Shew'd to the Company's Interest in the purchase he made of fifty Slaves, tho' at that time he had no immediate occasion for them, when the Planters had Combined together to buy none in order to lower the prices, and that he be acquainted That as he writes there is a demand of Slaves in the Leeward Islands. If the Planters will Consign their Sugars to the Company to be dispos'd of by them at the publick Sale, and out of the produce thereof, the Company to pay themselves for the Slaves, and be accomptable for the remainder, in which case the Company would advance the money to pay the Customs without Charging Interest for the Same, and likewise Save them the usuall Commission, Care Shall be taken to Supply them with what Slaves they want; And as to his Proposal for farming the Company's Estate at Antigua at the Annual Rent of £500 Stl. in London, making good at the Expiration of the term, not Exceeding 14 years all Buildings, Works, Slaves and Cattle.

It is the Opinion of this Committee, That the said Proposal be

[5] Of those in attendance on May 29, Lake, Tryon, Gore, and Bladen were absent from this meeting.

[6] Those present were, Chandos, Lake, Acton, Brown, and Captain Collet.

accepted on these Conditions *Vizt.* That the Dead Stock be valued and agreed to be left at the Expiration of his time, as he finds it upon Entrance, that the Negroes be apprais'd and bought outright from the Company, and that he Shall be Supply'd from time to time with what Negroes he shall want during his term in the Estate, to be paid for in Bills of Exchange at such Sight as Shall be agreed on, And if he approves of this, That he be desir'd to appoint some person to come and Settle with the Company accordingly in his behalf.[7]

It is the Opinion of this Committee, That Mrs. Lamb, Wife of Capt. Bulfinch Lamb, who is abroad in the Company's Service at Jaquin or Whydah have £25 on account of her Husband's pay for her Support.[8] . . .

148. Voyage up the Gambia, by Bartholomew Stibbs.[1]

. . . On the 26th, [Oct.] late at Night, came down the *Gambia* Sloop, Capt. Uring, from Joar,[2] with 49 Slaves. . . . On the 11th, [Nov.] the *James Island* Sloop, Capt. Trevisa, came down from Joar with 24 Slaves, sent Thither in a Canoa by Mr. Drummond at Cuttejarr.[3]

On the 15th the *Hamilton* sail'd for Cape Coast with 30 Slaves, and the *Gambia* Sloop to Genock [4] for Rice and Corn for the *Advice,*

[7] On Oct. 9 the committee again took up the matter of the Antigua estate, agreeing to rent it to the governor for £600 annually, or to sell it to him for £6000 cash. They also agreed to furnish any Antigua planters who would contract for negroes with those from the Gold Coast and Whydah at £23 per head, and those from Gambia and Cabenda at £20, to be paid for by bills of exchange, sugar to be sent over to answer the bills, "at least 3 Hhd for Each Negroe, Consigned to their Factors here, and hypothecated to the Company, and that they take a whole Ships Cargoe round on these terms, that is to Say, All that are Merchantable and able to go over the Ships side without any visible defect." All this was approved by the court on Oct. 10. T 70: 124.

[8] For the story of Bulfinch Lambe see no. 161.

[148] [1] "Journal of a Voyage up the Gambia, being an Attempt for making Discoveries, and improving the Trade of that River, by Mess. Bartholomew Stibbs, Edward Drummond, and Richard Hull, in the Year 1723", included in Francis Moore's *Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa,* with notes by Francis Moore (London, 1738). Reference to the preparations for this voyage has been made in the committee minutes already printed (no. 147). The Duke of Chandos, as part of his effort to revive the company and create an income for it, sent Stibbs to explore the Gambia and make what suggestions he could for developing trade. The company was especially anxious to increase the number of commodities obtainable from the natives along the river. Stibbs, arriving at James Fort on Oct. 7, 1723, was delayed there for some time because of the death of the governor, Joseph Wiley. He had with him a journal of Vermuyden, written in 1661, but there is no evidence that he knew Jobson's account of his exploration of the river in 1621. The major portion of his narrative deals with the conduct of the expedition, and is but indirectly related to the slave trade. The selections here begin with his observations while waiting at James Fort. Hull was secretary and chief factor at the fort.

[2] Joar was, at a later period, the principal factory of the company on the Gambia, but just at this time, because of a disagreement with the natives, Governor Wiley had broken up the establishment there. He had been taken ill while endeavoring to settle the trouble and had died on the journey back to James Fort.

[3] Cuttejarr, a factory on the north side of the river in Lower Niani.

[4] The *James Island* and the *Gambia* were company sloops used for trafficking up and down the river. Janock was on the north shore, near the mouth of the Gambia. James Island was perhaps thirty miles up the river.

Capt. Rodwell, for whom 150 Slaves are ready to be carried for Jamaica (pp. 236, 241). . . .

On the 30th arrived a French sloop from Goree,[5] which same Sloop sail'd the 16th of October last from this Place for Goree with 46 Slaves and Goods. . . .

This Day [Dec. 1] came in the *Ruby* Brigantine, Capt. Kidgel, an Interloper from London, belonging to Mr. Godding a French Merchant.

On the 3d came up the *Gambia* Sloop from Jenock, with 190 Barrels of Rice and Corn on Board. In the Evening the Slaves were sent on Board the Brigantine, and the next Morning the necessary Corn; so that now she lies ready for sailing (p. 242). . . .

Came up the *Ruby,* Capt. Craigue, an Interloper, belonging to Mr. Wragg [6] in London, who designs for Slaves to Carolina.

In the evening the *Gambia* Sloop and the *Barrah* Shallop went to Vintain [7] to careen.

On the 14th, in the Morning, came down the *James Island* Sloop from Cuttejar, with Mr. Edward Drummond, and 40 Slaves, and 9 C. Weight of Elephants Teeth.

On the 17th, the *Ruby,* Capt. Craigue, sail'd up the River for Joar. The *Gambia* Sloop came down from Vintain.

On the 21st early, the *Advice* Brigantine, Capt. Rodwell, sail'd for Jamaica with 150 Slaves; with her went the *Gambia* Sloop to see her safe out of the River. . . .

On the 25th the French Sloop sail'd from Albreda [8] for Goree, with 100 Slaves on Board, and other Goods (pp. 244-245). . . .

CUTTEJAR, Jan. 20, 1737 [1724].

To Mess. Orfeur and Rogers.[9]

Gentlemen, On Tuesday last, at Night, being the 14th Instant, we arriv'd at the Company's Factory here, all in good Health, excepting Captain Trevisa, who had a short Relapse of his late Indisposition, and two of our Miners, but are now on the mending hand. we reach'd Joar the 4th Instant, where we met with the *Ruby,* Captain Craigue, who had then purchas'd but eleven Slaves.

[5] Goree was now one of the chief trading centres of the French.

[6] Samuel Wragg, whose brother Joseph was a prominent South Carolina merchant. See Donnan, "The Slave Trade into South Carolina before the Revolution", *Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXXIII. 806, 811.

[7] Vintain, Vintang, or Bintam, a southern tributary of the Gambia, not far from James Island. The company had a factory here.

[8] The French fort established by Brue at Albreda was for a time abandoned by the French, but had recently been reoccupied.

[9] Orfeur was acting as governor since the death of Wiley. He was later despatched to Portudal to settle a factory there. The expedition had started up the river on Dec. 28, with Stibbs in charge, Edward Drummond as first factor, and Richard Hull, later a governor of the fort, as second factor. There were in the party 19 white men and 32 negroes, for whom they carried three months' provisions. On Jan. 4 they anchored at Joar, and Stibbs sent by Captain Craigue a letter to Francis Lynn of the African Company, reporting what had been done. Moore, *Travels in Africa,* pp. 245-249, 252.

The Captain had sent his Long-Boat higher up with Mr. Baldwyn to make Trade. He went up as high as Brucoe,[10] and bought six Mundingoe Slaves, at the extravagant Price of 30 Barrs per Head.[11] He pass'd us on his Return about Twelve at Night on the 8th Instant, when we lay at anchor between the Sappo Isles, and was so civil as not to call on Board us. . . . We are inform'd of Slattee[12] Sane Conta Madebaugh being now on the Road with a Coffle of 500 Slaves. He has not been here since the Company's last settling in this River; and 'tis said, that he undertakes this Journey to make Tryal of what Encouragement he may expect to trade here for the future. There is another Coffle or two on the Road; which we mention, that you may timely supply this Factory with what Goods may be wanted, and that your Instructions as to the Price of Slaves may be suitable to the danger of their falling into the French or Interlopers Hands. We cannot forbear acquainting you, that the want of due Supplies of Goods to this Factory has been no small Hindrance to the Trade thereof; but as that was not your Fault, we don't question but it will be better minded for the future. Mr. Franks will give you an account of what Trade he has made, and what Goods are wanted for the carrying it on here (pp. 260-262). . . .[13]

On the 5th [Feb., 1724] in the Afternoon, the Merchants came down,[14] and after a long Dispute we found ourselves under a Necessity of contracting with them for ten Slaves, at 23 Barrs per Head, or else they would not sell us their Gold and Teeth, which 'twas our Design only to buy, till our Return, by reason we had not Conveniences for Slaves till then. But what was a further Inducement, on our buying these Slaves, one of the Merchants, named Gaye, had promis'd to go up the River with us as far as Tinda, (where he lives) by which means we should have the Opportunity of knowing the Country on both Sides the River, which otherwise is impossible, there being no such thing as a Pilot to be got. In the Afternoon in Council we drew up a Letter, and sent it to James Fort by a Land-Messenger by way of Cuttejarr.

On the 6th, understanding there was a Town opposite to us on the Cantore Side,[15] not above four Miles distance, we the Day before sent to compliment the Alcade of it with a Bottle of Rum, in return of which he sent us a Cow, for which we afterwards presented him with a Barr of Iron. Of the ten Slaves we the Day before contracted for, we were able to purchase but three, chiefly owing to the badness of our Goods: And by our not purchasing them ten Slaves,

[10] Brucoe is on the south bank of the Gambia, in the country of Jemarrow, about 130 miles from the mouth of the river.

[11] About £9 sterling. On this Moore comments: "The Price of Slaves augments daily, and what was then call'd an extravagant Price is now very low, for they are now generally sold for 50 or 60 Barrs per Head". For Moore's exposition of the value of the bar, see p. 396.

[12] A slattee was a negro slave merchant.

[13] Signed: "Barth. Stibbs, E. Drummond, Rich. Hull."

[14] The party had now reached Barracunda and before they went further wished to establish trade here. The place, once a famous trading town, was at this time abandoned, the people of the former town living about nine miles away at Jah. It was from Jah that these merchants had come.

[15] The "Cantore side" was the south side of the river.

we lost the Opportunity of having Gaye the Merchant with us; at which I was very much concern'd, as having no Body that ever was above that Place (pp. 272-273). . . .

JAMES FORT, Feb. 10, 1724.

To Capt. Barth. Stibbs, Messieurs Edw. Drummond and Rich. Hull.[16]

. . . If the Sloop has any Number of Slaves, we desire they may forthwith be sent down, being daily in Expectation of a Ship's Arrival, which by Contract is to sail this Month for Carolina.[17] . . .

BARRACUNDA, Feb. 24, 1724.

To Robert Plunkett, Esq., and Mr. Anth. Rogers.

. . . Captain Trevisa hath to this Date purchased but four Slaves; his Goods are very bad, and ill sorted for Trade; which could not be helped, there being no proper Cargoes for these Parts at the Fort when we came up.[18] . . .

On the 4th [Mar., 1724] arriv'd the *James Island* Sloop with every Body well on Board.[19] The next Day we sent down three Canoas with 31 Slaves for James Fort, under the Care of Mr. Thomas Harrison; the Reason of our sending them before was on account of Governor Plunkett's advising us of a Charter'd Ship for Carolina being expected daily at the Fort. . . .

On the 13th, about Noon, came to anchor at Joar, where were two Interlopers, *viz.* the *Ruby,* Capt. Craigue, and the *Hòpe,* Capt. Perry; the former we left here as we pass'd up the River; it seems his Slaves rose upon him last Week, by which he lost 17 out of 65 (pp. 291-296). . . .

149. THE SOUTH SEA COMPANY TO JAMES PYM.[1]

SOUTH SEA HOUSE, 12 Decr., 1723.

. . . We note your Receipt and Sales of the Negroes and approve the Method You Seem to have fallen into of Selling in Parcells which You'l Continue to do, And as there are So few Illicit Introductions in Your parts, We hope You will be able to get better prices than You now Generally Sell for, without keeping the Negroes in hand, which must be avoided as much as possible. . . .

You'l see We are like to get over the Difficulty Started, or rather Received, as if We would not Import our Negroes unless Directly

[16] About sixty miles above Barracunda Stibbs turned back, the river becoming too shallow for further progress. Reaching Barracunda Feb. 25, he found there letters from the new governor, Mr. Plunkett, with word that Drummond had been made second chief merchant of the company, Rogers, the third, and Hull a member of the council. Captain Trevisa, who had been left at Barracunda to trade, had purchased but five slaves during their absence.

[17] Signed, "Robt. Plunkett, Anth. Rogers".

[18] Signed, "Edw. Drummond".

[19] Stibbs was now at Cuttejarr, where the vessel had been left during the journey up the river in canoes.

[149] [1] Add. MSS. 25564, pp. 10-14, "Letters and Instructions, Nov. 28, 1723, to June 25, 1725". James Pym was now president at Cartagena.

from Africa. This is so essential to the Carrying on Our Negro Trade that tis Impracticable without it, and is what We Shall Insist on, it being very plain by the Convention. However if You should in Earnest be opposed before redress Comes and You cannot overcome it with the Assistance of Your Judge Conservator You must appeal, giving bond if required to abide by the King of Spain's Determination, but in Case they Should be So rigorous as not to Suffer the Negroes to Enter You must make the Necessary protests and Send Us, Consigning the Ship and Negroes to Our Factory at Porto Belo, advising them the Reason. And write Our Agents at Jamaica to desist from Sending You any more till this Matter be got over, putting a Stop to the Sallarys of all the Spanish Officers, Especially those who Committ the Abuse, and of those in whose Province it was to remedy it and did not. . . .

Notwithstanding We procur'd and Sent You at the pressing Instances of Your Factory before the late Rupture [2] a general Cedula of Indulto extending to all Negroes Illicitly Introduced, as well before as Since Our Assiento Commenc'd, from which We are assur'd of very good Consequences, by its obviating the pretences usually made that the Negroes were Introduced before Our Time. Yet we dont find it has answered Expectation.

Your Letter of 11 April 1722 mentions that this Cedula was not Executed till after the Rupture, which must be a mistake, the Factory in theirs of 3d Novr. 1718 having advised that it was publishd at Carthagena the 1st Oct. preceeding, upon which Some few had been Manifested, but at so low a Price as 60 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ per Peice de India: and that the same had been published in all the Towns and Villages of that Province and [*illegible*] but had not Received any Account of the Success. . . .

We Observe Your Complaints in former Letters of not being duly Supplyed with Negroes. This in all probability proceeds from Your over Nicety in them, which is a Case We have experienced at Portobelo. And has been the Great if not the only Cause of that Factorys not being So well Supplyd as they might otherwise have been, and has been a very Great Encouragement to the private Traders, who find no Difficulty of Furnishing themselves at Jamaica out of what we leave, and at more Easy Rates. If this Extreem Nicety were avoided You need not doubt of Constant Supplys, and tho all of them might not be so very Fine as You could wish, Yet as it would be a means to Defeat the Private Traders of their Supplys, We should Soon find Our Account in it. For in a little Time with the help of Your Seizures they would beat out of that

[2] After the outbreak of hostilities between Spain and Great Britain in 1718 all assiento trade came to an end for the period of the war.

Trade. And as We Should then be the Sole Importers in Deed as well as in Name, You'd Soon be able to Advance the Prices, and at the same Time never want a Quick Vent for the Negroes, which you'l Govern Your Selves by accordingly.

The Method you Seem to have fallen into in allowing a Term of 15 Days to the Towns People to Supply themselves with Single Negroes or Small parcells before You Sell in Large Ones Seems to Us to be attended with Some Inconveniencys as the Dissorting the Cargoes or at least bringing a Disparagement upon them as if the best had been pickd out and by the Mortality and Changes of keeping. And We think 15 Days is a long Time for *Such a* purpose But this we leave to You to do as You find most for Our Interest.

Whereas We have Impowerd Our Agents at Jamaica to Issue Our Licensses for Supply of the Windward Coast where We have no Factorys, Some with Liberty of Carrying the Fruits of the Country from One Port to another And Some without upon paying an Indulto: You are to take Note that in Case any Person taking out a Lycense with Liberty as aforesaid Cannot Sell his Negroes at the particular Port or Portes, limitted by his License, In such a Case the Licensed Person may carry the Negroes or So many as he cannot Sell in any other Port or Ports of the Spanish West Indies where the Company have Factors Residing And Sell them to Such Factors for the Companys Account at the Price of 125 Pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ per Ps of India as the Same Shall be Regulated by Spanish Royal Officers which Negroes You are to take and pay for According giving such Person a Certificate thereof in Order to Our Agents at Jamaica paying him back the Indulto money he paid for the Negroes So Sold to You this being the Method We thought most prudent for Supplying those ports which will not bear the Charges attending Factorys. . . .

150. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the Committee of Trade.[1]

At a Committee of Trade, Fryday, Jan. 10th, 1723/4.

Then the Committee proceeded to Consider of the Scheme of Trade for the Ensuing Year, and Came to the following Resolutions *Vizt.*

Gambia. That the Sum of £8000 be Vested in Goods, and Sent out this present year 1724 (including the Cargoe Shipt on board the *Dilligence*) for Carrying on the Trade up the River Gambia and at the Settlements thereunto belonging.

Sierraleone. That the Sum of £10000 (including the Cargoes Sent

[150] [1] T 70: 124. Present: "His Grace the D. of Chandos, S'r B. Lake, Mr. Acton, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Drummond, Mr. Blake, Mr. Neal, Mr. Lockwood, Mr. Brown, Mr. Hopegood, Mr. Hayes."

out by the *Sherbro* Galley) be for Carrying on the Trade at Sierraleone.

Windw'd Coast. That the Sum of £7000 (including the Cargoes Sent out by the *Dilligence, Guinea* Packett, *Sherbro* Galley and *Royal African* Packett) be for Carrying on the Trade of the Windward Coast.

Cape Coast. That the Sum of £36,000 (including the Cargoes Sent out by the *Dilligence, Guinea* Packett and *Royal African* Packett) be for Carrying on the Trade at Cape Coast and its Districts.

Whydah. That the Sum of £20,000 (including the Cargoes sent out by the *Guinea* Packett and *Sherbro* Galley) be for Carrying on the Trade at Whydah.[2]

Bight, Gabon, Calabars, Benin. That the Sum of £3000 be vested in Goods and Sent out this present year 1724 for Carrying on the Trade of the Bight, River Gabon, Calabars and Bay of Benin.

Cabenda. That the Sum of £14,000 (including the Cargoes sent out by the *Royal African* Packett) be for Carrying on the trade at Cabenda.

It is the Opinion of this Committee, That it be recommended to the Committee of Goods, That due care be taken, that at least two thirds of the above Cargoes be provided so as to be Sent out between this and the end of May.

Then the Committee considered of the Ships necessary to be immediately dispatched out, and are of Opinion, That the *Cape Coast* Frigatt be fitted out with all possible Dispatch for Gambia to take in what Negroes She can receive upon the Contract with Mr. Wragg for South Carolina.

That the *Northampton* be fitted out for Sierraleone, to take in a Cargoe to the amount of about £2000, to Stay 30 days if necessary and take in what Slaves they can put on board her, and Carry them to Cape Coast, and to be left to the Capt. General to Employ her as he shall see necessary.

That the *Clarendon* be fitted out to proceed to Whydah, to take in what Goods lye in Holland and to Call at Cape Coast, thence to Whydah and so home. And, That Mr. Tinker at Cape Coast have liberty to take out of her what Cowries he Shall want, *not Exceeding 5 Tuns,* which he must take care not to dispose of to the Lisbon Portuguese nor to any others, but at such advanced price as Shall by that means prevent their raising the rates of Slaves at Whydah.

That it be recommended to the Committee of Goods to Ship such Goods as they Shall think proper for Cape Coast on board the South Sea Company's Ship *Russell* pursuant to the Contract. . . .

[2] The agents at Whydah complained of the dearness of slaves here, where it took 45 sletias or 300 lbs. cowries to procure a slave. T 70: 7, pp. 80, 93.

At a Committee of Trade, Wednesday Feb'ry 5th 1723/4.

Upon reading a Letter from Capt. Pariss of the *Providence* Sneau from Bassam of Octr. 24th wherein he Setts forth, That the Private Traders that come there Outbid him, and run away with the greatest part of the Trade,

It is the Opinion of this Committee, That Capt. Pariss have directions, when any other Ships are Trading there not to let them Outbid him, but to bid up as they do, and Endeavour to buy up a Canoe there, if he can't gett one from Cape Coast.[3]

Feb. 19th, 1723/4.

The Committee reconsidered their Minute of the 5th Inst. referr'd back by the Court touching the Orders to be Sent to Capt. Pariss in the *Providence* Sneau off Bassam,

And are of Opinion to Report to the Court, that the Order be as follows, *Vizt.*, In case of any Separate Traders Coming in, You are immediately to go on board him, and Endeavour to bring him to Such an Understanding with you, that you may not hurt One another in the Trade, which you may do by Offering to furnish him with such Slaves as you have, or can procure at the best advanc'd prices you can gett of him, But in case you find he will not be brought to be upon good terms with you, We leave it to your discretion to Dispose of your Goods at such prices as may if possible Secure the Trade to your Self, at the same time having a reguard that you do not raise the prices to Such a height as to put it out of your power to fall 'em again to the Cape Coast prices. . . .

At a Committee of Trade, Wednesday March 18th 1723/4.[4]

That it be recommended to the Committee of Shipping to Consider and report their opinion to the Court whether Capt. Hogg be a proper person to be Sent on a Voyage to the Bight in the *Bonetta* and to Exchange Ships with Capt. Levingston. And thereupon that another Bight Cargoe be put on board her to the amount of £1000 or £1200, That She be then ordered over to Holland to take in such

[3] The committee of trade directed that the Jamaica agents be told in future to sell what negroes they sold to the South Sea Company for bills of exchange drawn on the company (T 70: 124, Feb. 19, 1723/4). The committee of accounts considered complaints referred to them from the court of assistants. De Bruyn and Cloots had written that their contracts concerning negroes sold to the *Concordia* and the *Triumpho* at Cape Coast and Whydah were not being adhered to. The usual order of these contractors who purchased for the Portuguese market provided that the price was to be not more than £14 per head, that there were to be none under ten nor over thirty. They were to be paid for two months after arrival (T 70: 116, p. 27, and 124, May 13, 1724). The committee decided that the contractors had no cause for complaint. The contract with these Lisbon merchants, which was made in 1723, was finally concluded in 1726. T 70: 103, pp. 90, 98.

[4] Taylor, Blake, Lockwood, and Hopegood were absent from this meeting, Captain Collet was present.

Goods as are left behind by the *Clarendon* and to fill up with Spiritts, Powder and Sailcloth, then proceed to deliver her Cargoes Consign'd to Sierraleone, Bassam and Cape Coast, from thence with the Cargoe put on board for that purpose proceed to trade round the Bight, after She has so done, to touch at St. Thomas, and there Endeavour to Sell what Slaves She may have purchased, and what remain undisposed of, if not above 20, that She call at Some of the Western Islands and try to putt them off there at the best advantage, If more than 20 remain, to Carry them to C. Coast and deliver them to the Capt. General and there taking in what home Trade they have return to England.[5]

151. The South Sea Company to Rigby and Pratter.[1]

[1724?]

. . . We are taking and will continue to take the best Care We can to keep You Sufficiently furnished [with negroes], that as Demands arise from the Several Factorys You may not be at a Loss to give them immediate Supplys and of proper Assortments, and to that end, as a Stock in hand will be always necessary, We are willing for the better reducing the Charge of their Maintenance to a Certainty to allow You 6 *d.* per head per diem from the Time they shall be first receivd into Yo'r possession to the Day of their being ship'd off for any of the Factorys. And as to any other incidental Charges we recomend it to You to be as good Husbands as possibly You can, And if what we have already wrote You in regard to the Allowance of Conveniencys for this purpose, be not Sufficiently explicit, We leave it to You, who best know the Conveniencys You may want, to Supply Your Selves, at the most reasonable Expence You can.

For the more regularly Supplying our Selves with Negroes in a continued Course We have Settled a Scheme of what Ships to send out each Month (of w'ch inclosed is Copy) w'ch if we can effectually Execute (as we have reason to believe we can as well as others) may make an ample Provision, and especially as we have put a Stop to the extreme Nicety of our Factors: This Scheme is drawn up as near as we can form it, agreable to the Advices we have recd. from Your Selves and the Several Factorys,[2] But, as You observe, tho Scarcity of Some particular Sorts of Negroes renders it impracticable to pro-

[5] Endorsed: "March 19th 1723/4, Read in Ct. and App'd with some alterations as in minutes of that day."

[151] [1] Add. MSS. 25564, f. 68v, p. 136. Rigby and Pratter were the South Sea Company's factors at Panama.

[2] On Mar. 31, 1724, the company wrote to these factors that it had contracted for 640 Gold Coast slaves, to come out in the *Francis,* Capt. Bryant, and the *Russel,* Capt. Eyres. This letter was apparently earlier than the undated one here printed. The cargo of the *Francis* was to be insured for £3000. T 70: 124, Feb. 26, 1723/4.

cure So many of those Sorts, as we would, and that, of what have been furnished these two last Years, there have been a major part of the Casts [coasts ?] which have been forbid and yet in the whole there has been a deficiency of above 1/3 to answer the Assiento. We are of your Opinion it will be difficult, if not impossible to Supply it fully any other Way, than by Selling Merchantable Negroes of all Countrys for the most that can be got, provided they answer in profit. You will therefore, if any Alteration Occurrs to You, convenient to be made in the Scheme advise us as soon as You can. . . .

We have Considerd of the two Articles charged in Your Acco't Curr't as Commission on Negroes Indulted, and Seized in the Factorys, w'ch altho You give plausible Reasons for our allowing as we apprehend may hereafter be drawn into Consequences which at present can't be foreseen, and therefore as Commission we dont allow it, altho as partly by the Carelessness and Remissness of our Factors, but more by the deficiency of the African Compa. in performing the Several Contracts made, with them, You have not hitherto been Supplied as You ought with Negroes, Whereby unusual Quantitys have been Sold by the private Traders on the Coast, whilst You, as well to Yo'r own as the Company's Detriment, have been little more than lookers on, We are willing to make You an Allowance of £1000 in Compensation for that disappointment and hope in future You will have no reason to Complain. . . .

We likewise approve Yo'r laying hold of Such Opportunitys as offer by Sending Negroes to the Havana in Northern Vessels, especially when our own Sloops can be otherwise more advantageously imployd or when the Returns You shall have been advised of are but Small, Seeing in their passage home they will as You advise drop Small Quantitys of Negroes at so moderate a rate as 4 or 6 p's $\frac{8}{8}$ per head or thereabouts, and think it Sufficient, when they advise You they want a good parcel of Negroes and that they have a considerable Remittance to make to send one of our own Sloops man'd accordingly.[3] . . .

As [4] to the Matter of Liberty of delivering Such Licensed Negroes as shall happen to be left unsold on the Windward Coast to any of the Factorys at 125 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ per p's of India, That was a Convenience or Indulgence given only to such as had Liberty by their

[3] In the letter of Mar. 31, the company wrote: "We Note Your hiring the Snow *Sea Nymph,* On which You Shipd 60 Negroes for Havana, For which You Agreed the Freight at 240 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ to be paid at that place, And Our Factory to pay the port charges, which You Recomend as a much Cheaper Method for so Small a Number of Negroes. . . . We are Concernd to hear of the Illicit Trade You Advise, is Carryed on to the Havana from the South Kays of Cuba, And have too Great Reasons to Complain of the Remissness of Our Factorys both at Havana and St. Iago on this Head: Notwithstanding they have so Little to do: this may well be a cause of their Vending so few Negroes."

[4] Add. MSS. 25564, f. 71v, pp. 142-144.

License to carry fruits to other Ports and for w'ch they paid a higher Indult, and which the Lycensees without such a Liberty are not intitled to, and therefore Capt. Collet cannot of right demand any Allowance for the Negro which he could not sell, but brought back to Jamaica, altho, as his was the first License issued, before the Spaniards on that Coast had Expectation of any Assiento Vessel from Jamaica he may have made but little Advantage of his Voyage and as he has done us good Services with regard to the Execution of the Instructions You gave him concerning our Effects in those parts and the illicit trade carried on there and particularly by Sisson and others and their pretended Substitutes or Agents and the proper Methods for Suppressing the same to w'ch end he has already So much Contributed by giving the necessary Cautions to the Spanish Gov'rs and in other respects has acquitted himself with Zeal and Attention for the Honour and Interest of the Company We leave it to You to Settle with him any Dependance of that Voyage, in Such Manner as You judge reasonable, being unwilling to insist upon any thing that should be a real Discouragement to him. But Licensees are not to expect in future that we shall easily come into after reckonings, for thus, there would be no end, nor Certainty in this Business.

We Note Capt. Collet's bringing back a Certificate of his having paid the K. of Spain's Duty for the Negro he brought back and conclude he has done it likewise for the others he sold, we dont apprehend what he means by it; For as by the Treatys our Dutys are payable at Madrid and not in the Indies, and Negroes introduced this Way are and always have been deemd as if introduced immediately by the Compa. and are considered as part of the Negroes we are obliged annually to furnish, So the Dutys for the Licensed Negroes are to be paid by us at Madrid in like Manner as for the rest and without Distinction and as we pay the Dutys for the whole Number Stipulated, tho' we do not import So many, So in Case any Dutys have been paid in the Indies, It is an Injury to the Compa. it being a double payment, and if in this Case it has been done You will take Care to send us the Certificates or Receipts for the Dutys So paid that we may deduct the same out of the next Dutys we are to pay at Madrid, and the like You will do with respect to the rest of Capt. Collets Neg's In Case he has paid the Dutys: And as we dont find how these Dutys came to be demanded of him, or why he should pay them, or whether he apprehend he himself was to bear that Charge, over and above his Indulto Money, we desire You will inform us.

In the mean Time we admit that the same Indulto for all places alike Seems inequitable, if it be so that in different places Negroes sell generally at different prices. And as You apprehend a Necessity of lowering the Terms at some places You will consider whether they

might not be advanced at others: As for Instance at St. Domingo and Porto Rico You propose the Indult to be reduced to 50 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ per p's of Ind'a. Might it not be advanced to 100 p's $\frac{8}{8}$. We mean without Liberty of carrying Fruits, at Caraccas or other parts not so far to Windward, and where better prices may be expected, let this be well considerd and give us Y'r best Judgement; For till we find reason to do otherwise, we place a Confidence, that You Study the Companys Advantage all You can in this Branch to make it as Considerable as possible. If therefore You really think no License for St. Domingo or Porto Rico will be taken out at above 50 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ p's of Ind'a We yeild to it for the present And shall expect from You a Scheme whereby You would adjust it at other places, for we cannot well otherwise determine it here.

As to what You mention of these Licensees going to Curassao, we do not perceive but that the Compa. may thereby receive Advantage, as well as that under the protection of our Licenses British Subjects may increase their Trade by the Allowance of their going to Curassao from the Coast or from St. Domingo, Selling the produce of their Negroes there, and returning again to the same Ports with Negroes and from thence finishing their Voyage at Jamaica and accounting to the Company in the same Manner as if such Curassao Negroes had been Shipd from Jamaica, more Negroes may thereby be Sold, and consequently more Indulto Money rais'd, as well as, that thereby, the Trade of the Dutch to the Coast, if they permit what is proposd will be lessend. The Difficulty to us Seems to be in what Manner to adjust this with the Licensee So as to secure a fair accounting to You on his Return: Be certain of this, and that there shall be no abuse, or think of Some Effectual Method for Securing the Company, and we Consent to this Your proposal. . . .

We[5] take due Notice of what Capt. Collet informs You concerning an Indulto on the Caraccas Coast, and that there would be about 3000 Neg's Indulted if the Compa. would be content with 30 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ per p's of Ind'a, and that if this were done and the present Possessors quieted, there would be a willing Submission to Seizures for the future, w'ch now would be in Vain to attempt: To w'ch we answer, That as the Compa. have no Factorys in those parts and consequently no Ability of exerting the Powers and Facultys they are entitled to by the Treatys and Cedulas: We must be Content with what we can get on this Occasion by an Indult, and we would not lose the Opportunity of raising a Sum by that Means Since we cannot be Supposed to make any Seizures for the time past, But we recomend it to You to instruct whomsoever You depute for that Purpose to obtain better Terms, if it be possible. You are to Con-

[5] Add. MSS. 25564, f. 73v, p. 146.

sider that it has hitherto been the practice when Indultos have been opend to pay for the Neg's Indulted the K. of Spains Dutys of 33 1/3 p's of $\frac{8}{8}$ per p'c of Ind'a in the Indies at the time and place of opening the Indulto, and it is probable the like may now be insisted on, Indulted Negroes not having been deem'd by the Spanish Officers to be Comprehend'd in the Number for w'ch we pay the Dutys at Madrid; We cannot therefore pretend to get an Allowance at Madrid for what is paid in the Indies on this Acco't at least till we can procure a Cedula for explaining it; It must therefore be understood that the Compa. are to pay no Duty for what shall be so Indulted, but receive the Sum propos'd or what further can be obtained clear of any Such pretence; And to that End we send You herewith a proper Power for You or Your Dep'ty to open an Indult on this Coast. . . .

We [6] have considerd the Abatement propos'd to be made to the Licensees in the Regulation of the Negroes and think that Seing they are to take our Leavings And if our Factorys become less nice the Negroes will still be more defective You may make the Allowance for Men and Women according to what You propose in Yo'rs of the 10th April last; And for such Boys and Girls as by reason of their Meagreness You shall be obliged to leave out of Yo'r own Choice; We leave it to You to make such Allowance as seems to You to be just and reasonable and as You would have done were it Yo'r own Case, as it is the Company's, all w'ch Abatements are to be on this express Condition that in Case the Spanish Regulations shall exceed Yours In such Cases So often as the same shall happen the Licensees shall be obliged to make good the Indulto Money according to such Spanish Regulations.

152. Messrs. Plunkett, Drummond, and Rogers to the Royal African Company.[1]

Gambia, July 2d, 1724.

This by the *Cape Coast* Fregate which arrived April 13th.

Observe 300 Slaves are to be provided for Carolina. Could not comply for want of sortable Goods particularly Brass Pans.

Send the *Gambia* Sloop with a Cargo to trade at Portodally with Mr. Orfeur and Rose on board, and Mr. Rose to settle a Factory there, demanded of the Gen'll of Senegall the reasons of the insult upon Mr. Glynn in the *Clarendon,* but instead of an answer the Sloop was seized by order of the Gov'r of Goree, and Mr. Orfeur and his Wife made Prisoners and carryed to Goree, and kept Prisoners from

[6] *Ibid.*, f. 74, p. 147.

[152] [1] T 70: 7, pp. 83-84.

25th March to 29th April, then released by order of the Generall of Senegal.[2]

The loss accruing to the Company by this proceeding of the French. Message to Mr. Orfeur from Gov. Plunkett.

Lett'r wrote to Gen'll of Senegal to withdraw the Factory in Gambia River, and time given them till 1st June to do it.

No answer returned, but message sent to their Gov. at Albida that he might expect a Vessell with Goods etc. to establish their Factory, this Vessell Mr. Plunkett watched for, designing to seize it for the Royal African Company, but no such Vessell came, and the time being expired sent Mr. Rose with Soldiers etc. to Albida to bring the French and their Effects to James Island, but found the place deserted by the French, and filled with Negroes, who fired but were soon beat away, brought away the Effects.

June 21st sent and took their Factory at Vinton.

The *Dispatch* being returned from the Expedition sent a trading to Rio Nunez, to touch at Cassamansa, Cutcheo and Bishee, had she been at the Island instead of up the River when Mr. Plunkett arrived 'twould have been more for the Companys service.

Cape Coast Fregate's Cargo very unsortable. *Cape Coast* Fregate sent to Joar to intercept the trade of Capt. Craigie an Interloper; Mr. Rogers sent on board her, to make up Palaver with the King of Bursally. Mr. Hull ordered to take care of the Books and Acc'ts till his return.

Have dispatched the *Cape Coast* Fregate to Carolina, but fear they will not come to a good market by that Contract. Trade with Capt. Craige for Slaves, which they hope will be approved of. Ten Passengers sent home by the *Cape Coast* Fregate, Mutineers. . . .

153. The South Sea Company to Mr. Stratford.[1]

. . . We Observe with Surprize what You write as to the Cedula for Introducing the Negroes from the Plantations and cannot Conceive from what way of thinking You Suppose 'twill Answer Our Ends; It Seems we are to have a Liberty of refreshing the Negroes 20 or 30 days And that none are to be Admitted but what are Newly come from Africa: Is it not too plain from hence we shall meet with great Imbarrassments from the Scrupulous Spaniards for which this Cedula, Contrary to Your Opinion, is directly Calculated and what Testimonys we are to Send with the Negroes to Obviate them we know not, neither do you Inform us, tho as the Cedula runs, there's no Introducing the Negroes without them. We

[2] Julien du Bellay.

[153] [1] Add. MSS. 25564, f. 56v and 57, pp. 112-113. Stratford was the representative of the South Sea Company at Madrid.

shall be also under a Difficulty with regard to such Negroes as we are under a Necessity oft times of Buying at Jamaica being restrain'd to such only as are newly Arrived; had You taken this Matter in the View we Shew it You, You would have Judged better and told the Ministers we desired no such explanation and that we desired no Cedula of so dangerous a Consequence but have Adher'd to Our Assiento and the Convention which are Clear in Our favour and have Stipulated no such Limitations, moreover the practice of former Assientists was as we have hitherto done, and we are intitled to all their Priviledges, and this is so Material to insist on, that we cannot acquiesce in the Explanation, You will therefore upon Receipt hereof advise with his Excell'cy Mr. Stanhope in what manner to apply again to have this Cedula set aside, for it will not only more Materially Imbarrass Us at Carthagena, the only Place where any difficulty here in has been Started but be the means of Raising new difficultys in all Our other Ports where they would perhaps have never been thought of.

LONDON, 9 July 1724.

154. THE SOUTH SEA COMPANY TO THE KING.[1]

To the Kings most Excell't Maj'ty in Council. The Humble Petition of the Court of Directors of the South Sea Company.

Sheweth, That your Majesty was Graciously Pleased, upon the said Companys former humble Petition in the Year 1717 to grant Relief to the Traders in Negroes at Jamaica by repealing an Act of the Assembly of the said Island which Laid a Duty of Twenty Shill'gs per Head on all Negroes Exported by the South Sea Company, and by other Orders and Instructions given in that behalf to the late and present Governors of Jamaica, Copies whereof they humbly Crave leave to Annex hereto.

That notwithstanding this your Majesty's Pleasure, Dutys have been Since laid from Year to Year of 10 *s.* per Head on Importation and 20 *s.* per Head on the Exportation of all Negroes into and from the Island of Jamaica (such only Excepted as are brought into the Island only for Refreshment and afterwards reexported, and where the Property thereof is not alterd after Arrival) Which Dutys greatly Affect the Company in Carrying on the Assiento Trade, inasmuch as they have found it Expedient to buy Negroes at Jamaica, and to Supply themselves with others on that Island of Contracting with the Royal African Company, w'ch Negroes so bought and Supplyd have been Subjected to these Dutys, and the Company have actually paid between the 20th January 1721 (being the time when

[154] [1] Add. MSS. 25560, ff. 32v-33, pp. 62-63, "Memorials"; also in 25556, ff. 54v-55, pp. 106-107.

they provided the first Parcell of Negroes to be sent to the Spanish West Indies after renewing the Trade upon the late Peace with Spain) and the 20th Jan'y 1723 the Sum of Four thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty Seven pounds for Dutys of Exportation only; And the Aforesaid Dutys the Company apprehend will be Continued, and even greater laid in future Years unless prevented by your Majestys Seasonable Interposition, And thereby the Company put under a Necessity of proceeding with their Negroes directly from Africa to the Spanish West Indies without having an Opportunity of Landing and refreshing them and Supplying others in the Room of such, as may have dyed in the Voyage or Contracted Sickness which must render them unfit to be Carryed to the Spaniards which will probably be a great Detriment to the Company as well as a Certain one to the Island of Jamaica, that now Enjoys great Advantages by the Assiento Trade being Carried on from thence.

The Court of Directors further Crave leave to represent to Yo'r Majesty that the Assembly of Jamaica have also laid a Considerable Duty on Flower Imported into and Exported from that Island, which must likewise very much Affect the Assiento Trade, inasmuch as the Company are under a Necessity of Sending with every Ship of Negroes to the Spanish West Indies, a Considerable quantity of Flower for their Subsistence, and as these Dutys on Importation and Exportation are a great discouragement to the Importation of Flower into Jamaica, the Island it selfe may one time or other feel the bad Consequence thereof.[2]

The Court of Directors therefore most Humbly beseech yo'r Majesty to take the Premisses into yo'r Royal Consideration and that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to disapprove the aforesaid Acts or Bills of the Assembly of Jamaica so far as they Affect the South Sea Company and to Restrain them from passing any Act or Acts for the future for laying Dutys on the Importation and Exportation of Negroes and Flower into and from the said Island for Account of the Assiento; And that the Sum of £4737 paid as aforesaid for Export Dutys on Negroes Sent by the Company to the Spanish West Indies, and any further Sums of Money which may

[2] The Jamaica duty had at no time ceased to be a grievance to the company. On Mar. 2, 1721, Wescomb wrote to William Popple that he had learned that new import and export duties had been laid in Jamaica. For an account of the duty see Frank Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies,* pp. 80-81.

There can be little doubt that the prevailing Jamaica opinion toward the assiento was a hostile one. Charles King, author of the *British Merchant* (1721), commented on it thus: "In 1721, it was said there could not have been a better contrivance to so weaken Jamaica that it would fall into the hands of the French" (cited by Pitman, *British West Indies,* p. 83 n.). Nevertheless, on Sept. 18, 1724, Wescomb wrote to Francis Lynn that the contract which the African Company was offering to the South Sea Company placed higher prices on the negroes than the company was then paying in Jamaica. Add. MSS. 25556, p. 109.

have been paid on that Account, may be Ordered to be repaid to the Compa. inasmuch as the Negroes for w'ch the s'd Money was paid were Exported for Acco't of the Assiento only.[3]

By Order of the Court of Directors of the South Sea Company.

JOHN EYLES Sub Gov'r[4]
JNO. RUDGE Dep Gov'r

SOUTH SEA HOUSE,
3 August, 1724.

155. DANIEL WESCOMB TO RIGBY AND PRATTER.[1]

Gent'n, Mr. Richd. Harris Merch't in this City having obtained the K. of Spains Cedula for recovering a Debt due to him for Several Years at Porto Rico, applied to the Compa. a little before they had settled the Lycenses from Your Island, for a Liberty of importing a few Negroes into that Place from Barbadoes, that he might have an Opportunity of sending thither his Agent or Attorney for putting the s'd Ceda: in Execution And the Court of Directors having considered the Justice of the Case, and perused the Ceda. w'ch is very ample and full, they thought fit to grant his Request, and lest the Gov'r might chicane with him, or the Correspondence on that Acco't be protracted before the Ced. should be complied with, they allowd him three Lycenses for not exceeding 10 Neg's each, the Sloops to proceed at Such Distances of Time one after another as he should see most expedient to answer the aforesaid Purpose: For w'ch Negroes he agreed to pay the Compa. the usual Indulto of 80 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ per p's of India (the Lycenses running without the Liberty of carrying fruits) And are under the Comp's Seal, Dated in London 3 Oct'r 1723 the Negroes to be markd at Barbadoes with the Asso

[3] From 1721 to 1725 the South Sea Company paid on the slaves which it re-exported in 67 ships, £9086; it still owed, in 1725, £1090 on 13 ships (C. O. 137: 14, f. 225, cited by Pitman, p. 81 n.). The petition here printed was on Dec. 10, 1724, referred to the Board of Trade; in February, 1725, the board conferred with the company and with the separate traders upon the subject (*B. T. Jour.,* 1722-1728, pp. 149-154), assuring them that the act laying duties on negroes had already expired and that the duty on flour, of which they also complained, had not gone into effect. On Mar. 12 it was agreed that Newcastle be asked to instruct the Duke of Portland, then governor of Jamaica, to give his consent to no act which laid a duty on negroes landed for refreshment only. By a representation of the company of Oct. 6, 1726, the matter was again brought to the attention of the board. This time the company charged that it was deprived of all benefit from the exemption of negroes landed for refreshment only, since no negroes were considered as so landed if any part of the ship's cargo was sold in the island (Add. MSS. 25556, ff. 93, 94, pp. 183-184). This representation the board took up on May 18, 1728, and after a conference with the company again directed that the governor, now Robert Hunter, be instructed to accept no act laying a duty on negroes landed for refreshment. *B. T. Jour.,* 1722-1728, p. 332.

[4] Sir John Eyles, subgovernor of the company, was one of the owners of the illicit cargo carried to Spanish America by the *Royal George* in 1724. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research,* III. 129.

[155] [1] Add. MSS. 25564, ff. 86v-87, pp. 172-173.

Mark Sent to the Comp's Attorneys there for that Purpose, being like that as is used by the Factors abroad: This I thought proper to inform You of, that the Revocations w'ch the Compa. have lately sent You may not prejudice these Lycenses; And that in Case it be taken Notice of by the Spaniards, as interfering with the other Lycenses from Your Island, You may Satisfy them therein.

Mr. Harris having also, as he alledges, another Sum due to him at the Caraccas is desirous of taking out a Lycense for that place, concerning w'ch I presume he'll write You, And if You can assist him w'th regard to the recovering his Money I dare venture to say it will be acceptable to S'r John Eyles by whose Leave I write this.

South Sea House, Londo., 6 Dec'r 1724.

156. The South Sea Company to Mr. Stratford.[1]

17 Dec. 1724.

The French have a great Trade to this Coast and bring Dutch Cargoes with them, I was at a Loss to know where they disposed of the Angola Slaves, being Sensible they are of no Value in Martinico therefore I ordered my Surgeon (when he went to Molimba) to make Enquiry whither they carried them, and there he luckily met the 2d Mate of the French Ship then at Cabenda, who told him they sold them all to the Spaniards at St. Domingo, and that they have Guarda la Costas cruizing there to protect their Trade, and I may hence reasonably infer that they are conscious their Trade is unlawfull: Their Slaves he said generally sell at Three Hundred and Fifty ps $\frac{8}{8}$ per head, I take this to be an Infringment on the Priviledges of the Royal Assiento Company, therefore thought it my Duty to acquaint your Hon'rs therewith.

157. Daniel Wescomb to the Duke of Newcastle.[1]

To his Grace the Duke of Newcastle.

The Court of Directors of the South Sea Compa. Humbly Represent to Your Grace, That by Advices they have received from their Factory at Carthagena, dated in April last, they are assured that a Cedula Issued by the present King of Spain dated the 20th October last, had been Sent to that place directed to all his Ministers in the Indies, ordering them not to admitt the Importation of any more Negroes from the British Collonys, but restraining them to come directly from the Coast of Africa; This the Company Conceive to

[156] [1] Add. MSS. 25564, ff. 85v-86, pp. 170-171. "The following is Copy of a paragraph of a Letter to the Company from Capt. Williams of the *Syrria* one of their hired Ships dated Loango Aug. 3d 1724." The general court had directed that it be sent to Mr. Stratford.

[157] [1] Add. MSS. 25556, ff. 69v-70, pp. 136-137.

be not only contrary to the 12th Article of the Assiento, which has laid them under no such Restraint, and to the Convention of the Year 1716,[2] but it is impossible to carry on the Assiento Trade in this way, and it is Equal to, if not worse, than an abolition of the Treaty, which is very clear in that point; This Cedula the Company are inform'd is grounded on a pretence, that the Negroes by being brought into British Colonys, are tainted with Heresy, which renders it more difficult for the Priests to Convert them to the Roman Catholick Religion; But how Ridiculous that Notion will Appear, we Submit to your Grace, and only beg leave to say, That we believe the Spaniards themselves do not think there is any solidity in that Argument; For that removing the Natives of Africa from One Vessel to another, or giving them a few Days Refreshment, they cannot be so Stupid as to Conceive it would Instill Heretical Principles into them, and were it so, the Argument would be much Stronger, where the Negroes are Clandestinely Introduced (which will be the Case if the Company did not Import them) Such Negroes being generaly a Mixture picked up wherever they can be met with, or such as have been born, and lived in the British Colonys: But for as much as it is Essential to the Companys carrying on the Negro Trade, as well as an advantage to the Spaniards themselves to Land and Refresh the Negroes in some of the British Colonys after so long a Voyage as from the Coast of Africa, before they are Sent to the Spanish West Indies, and to send none, but what are sound, and Healthy, and of proper sorts,

And inasmuch as the Company have now on the Coast of Africa, Several Ships, with others just going, whose Orders are to proceed with the Slaves they purchase, to Jamaica, which Orders, with regard to those now on that Coast, are Impossible to be Revoked, and as their Agents at Jamaica allways keep by them a Considerable Number of Negroes, which if not permitted to be sent to the Indies, will Occasion a very great Loss, and Damage to the Company: We humbly intreat, that the Revocation of the Cedula may be pressd with the Utmost Expedition.

We hope My Lord the Company are not thus to be treated, and their Priviledges Violated in this manner, without that just Resentment w'ch these Indignitys deserve. The Company have done Every thing on their parts for the Satisfaction of the King of Spain, especialy by paying his Northern Ministers their Appointments as was desired, and other assignments of the King of Spain on the Comp'y tho they were no ways oblig'd to do it, and are much Surprized to find this, and other so unjust Returns, of which we have been Oblig'd

[2] On May 26, 1716, a new convention was signed with England, which promised to adjust the difficulties between the South Sea Company and Spain, a promise which was not fulfilled. See vol. III. of Miss Davenport's *Treaties*.

to Complain to your Grace, to the redressing which, that Court shew nothing but affected Delays: and we hope in this Situation, your Grace will be of opinion with us, that it is not advisable for us to go on in any further Payments, till we See that by the Revocation of the Cedula now Complained of, and that of the 11th Mar 1724 the Company are Reinstated in their just Rights and Priviledges; This we are desirous should be intimated to the Court of Spain, in such manner as your Grace shall see proper: nor will it be of use or service to the Comp'y that any further Steps be taken, in procuring of the Court of Spain the Reservations of the 10 and 5 per Ct. granted by King George to the Company, till we see that we are more regarded, and better secured, so as to answer the Charge we proposed to be at on that Account in our Trade, and indeed tis fitt and necessary we should know plainly, whether tis their Intention that the Assiento Treaty shall still subsist, as of right it ought, rather than to go on Trading in Vertue of it, and thereby further Subjecting the Companys Estate to their Mercy, on which, by what appears, we can have but a slender dependence.[3]

London, 17 June 1725.

158. Accounts of the Royal African Company.[1]

Fryday, Augt. 27th, 1725.

The Comm'ee examined and adjusted the severall Acc'ts following,

Capt. General John Tinker at Cape Coast

For Commissions on Slaves from his arrival there to the 30th June 1724	£	842.	19.	0		
Ditto on Returns sent home to feb'y 2nd. 1724/5		780.	18.	0		
					£1623.	17. 8
Of which has been paid him					508.	7. 0
Balance due					£1115.	10. 8

Nathaniel Rice Cheif Merchant

On Slaves from his arrival to the 30th June 1724	£	371.	15.	0		
On Returns to 2d Feb'ry 1724/5		390.	9.	3		
					£ 762.	4. 3
Of which has been paid him					254.	3. 6
Ballance due					£ 508.	0. 9

[3] "By Order of the Court of Directors of the S. S. Comp'y, D. Wescomb Sec'ry"; "deliverd 18th June 1725 to his Grace by the Secretary."

One effort of the South Sea Company to extend its trade, made about this time, ought not to go unnoticed. On Feb. 27, 1726, a petition from the court of directors to the House of Commons asked that the petitioners be allowed to obtain negroes for Buenos Aires, from Madagascar, which lay within the territory of the East India Company. *C. J.*, XX. 777.

[158] [1] T 70: 103, "Court of Assistants: Committee of Seven, 1725-1727," pp. 45-46.

John Wingfield Chief Merchant

On Slaves from commencing Chief Merchant to 30th June 1724	£	347.	7.	6		
On Returns to 2nd Feb. 1724/5		85.	17.	2		
					£ 433.	4. 8
Third Part of Salary till he commenced Cheif Merchant					84.	9. 11
					£ 517.	14. 7

Jeremiah Tinker Gov'r of Whydah

Commission on Slaves from his arrival to Feb'ry 23d 1724/5	£	386.	1.	5		
For ⅔d of Salary by Lett'r of Attorney to John Gore Esqe. from 12th Feb'ry 1723 to 12th Feb'ry 1724 which would be £200, but having received £50 at going out there remains—		150.	0.	0		
					£ 536.	1. 5

It is the opinion of the committee, That these ballances be paid part in bonds payable in 12 months at £4 per cent and the rest in money *Vizt.*

John Tinker in	Bonds	£1100.	0.	0
	Money	15.	10.	8
Nathaniel Rice	Bonds	500.	0.	0
	Money	8.	9.	0
John Wingfield	Bonds	500	—	—
	Money	17.	14.	7
Jeremiah Tinker	Bonds	500.	0.	0
	Money	36.	1.	7

159. Manifest of the *Dispatch*.[1]

Bristol, Sept. 30th, 1725.

Invoice of sundry Merchandizes kept on board the *Dispatch* Briggtn. Willm. Barry M'r for the Coast of Africa for Acct. and riske of Isaac Hobhouse and Co. Owners of said Briggtn. and goes Consigned to said Barry at the Coast of Africa for sales and returns, *Vizt.*

			£ s. d.	£ s. d.
DB No. 1-32	is 32 Boxes Copper rods @ 125 in Each Box is 4000 Barrs at 15 *d.* per barr.		250	
	Boxes at 12 *d.* Each		1 12	251 12
DB No. 1.	60 small Niccanees	120 at 11/	66	
2.	Ditto			
3.	44 Bejuta pauls[2]	60 at 18/	54	
	16 ditto			

[159] [1] Jefferies MSS., p. 1. John Latimer attributes the early success of the Bristol merchants in the slave trade to the fact that many of them had lived in the West Indies. *The Annals of Bristol: Eighteenth Century* (Bristol, 1893), p. 472.

[2] Probably bejutapants, cotton cloth of East India origin; blue blasts (often bafts or baftas), coarse cotton, originally made in India, but later manufactured for the African market in Great Britain. Brawls were also India piece goods, usually blue and

			£ s. d.	£ s. d.
4.	100 Guinea stuffs	at 3/	15	
5.	48 Blew basts 12 Ditto	60 at 20/	60	
6.	20 Chints	at 9/	9	
	50 Cotten Romalls red and Blew	at 15/ 6 *d.*	38 15	
	10 Photeas	at 13/6	6 15	
7.	14 papd. Brawles 186 Ditto	200 at 6/	60	
8.	50 Photeas	at 13/ 6 *d.*	33 15	
9.	50 Large Niccanees			
10.	50 Ditto	100 at 15/ 6 *d.*	77 10	
11.	19 Cushlaes	at 15/ 6 *d.*	14 14 6	
12.	a Cask Cowries 2C.	18 16 Tare		
		2 at 6.15	13 12 4½	
	1000 pace [piece?] Rangoes	at 13/	6 10	
	1000 Deep Ditto	at 11/	5 10	
13.	50 Blew papd. sletias	at 8/	20	
	10 Cases 2 boxes 1 Cask fees Entry at London and Land Carriage		10	491 1 10½
	914 Barrs Iron 206 C 1 q. 28 l.	at £ [19?] per Tonn		196 1 3½
	10 bbs. Gunpowder put into 54 small Caskes	at £3 15 per barrel	37 10	
	54 small Caskes	at 15 *d.*	3 7 6	40 17 6
14-19	is 6 Chests Musquets in each Chest 25 makes 150 Musquets	at 10/ 6 *d.*	78 15	
	6 Chests	at 7/	2 2	80 17
20, 21	72 tunns pints	at 22 *d.*	6 12	
	50 pint tankards	at 20 *d.*	4 3 4	
	8 Dozn Spoons	at 2/ 3 per doz.	18	
	12 4c Basons wt.	1. 17		
22, 23	60 3c Ditto	1. 1. 26		
		1. 3. 15 at 9 *d.* per lb.	7 18 3	
24-26	is 3 Caske Monelas[3] wt. 4. 3. 24.	at 10 *d.*	23 3 4	
	7 Caske	at 3/ each	1 1	43 15 11

white. On the subject of commodities desired on the coast the company's agents at Cape Coast Castle wrote on Jan. 15, 1726: "Long Ells much in demand, the Separate Traders scarcely know what they are, therefore desire a supply of them. Cowries become a commanding Commodity—desire a quantity of them and some pewter Basons." T 70: 7, p. 114.

[3] Monelas or manillos, the metal rings frequently referred to in African trade. The "Nepts." of no. 27 are neptunes or shallow brass pans.

					£ s. d.	£ s. d.
DB No. 27.	a Bundle of 40 Nepts.	2 C.	1.	1.		
28.	1 Caske 50 sm pans		2.			
29.	1 Caske 150 Ditto	1.	3.	6		
		4.	2.	7 at £8. 5 per C	37 12 9¾	
	2 Caske and Matts for the Nepts.				8	38 0 9¾
30.	More 1 Caske Monelas	1 C.	3 q.	2 l.		
				14 Tare		
		1	3	16 at 16 *d.* per l.	7 13 4	
	Cost the Caske				2 6	7 15 10
DB	1. 33 galls.	is 207 galls. 6 pts. brandy				
	2. 34	at 2/ 6 *d.*			25 19 4½	
	3. 34	½ hhd at 7 pack.			2 2	
	4. 36.1					
	5. 36.1					
	6. 34.4					
	50½ Cases Cordiall waters 37 galls. 4 pts.	at 2/ 9 *d.*			5 3 1½	
	50 Dozn. of ½ pint square Bottles	at 15 *d.*			3 2 6	
	50½ Cases	at 18 *d.*			3 15	40 2
DB	1. 4 C.	7 l.	58 Tare			
	2. 4	6	59			
	3.	2 q.	16	14		
	4. 4			65		
	5. 1	1	21	16		
		14		22	212	
		1	3	16	Tare	
		12	1	6	wt. Bugles is 1378 l. at 13 *d.* per l.	74 12 10
	Charges debenture Cask, etc.				1 10	76 2 10
DB 31, 32	5 dozn. felts edged with Copper	at 20/	per doz.		5	
	3 dozn. Ditto	at 22/	per Dozn.		3 6	
	18 fine Hatts edged with Gold and silver	at 14/			12 12	
	2 Boxes				6	21 4
DB	1. a bbl. Rice	3 C.	2 q.	19 l.	46 Tare	
	2. Ditto	3	2	23	46	
	3. Ditto	3	1	6	46	
	4. Ditto	3	2	11	43	
	5. Ditto	4	1	4	55	
	6. Ditto	3	3	25	47	
	7. Ditto	4		17	55	
		26	2	21	338	
		3		2	Tare	
		23	2	19	wt. at 16/ per C.	18 18 8

		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
DB No. 33. More on Chests			
30 Musquets	at 10/ 6 *d* per pce.	15 15	
Cost the Chest		7	16 2
a bbl. pipes, 14 Groce and ½	at 1/ per grose	14 6	
Cost the Barrel		2	16 6
hawlidge, porteridge, Lighteridge, fees of entry, etc			7.
			£1330. 8. 2¾

I acknowledge the foregoing Invoice to be a true Coppy dd. me from Messrs. Isaac Hobhouse and Co., Owners the *Dispatch* which I promise to lay out to thier best advantage as witness my hand this 7th Oct. 1725.

WILLIAM BARRY.[4]

Provisions, *Vizt.*

3 KKs [hhds?] grutts[5] each 2 Bush. is in all 6 bushells
4 Ditto with Pease Cont. 10 bushells
2 firkins Butter
10 bbls. 3 hhds. bread
1 Do. White bread } 39 C. 3 Q. 2
3 bbls. Flower 6 C.
12 tierces and 4 hhds ship Beer
1 bb. Cont. 11 dozen syder
1 Ditto 11½ bottled Beer

No. 1 is a hhd Beefe cont. pieces	103			
3 Ditto	90			
4 Ditto	98	22 C.		12 lb
5 Ditto	98			
2 Ditto Necks Shanks etc				
9 Tierces Beef		27		
1 tierce pork cont. pieces	75			
2	68			
3	73	17	2 q.	2
4	72			
5, 6, 7, heads, feets etc	108			
	110	66	2	14

1 cwt. Cheese, 1 Cask Vinegar, 13 gallons
180 Bushells Beans
6 lbs. New Corrinths[6]
6 lbs. Raisons
1 fine Cinnamon
¼ Large Cloves
1 lb. Black Pepper
¼ Nutts
28 lbs. Jamaica sugar
2 Loafs single refind sugar

[4] The portlidge bill for the *Dispatch* follows, giving names and wages. Under "Privilidge at Africa" it mentions two slaves for the commander, two for the chief mate, and, under "Privelidge at America", 20 C. (cwt.) for the former and 10 for the latter.

[5] Grutts or grout, coarse meal. These are the provisions for twenty persons; much of the supply for the negro cargo was taken on in Africa, though the beans which appear here may have been intended for the slaves.

[6] Currants.

2 Ditto double refind
1 Cask hoggs Lard
1 Ditto dubbing[7]

I acknowledge the above and w'ts on the other side[8] to be a true Coppy of my provisions etc of which due Care shall be taken and expended according to my instructions.

WILL BARRY.

160. INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN WILLIAM BARRY.[1]

BRISTOL, Oct. 7th, 1725.

Capt. Wm. Barry, As the wind is inclineing to be fair you are ordered with yr Men (which we allow to be 20 in Number yr self included) to repair on board the *Dispatch* Briggtn. of which you are Contd. Com'dr and to loose no time but sail directly takeing the pilott with you so far as the Holmes and at his return let us be advised whether all the hands are on board and what else may be Material.

You must make the best of yr Way to the Coast of Africa that is to that part of it calld Andony[2] (without toutching or tarrying at any other place) w[h]ere you are to slave intirely, but as our Briggtn. draws deep water, wee are not Inclinable you should proceed over the Barr, but rather that you Anchor as Usual in the bests and Convenients place for safety so well as slaveing.

The Cargo of goods are of your Own ordering, and as it's very good in kind and amts to thirteen hundred and thirty pounds eight shillings and 2¼ we hope twill purchase you 240 Choice slaves, besides a Quan'y of teeth the latter of which are always to embrace provided they are large, seeing in that Commodity there's no Mortality to be feard. As to the slaves let your endeavours be to buy none but what's healthy and strong and of a Convenient Age—none to exceed the years of 25 or under 10 if posible, among which so many men, and stout men boys as can be had seeing such are most Valuable at the Plantations.

Let your Care be in preserving so well as in purchaseing, in order to which let their provisions be well and Carefully look'd after and boild and that its given them in due season, to see the sailors dont abuse them which has often been done to the prejudice of the Voyage. So soon as you begin to slave let your knetting be fix'd breast high fore and aft and so keep 'em shackled and hand Bolted fearing their rising or leaping Overboard, to prevent which let always a Constant

[7] Either suet or some grease preparation.
[8] "What's on the other side", is a list of naval stores.

[160] [1] Jefferies MSS., XIV. 3.
[2] Andoni, on the Bight of Biafra, north of Fernando Po.

and Carefull watch be appointed to which must give the strictest Charge for the preservation of their Own Lives, so well as yours and on which the Voyage depends, which per sleeping in their Watch has often been fatall and many a good Voyage (which otherwise might been made) entirely ruind. You have said that their large Cannoes will bring the slaves below the barr for a small Matter which Charge had rather be at then fatigue the Men to row so many Leagues, which frequently has hurried 'em into sickness and feavours.

If any redwood can be purchasd there and they'l bring it on board may take in w't can Conveniently stow.

Notwithstanding you are ordered directly to Andony and there to slave wholy yet if you find there many ships and believes can doe better at any Other pt. in the Bite that is at Old Calabarr or bandy you have Liberty to proceed.

When you are fully slaved make the best of your way to Princess w[h]ere you are to water and gett other Recruits that may want and there may dispose of all your returned goods for goold, as also so many or all of the slaves provided Can gett 10 moydores or upwards per head round, which if so make the best of your Way directly hither but in case you Cant then proceed to Antigua, w[h]ere expect our farther orders in the hands of Capt. John Turnell which if should not find then repair to Newis at Mr. John Woodleys where if should also miss thereof, or either of the Islands, then make the best of your Way to So. Carolina and d'd all the slaves to Mr. Jos. Wragg who shall have directions for the farther proceedings.

Your Coast Comm'n is 4 from every £104 of the Net proceeds of the slaves etc, your privelidge slaves 2 provided you purchase 'em with your Own Goods and mark 'em in the presence of boath Mates. Mr. Ross the Chief Mate has the same priviledge for his encouragemt but you must supply him with goods to doe it, which you are to take an Acct. of, as he must be debitted for it here at home after knows what 'tis, his slaves must also be marked in your presence and 2d Mate and as for teeth we Cant Allow to any. You must pay the half wages abroad accord'g to Act of Parliamt, and in all your Passages keep a good and Constant Look Out, and trust no sail you see fearing Pirates, see your Officers does their Duty in their severall stations and with them and the Men keep a good Harmony and decorum without to much familiarity or Austerity seeing the Voyage depends on good Conduct.

You have Coppy of the Invoice the Cargoe Portlidge Bill stores and provisions all which think is compleat and surely enough, of all which stores and provisions desires your utmost Care and Inspection to see how they are made use of, and to Observe there's no Waste or Want.

In case of Your Mortality (which God forbid) then its our directions Mr. Jno Ross take up and follow these our Instructions and after him Mr. Willm Pine 2d Mate.

Wee cant break of without recommending to you dispatch which is the Life of the Voyage and as you know that Commerce is ready and bound the same Way therefore endeavour w't in you lies to gett there before her and to see you are not outdone in the slaving by other Commanders.

be carefull of fire and in fine of all committed to your Charge, and keeping us advised by all Opportunitys of all materiall Occurrences is what imediatly offers but recommending you to the Good God Almighty's protection and wishing you a good Voyage we Remain

Yr Aff Fds

ISAAC HOBHOUSE
NO. RUDDOCK
WM. BAKER

I acknowledge the above to be a true Coppy of my orders delivered me from Messrs. Isaac Hobhouse and Co., Owners of the *Dispatch,* which I promise to perform (God Willing) to the utmost of my power.

WILLIAM BARRY

161. WILLIAM SMITH'S VOYAGE TO GUINEA.[1]

AFRICAN-HOUSE, Aug. 11, 1726.

Mr. William Smith, The Royal African Company of England, having entertained You in their Service, as a Person fitly qualified, to take exact Plans, Draughts, and Prospects of all their Forts and Settlements; as also of all the principal Rivers, Harbours, and other Places of Trade, on the Coast of Africa, from Gambia to Whydah.[2] You are hereby required and directed to embark on board their own

[161] [1] William Smith, *A New Voyage to Guinea* (1744). "It is the Opinion of this Comm'ee That Mr. William Smith be employ'd by the Company to go out in the *Boneta* Briggantine and take exact Plans Draughts and Prospects of the Compa's Forts and Settlements on the Coast of Africa from Gambia to Whydah and all the Rivers and harbours between those Places, that He be dyeted at the Captains Table whilst on board, and at the Publick Table of the Factorys when on Shore, That he be allow'd Salary at the rate of £60 per Ann and have half a Years Salary advanced to carry out; And That at his return the Company agree to make him such farther gratuity as shall be judged he may deserve. That Mr. Lynn pay Mr. Smith the Thirty pounds and that £13 17 *s.* be paid Mr. Smith to provide Mathematical Instruments."

A later item provided for an allowance of £20 for fresh provisions for Capt. Livingstone during Mr. Smith's voyage. If the captain found it necessary to spend still more the company was to reimburse him. T 70: 103, pp. 128-129.

[2] This survey was to include Gambia, Sierra Leone River, Tasso Island, Bence Island, Cape Mount, the River Sherbro, if it could be visited without great loss of time, Cape Appolonia, Cape Mezurado, Junck, St. Johns, Sestos, Sanguinee, Setra-Crue, Drewin, St. Andrews, Cape Lahoe, Jack-Lahoe, Jack-Jack, Bassam, and Assinee. All along the coast Smith was to observe as closely as possible the forts and settlements of other countries.

Ship *Bonetta,* Captain James Livingstone, Commander, and to proceed forthwith to Gambia (p. 2).[3] . . .

In the mean time, our Ship sail'd from thence[4] on the Eighteenth, [Dec.] and on the Twenty-fifth anchor'd at Gallinas,[5] where lay the *Queen Elizabeth,* Captain Creighton beforemention'd,[6] who invited Captain Livingstone to take a Christmas Dinner with him, and shew'd him a Letter from one Benjamin Cross, Third Mate of the *Expedition,* Captain Malltiffe, who was panyar'd by the Natives of Cape Monte, about three Weeks before, and detain'd there to make Reprisals for some of their Men that had been formerly panyar'd by some English Ship, as she traded down the Coast: A Custom too often used, especially by Bristol and Liverpool Men, which is very pernicious to the Slave Trade on the Windward Coast. Cross, hearing of the *Queen Elizabeth's* Arrival at Gallinas, and being left by his own Ship, wrote the said Letter to Captain Creighton, begging that he would redeem him, which Livingstone agreed to do, upon his Arrival at Cape Monte, he being bound down the Coast after the *Expedition,* for Creighton was bound for Sherbro.[7] . . .

I observed that the Natives[8] who came off to trade with us were mighty timorous of coming aboard, for fear of being panyar'd; and even those who were bold enough to venture, if they chanc'd to spy any Arms about the Ship, immediately they leap'd over the Side into their Canoes, and make the best of their Way ashore from us (pp. 101-104).[9] . . .

the People of St. Andrews, the next Town, having a Pallaver with those of Drewin, had lately made War upon them, and burnt Drewin to Ashes, taking all the Men, Women and Children, whom they sold very cheap to the Ships then lying at St. Andrews. We there-

[3] The signers of this letter were: Bibye Lake, deputy gov., Ralph Radcliffe, J. Floyer, Peter Meyer, William Corbet, Christian Cole, Francis Townley, George Barlow, Thomas Bodicoate, H. Vander Esch, Benjamin Wilcock, Thomas Cooke, Edward Barker, Charles Hayes, and Henry Parsons.

[4] Smith with Walter Charles, the governor of Sierra Leone, embarked Aug. 20, 1726, and arrived at Gambia Sept. 27. His work here he completed in October, and sailed for Sierra Leone, in company with the *Byam,* a slaver. On Nov. 14 he left Sierra Leone for Sherbro. As a result of exposure on this voyage he returned to Sierra Leone quite ill, and remained there a month. He is, on the 18th, leaving Bence Island.

[5] The Gallinas River, filled with small islands, was southeast of Sherbro. Later in the century many private slave traders were located here, each on his own island. The Rev. John Newton, when a slave trader, had a factory near the mouth of this river.

[6] The *Bonetta* had first encountered the friendly Captain Creighton north of Sierra Leone. *Ibid.,* p. 36.

[7] The *Bonetta* reached Cape Mount on Dec. 29, redeemed Cross at a cost of £50, and on Jan. 26 restored him to the *Expedition.*

[8] Smith was at St. Andrews, a two-days' sail south of Cape Palmas.

[9] The vessel left Cape Mount on Jan. 2, 1726/7, and reached Sestos on the 9th, having anchored at Cape Mezurado and the River Junck. There can be no question but that, with the opening of the trade in 1698, the kidnapping of natives greatly increased. The company was anxious to keep on good terms with the Africans, but the separate traders had little concern for the future, in comparison with their desire for immediate profit.

fore pass'd by Drewin, and, on the twenty-sixth arriv'd at St. Andrews, where we found the *Expedition,* etc. This is an extraordinary good Road for Ships, and, of late, is become a Place of very good Trade, especially since the Demolition of Drewin (pp. 109-110). . . .

Nor are the Natives so civil as the former,[10] for we have very often lain by before a Town, and fir'd a Gun for the Natives to come off, and inform us what Town or Place it was, but were never the wiser, for no Soul came near us. But at length we learnt by some Ships that were trading down the Coast, that the Natives seldom ventur'd aboard an English Ship, for Fear of being panyar'd; but that they would readily come off to a French Vessel. This Knowledge was of no small Service to us, for afterwards we display'd nothing but French Colours, and traded with them in the French Language (p. 111). . . .

This [Quaqua Coast], as well as the Grain Coast is divided into many little Kingdoms and Countries, which having but few Pallavers, or Disputes among them, is the Reason why the Slave Trade is not so good here, as on the Gold and Slave Coasts (p. 113).[11] . . .

This Place [Accra] seldom fails of an extraordinary good Trade from the Inland Countries, especially for Slaves; whereof several are supposed to come from very remote Parts, because it is not uncommon to find a Malayan, and sometimes two among a Parcel of other Slaves. The Malay People were originally Natives of Mallacca, a huge Promontory in Asia, which lies between the Islands of Sumatra and Borneo. . . . The Malayans being of a rambling Nature, have settled upon many other Places, particularly Sumatra, and many of the Spice Islands. All which are now in the Possession of those Monopolists the Dutch, who punish with Death whomsoever they can find trading with any other Nation but themselves; to avoid which Oppression, many of those People, who have tasted the sweets of Trade, go away from thence, and settle in remote Parts, especially about Cape Guardefuer on the African Shore, at the Mouth of the Red Sea, from whence they take such surprising long Journies over the vast Continent of Africa into Guinea, where they buy or rather exchange Slaves with the Caboceroes; by which means the Malayans are now and then exposed to Sale at the European Forts. They differ very much from the Guinea Negroes, being right East Indians, of a tawny Complexion, with long black Hair. They all go clad with

[10] Smith is comparing the Quaqua Coast with the Grain Coast, to the disadvantage of the former.

[11] On Feb. 4 the *Bonetta* anchored off Axim, on Feb. 6 at Dixcove, Feb. 12 at Sekundi, on the 15th at Commenda, on the 18th at Cape Coast. At each of these places Smith made drafts of the forts. On Mar. 27 he was at Winnebah, on the 30th at Accra. *Ibid.,* pp. 118-121.

long Trowsers and Jackets, and can write and read, and speak the Malayan Language (pp. 135-137).[12] . . .

His [the king of Dahomey] first Conquest was that of Great Ardah, about fifty Miles to the North-West of Sabee, in the Year 1724. The King of Ardah having some Dealings about that Time, with Governor Baldwin of Whydah, and Accounts not being settled between them, his Majesty detain'd one Mr. Lamb, an English Factor at Ardah, in Hopes thereby to expedite their Accounts.[13] During which Time the City of Ardah happen'd to be besieg'd by the aforesaid King of Dahomey's Army. The People of Ardah, for some Time, made a stout Resistance, till their King was slain before his Palace-Gate, and then they submitted to the Conquerors, who took them all Prisoners, and among the rest the aforesaid unfortunate Mr. Lamb. The King of Dahomey's General, admiring so strange a Figure as a White Man, spar'd him, and carried him as a Rarity to the King his Master, who was then two Hundred Miles up in the Inland Country, where a White Man never was before. During his Stay there, he wrote a very long Letter to Governor Tinker, who succeeded Baldwin at Whydah, wherein he gives a Description of the Country, of the King, of the Taking of Ardah, and of his Sufferings. This being the very best Account that could be had of those remote Inland Countries, I have been favour'd by the Governor with a Copy of it,[14] which is as follows:

From the Great King Trudo Audati's Palace of Abomey, in the Kingdom of Dahomey.

Nov. 27, 1724.

Sir, About five Days ago, the King of this Country gave me Yours of the first Instant, and immediately requir'd me to answer it in his Presence, which I did, though in a very indifferent Manner; so that if I do not recall it, I hope you will excuse that as well as this.

As to the late Conference I had with His Majesty, on receiving your Letter, I think he does not want to make a Price to let me go; for when I press'd him much to tell me, on what Terms he would send me away; his Answer still was, that he did not want to sell me, I was not a Black Man: But, upon my again pressing him, he made a Sort of a jesting Demand to the Sum of, I think, seven Hundred Slaves, about ten Thousand Pound Sterling, or fourteen Pound a-head. Which strange ironical Way of Talking, as I told him, made my Blood run cold in my Veins; and upon recovering myself I ask'd him, if he thought me King of my Country, and that you and the Company would think both he and I had lost our Senses should I have writ any Thing like what he

[12] Here the author describes the Gold Coast at some length, frequently citing Bosman.

[13] Snelgrave, in telling this story, says that the king of Ardra maintained that the company owed him one hundred slaves. He also adds that Lambe had been a prisoner for about two years before his capture by the troops of the king of Dahomey. William Snelgrave, A *New Account of Guinea,* pp. 7-8.

[14] Governor Tinker was present at the hearing on Lambe's affairs before the Board of Trade, May 27, 1731. *B. T. Jour.,* 1728-1734, p. 201.

had said. Upon which he laugh'd, and told me not to put any Thing of that in the Letter; for that he would order his Head Captain of Trade to treat with you upon that Subject, and that if you had not something very fine for him at Whydah, you must write to the Company. Upon which I told him, I found I must die in his Country, and that I would only send for a few Cloaths and Necessaries, which I desir'd he would let his People bring for me, and he agreed to it; so that I don't find there is any other Way of redeeming me, than by the Company's sending him a Present of a Crown and Sceptre, which must be paid for out of what remains due to the late King of Ardah. I know nothing else but what he will think mean, being stock'd with great Quantities of Plate, wrought Gold, and other rich Things; also all Sorts of fine Gowns, Cloaths, Hats, Caps, etc. He has likewise all Sorts of common Goods beyond Measure, and gives away Booges like Dirt, and Brandy like Water, for he is prodigious vain and proud, but he is withall, I believe, the richest King and greatest Warrior in this Part of the World; and you may depend upon it, in Time, will subdue most of the Countries round him. . . .

He talks much of settling a Correspondence with the Company, and of having White Men come here, which you must encourage him in, and tell him that the way to do it, will be to send me away; for he says he wants Ships to come to some Place only for his Slaves, and bring such Things as are only fit for such a King as he: To all which I give him the Hearing, and which if you humour may be a great Means to help me out of this wretched State. I hope my Royal Masters will take my Case into Consideration, and think of the long and many Sufferings I have had in their Service, and what a miserable Condition I am still in, as it were banish'd all the Pleasures of this Life, not only from my Wife and other Friends but all Conversation in general; so that I am like one buried alive from the World, and think nothing can come near my unhappy Fate, to lose my Time, and spend my Youth as it were for nothing in such a cursed Place as this, and not see a Likelihood of getting out of it, but that I must end my Days here. To prevent all which, I hope, that they and you, in their Behalf, will use your utmost Endeavours, by such Means as are requisite for my Deliverance, which I shall very impatiently pray to God to bring to pass.

Governor Baldwin promis'd me in his last, upon his Arrival in London, he would lay my Case before our Royal Masters. Therefore when you write, I beg you will remind him and them thereof, and not the Contents of what I now write. If any Letters come from England for me, I believe either them, or any Thing else, will come safe to my hands by this King's People. He is very willing I should have Letters come to me, or any Thing else, nor will he be guilty of any mean Action in keeping any Thing from me, if it were Twenty Slaves: Neither do I believe he would detain any White Man that should come here, but me whom he deems a Captive taken in his Wars. He sets a great Value upon me, he never having had a White Man here before, only an old Mullatto Portuguese, which he bought of the Popo People, at the Rate of about five Hundred Pound, as near as I could compute. And tho' this White Man is his Slave, yet the King keeps him a great Caboceroe, and has given him two Houses, and an Heap of Wives and Servants. It may be, that once in two or three Months he mends (he being a Taylor by Trade) some Trifle or other for his Majesty, but after the Devil of a Manner. So that if any Taylor, Carpenter, Smith, or any Sort of White Man that is free be willing to come here he will find very good Encouragement, and be much caress'd, and get Money, if he can be contented with this Life for a Time; his Majesty paying every Body extravagantly that works for him. And then it might be one Means

of letting me go, with a Promise of returning to trade with him; but he now says, if I go, he does not know, whether he shall see any more White Men, thinking they add to his Grandeur; so that if any fellow whatsoever comes up and goes down again, it will possess him with a Notion that more White Men will come, and so let me go, in Order to encourage their Coming. Or, if my little Servant Henry Tench be at Whydah, and is willing to come to me, it may in Time be much for his Interest, as now being a Boy, the King will be entirely fond of him; for though I do nothing for him, he has put me into a House, and given me Half a Dozen Men and Women Servants; also a constant Supply to maintain myself and them. . . .

If you think well of my agreeing for any Slaves with the King, you must talk with his Servants thereon, and send me a Mark,[15] for while I am here, I am willing to do the Company some Service if possible, their Interest being always what I shall study to promote to the utmost of my Power; but then I must have a Specie of all Sorts of Goods, mark'd and number'd with the Rates, to prevent Mistakes (pp. 169-187).[16] . . .

Adjoining to the Kingdom of Whydah, or Fida, are several Royalties, *viz.* Coto, Little and Great Popo, Quahoe, and Adrah, all situate on the Slave Coast, which are govern'd by their respective Kings, and follow much the same Customs with those of Whydah, only that they chiefly live on Plunder, and the Slave-Trade. It is their common Practice to assure the Merchant, that they have a Number of Slaves in order to draw him on Shore; which done they fleece him, and detain him several Months. Some Years ago, they dealt fraudulently with an English Ship, and besides cheated the Captain of his Goods; but coming thither some Time after, he recover'd his Damages in the following Manner. As soon as he had dropt Anchor before Popo, some of the Great Men, amongst whom was the King's Son came on board him; all whom he clapp'd in the Bilboes, from which he would not discharge them till he was first re-imbursed, and had oblig'd them to pay him a Sum besides (p. 207). . . .[17]

162. Debts due to the Company of the Indies.[1]

Etat de ce qui est dû a la Compagnie des Indes dans les Colonies françoises de l'Amerique pour raison des Negres qu'elle y a introduits.

[15] Smith says, thirty-two pounds.

[16] Smith concludes the account thus: "Mr. Lamb continu'd here about two Years, and at last his Majesty upon a Promise of his returning again with more White Men, sent him away very well enrich'd, being worth a Hundred Slaves. He made but a short Stay at Whydah, before he embark'd for America. I saw him afterwards at Barbadoes" (p. 189). For another version see *post,* no. 167 and notes.

[17] Smith sailed from Whydah on Apr. 20, 1727, and on May 8 took in wood, water, and provisions at Princes Island. The *Bonetta* reached Barbados July 16, left there Aug. 18, and arrived at Plymouth Sept. 26, 1727.

[162] [1] Paris, MSS. des Colonies, C 2, 17, ff. 280-283. "Etat des sommes dues à la Compagnie des Indes pour les Negres introduits par elle dans les Colonies Françaises d'Amérique N. S." The Company of the Indies, created by John Law, had received monopoly privileges which included all French commerce, both that on the coast of Guinea and that to the West Indies. For the French companies see W. G. Leland, *Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris,* I. 60; also *ante,* introduction, pp. xxii-xxv.

A la Martinique	
En mains des S'rs Desportes et Dubois	1,264,700 *ll.*
Au Cap Francois Coste St. Domingue	
En mains des Sr's Perere et Menvieille	1,806,335.
A Leogane	
En mains du S'r Menage	803,388.
A la Caye St. Louis	
En mains des S'rs Ciron et Girard	1,758,391.
	5,632,814.
De l'autre part	5,632,814 *ll.*
Par Sept Vaisseaux à la mer qui doivent se rendre aux d. Colonies par Estimation	1,440,000.
	7,072,814.

Il est deû a la Martinique, douze cent soixante quatre mil sept cent livres. Il y a plus de deux ans que la Compagnie n'en a rien retiré: Elle y a quatre Navires et un Batteau qui attendent depuis neuf mois à Charger, sans qu'ils aient encore une Barrique de Sucre; dans un si long Sejour, les Equipages perissent et les Navires vont devenir innavigables.

Les correspondants de la Compagnie ont obtenu des condamnations contre les habitans M'rs les Commandants ont rendu des ordonnances, qui ont indiqué le tems des payemens, sous peine de voir saisir leurs Negres et leurs marchandises sur les habitations; au terme expiré, personne n'a paye; les agents de la Compagnie ont fait saisir les marchandises dont les habitants ont disposé malgré les saisies, ces agents ont demandé l'Execution des ordonnances pour faire saisir les Negres, M'rs les Commandants ont repondu qu'ils avoient des ordres de la Cour de ne pas le permettre.

A l'Exemple de la Martinique, Les habitans du Cap françois, et de Leogane, ne veulent pas payer, ne croyant pas qu' on les y force. Il y en a meme qui s'imaginent qu'ils ne payeront jamais.

Le Navire la *Junon* qui a porté au Cap un Chargement de 570 Negres, a esté obligé de revenir en france, sans avoir pû raporter une seule Barrique de Sucre. Il est dû cependant plus de Deux millions six Cent mille Livres dans ces deux quartiers.

Les habitans de St. Louis sont les seuls qui soient portés a s'acquitter, ils temoignent de la bonne volonté et de la Reconnoissance des secours que la Compagnie leur fournit, pour augmenter leurs cultures; La Compagnie souhaiteroit seulement a l'égard de ce Canton, que le Gouverneur particulier fut plus disposé à la favoriser, qu'il ne l'a temoigné en plusieurs occasions. Elle se contenteroit en general qu' on luy rendit dans les Isles, la même justice qu'on ne refuse pas au dernier des sujets du Roy.[2]

[2] Endorsed, "Comp'ie de L'Indes, F'be 1726, En parler a M. de Maurepas".

163. Governor William Hart to the Board of Trade.[1]

St. Christophers, February the 15th, 1726/7.

My Lords, I had the Honour to receive Your Lordship's of the 6th July last, which I answer'd the 30th of November and of which a Duplicate is inclos'd agreeable to Your Lords'ps Commands: But I have not been able, from the distance of these Islands, to obtain Duplicates of the papers mention'd therein.

I have wrote several letters to Mr. Dunbar, Surveyor General of His Majesties Customs, to Transmit me a List of all the Negroes imported into the Leeward Islands from the 20th of December 1721, either by the Affrican Company or by the Seperate Traders: But as yet I have receiv'd only the Lists from the Islands of Antegoa and St. Christophers which are inclosed. There remains those of Nevis and Montserrat which I expect every day to receive, and then shall Transmit them to Your Lordships.

Your Lordships may please to observe that the 5600 Negroes are a prodigious Number to be Imported into so small an Island as this of Saint Christophers in five years past: Yet from the Year 1721 to the Year 1723 there has been at least 1000 Negroes more imported from the Island of St. Eustatia, a Dutch Island Situate within two Leagues of this. But as the Negroes so imported from the Dutch pays no Custom here; And as the Purchasers used to bring them in at their pleasure, There can be no certain Computation made of the Number; it not being enter'd in the Collector of the Customs Books.

But there is now a full Stop put to that Trade from this Island with the Dutch at St. Eustatia. For St. Christophers has been fully supply'd with Negroes, by the British Traders, from Affrica for three Years past at a Cheaper rate than they can buy them from the Dutch; and indeed this small Island is now so well stockt with Negroes, that it will want very few more to Cultivate the Land.

What Negroes are now imported by the Dutch West India Company to St. Eustatia, are sold to the French at Martinique and Guarde Loupe, who send their Sloops to that Island Loaden with Sugar to purchase them, and which from thence is transported to Holland in the Companys Ships. But our British Traders to Affrica have found a way to Rival the Dutch in this Article of the Negroe Trade with the French Islands mention'd. For as the Island of St. Lucia (since the attempt of the Duke of Montague to settle it) is look'd upon as a Nuteral place; the British Ships go into a Harbour there called the Petit Carnage, where they sell their Slaves for money or Sugar: This place having the advantage of St. Eustatia, being within a few hours Sail of Martinique. If they sell for money they generally resort to these Islands to purchase Sugars for Great

[163] [1] C. O. 152: 15, pp. 322-326.

Britain; But if they dispose for Sugars, then they carry them for Ireland directly. It is humbly submitted to Your Lordships Superior Judgment, whether this be not very detrimental to His Majesties Revenue; And whether it is not very prejudicial to the Fair Traders of Great Britain who Conform to the Acts of Trade, especially those of Bristoll and Liverpool, great part of their Sugar and Rum being sent to Ireland where they are outsold by those who Trade Clandestinely from St. Lucia. Being oblig'd to enter their Ships in Great Britain makes a great difference both in the hazard of the Voyage, and in the Charge of their Ships.

164. Representation by the Board of Trade.[1]

March the 17th, 1726/7.

To the King's Most Excell't Maj'ty

May it Please your Majesty, In Obedience to your Majesty's Commands signify'd to us by His Grace the Duke of Newcastle's Letter of the 21st of Feb'ry last,[2] We have considered the Pet'n and Rep'n of the Royal African Company, thereby referr'd to us: We have likewise receiv'd several Papers, Memorials and Representations, as well from the African Company as from the Seperate Traders of London, Bristol and Liverpool, and having heard what they had to offer either themselves or by their Council respectively, as to the nature and condition of this Trade,[3] We humbly begg leave to Represent to Your Majesty;

That the two principal Points in Dispute between the Company and seperate Traders, were the Nature and Condition of the Trade, and the Utility of the Forts and Settlements upon the Coast of Africa, and to these heads chiefly related all the Evidence given on either side during the course of this Inquiry, For which reason We shall begg leave to confine our Representation likewise to the Nature and Condition of this Trade and to the Utility of Forts and Settlements on the Coast of Africa.

[164] [1] C. O. 389: 28, pp. 305-312.

[2] *B. T. Jour.,* 1722-1728, p. 219. For the account of the steps which led up to the drafting of this representation see C. O. 391: 35, pp. 34, 38, 40-43, 54-67; T 70: 103, p. 107.

[3] The hearings, beginning Apr. 14, 1726, continued until June 14, when the board ordered a representation to be prepared. This it considered on June 15 and 16, then, if the *Journal* is to be trusted, abruptly dropped it, until Mar. 16, 1727, when it was agreed to. The counsels for the African Company throughout the hearings were the Attorney General and a Mr. Wills; for the separate traders, Serjeant Darnell and Mr. Fazackerly. The chief witnesses for the company were Richard Beaumont and Francis Lynn, who were company officials, Captain Lovett, Mr. Cleave, Walter Charles, Mr. Snow, Mr. Ramsay, and Mr. Blackwood. For the London traders, Humphrey Morice and Richard Harris offered evidence; for Bristol, Mr. Becher. Mr. Fazackerly presented the case of the Bristol and Liverpool traders. A group of merchants trading to the colonies also offered evidence. *B. T. Jour.,* 1722-1728, pp. 232-244, 247-255, 257-263, 267-272.

The African Company in their humble Petition to your Majesty, and Representation thereunto annex'd, set forth that the Competition between them, the Dutch, French and Portuguese, but chiefly between them and the seperate Traders of Great Britain, has raised the Price of Negroes on the Coast of Africa to Four times the value they were formerly sold at, from whence, and from the Badness of their own Circumstances, they infer that this trade is in the utmost Danger of being lost, and consequently the Plantations of being ruined for want of necessary Supplies of Negroes; That they are already come to a Resolution of trading no longer, and that unless some speedy releif be given them, they shall be no longer able to maintain their Forts and Settlements, but must be obliged to abandon them.

But notwithstanding the African Company apprehend this Trade to be in Danger of being lost, yet, it appears to Us that the Trade to Africa is greatly increased as well in the number of Ships imploy'd therein, as in the number of Negroes carried from thence to your Majesty's Plantations, since the Expiration of the Duty of 10 per Cent ad Valorem for all Goods and Merchandize exported to Africa from England, or from your Majesty's Plantations in America, by any seperate Trader, impos'd by an Act pass'd in the 9th and 10th of King William the 3rd Intituled, An Act to Settle the Trade to Africa, which expired in the year 1712, And tho' the Price of Negroes is much greater upon the Coast then formerly, which is a natural Consequence of a greater demand, yet it did appear that your Majesty's Subjects in the Plantations, have been much better supplyed, and very near as cheap as formerly.

As to the Forts and Settlements possessed by the Company upon the Coast of Africa; It does not appear to Us what particular Sums they paid to their Predecessors for them, or what they have expended in the Maintenance of them since they were in their Possession, Because although the Company did produce to Us an Account of £34,000 alledg'd to have been paid to their Predecessors, yet all the Effects in general of the old Proprietors, and several Debts being included in that Account; It is impossible for Us to distinguish what part thereof was paid or intended to be paid in Consideration of their Forts and Settlements only; And as to what relates to the Maintenance of them, that Account being likewise intermix'd with several other Charges and Expences of the Company, such part thereof as is applicable to the Maintenance of Forts, is not to be Distinguished from the rest.

As to the condition these Forts and Settlements are now in, It appeared to Us from the Evidence produced upon this occasion, that they are not capable of protecting the ships of your Majesty's sub-

jects against Pirates or any Enemy at Sea, though they may be of some Defence against the Natives of the Country at Land, and do serve the Company as Warehouses for their Goods, And it likewise appear'd to us that the Seperate Traders have for many years, carried on this Trade to a far greater extent than the Company, without any Assistance from these Forts, and even to several Parts far remote from them, where it was affirmed that the Natives traded very freely with all Nations; and therefore We do not conceive that these Forts and Settlements are absolutely necessary for carrying on the Trade; But as they are Marks of your Majesty's possession, and may be of use to Evidence the Right of Your Majesty's Subjects to Trade upon that Coast, We think it might be a dangerous Experiment to abandon them, least they should fall into the Hands of some Foreign Nations, who have Settlements already in those parts, and who might from thence set up a pretence of excluding your Majesty's Subjects from Trading there, as the French now do upon the Coast of Senegal.

Upon the whole, since it is evident by the Experience of many years, that the Trade is greatly encreased since it has been laid entirely open to all your Majesty's Subjects, We are humbly of opinion it ought always to continue free and open.

And since the British Settlements upon the Coast of Africa are Marks of your Majesty's Possession there, and may evidence the Right your Majesty's Subjects have to that Trade, We are humbly of opinion, that care should be taken to prevent their falling into the hands of any Foreign Nation. And since the African Company do declare that without Assistance for that Purpose, they are no longer able in their present Circumstances to maintain them, We would humbly propose that a reasonable Compensation should be offer'd to them for their Title thereunto, But if the Company shall refuse to accept thereof, that the said Settlements should be resumed into your Majesty's hands, to prevent their being possessed by Foreigners; and the Charge thereof defray'd by the Publick: Or if that shall not be thought proper, We are then of opinion, that a Duty may be laid on all Ships trading to the Coast of Africa, in order to defray the Expence of maintaining such of the said Settlements, as it shall be thought necessary to keep up, and also for Paying such a Sum, as shall be allowed to the African Company.

All which is most humbly Submitted.[4]

WHITEHALL
March 17th 1726/7

[4] Signed, "Holles Newcastle, Townshend, Westmorland, J. Chetwynd, P. Docminique, T. Pelham, M. Bladen, Ed. Ashe, R. Plummer".

165. The Gambia Factors to the Royal African Company.[1]

James Fort, May 19th 1727.

This by the *Ruby* Capt. Colvil *via* Carolina. Fifty Slaves shipd on board her upon the Contract with Mr. Wragg. The finest Cargo of Slaves that ever Went from the River.

The French design to ingross the Trade of the River to themselves. Are on their guard against them. Designs of Mr. Plummett the Chief to surprize the Fort. Hints of it received from the Capt. of the French Ship. She saild from the River the 15th. Reasons of the Disputes between them and the French. Acct. of the present posture of the French Compa's affairs there.

Their Seizures of Our Ships at Portally occasion'd their first misfortunes. Their revengfull temper, which putts the Natives upon dealing with them in the Same way. They are at Warrs with the King of Demett. Joally trade inconsiderable.

Bisseo the same. Cutcheo has the greatest Share of Trade.

Trade of Senegal attended with many difficultys. The Gum Coast Trade most considerable to the French—tho the Natives are averse to them. The French long for the Trade of the River Gambia.

The French Compa's are obliged to furnish Mississippi with a large Number of Negroes. Most of their dependence for them is in Gambia River. Desire the late Agreem't made with them may not be ratifyed.

Price of Slaves. Give an acct. of their present Low Circumstances and Want of Money, 300 Slaves up the River which will fall into other hands for want of Goods.

P. S. Serjeant James Rusk Murthered.

166. Commissions of the Royal African Company.[1]

Wednesday, May 31, 1727.

Commissions at Cape Coast Castle and other Factorys Depending thereon.

That a true and exact Account of Proffit and Loss made on all Negroes bought and sold within that district (extending from Cape Mount to Cape Lopez) be kept at Cape Coast Castle, and that a Commission amounting to one full 5th part, of the Net Proffits made by the said Negro Trade (mortality and charges of maintaining the Negroes being first allowed for in the said Acco'tt of proffit and Loss) be paid as follows, *Vizt.*

[165] [1]T 70: 7, pp. 134-135. Anthony Rogers, Richard Hull, and Thomas Harrison were the factors.

[166] [1]T 70: 103, pp. 193-194, 198-199.

To the three Cheif Merchants at Cape Coast Castle for all such Negros as They shall purchase themselves and Sell again on the Coast, to be equally divided between them	£20 per Cent. on the Net Proffits
To the Said 3 Ch. Merchants for all such Negros as shall be bought and sold at Whydah	£10 per Cent on Do.
To the said three Cheif Merchants for all such Negros as shall be purchased at any of the Out Factorys, or by Trading Ships and Vessels . . .	£10 per Cent on Do.
To the Chief at Whydah for all such Negros as He shall buy and sell at that place	£10 per Cent on Do.
To all other out Factors, Masters of Ships, and Supercargoes for all such Negros as They shall purchase and return to the Cheifs at Cape Coast Castle, or sell and dispose of by their order . . .	£10 per Cent on Do.

That in case the Company shall make any Contract or Contracts in London or elsewhere, with any person or persons whatsoever, for delivering Negros at Cape Coast Castle, Whydah or elsewhere such Negros shall be valued as if sold at and after the rate of £15 Sterling Mony per head, and that the Commissions to be allowed on the clear proffits made on such Negroes after allowance for Mortality and their maintainance, be regulated and paid according to that price.

Commissions at Sierra Leone.

That a true and exact acco'tt of Proffit and Loss made on all Negros bought and sold at Sierra Leone and its Districts, be kept; And that a Commission out of Net Proffits made by the said Negro Trade (mortality and charges of maintaining the said Negros being first allowed for in the said Account of Proffit and Loss) be paid as follows, *Vizt.*

For all such Negros as shall be bought and Sold in the River Sierra Leone		£20 per Cent. on the Net Proffits
Whereof		
To the Chief Merchant	£15	
To the 2d or Warehousekeeper	5	
For all such Negros as shall be bought at any Factory or by Trading Ships and Vessels		£10 per Cent. on Do.
Whereof		
To the Cheif Merchant	£ 8	
To the 2nd or Warehousekeeper	2	
To all out Factors Masters of Ships and Super Cargoes for all such Negros as they shall purchase, and return to the Cheifs at Sierra Leone, or sell and dispose of by their Order		£10 per Cent. on Do.

That in case the Company shall make any Contract or Contracts, in London or elsewhere, with any person or persons whatever for delivering Negros at Sierra Leone or elsewhere; such Negros shall be valued as if sold at and after the rate of £8 Sterling Money per Head; And That the Commissions to be allowed on the clear proffits

made on such Negros to be regulated and paid according to that price.

167. William Snelgrave's Account of Guinea.[1]

For the better understanding of the following Relation it is necessary to prefix some Account of the late State of the Country of Whidaw; before the terrible Destruction and Desolation therein in the Month of March 1726-7.

The Reader then is to observe, That the Sea-Coast this Kingdom lies in 6 Degrees 40 Minutes North Latitude. Sabee, the chief Town of the Country, is situate about seven Miles from the Seaside. In this Town the King allowed the Europeans convenient Houses for their Factories and by him we were protected in our Persons and Goods, and when our Business was finished, were permitted to go away in Safety. The Road where Ships anchored was a free Port for all European Nations trading to those Parts for Negroes. And this Trade was so very considerable, that it is computed while it was in a flourishing State, there were about twenty thousand Negroes yearly exported from thence, and the neighbouring Places by the English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese. As this was the principal Part of all the Guinea Coast for the Slave Trade, the frequent Intercourse that Nation had for many Years carried on with white People had rendered them so civilized, that it was a Pleasure to deal with them (pp. 1-3). . . .

It so happen'd, that in the Evening of the Day we came into the Camp, there were brought above eighteen hundred captives, from a

[167] [1] *A New Account of some Parts of Guinea, and the Slave Trade,* "containing, I. The History of the late Conquest of the Kingdom of Whidaw by the King of Dahomè; the Author's Journey to the Conqueror's Camp, where he saw several Captives sacrificed, etc.; II. the Manner how the Negroes become Slaves, the Numbers of them Yearly exported from Guinea to America, the Lawfulness of that Trade, the Mutinies among them on board the Ships where the Author has been; III. a Relation of the Author's being taken by Pirates, and the many Dangers he underwent." By Captain William Snelgrave (London, 1734). Snelgrave wrote of being at Old Calabar in 1704. In 1713 he was there again, in the *Anne,* belonging to Messrs. Bradley, Virginia merchants; in 1718 he was captured by pirates on the coast; in 1727 and 1729 he was trading at Whydah. There are few records of as long-continued service in the hazardous occupation of slaving. His account he dedicates to the "merchants of London trading to the Coast of Guinea", to most of whom he had "been known for many years". To the cause of the separate traders Snelgrave gave assistance in 1726, when he testified before the Board of Trade to the defenceless condition of the company's forts (*B. T. Jour.,* 1722-1728, pp. 261-263; here the name is given as Snelgrove). His published narrative is almost entirely confined to events of 1719, 1726-1727, and 1729-1730. He arrived at Whydah in the *Katherine,* owned by Humphrey Morice, in March, 1727. At the English fort he was told of the capture of Whydah by the King of Dahomey, and the seizure of forty white men, English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese, who had been released but a few days before his arrival. The excuse for the attack had been the refusal of the King of Whydah to grant to the Dahomians an open passage to the sea with slaves (pp. 5-6). Since Whydah, ravaged by the victorious army, offered no present opportunity for trade, Snelgrave sailed for Jaquin, which, having promptly submitted to the Dahomians, was undisturbed. Here he anchored Apr. 3, 1727, and almost immediately received a summons to present himself at the camp of the king, some forty miles inland. The selections which follow chiefly concern the events of his stay in this camp.

Country called Tuffoe,[2] at the distance of six days Journey. . . .

The King, at the time we were present, ordered the Captives of Tuffoe to be brought into the Court: Which being accordingly done, he chose himself a great number out of them, to be sacrificed to his Fetiche or Guardian Angel; the others being kept for Slaves for his own use; or to be sold to the Europeans. There were proper Officers, who received the Captives from the Soldiers hands, and paid them the value of twenty Shillings Sterling for every Man, in Cowries, (which is a Shell brought from the East Indies, and carried in large quantities to Whidaw by the Europeans, being the current Money of all the neighbouring Countries far and near) and ten Shillings for a Woman, Boy, or Girl (pp. 36-38). . . .

About three a Clock that Afternoon, a Messenger came from the great Captain, to inform us, the King had appointed immediately to give us an Audience. . . .

On our coming into the Court, where we had seen the King at our former Audience, we were desired to stay a little, till the Presents were carried into the House, that his Majesty might view them. Soon after we were introduced into a small Court, at the further end of which the King was sitting cross-legg'd on a Carpet of Silk, spread on the Ground: He was himself richly dress'd, and had but few Attendants. When we approached him, his Majesty enquired in a very kind manner, How we did? ordering we should be placed near him; and accordingly fine Mats were spread on the Ground for us to sit on. Tho' sitting in that Posture was not very easy to us, yet we put a good Face on the matter, understanding by the Linguist, that it was their Custom.

As soon as we were placed, the King ordered the Interpreter to ask me, What I had to desire of him? To which I answered, "That as my Business was to trade, so I relied on his Majesty's Goodness, to give me a quick dispatch, and fill my Ship with Negroes; by which means I should return into my own Country in a short time; where I should make known how great and powerful a King I had seen." To this the King replied by the Linguist, "That my desire should be fulfilled: But the first Business to be settled was his Customs." Thereupon I desired his Majesty to let me know what he expected? There was a Person then present (I believe on purpose) whose name was Zunglar, a cunning Fellow, who had formerly been the King's Agent for several Years at Whidaw; where I had seen him in my former Voyages. To him I was referred to talk about the Affair. So Zunglar told me, "his Master being resolved to encourage Trade, tho' he was a Conqueror, yet he would not impose a greater

[2] Possibly Tufel, on the Prah River, north of Shama, though that seems scarcely six days' journey distant from the region of the camp.

Custom than used to be paid to the King of Whidaw." I answered, "As his Majesty was a far greater Prince, so I hoped he would not take so much." This Zunglar not replying readily to, and the King observing it, (for the Linguist told him every word that pass'd between us) His Majesty himself replied, "That as he was the greater Prince, he might reasonably expect the more Custom; but as I was the first English Captain he had seen, he would treat me as a young Wife or Bride, who must be denied nothing at first." Being surprized at this turn of Expression, I told the Linguist, "I was afraid he imposed on me, and interpreted the King's words in too favourable a manner." His Majesty observing I spoke with some Sharpness, asked what I said? Which the Linguist having told him, his Majesty smiled, and expressed himself again to the same purpose: Adding, "I should find his Actions answerable to his Words." Being greatly encouraged by the King's gracious Expressions towards me, I took the Liberty to represent to his Majesty, "That the best way to make Trade flourish, was to impose easy Customs, and to protect us from the Thievery of the Natives, and the Impositions of great Men; which the King of Whidaw not doing, had greatly hurt the Trade. For the ill usage the Europeans had met with of late from him and his People, had caused them to send fewer Ships than formerly they did. And tho' a large Custom might seem at first for his Majesty's Advantage, yet it would soon be found, that a great number of Ships would thereby be hindred from coming to trade; so that in this respect he would lose far more in General, than he would gain by that Particular."

The King took what I said in good part, telling me, "I should name my own Custom", which I at first declined: But being prest to do it a second time, I told the Linguist to ask his Majesty, "Whether he would be pleased to take one half of what we used to pay at Whidaw?" To this the King readily agreed; adding, "He designed to make Trade flourish; and I might depend upon it, he would prevent all Impositions, and Thievery, and protect the Europeans that came to his Country, saying, that his God had made him the Instrument to punish the King of Whidaw, and his people, for the many Villanies they had been guilty of towards both Whites and Blacks: That the Embassadors now in his Camp from the said King, had informed him of me and my Character, and that by the account they had given him of my former dealings in their Country, he could put much Confidence in me." Then his Majesty having asked me divers Questions concerning our former ill usage in the Country of Whidaw, to which I answered as I thought proper. . . .

After this his Majesty fell into a variety of Discourse, and amongst other things complained of Mr. Lambe, (who, as I have related in the beginning of this Book, had been taken Prisoner in the Ardra War),[3] saying, "That tho' he had given him, at his leaving the Court, three hundred and twenty ounces of Gold, with eight[y] Slaves, and made him promise with a solemn Oath to return again in a reasonable time, yet twelve Moons had now pass'd, and he had heard nothing from him: Adding, "He had sent a black Person with him, whose name was Tom, one who had been made a Prisoner at the same time, being a *Jaqueenman,* who spoke good English; and this Man he had ordered to return again with Mr. Lambe, that he might be informed, whether what that Gentleman had reported concerning our King, Customs, and manner of Living was true." To this I replied, "That I had no personal Knowledge of Mr. Lambe, but had been informed, before I left England, that he went from Whidaw to Barbadoes, which is a Plantation where the English employ their Slaves in making Sugar, and which is at a great distance from our own Country; But I hoped he would prove an honest Man, and return again to his Majesty, according to his Promise and Oath." To this the King replied, "Tho' he proved not as good as his Word, other white Men should not fare the worse on that account; for as to what he had given Lambe, he valued it not a Rush; but if he returned quickly, and came with never so large a Ship, she should be instantly filled with Slaves, with which he might do what he thought proper."

It may not be improper here to give a short account of the black Man the King mentioned to me, because he was in England last year, and that Affair was brought before the Lords of Trade, by whom I was examined about him.

Mr. Lambe carried this Person to Barbadoes, and several other Places, but at last left him with a Gentleman in Maryland. Afterwards Mr. Lambe trafficked for some Years, from one place to another in the Plantations; and coming to the Island of Antegoa, where I had been in the year 1728, and told the foregoing story to some Gentlemen, and how kindly the King of Dahomè had express'd himself with regard to the said Mr. Lambe, being by them informed of it, this induced him to return to Maryland; and the Gentleman who had Tom in his Custody was so good, as to deliver him again to Mr. Lambe, who came with him to London, the beginning of the year 1731.[4]

[3] The beginning of this story is told by Snelgrave, *New Account of Guinea,* pp. 7-8. For William Smith's relation of the same events see *ante,* no. 161.

[4] Here one wonders whether Snelgrave has confused the history of this negro with that of Job ben Solomon (see *post,* nos. 176, 197). Some notion of the widespread interest in the adventures of Lambe and his negro companion may be gained from the

Mr. Lambe, soon after his arrival, came to see me at my house, enquiring particularly about what I had related at Antegoa; which I confirmed to him. Then he desired my Advice about his going back to the King of Dahomè. To this I frankly answered, "It was my opinion, he had miss'd the opportunity, by not returning in a reasonable time, according to his promise; several years being now pass'd since he came from thence, and the State of Affairs much altered for the worse: Besides, he might justly fear the King's resentment, as Mr. Testehole had experienced lately to his cost, for abusing his Goodness; for tho' he was Governour for the African Company at Whidaw, yet he had been put to death in a cruel manner."

On this he left me; and the next news I heard, was, That Mr. Lambe had delivered a Letter to his Majesty King George as from the King of Dahomè, which being referred to the Lords of Trade, the Merchants trading to the Coast of Guinea were sent for; and I being ordered to attend, informed their Lordships of what I knew of the matter.

The report from the Lords of Trade was to this Purpose, "That the Letter in their opinion was not genuine, but that the black Man ought to be taken care of, and returned to his King:"[5] Accordingly

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following news items: "A Committee of the Governors of the African Company agreeable to an Order from the Treasury, made a Provision for the Maintenance of Adomo Tomo, who came over with Capt. Lamb from the Emperor of Pawpaw; and at the same time order'd Mr. Bartlet to instruct him in the English Language".

"LONDON, May 11, 1731. Last Week Capt. Bulfinch Lambe, late Factor for the Royal African Company at Jacquin on the Coast of Guinea, went to court with Adomo Oronooco Tomo, who was sent with him to see the King and Kingdom of Great Britain, by the Grand Trudo Audato [11 names omitted], King of Dawhomay, and Emperor of Pawpaw, who (as we have mentioned in our former) lately conquered the great Kingdoms of Ardah and Whidah; and delivered the said Emperor's Letter to his Majesty, which he graciously received. Capt. Lambe was taken a Captive at the Conquest of Ardah, and was carried several hundred Miles Inland to the before-mentioned Emperor, who never having seen a white Person before, used him very well, and during the time he was there (which was some Years) allowed him a House and above twenty Servants, and shew'd him very great Kindness; in so much that he would not suffer him to come Home but upon Condition of his returning to him again, which we hear Mr. Lamb is now preparing to do." *Boston News Letter,* Aug. 12, 1731; *Gentleman's Magazine,* I. 216.

Atkins writes that when Lambe returned to England he brought to the Commissioners of Trade a most interesting proposal from the King of Dahomey, that "the natives should sell themselves to us, on condition of not being carried off. That we might settle Plantations, a Foundation quite foreign to the former Slave-trade." Atkins's notion that the conquest by the King of Dahomey was for the purpose of destroying the slave trade finds no support in Snelgrave's account. Atkins, *Voyage,* pp. 119-122.

[5] For Lambe's appearance before the Board of Trade, and the consideration of the letter which he carried, see May 21, 27, and June 29, 1731 (*B. T. Jour.,* 1728-1734, pp. 199-203, 215-217). The letter to which reference is here made was said in later years to be among the papers of the first Duke of Chandos (*Parliamentary History,* XXVIII. 82-90). On Aug. 23, 1731, the Duke of Newcastle, in transmitting to the Treasury the report of the Board of Trade on Lambe's memorial, wrote: "[he] is come, as he says, in company with an Indian from the Emperor of Pawpaw in Africa, with a letter and a present of slaves to his Majesty. . . . though the Council of Trade do not allow the letter to be genuine, yet they think there is so much reality in the messuage as to look upon it as an opportunity not to be neglected of cultivating a good understanding with that Prince." Newcastle continued, that his Majesty thought that the subsistence of the "Indian" should

he was put into the hands of the African Company, who took care of him for many Months; but he growing impatient, applied to their Graces the Dukes of Richmond and Montague,[6] who procured him a Passage on board his Majesty's Ship the *Tiger* Captain Berkeley, then bound to the Coast of Guinea.

Moreover, their Lordships having shewed him great Kindness most generously sent by him several rare Presents to his King, which, no doubt, will make a good impression on him in favour of our Nation; and I have lately heard, that on his being put on Shore at Whidaw, he was forthwith sent to the King, who was then in his own Country of Dahomè, and was received graciously by him: That his Majesty sent down handsome Presents for Captain Berkeley, but before the Messengers got to Whidaw, he was sailed, not having patience to wait so many days, as the return from so far inland a place required.

I had not made this Digression, but only to set this Affair in a true light; and undeceive those that may read this Book, and were so far imposed upon, as to suppose the Black Man to have been an Embassador from the King of Dahomè, to his Majesty King George. I met with several that believed so, till I satisfied them of the contrary; for the jest was carried on so far, that several Plays were acted on his Account, and it was advertised in the News-Papers, that they were for the Entertainment of Prince Adomo Oroonoko Tomo, etc. these jingling Names being invented to carry on the Fraud the better.[7]

This black Person was born at Jaqueen, and being from a Boy conversant with the English trading there, learned so well our

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be provided for until he could be sent home. The report of the Board of Trade directed that the produce from 40 of the 80 negroes whom Mr. Lambe had brought to Whydah should be expended on a present for the Emperor of Popo, with some additional sum from the Treasury (*Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers,* 1731-1734, p. 88). The frugal Lords of the Treasury suggested to the Royal African Company that the subsistence of Tomo and the addition to the present be taken from the £10,000 already granted by Parliament to the company. Some months later the Treasury received a petition from Lambe, asking that he be paid for what he had expended for Tomo. On receiving this the Lords called in directors of the company and explained that they saw no reason why the Treasury should assume these expenses (*ibid.,* pp. 89, 96, 98, 101, 140-143). Apparently neither company nor Treasury undertook the expenses of Tomo, for the next one hears of him, in the spring of 1732, he has been arrested for a debt of £13, expended for a suit of clothes. C. O. 267: 5.

[6]Charles Lennox, second Duke of Richmond. Lord Hervey says that he was "friendly, benevolent, generous, honourable, and thoroughly noble in his way of acting, talking, thinking" (John Hervey, *Memoirs of the Reign of George the Second,* 1848, I. 291). John, second Duke of Montagu, whose town house occupied the site of the present British Museum, and for many years housed the collections of the museum. These two gentlemen were patrons of Job, and it is possible that Snelgrave is still confusing the two negroes. On the other hand, there is nothing unlikely in their having a similar interest in two Africans in London.

[7]The name Oroonoko doubtless came from Mrs. Behn's novel *Oroonoko,* and the play which Southerne made from it.

Language, that he was employed by them, when grown up, as an Interpreter.

He happen'd to be at Ardra on some business, at the time that Country was conquered, and so became Prisoner to the King of Dahomè. But 'tis time to have done with this Story, and go on where I left off.

After this Discourse concerning Mr. Lambe was over, I acquainted the King, that I daily expected another Ship belonging to my Owner,[8] (who had five large Ships that used the Whidaw Trade in particular) and I hoped his Majesty would not take more Custom from the Commanders of them, than he had been pleased to take of me. To which he answered with a Smile, "That it was a particular Grace to my self. However when any of them came, they should be used kindly in that matter, and the Captains might stay at Jaqueen and Whidaw as they thought fit, for that he now was Lord of both places." And then his Majesty asked me, "Whether I would chuse the Slaves that were now in the Camp, or have them first sent down to Jaqueen?" To which I answered, "I chose the latter; desiring the King would now please to fix the Price, with other matters." Accordingly Zunglar was called again, to inform his Majesty, what were the last Prices the Europeans had paid for Negroes at Whidaw, before the Conquest; But on my representing, That the Price had been raised there, much above what had been customary, on account of the War; the King moderated it himself, and I writ down with my Pencil, in his presence, every thing agreed on: Amongst which one was, That I should have three Males to one Female, and take none but what I liked. The reason of my mentioning this, is to explain more fully what happened to me afterwards, on account of these two Articles (pp. 59-73). . . .

The next day, being the 15th of April 1727, I paid the King of Dahomè's Officers the Custom agreed on; and in two days after, a great many Slaves came to Town, being sent by his Majesty for me to chuse such as I liked of them: Which having done, I offered to pay the Lord of Jaqueen his usual Duties, but he insisted on a larger Custom than my Surgeon had agreed with him for at our first coming: So I refused to pay it, and put him in mind of the Injunction the King of Dahomè had sent him by his Brother. This put him in a Passion, and he asked me sternly, Whether I designed to bring War on him, by informing the Conqueror of what he demanded? This being a tender Point, and hoping Time and Patience might bring him to do me Justice, I took my leave of him: For I had been told,

[8] Humphrey Morice. "In the Year 1726 in the late Company's time, at an examination before the Lords of Trade, it appeared that 250 sail of shipping were employed in the Trade to Africa . . . a great many of those ships belonged to Humphrey Morris Esqr. of London that went to Whydah for from 4 to 500 Slaves." Eg. MSS. 1167 B, f. 115.

it was not possible, no more than prudent to engage any one to go with a Complaint to the King of Dahomè; for the Messenger would certainly be murdered on the Road by the Jaqueens (pp. 82-83).[9] . . .

A few days after the Lord of Jaqueen had refused to take his usual Customs, another difficulty arose; for the Porters refused to bring up my Goods from the Sea side, except I would pay them double the price I did at my first coming. Thereupon I sent my Complaint to their Lord, who acknowledged it was a great Imposition, but he sent me word, "It was not in his Power to oblige those sort of People to do me Justice; for by the stranding of the Dutch Ship, they had got so many Goods, that it had made them rich and proud; and should he go about to force them to bring up my Goods at the usual rates, they would forthwith quit the Country, and fly to Appah." Being in these melancholy Circumstances, imposed on by all hands, and without hopes of redress, an accident relieved me very unexpectedly. For a few days after this the Lord of the place sent for me; and going to him, he told me, "He had just then received Advice, that an English Ship was arriving in the Road of Whidaw; and he desired I would send my Boat there, to persuade the Captain to come to Jaqueen." I answered, "I did not doubt but that Ship was the *Italian* Galley, Captain Dagge, who was known to him; for I had expected him some time, his Ship belonging to the same Gentleman as mine did: But since I had received such bad usage from him and his People, he could not expect I would be so imprudent as to advise the Captain, who was in the same Interest with me, to come and receive the like Treatment: Adding, If I sent my Boat, it should be to desire Captain Dagge to stay at Whidaw, and send a Messenger to the King of Dahomè, to represent the usage I had met with from him; tho', to let him see how loth I was to give any Offence that way, I should intirely forget what was past, if he would make me easy." This immediately brought him to do me Justice: He took his usual Custom that very day, and the following went himself to the Sea side, to the Towns where the Porters lived, and persuaded them to carry my Goods at the usual rates.

Soon after this I received a Letter from Captain Dagge, desiring I would let him know how Affairs stood at Jaqueen. Having informed him of all matters, he concluded, it would be for our Owner's Interest if he stayed at Whidaw, where he had great Success; for that People being in a starving Condition, and obliged to sell their Servants and Children for Money and Goods, to buy Food from their Neighbours of Popoe;[10] his Ship was soon filled with Negroes, and

[9] A mistaken pagination numbers the pages 66-67.
[10] Popo was a few leagues to the windward, that is west, of Whydah.

he had the good fortune to sail from the Coast three days before me (pp. 83-86). . . .[11]

But as to the King of Dahomè's Traders, when I objected to them my Agreement with their Master, producing the Writing I had made in his Presence, and calling the Linguist to witness, that I was not to take any Slaves but such as I liked; yet it signified nothing: For tho' the Interpreter was so honest as to own it, yet he was as imposing as any other, pretending the King's Orders for what they did. Nay, I began at last not to think my self safe, one of the Traders being so insolent as to present his Fusil at me, for refusing to take his bad Slaves. For tho' they came to trade, yet they were always armed with Sword and Dagger, and a Boy carried their Gun for them. These people were far different from the Traders we used to deal with at Whidaw: For these came always in a modest manner to deal with us, and tho' sometimes I owed them Goods on my Notes for ten days together, because the badness of the Sea prevented our landing them; yet they shewed no Uneasiness about it: Whereas, on the contrary, these Dahomè Traders would come ten times a day with their Notes; tho' they were sensible the Sea was so great on the Shore, that we could land no Goods. And when I expostulated with them, about the needless trouble they gave me and themselves in coming so often to me to read their Notes; it not being in my Power to pay them, 'till I could get Goods landed; they angrily replied, "They did not like a bit of Paper for their Slaves, because the writing might vanish from it; or else the Notes might be lost, and then they should lose their Payment." Upon that I used to shew them my Book, telling them their Notes were entered therein, and should they lose them by any Accident, yet I would pay them by my Book: And as to the writing it would never go off the Paper; but this did no ways satisfy them.

About this time several Portuguese Ships arrived in the Road of Whidaw, and stay'd there, on a prospect of the Country's being settled again; for the King of Dahomè had permitted a great number of the common People to return, and they began to build them Houses near the English and French Forts. But some time after it appeared, that it was only done to deceive the Europeans. However the King of Dahomè being desirous of the Portuguese Gold, which they bring to purchase Negroes with, his Majesty sent a great many Slaves down to Whidaw, which made Trade dull with us at Jaqueen. For tho' formerly great Numbers came to this place, from other Nations now destroyed by the Dahomes, there remains at

[11] A mistake in pagination numbers pages 86-87 as 70-71, 90-91 as 74-75, and 94-95 as 78-79. Snelgrave, the surgeon, and most of his seamen were at this time ill. The surgeon, who also acted as factor for Snelgrave, died a day or two later.

present only one Country called Lucanne,[12] lying towards the North-East, for the Jaqueens to trade to. Which Nation, by means of a wide River, has escaped being made a Conquest to the barbarous and cruel Dahomes (pp. 87-89). . . .

But to return again to the great Captain:[13] When he was ready to depart from Jaqueen, all the Europeans in the Place waited on him to the side of the River, that runs on the back part of the Town. Upon taking leave I told him, "I wanted but eighty Negroes to compleat my Cargo", and he promised he would acquaint the King with it; and I might be sure his Majesty would send them down to me forthwith. However, this did not happen according to my Expectation; for I understood afterwards the King had no Slaves by him for sale, tho' he had great numbers of captive Negroes, which tilled his Grounds, and did other Work. For, it seems, after they are once inrolled for that Service, his Majesty never sells them, unless they are guilty of very great Crimes.

After the great Captain's departure, I was obliged to wait a long while for a dispatch; at last the desired Time came, and the King's Factors that brought the Negroes behaved themselves so well towards me, that I had no reason to complain of them. . . .

The first of July, 1727, we sailed from the Road of Jaqueen, having on board above 600 Negroes. I had a tedious Passage to the West-Indies of seventeen Weeks, which obliged us to stop at several places for Water and Provision. But at length we arrived at Antegoa, where the Cargo of Negroes (who had stood very well) came to a good Market; And having lain there for a Cargo of Sugars, we sailed from thence the latter end of February, and got safe into the River of Thames, the 25th of April 1728, having been sixteen Months on this remarkable Voyage (pp. 106-110).[14] . . .

[12] Lucanne, possibly Ulcumi, east of Ardra.

[13] Snelgrave succeeded in getting his complaints to the king, who sent down an officer, named in the narrative "the great Captain", to punish the most insolent of the traders. To this emissary of the king Snelgrave gave a dinner, which he describes with some detail. He was urged to buy an elderly female slave, but refused as she was too old to work, and would be unsaleable. Later he learned that upon his refusal to take her the king had ordered her thrown into the sea, from which she was rescued by the seamen of the *Katherine*. She proved a useful passenger, reassuring the female slaves, "who used always to be the most troublesome to us, on account of the noise and clamour they made, were kept in such Order and Decorum by this Woman, that I had never the like in any Voyage before". She was later sold to Charles Dunbar, surveyor general of customs of Barbados and the Leeward Islands (pp. 101-106).

[14] On his arrival in England, Snelgrave was so far from well that Capt. John Dagge took command of the *Katherine* and Snelgrave remained in England for a year, but in 1729-1730 he was back on the Windward Coast. Native wars had continued during his absence. The Dahomians, though attacked at the same time by inland enemies and by the people of Whydah and Popo, were still in the ascendancy and had laid waste the country to the destruction of English and native trade. Testesole, governor of the English fort, had been murdered for lending assistance to the enemies of the Dahomians. The warlike character of the King of Dahomey was scarcely conducive to peaceful trade. He developed no regular traffic in slaves, as did the surrounding peoples with whom the

I come now [15] to give an Account of the Mutinies that have happened on board the Ships where I have been.

These Mutinies are generally occasioned by the Sailors ill usage of these poor People, when on board the Ship wherein they are transported to our Plantations. Wherever therefore I have commanded, it has been my principal Care, to have the Negroes on board my Ship kindly used; and I have always strictly charged my white People to treat them with Humanity and Tenderness; In which I have usually found my Account, both in keeping them from mutinying, and preserving them in health.

And whereas it may seem strange to those that are unacquainted with the method of managing them, how we can carry so many hundreds together in a small Ship, and keep them in order, I shall just mention what is generally practiced. When we purchase grown People, I acquaint them by the Interpreter, "That, now they are become my Property, I think fit to let them know what they are bought for, that they may be easy in their Minds: (For these poor People are generally under terrible Apprehensions upon their being bought by white Men, many being afraid that we design to eat them; which, I have been told, is a story much credited by the inland Negroes;) So after informing them, That they are bought to till the Ground in our Country, with several other Matters; I then acquaint them, how they are to behave themselves on board towards the white Men; that if any one abuses them, they are to complain to the Linguist, who is to inform me of it, and I will do them Justice; But if they make a Disturbance, or offer to strike a white Man, they must expect to be severely punished."

Europeans were accustomed to trade, but sold only those captives he took in war. The regular traders were either killed or driven away and not likely to return during his life. Snelgrave, after waiting two months for a revival of trade, which he saw no reason to expect, returned to England, surrendering what few negroes he had to another vessel belonging to Morice, the owner of the *Katherine* (pp. 111-146). During much of Snelgrave's career he was in the service of this merchant. After his capture by pirates in 1718, in the *Bird,* one of the vessels belonging to Morice, he was met at Bristol by a letter from that merchant promising him another command at once. In his account of the destruction of Jaquin in 1732 he writes of Robert More of the *Squirrel,* a galley "belonging to the late Humphrey Morice" (p. 152). When he left Jaquin at that time he left behind two vessels belonging to this owner.

[15] In book II. Snelgrave enumerates the means by which negroes become slaves. The most common methods are: (1) by conquest in native wars; (2) by crimes; (3) by debt. The author adds that he has been told that inland peoples sell their children, even when under no necessity to do so, but that he has never encountered this among the coast tribes.

Then follows a defense of the slave trade, in which Snelgrave argues not only its advantages to the merchants but to the slaves themselves: (1) otherwise they would be destroyed in Africa; (2) they live better in the Plantations than they do at home, self interest causing the planters to take excellent care of them; (3) the trade removes criminals from among the Africans left at home; and lastly, it brings great benefit to the Sugar Plantations, and hence to the nation (pp. 160-161).

When we purchase the Negroes, we couple the sturdy Men together with Irons; but we suffer the Women and Children to go freely about: And soon after we have sail'd from the Coast, we undo all the Mens Irons.

They are fed twice a day, and are allowed in fair Weather to come on Deck at seven a Clock in the Morning, and to remain there, if they think proper, till Sun setting. Every Monday Morning they are served with Pipes and Tobacco, which they are very fond of. The Men Negroes lodge separate from the Women and Children: and the places where they all lye are cleaned every day, some white Men being appointed to see them do it. . . .

The first Mutiny I saw among the Negroes, happened during my first Voyage, in the Year 1704. It was on board the *Eagle* Galley of London, commanded by my Father, with whom I was as Purser. We had bought our Negroes in the River of Old Callabar in the Bay of Guinea. At the time of their mutinying we were in that River, having four hundred of them on board, and not above ten white Men who were able to do Service: For several of our Ship's Company were dead, and many more sick; besides, two of our Boats were just then gone with twelve People on Shore to fetch Wood, which lay in sight of the Ship. All these Circumstances put the Negroes on consulting how to mutiny, which they did at four a clock in the Afternoon, just as they went to Supper. But as we had always carefully examined the Mens Irons, both Morning and Evening, none had got them off, which in a great measure contributed to our Preservation. Three white Men stood on the Watch with Cutlaces in their Hands. One of them who was on the Forecastle, a stout fellow, seeing some of the Men Negroes take hold of the chief Mate, in order to throw him over board, he laid on them so heartily with the flat side of his Cutlace, that they soon quitted the Mate, who escaped from them, and run on the Quarter Deck to get Arms. I was then sick with an Ague, and lying on a Couch in the great Cabbin, the Fit being just come on. However, I no sooner heard the Outcry, That the Slaves were mutinying, but I took two Pistols, and run on the Deck with them; where meeting with my Father and the chief Mate, I delivered a Pistol to each of them. Whereupon they went forward on the Booms, calling to the Negroe Men that were on the Forecastle; but they did not regard their Threats, being busy with the Centry, (who had disengaged the chief Mate,) and they would have certainly killed him with his own Cutlace, could they have got it from him; but they could not break the Line wherewith the Handle was fastened to his Wrist. And so, tho' they had seized him, yet they could not make use of his Cutlace. Being thus disappointed, they endeavoured to throw him overboard, but he held so fast by one

of them that they could not do it. My Father seeing this stout Man in so much Danger, ventured amongst the Negroes to save him; and fired his Pistol over their Heads, thinking to frighten them. But a lusty Slave struck him with a Billet so hard, that he was almost stunned. The Slave was going to repeat his Blow, when a young Lad about seventeen years old, whom we had been kind to, interposed his Arm, and received the Blow, by which his Arm-bone was fractured. At the same instant the Mate fired his Pistol, and shot the Negroe that had struck my Father. At the sight of this the Mutiny ceased, and all the Men-negroes on the Forecastle threw themselves flat on their Faces, crying out for Mercy.

Upon examining into the matter, we found, there were not above twenty Men Slaves concerned in this Mutiny; and the two Ring-leaders were missing, having, it seems, jumped overboard as soon as they found their Project defeated, and were drowned. This was all the Loss we suffered on this occasion: For the Negroe that was shot by the Mate, the Surgeon, beyond all Expectation, cured. And I had the good Fortune to lose my Ague, by the fright and hurry I was put into. Moreover, the young Man, who had received the Blow on his Arm to save my Father, was cured by the Surgeon in our Passage to Virginia. At our Arrival in that place we gave him his Freedom; and a worthy Gentleman, one Colonel Carter, took him into his Service, till he became well enough acquainted in the Country to provide for himself.

I have been several Voyages, when there has been no Attempt made by our Negroes to mutiny; which, I believe, was owing chiefly, to their being kindly used, and to my Officers Care in keeping a good Watch. But sometimes we meet with stout stubborn People amongst them, who are never to be made easy; and these are generally some of the Cormantines, a Nation of the Gold Coast. I went in the year 1721, in the *Henry* of London, a Voyage to that part of the Coast, and bought a good many of these People. We were obliged to secure them very well in Irons, and watch them narrowly: Yet they nevertheless mutinied, tho' they had little prospect of succeeding. I lay at that time near a place called Mumfort on the Gold-Coast, having near five hundred Negroes on board, three hundred of which were Men. Our Ship's Company consisted of fifty white People, all in health: And I had very good Officers; so that I was very easy in all respects. . . .

After we had secured these People, I called the Linguists, and ordered them to bid the Men-Negroes between Decks be quiet; (for there was a great noise amongst them.) On their being silent, I asked, "What had induced them to mutiny?" They answered, I was a great Rogue to buy them, in order to carry them away from their

own Country, and that they were resolved to regain their Liberty if possible." I replied, "That they had forfeited their Freedom before I bought them, either by Crimes or by being taken in War, according to the Custom of their Country; and they being now my Property, I was resolved to let them feel my Resentment, if they abused my Kindness: Asking at the same time, Whether they had been ill used by the white Men, or had wanted for any thing the Ship afforded?" To this they replied, "They had nothing to complain of." Then I observed to them, "That if they should gain their Point and escape to the Shore, it would be no Advantage to them, because their Countrymen would catch them, and sell them to other Ships." This served my purpose, and they seemed to be convinced of their Fault, begging, "I would forgive them, and promising for the future to be obedient, and never mutiny again, if I would not punish them this time." This I readily granted, and so they went to sleep. When Daylight came we called the Men Negroes up on Deck, and examining their Irons, found them all secure. So this Affair happily ended, which I was very glad of; for these People are the stoutest and most sensible Negroes on the Coast: Neither are they so weak as to imagine as others do, that we buy them to eat them; being satisfied we carry them to work in our Plantations, as they do in their own Country.

However, a few days after this, we discovered they were plotting again, and preparing to mutiny. For some of the Ringleaders proposed to one of our Linguists, If he could procure them an Ax, they would cut the Cables the Ship rid by in the night; and so on her driving (as they imagined) ashore, they should get out of our hands, and then would become his Servants as long as they lived.

For the better understanding of this I must observe here, that these Linguists are Natives and Freemen of the Country, whom we hire on account of their speaking good English, during the time we remain trading on the Coast; and they are likewise Brokers between us and the black Merchants.

This Linguist was so honest as to acquaint me with what had been proposed to him; and advised me to keep a strict Watch over the Slaves: For tho' he had represented to them the same as I had done on their mutinying before, That they would all be catch'd again, and sold to other Ships, in case they could carry their Point, and get on Shore, yet it had no effect upon them.

This gave me a good deal of Uneasiness. For I knew several Voyages had proved unsuccessful by Mutinies; as they occasioned either the total loss of the Ships and the white Mens Lives; or at least by rendring it absolutely necessary to kill or wound a great number of the Slaves, in order to prevent a total Destruction. More-

over, I knew many of these Cormantine Negroes despised Punishment, and even Death it self: It having often happened at Barbadoes and other Islands, that on their being any ways hardly dealt with, to break them of their Stubbornness in refusing to work, twenty or more have hang'd themselves at a time in a Plantation. However, about a Month after this, a sad Accident happened, that brought our Slaves to be more orderly, and put them in a better Temper: And it was this. On our going from Mumfort to Annamaboe, which is the principal part on the Gold Coast, I met there with another of my Owner's Ships, called the *Elizabeth*. One Captain Thompson that commanded her was dead; as also his chief Mate: Moreover the Ship had afterwards been taken to Cape Lahoe on the windward Coast, by Roberts the Pirate,[16] with whom several of the Sailors belonging to her had entered. However, some of the Pirates had hindered the Cargoe's being plundered, and obtained that the Ship should be restored to the second Mate: Telling him, "They did it out of respect to the generous Character his Owner bore, in doing good to poor Sailors."

When I met with this Vessel I had almost disposed of my Ship's Cargoe; and the *Elizabeth* being under my Direction, I acquainted the second Mate, who then commanded her, That I thought it for our Owner's Interest, to take the Slaves from on board him, being about 120, into my Ship; and then go off the Coast; and that I would deliver him at the same time the Remains of my Cargoe, for him to dispose of with his own after I was sailed. This he readily complied with, but told me, "He feared his Ship's Company would mutiny, and oppose my taking the Slaves from him:" And indeed, they came at that instant in a Body on the Quarter-deck; where one spoke for the rest, telling me plainly, "they would not allow the Slaves to be taken out by me." I found by this they had lost all respect for their present Commander, who indeed was a weak Man. However, I calmly asked the reason, "Why they offered to oppose my taking the Slaves?" To which they answered, "I had no business with them." On this I desired the Captain to send to his Scrutore, for the Book of Instructions Captain Thompson had received from our Owner; and he read to them, at my request, that Part, in which their former Captain, or his Successor (in case of Death) was to follow my Orders. Hereupon they all cried out, "they should remain a great while longer on the Coast to purchase more Slaves, if I took these from them, which they were resolved to oppose." I answered, "That such of the Ship's Company as desired it, I would receive on board my own; where they should have the same Wages they had at present on board the *Elizabeth,* and I would send some

[16] Roberts, see *ante,* no. 128 and notes.

of my own People to supply their Places." This so reasonable an Offer was refused, one of the Men who was the Ship's Cooper telling me, that the Slaves had been on board a long time, and they had great Friendship with them: therefore they would keep them. I asked him, "Whether he had ever been on the Coast of Guinea before? He replied no. Then I told him, "I supposed he had not by his way of talking, and advised him not to rely on the Friendship of the Slaves, which he might have reason to repent of when too late." And 'tis remarkable this very person was killed by them the next Night, as shall be presently related.

So finding that reasoning with these Men was to no Purpose, I told them, "When I came with my Boats to fetch the Slaves, they should find me as resolute to chastise such of them as should dare to oppose me, as I had been condescending to convince them by arguing calmly." So I took my leave of their Captain, telling him, "I would come the next Morning to finish the Affair."

But that very Night, which was near a month after the Mutiny on board of us at Mumfort, the Moon shining now very bright, as it did then, we heard, about ten a Clock, two or three Musquets fired on board the *Elizabeth*. Upon that I ordered all our Boats to be manned, and having secured every thing in our Ship, to prevent our Slaves from mutinying, I went my self in our Pinnace, (the other Boats following me) on board the *Elizabeth*. In our way we saw two Negroes swimming from her, but before we could reach them with our Boats, some Sharks rose from the bottom, and tore them in Pieces. We came presently along the side of the Ship, where we found two Men-Negroes holding by a Rope, with their heads just above water; they were afraid, it seems, to swim from the Ship's side, having seen their Companions devoured just before by the Sharks. These two Slaves we took into our Boat, and then went into the Ship, where we found the Negroes very quiet, and all under Deck; but the Ship's Company was on the Quarter-deck, in a great Confusion, saying, "The Cooper, who had been placed centry at the Fore-hatch way, over the Men-Negroes, was, they believed, kill'd by them." I was surprized to hear this, wondring that these cowardly fellows, who had so vigorously opposed my taking the Slaves out, a few hours before, had not Courage enough to venture forward, to save their Ship-mate; but had secured themselves by shutting the Quarter-deck door, where they all stood with Arms in their Hands. So I went to the fore-part of the Ship with some of my People, and there we found the Cooper lying on his back quite dead, his Scull being cleft asunder with a Hatchet that lay by him. At the sight of this I called for the Linguist, and bid him ask the Negroes between Decks, "Who had killed the white Man?" They

answered, "They knew nothing of the matter; for there had been no design of mutinying among them:" Which upon Examination we found true; for above one hundred of the Negroes then on board, being bought to the Windward, did not understand a word of the Gold-Coast Language, and so had not been in the Plot. But this Mutiny was contrived by a few Cormantee-Negroes, who had been purchased about two or three days before. At last, one of the two Men-Negroes we had taken up along the Ship side, impeached his Companion, and he readily confessed he had kill'd the Cooper, with no other View, but that he and his Countrymen might escape undiscovered by swimming on Shore. For on their coming upon Deck, they observed, that all the white Men set to watch were asleep; and having found the Cook's Hatchet by the Fire-place, he took it up, not designing then to do any Mischief with it; but passing by the Cooper, who was centry, and he beginning to awake, the Negroe rashly struck him on the head with it, and then jump'd overboard. Upon this frank Confession, the white Men would have cut him to Pieces; but I prevented it, and carried him to my own Ship. Early the next morning, I went on board the *Elizabeth* with my Boats, and sent away all the Negroes then in her, into my own Ship: not one of the other Ship's Company offering to oppose it. Two of them, the Carpenter and Steward, desired to go with me, which I readily granted; and by way of Security for the future success of the Voyage, I put my chief Mate, and four of my under Officers (with their own Consent,) on board the *Elizabeth*; and they arrived, about five Months after this, at Jamaica, having disposed of most part of the Cargoe.

After having sent the Slaves out of the *Elizabeth,* as I have just now mentioned, I went on board my own Ship; and there being then in the Road of Anamaboe, eight sail of Ships besides us, I sent an Officer in my Boat to the Commanders of them, "To desire their Company on board my Ship, because I had an Affair of great Consequence to communicate to them." Soon after, most of them were pleased to come; and I having acquainted them with the whole Matter, and they having also heard the Negroe's Confession, "That he had killed the white Man;" They unanimously advised me to put him to death; arguing, "That Blood required Blood, by all Laws both divine and human; especially as there was in this Case the clearest Proof, namely the Murderer's Confession: Moreover this would in all probability prevent future Mischiefs; for by publickly executing this Person at the Ship's Fore-yard Arm, the Negroes on board their Ships would see it; and as they were very much disposed to mutiny, it might prevent them from attempting it." These Reasons, with my being in the same Circumstances, made me comply.

Accordingly we acquainted the Negroe, that he was to die in an hour's time for murdering the white Man. He answered, "He must confess it was a rash Action in him to kill him; but he desired me to consider, that if I put him to death, I should lose all the Money I had paid for him." To this I bid the Interpreter reply, "That tho' I knew it was customary in his Country to commute for Murder by a Sum of Money, yet it was not so with us; and he should find that I had no regard to my Profit in this respect: For as soon as an Hour-Glass, just then turned, was run out, he should be put to death;" At which I observed he shewed no Concern.

Hereupon the other Commanders went on board their respective Ships, in order to have all their Negroes upon Deck at the time of Execution, and to inform them of the occasion of it. The Hour-Glass being run out, the Murderer was carried on the Ship's Fore-castle, where he had a Rope fastened under his Arms, in order to be hoisted up to the Fore-yard Arm, to be shot to death. This some of his Countrymen observing, told him, (as the Linguist informed me afterwards) "That they would not have him to be frightened; for it was plain I did not design to put him to death, otherwise the Rope would have been put about his neck, to hang him." For it seems they had no thought of his being shot; judging he was only to be hoisted up to the Yard-arm, in order to scare him: But they immediately saw the contrary; for as soon as he was hoisted up, ten white Men who were placed behind the Barricado on the Quarter-deck fired their Musquets, and instantly killed him. This struck a sudden Damp upon our Negroe-Men, who thought, that, on account of my Profit, I would not have executed him.

The Body being cut down upon the Deck, the Head was cut off, and thrown overboard. This last part was done, to let our Negroes see, that all who offended thus, should be served in the same manner. For many of the Blacks believe, that if they are put to death and not dismembred, they shall return again to their own Country, after they are thrown overboard. But neither the Person that was executed, nor his Countrymen of Cormantee (as I understood afterwards,) were so weak as to believe any such thing; tho' many I had on board from other Countries had that Opinion.

When the Execution was over, I ordered the Linguist to acquaint the Men-Negroes, "That now they might judge, no one that killed a white Man should be spared:" And I thought proper now to acquaint them once for all, "That if they attempted to mutiny again, I should be obliged to punish the Ringleaders with death, in order to prevent further Mischief." Upon this they all promised to be obedient, and I assured them they should be kindly used, if they kept their Promise: which they faithfully did. For we sailed, two

days after, from Anamaboe for Jamaica; and tho' they were on board near four Months, from our going off the Coast, till they were sold at that Island, they never gave us the least reason to be jealous of them; which doubtless was owing to the execution of the white Man's Murderer.

After the Captain [Messervy, of *Ferrers* galley] had told me this story, he desired me to spare him some Rice, having heard, I had purchased a great many Tuns to the Windward; where he had bought little, not expecting to meet with so many Slaves. This request I could not comply with, having provided no more than was necessary for my self, and for another of my Owner's Ships, which I quickly expected. And understanding from him, that he had never been on the Coast of Guinea before, I took the liberty to observe to him, "That as he had on board so many Negroes of one Town and Language, it required the utmost Care and Management to keep them from mutinying; and that I was sorry he had so little Rice for them: For I had experienced that the Windward Slaves are always very fond of it, it being their usual Food in their own Country; and he might certainly expect dissatisfactions and Uneasiness amongst them for want of a sufficient quantity."

This he took kindly, and having asked my Advice about other Matters, took his leave, inviting me to come next day to see him. I went accordingly on board his Ship, about three a clock in the afternoon. At four a clock the Negroes went to Supper, and Captain Messervy desired me to excuse him for a quarter of an hour, whilst he went forward to see the Men-Negroes served with Victuals. I observed from the Quarter-Deck, that he himself put Pepper and Palm Oyl amongst the Rice they were going to eat. When he came back to me, I could not forbear observing to him, "How imprudent it was in him to do so: For tho' it was proper for a Commander sometimes to go forward, and observe how things were managed; yet he ought to take a proper time, and have a good many of his white People in Arms when he went; or else the having him so much in their Power, might incourage the Slaves to mutiny: For he might depend upon it, they always aim at the chief Person in the Ship, whom they soon distinguish by the respect shown him by the rest of the People."

He thanked me for this Advice, but did not seem to relish it; saying, "He thought the old Proverb good, that "The Master's Eye makes the Horse fat." We then fell into other Discourse, and among other things he told me, "He designed to go away in a few days:" Accordingly he sailed three days after for Jamaica. Some Months after I went for that place, where at my arrival I found his Ship, and had the following melancholy account of his Death, which happened about ten days after he left the Coast of Guinea in this manner.

Being on the Forecastle of the Ship, amongst the Men-Negroes, when they were eating their Victuals, they laid hold on him, and beat out his Brains with the little Tubs, out of which they eat their boiled Rice. This Mutiny having been plotted amongst all the grown Negroes on board, they run to the forepart of the Ship in a body, and endeavoured to force the Barricado on the Quarter-Deck, not regarding the Musquets or Half Pikes, that were presented to their Breasts by the white Men, through the Loop-holes. So that at last the chief Mate was obliged to order one of the Quarter-deck Guns laden with Partridge-Shot, to be fired amongst them; which occasioned a terrible Destruction: For there were near eighty Negroes kill'd and drowned, many jumping overboard when the Gun was fired. This indeed put an end to the Mutiny, but most of the Slaves that remained alive grew so sullen, that several of them were starved to death, obstinately refusing to take any Sustenance: And after the Ship was arrived at Jamaica, they attempted twice to mutiny, before the Sale of them began. This with their former Misbehaviour coming to be publickly known, none of the Planters cared to buy them, tho' offered at a low Price. So that this proved a very unsuccessful Voyage, for the Ship was detained many Months at Jamaica on that account, and at last was lost there in a Hurricane (pp. 162-191).[17] . . .

[17] Tales of mutinies abound in the literature of the slave trade from this time on, many of them being printed in the colonial newspapers. There is little question but that they became much more common as the trade fell into the hands of independent traders, who probably were more careless in their supervision of the negroes, and who carried smaller crews in comparison with the size of their cargoes than had the company vessels.

Book III. relates Snelgrave's capture by the pirates, in 1718. Ten English vessels had already been seized when Snelgrave arrived on the coast (pp. 193-288).

168. Journal of the *Judith* Snow.[1]

London the 8th July, 1728.

Invoice of the Sundry Goods and Merchandize Shipped on board the "Judith" Snow Capt. Anthony Overstall Commander, and Consigned to the Said Anthony Overstall, To be disposed of on the Coast of Africa For Negroes, Gold, Elephants Teeth etc. For the proper account and risque of Owners of said Ship and Cargoe, Under Mark and Numbers as per Margent. Dr. To Cost and Charges is . . .

Pewter in 13 Barrells.

					£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
No. 1 to 13.	No. 1.	qt. 50	3	Guinea Basons at	1.	1.	6			
	2.	50	2	Ditto	1.	1.	6			
	3.	50	3	Ditto	1.	1.	7			
	4.	50	3	Ditto	1.	1.	8			
	5.	50	3	Ditto	1.	1.	6			
	6.	50	3	Ditto	1.	1.	6			
	7.	50	3	Ditto	1.	1.	6			
	8.	50	3	Ditto	1.	1.	7			
	9.	50	3	Ditto	1.	1.	7			
	10.	50	3	Ditto	1.	1.	6			
	11.	50	3	Ditto	1.	1.	7			
	12.	50	3	Ditto	1.	1.	7			
	13.	100	2	Ditto	1.	3.	1			
					17.	1.	24			
				Tuttle 1956 at 12 peese				97	16	
13 Barrels								1	6	
										99 2

[168] [1] Columbia University, Montgomery Library of Accounting, School of Business, "Book containing Orders and Instructions to Anthony Overstall commander of the *Judith* Snow, for the coast of Africa; with an Invoice of his Cargoe and Journal of Trade on the Sd. Coast. Voyage the 6th, July the 8th, anno 1728."

The book containing the orders, invoices, and journal of the *Judith* is bound in white vellum, and is in excellent condition. A part of it is here printed through the kindness of the librarian. The owner of the *Judith* was that Humphrey Morice who owned the *Katherine,* which Captain Snelgrave commanded. The first page of this volume gives the signals to be observed between ships in the service of Morice, but does not name his vessels.

Guns in 32 Chests.

14	to	21.	8 Chests each	qt.	25 is 200	Buccaneer Guns	at 15/	per gun	150		
			24 Ditto		25 600	Trading Ditto	10/		300		
			8 Chests				at 6/6		2	12	
			24 Ditto				at 5/6		6	12	
										459	4

Battery.

No. 46			A cask	qt. 200		Brass pans 3. 18	at 2/6	per pan	26		
						A Cask				5	
										26	5

Woollen Goods.

47	to	55.	9 Bales each	qt.	25 is 225	blue Long Ells	at 20/	per pcc.	225		
		56.	1 Bale Conta.		15	blue Long Ells	at 20/		15		
					6	green Ditto	at 20/		6		
57	to	60	4 Bales each	qt.	25 is 100	Blue Says	at 30/		150		
61	to	63	3 Ditto		25 75	Large Blue Ranters	at 14/		52	10	
64	to	69	6 Ditto		25 150	Middling Blue Ditto	11/		82	10	
		70	1 Bale Conta.		21	Middling Blue Ditto at 11/	11 11				
					8	Middling Green Ditto at 11/	4 8		15	19	
71	to	74	4 Bales each	qt.	25 is 100	Large Green Ranters	at 14/		70		
										619	19
										[616]	

Cowries in 4 Casks.

				gr.	c		
75 qt. to qt. 78	No. 75 qt.	4	1	15	Tare	71
	76	4	1	—		64
	77	4	—	21		69
	78	4	—	3		61
		16	3	11		265
		2	1	13	Tare	
		14	1	26	Nett Cowries at £7 per Cwt.		101	7	6

[*Journal of the "Judith"*—continued:]

							£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
India Goods.												
No. 79	A cace	qt.	20	Cuttanees	at 30/		30					
			10	photaes	at 11/6		5	15				
			10	Coopees	at 14/		7					
			20	Romalls Cotton	at 11/6		11	10				
			10	Charconnaes	at 28/		14					
			20	Carroderrys	at 9/6		9	10				
80	1 Ditto	qt.	10	photaes	at 11/6		5	15				
			30	Cotton Romalls	at 11/6		17	5				
			40	Chints 13 yds	at 13/		26					
			10	Carroderrys	at 9/6		4	15				
			10	Coopees	at 14/		7					
81	1 Ditto	at	100	Seersuckers	at 18/		90					
			10	Chints 13 yds	at 13/		6	10				
82	1 Ditto	qt.	150	Chillae Brawles	at 3/6		26	5				
83	1 Ditto	qt.	30	Broad Chints 9 yds	at 7/6		11	5				
			20	Niccanees Small	at 8/6		8	10				
			30	Brawles	at 5/		7	10				
			30	Guinea Stuffs	at 2/8		4					
			40	Blue Baffts[2] 16 yds.	at 19		38					
84	1 Ditto	qt.	60	Niccanees Small	at 8/6		25	10				
			10	Broad Chints 9 yds	at 7/6		3	15				
85	1 Ditto	qt.	10	Bejuta pauls	at 17/		8	10				
			10	Negane pauls	at 17/		8	10				
			30	Bombay Stuffs	at 30/		45					
			22	Broad Chints 9 yds	at 7/6		8	5				
86	1 Ditto	qt.	20	Niccanees Large	at 11/		11					
			20	Ditto small	at 8/6		8	10				
			8	Broad Chints 9 yds.	at 7/6		3					
			10	Chelloes	at 15/		7	10				
87	1 Ditto	qt.	70	Dittoe	at 15/		52	10				
88	1 Ditto	qt.	73	Brawles 2 clouts each	at 4/6		16	8	6			
			61	Ditto 3 Do.	at 4/6		13	14	6			
89 to 93	5 Chests each	qt.	65 is 325	old sheets	at 22		29	15	10			
			10	Caces			3	13	6			
	Charges at Customs House							17		576	19	4

Gunpowder, Malt Spirits, Tallow and Beans.

No.										
	21 Barrells each	qt. 36 is 756 Gunpowder	at 45/	per barrell	47	5				
	31 Ditto each	qt. 18 is 558 Ditto	at 22/6	per Barr'll	34	17	6			
	50 Half Anckors of Malt Spirits		at 12	each	30					
	207 Keggs of Tallow		at 6/	per kegg	62	2				
	30 Quarters of Beans		at 25/	per Qr.	37	10		211	14	6

Cotton Ware.

94	A cace qt. No.	1. a parcell qt. 10 Dozen Handkerchers ¾ yd. wide	at 12/	per dozen	24				
		2. 10 Ditto							
		3. 10 Ditto							
		4. 10 Ditto							
		5. 10 Ditto 25 inch's wide	at 13/6	Do.	6	15			
		6. 10 Ditto 27 Ditto	at 14/6	Do.	7	5			
		7. 10 Ditto 29 Ditto	at 16/	Do.	8				
		8. 10 Ditto 31 Ditto	at 18/	Do.	9				
		9. 10 Ditto 24 Ditto	at 11/6	Do.	5	15			
		A Cace				5		61		

To Carta, Lightera, portera, Wharfa, Searchers fees, Custome Cocketts, etc. at 2 per Cent — 43 1

To Premio of £2190 Insurance at 8 guin's per Cent; and pollicy — 184 3 8

£2379 16

Errors Excepted

per HUM: MORICE

[2] It is possible that here and elsewhere this should be *basts*.

LONDON the 8th July 1728.

Capt. Anthony Overstall, It is my Orders that you proceed immediately with my *Judith* Snow to Gravesend and so soon as you have paid your Officers and Seamen their River pay and cleared at the Fort, that you then make the best of your way for the Downes and proceed directly through Channell for the Coast of Africa. Let your Great Guns and small Armes be Loaded and in readiness for use and Service upon any occasion that may happen, and let Instructions be put in your Steerage to assigne proper Quarters for your Officers and Seamen how to be stationed in case of Action by this meanes you may prevent being surprised by any Enemies whatsoever being allways upon your guard and defence, and it may likewise be usefull to you should hereafter an Insurrection happen or be attempted amongst your Negroes.

God granting you to arrive in safety upon the Coast of Africa you must touch at Sestos or any other good Places to Windward to Wood and Water as you shall judge best for that purpose and to Supply your Selfe with Rice and Mallageta, make what Trade you can at all places for Gold, Elephants Teeth, Negroes, or any other Commodity you can meet with for my advantage.

Bee as expeditious as possible to furnish your Selfe with Wood Water Rice Corn and Mallageta and in making what sales you can of your Cargoe on the Windward part of the Coast where I am in hopes you will meet with very good Trade and plenty of Gold.

In all probability you will hear of my Ship the *Portugall* Gally, Capt. Joseph Traharne, upon the Coast of Africa and possibly you may go out from hence with my Ship *Katherine* Gally, Capt. John Dagge, or meet her on the Coast of Africa therefore it is my desire and Orders on your meeting with these vessells, or any other in my Service that you consult and agree together what is proper to be done for my Interest in every Ship and you and such other Commds: are at Liberty to deliver any Goods Negroes or Stores out of one Ship into the Other giving a Receipt to each other for the same, it being my Intention for all Commanders in my Imploy to do all manner of Good Offices to one another and to forward and assist each others dispatch off the Coast of Africa as may be most for my Interest haveing a Regard to give preference to such Ships departure as her Circumstances may require to be first sent off the Coast and carries the greatest Number of Negroes.

And if it is your good fortune to meet with success in your Trade to Windward I would have you follow Capt. Dagge and Capt. Traharne from Place to Place to put what Negroes you have purchased aboard either the *Katherine* or *Portugall* and receive from Capt. Dagge and Capt. Traharne such Goods as may

be a proper assortment for you to purchase more Negroes withall which you may be capable of effecting considering how well your Vesell Sails and can turn to Windward.

You must touch at the Mine and deliver my Letters to the Dutch Gentlemen there, I hope you will be able to sell part of your Cargoe to them for Gold, you must receive from those Gentlemen and all others what ever Gold they will Ship aboard you, and consigne the same to mee.

You must stop at Cape Coast Castle and go ashore to waite upon Governor Franklyn, and deliver him my Letter and see if he is disposed to make any Trade with you for any part of your Cargoe for Gold, after haveing paid your Compliments to him I would have you proceed to Leeward in quest of Capt. Dagge and Capt. Traharne.

I would have you call at Accra and waite upon the Danes Generall there and inquire if any Ship which belongs to mee that the Commander thereof has left any Goods in his hands to be accountable to the Commander of the next Ship in my Service that calls there, and you must receive from the Danes Generall the produce of such Goods as he is accountable for, in Gold Negroes or Elephants Teeth according to the agreement you find such Commanders in my Service have made with the Danes Generall which you will be a Judge of when he produces to you the Contract between them and him, and if you find him to have acted honourably and faire by mee you may leave any Goods with him which you have left unsold that are not fitt for Trade to Leeward takeing his Receipt for such Goods you leave with him to be accountable to the next Commander that comes there in my Service for the value thereof, at such prices and Termes as he and you shall agree upon for the Sales of the European Goods you deliver him, and the rates and prices you are to take the Affrican Commoditys at which are to be delivered to my future Commanders which call at Accra for the value.

I would have you touch at Quittah, Affalahoe, and Popoe which are places of Good Trade and from thence I would have you send a Messenger by Land to Whydah or Jacqueen to Capt. Dagge or Capt. Traharne, to give an account of your being there, and to advise either of them the Number of Negroes you have aboard, and whatever you think necessary to informe either of them, that you hear may be Trading there, and that you will stay there untill you have an answer, and that you will be ready to come down to Capt. Dagge or Capt. Traharne to Whydah or Jacqueen whenever they give you Notice to come to them to deliver what Negroes you have aboard to them and receive what Goods either of them may have left, or that they may put your full Compliment of Negroes aboard your Vessell to dispatch you of, and you deliver them what Goods you have left,

in fine I mean for you and the other Commanders in my Imploy to agree together and make such a disposition of your affaires as may be most for my Interest.

If you continue upon the Coast I would have you put aboard Capt. Dagge or Capt. Traharne what Gold and Elephants Teeth you have aboard and take three Receipts for same One Receipt send mee by the *Katherine* or *Portugall* another send mee by the first opportunity you meet with afterwards and the other bring home along with you, pray observe that a Messenger will go by Land from Popoe to Whydah and back againe in 48 hours time or less, and should Capt. Dagge or Capt. Traharne make their Trade at Jacqueen, you must then contrive to have a Cannoe to carry your Letter from Whydah to Jacqueen, and you may desire Mr. Willson the African Companys Chief at Whydah, to hire a Cannoe for that purpose, and assure him you will reimburse him what charges he may be at therein. On Receipt of Capt. Dagges or Capt. Traharnes answer you must Regulate and govern your Selfe accordingly either to receive from them your full compliment of Negroes and proceed off the Coast directly after delivering them the Goods of your Cargoe you have remaining unsold or to deliver either of them your Negroes aboard and receive from them the Goods they have left and so for you to continue longer upon the Coast and returne back againe to Windward as they and you shall agree upon.

I am in hopes that you will be able to dispose of the most part of your Cargoe for Gold and likewise to sell what Negroes you purchase to the Portuguese and others for Gold, and I had rather that you should sell your Negroes for Five Ounces of Gold per head for men, and proportionably for Women Boys and Girles, whereby the hazard of Mortality will be avoided carrying them to the West Indies, therefore do you exert your Selfe to Convert your Cargoe and Negroes into Gold which will be a certainty.

Haveing finished the Sales of the Cargo of Goods you carry from hence and leaveing what remaines undisposed of with the Commander of such Ship in my Imploy as you leave behind you upon the Coast of Africa, you must proceed from thence to Barbados where God Granting you to arrive in safety you must apply your Selfe to Messrs. Withers and Harrison Merchant there to whom I would have you deliver your Cargoe of Negroes provided they give you hopes of selling the same at £30 per head in that Island, nay I will acquiesce to £28 per head Barbados money round in an Average, and if you sell your Negroes there Messrs. Withers and Harrison will supply you with money to pay our Seamens Wages, and for necessarys for the use of your Ship and Load her home for London without loss of time, and you must observe said Gentlemens Orders

as to your returne home to Great Brittaine, If Messrs Withers and Harrison should desire to have from you 50 or 100 Negroes you may deliver them the same but you must take a particular care not to unsort your Cargoe of Negroes thereby only furnish them with a Number in Allottment proportionable to what you have aboard. Should it fall out that you cannot sell your Negroes at Barbados you must then proceed to Antegoa and apply your Selfe to Collo. Edward Byam and Mr. George Byam who possibly may dispose of part of your Negroes for Bills of Exchange but you must take care not to unsort your Negroes there likewise by selling only the best, which will ruine the Sale of the remainder therefore it behoves you to take care of that particular as I cautioned you already to do at Barbados. I hope you may gett at Antegoa £24 to £25 Sterling per head for what Negroes you may Sell there, if you end the Sales of your whole Cargoe there Messrs. Byam and Compa. will supply you with money to pay your Seamens Wages and Load your Ship for London.

But if you cannot effect the Sales of your whole Cargo you must then proceed from Antegoa to St. Christophers and apply your Selfe to Mr. John Willet Merchant there to whom I would have you deliver all your Cargoe of Negroes provided he gives you encouragement for the Sales thereof and I shall write him directly from hence my Orders concerning their disposall should you finish the Sales of your Negroes at St. Christophers, you will be supplyed there by Mr. Willett with a Loading of Sugar for London and with money to pay your Seamens Wages and for your Ships use.

You not meeting with a Markett at Barbados or the Leeward Islands you must make the best of your way for Jamaica, and so soon as you are in sight of Kingston hoist your Jack at your foretop-masthead, and fire three Guns a Minute after each other and carry a Whiffe in your Ensigne as a Signall for Messrs. Basnett, Tymms and Hyde to come off to you and consult about the Sale of your Cargoe of Negroes or to send your Ship to the Spanish West Indies to sell your Negroes there if opportunity offers, so you must follow their Ordres as to your further proceedings.

You may make the above Signall at Barbados, Antegoa and St. Christophers and I will give notice thereof to the Gentlemen at Each Island.

You must be mindfull to have your Negroes Shaved and made Clean to look well and strike a good impression on the Buyers at whatever place you touch at, where you may have hopes of selling them which may prove of considerable advantage to mee in their Sales, for as they appear Att first sight the Planters represent to one another their quality and goodness as they are affected with their looks and appearance.

You will observe by your Invoice the Cargo I have put aboard you here at London amounts to £2379. 16. Sterling and you well know that the Goods are the best Commodities in their kind, that I am in hopes you will meet with a good Sale and quick dispatch for your Cargoe an Account of the Disposall thereof you must daily enter down in this Book of Trade of all Goods you sell or buy, expressing the price and species of Goods disposed of in words at length, and what you purchase with the same, setting down the day of the Month and place where you made such Traffick paid Customes or any Materiall thing happening relateing to your Cargoe, and the Transactions of every days Trade must be signed by your selfe first, and Second Mate, and Doctor, or so many of them as are present where such Sales are made and such Goods purchased and a Copy of this Book on Sheets of paper you must send mee from time to time by all opportunitys.

Your own and Officers Negroes which I permitt you and them to carry free of freight I have sett down at Bottom of these my Instructions and must be all purchased with your own proper Goods on the Coast of Africa and mark'd with each mans own mark, which I grant you and them Liberty to sell at Barbados Jamaica or elswhere as you and they think fitt.

In case of your Mortality (which God forbid) I appoint Mr. Thomas Sunn [Tunn?] your Chiefe Mate to succeed you in the Command of my *Judith* Snow who must act in the manageing the Sales of the Cargoe, and purchasing Negroes, Gold, Elephants Teeth, and other Commodities, and upon your demise your Successor must take an Exact Inventory of all the Goods aboard both what relates to your own Adventure as well as that of my Cargoe, and this Inventory must be Signed by your Successor and all the Principall Officers on Board in an Entry made for that purpose in your book of Trade, and a copy of such Entry must be sent mee by the first conveyance that offers that right and Justice may be done to the Relations of the deceased, I expect that you should keep a faire Account of the Disposition of your own adventure And what you purchase therewith to be produced to mee if required, the same I expect from your Officers as to their Adventures which you should give them notice of that they may keep an Account accordingly.

Other Officers must succeed in Course unless they prove insufficient for their Posts and you order otherwise during your lifetime or your Successor finds it for my Benefitt to remove any Officer from his Station for bad Conduct or inability in such case he must promote the next in Succession to that Post which such a one would naturally have filled had not incapacity or want of Meritt disqualified him from being put into that Post.

Every Officer must subject himselfe to these my Orders and Instructions in every respect as they will answer the contrary at their Perill.

Herewith you have your Mediterranean Pass Plantation Certificate and Ships Register which you must lay up in some place that may be secure from Wett and allways ready at hand when wanted.

You must take especiall care not to lower and depreciate the prices of my Goods in your cargoe for that will be an unspeakable disadvantage to mee you haveing a large assortment of all sorts of Goods and can Command the Trade as you please, and what you do will have a mighty influence on the Trade of my other Ships that may follow you.

You must not exceed the sume of £250. Sterling in the Adventure I permitt you to carry upon your own Account, including every thing whereof I give you this notice and warning that you may avoid trespassing upon the Allowance I have given you under forfeiture of your Commission Wages, and all Priviledge whatsoever.

Lett your Officers and Seamen be well used by you and have everything that is necessary and Convenient for them especially if sick and out of Order and let them have such refreshments as are proper for them when they work hard and are fatigued with hard labour in the Warm Climate of Africa.

Bee carefull of and kind to your Negroes and let them be well used by your Officers and Seamen. By all opportunitys let mee hear from you to know how Trade governs at all places and what Commodities are most in demand on the Coast of Affrica. And as it is impossible for mee to foresee and Provide against innumerable accidents that may happen to you in this Voyage I must therefore referr to your prudence care and good management the Conduct of this Ships Cargoe and Investment which I leave entirely to you to dispose of as you find most for my benefit and advantage depending on your Integrity and experience to do your best for mee in every particular so Committing you to the protection of the Almighty I remaine

Your assured Friend

HUM: MORICE

I allow you Capt. Anthony Overstall an Adventure of Two hundred and Fifty pounds Sterling and three Negroes Freight free.

I allow Mr. Thomas Sunn your Chiefe Mate an Adventure of Twenty pounds Sterling and one Negro freight free.

I allow Mr. Rich. Lightbody Your Surgeon an Adventure of Fifteen pounds Sterling and a Negro Boy Freight free.

Acct. of Reice and Slaves Purchesed and Whatt Goods Paid[3]

		oz.	A.	Tc.
Page the 1st				
	To Twentey Guinea Stuffs at Two Aceys Each	2	8	
	To Nine peases of Broad Chints at five aceys ea	2	13	
	To a Loaven Small Niceneas at five Aceys Each	3	7	
	To Teen Brass panns at One Acey Each		10	
JUNKE the 2nd of Septemb'r	To Seaven peases of Blew Bafft, at Eight Aceyes Each	3	8	
	To One Halfe Ancher of Sperits at five Aceyes		5	
To the 4th	To Seaven Bralls of three Clowths at three Aceys Each	1	5	
	To the Treader for his Servis			
	Four twoo pound Beassen		3	
	The quantity of Reice purchased 8460 pounds	14	11	
JUNKE the 3rd of Sep'br 1728	To twoo Bucenear gunns Each Seaven Aceyes		14	
	To four Brass panns at One Aceye Each		4	
A boye No. 1		1	2	
	One Bucenear gunn at Eight Acceyes		8	
Ditto the 3d	To One Treaden gunn[4] at four Acceyes		4	
A boye No. 2	To twoo twoo pound Beassens		1	6
			13	6
	To twoo Bucenear gunns at Eight Acceys Each	1		
Ditto the 3d	To One quarter Barrell of powder at Eight Acceyes		8	
	To twoo treaden gunns at four Acceyes Each		8	
A man No. 3	To Twoo twoo pound Beassens		1	6
		2	1	6
	To twelve too pound Beassens		8	
	To Teen three pound Beassens at one Acey Each		10	
At REIVER SISTERS[5] Sept. 6	To four treaden gunns at four Acceyes Each	1		
	To two Blew Baffts Each Eight Acceyes	1		
A boye and A Garell	To Two Quarter Barrells of powder at Eight Acceyes Each	1		
No. 5	To Two halfe Anchers at five Acceyes Each		10	
		4	12	

ANTHONY OVERSTALL
THOS. SUNN
ROBT. HAYSHAM[6]

[3] The *Judith* began her purchasing at Junk, which is on the Grain Coast, southeast of Cape Mesurado.

[4] Trading gun.

[5] Sestos River. The village of Sestos was not far from the mouth of the Junk River.

[6] These names, signed at the foot of each page of the journal, are omitted throughout the remainder of the excerpts here printed. On Sept. 20, and thereafter the name Francis Barber or Barker is added. From these signatures it is impossible to determine whether the chief mate was Thomas Tunn or Sunn.

Acctt. of Slaves Purchased and What Goods Paid for Them.

Page 2		oz.	A.	Tc.
	To seaven two pound Beassens		5	
SISTERS	To five three pound Beassens Each one Acceye		5	
the 7th	To Two Treaden gunns Each four Acceyes		8	
of Sept. 1728	One quarter Barrell of powder at Eight Acceyes		8	
A boye	One Halfe Ancher of Sperits at five Acceyes		5	
No. 6		1	15	
	Teen Three pound Beassen Each one Acceye		10	
Do. the	Seaven Two pound Beassen		5	
7th	Two Treaden gunns Each four Acceyes		8	
A Garell	One quarter Barrells of powder at Eight Accys		8	
No. 7		1	15	
	One Treaden gunn at four Acceyes		4	
	One quarter Barrell of powder at Eight Acceys		8	
Do.	One Halfe Ancher of Sperits at five Acceyes		5	
the 7th	Seaven three pound Beassen Each one Accey		7	
A boye				
No. 8		1	8	
	Teen three pound Beassens Each one Accey		10	
	Two Treaden gunns Each four Acceyes		8	
Do.	One Halfe Ancher of Sperits at five Acceys		5	
the 7th	One quarter Barrell of powder at Eight Aceys		8	
A boye	Five two pound Beassens		3	
No. 9		2	2	
	Teen three pound Beassen each one Accey		10	
	Teen Brass panns Each one Accey		10	
	Three Treaden gunns Each four Acceys		12	
Do.	One Blew Bafft at Eight Acceys		8	
the 7th	One quarter Barrell powder at Eight Acceyes		8	
A man	One Small Niconee at five Acceyes		5	
No. 10	Three two pound Beassens		2	
		3	7	
	Five three pound beassens Each One Accey		5	
	Aleaven two pound beassen at		7	6
Do.	Three Treaden gunns Each four Acceyes		12	
the 9th	Five Brass panns Each One Accey		5	
A man-	One Halfe Ancher of Sperits at five Aceys		5	
boy	One Blew Bafft at Eight Acceys		8	
No. 11	One quarter Barrell of powder at Eight Acceyes		8	
		3	2	6

Acctt. of Slaves Purchased and What Goods Paid for Them.

Page 4

		oz.	A.	T.
	Four Treaden gunns at four Aceys Each	1		
	One Halfe Barrell of powder at one Ounce	1		
Bassam	Four peaper Bralles at Three Aceis Each		12	
the 16th	One Challow at Nine Aceis		9	
Sepbr	Four Cotton Ramalles at Six Aceis Each	1	8	
A man	Three Sheets at One Aci Each		3	
No. 13	One three Clout Brall at three Acey		3	
		5	3	

	Four Trading Gunns at four Accis Each	1		
	One halfe Barrell of powder at Sixteen Accis each	1		
	Foure paper Brawlls at three Accis each		12	
Do. the 16th	One Challow at Nine Accis each		9	
A man	Four Cotton Ramall at six Do.	1	8	
No. 14	Three Sheets at one Do.		3	
	One Three Cloth Brawll at three Do.		3	
		5	3	0

	One halfe Barrell of powder at Sixteen Accis	1		
	Foure Trading Gunns at four Accis Each	1		
Do. the	Two Challow at Nine Accis Each	1	2	
16th	Three Cotton Ramalls at six Do.	1	2	
A man	Twelve Sheets at one Do.		12	
No. 15	One three Cloth Brawll at Three Do		3	
		5	3	

	Two Quarter Barrells of powder at Eight Accis Each	1		
	Foure Trading Gunns at foure Do.	1		
Do. the	One Challow at Nine Do.		9	
16th	Thirteen Sheets at One Do.		13	
A woman	Two Cotton Ramalls at Six Do.		12	
No. 16				
		4	2	

	Eight Trading Gunns at foure Accis each	2		
	Two Quarter Barrells of powder at Eight Do.	1		
Do. the	One halfe Ancher of Spirits at Five Do.		5	
17th	One pice of Broad Chince at five Do.		5	
A woman	Two Brass panns at One Do.		2	
No. 17	One paper Brawll at three Do.		3	
		3	15	

Page 8

	Eight Trading Gunns at foure Accis Each	2		
Bassam	One Quarter Barrell of powder at Eight Do.		8	
Sept. the	One pice Broad Chince at Five Do.		5	
19th	One Challow at Nine Do.		9	
1728	Three Sheets at One Do.		3	
A woman				
No. 34				
		3	9	

Acct. of Slaves Purchased and What Goods Paid for Them.

		oz.	A.	T.
	Six Tradeing Gunns at foure Accis Each	1	8	
Do.	One halfe Barrell of powder at Sixteen Do.	1		
the 20th	Two Bras panns at One Do.		2	
A woman	Two Sheets at One Do.		2	
No. 35		2	12	

Invoyce of Sundry goods and Merchantdize Shiped on bd the *Judith* Snow (Anthony Overstall Commander) by John Dagge (Comdr of the *Katherine* Gally) for propper Account of Humphrey Morrice (Esq. and Merchant) in the Citty of London and Owner of the said Ships and Cargoe under Mark and Number as the Margent

To Costs and Charges, *Vizt.*

		£	s
Bailes	is Four Bails Large Green Ranter		
Mark KG	Each qt. Twenty-five is One		
No. 185:192	Hundred at 14/8	70	
196:198			
No. 203	Is one Baile of Large Blew Do. qt.		
	Twenty-five at 14/8	17	10
207	Is a Baile of Green Sais qt. 25 at 30/8	37	10
216:217	Is Two bails of Green Long Ells Qt.		
	25 is 50 at 20/8	50	
	Fivety Halfe Anchors of Spirits at		
	12/8 Each	30	
	Twelve 36 lb. Caggs of powder at 45/8	27	
	Tenn 18 lb. Do. at 22/6	11	5
	Thirty-six Dozen of Large Slope		
	pointed knives at 2/9 per Dozen	4	19

Page 9		oz.	A.	T.
	Foure Trade Gunns At four Accis Each	1	—	—
	One Quarter Barrell of Powder at Eight Do	—	8	—
	Two pice of Broad Chince at five Do	—	10	—
Little Bassam	One halfe Ancher of Spirits at five	—	5	—
Septr the 27th	One phottoe at Seven	—	7	—
A Woman	One Cotton Ramall at Six	—	6	—
No. 36	Two Guinea Stuffs at one and halfe Do.	—	3	—
	One three Cloth Brawll at three Do	—	3	—
		3	10	—

	One Quarter Barrell of powder at Eight Acces Each		8	
	Two Trade Gunns at four Do		8	
Do the 28th	Two pices of Broad Chince at five Do		10	
A Boy	Four Sheets—at One Do.		4	
No. 37		1	14	

	One Quarter Barrell of powder at Eight Accis Each	—	8	—
	Four Trade Gunns at four Do	1	—	—
	One Cotton Ramall at Six Do	—	6	—
Do the 28th	One pice Broad Chince at five Do	—	5	—
A woman	One three Clowt Brawll at three Do.	—	3	—
No. 38	Two Sheets at One Do.	—	2	—
		2	8	—

Acct. of Slaves Purchased and What Goods Paid for Them.

		oz.	A.	T.
Little Bassam Mark P G	Rec'd from on board the *Portugall* Gally Joseph Treeharn Comd'r by the *Judith* Snow Long boate for the said Snow to the proper Account of Humphery Morrice Esq. and Merchant in the Citty of London the goods as pr Margent.			
No 84	is One Chest of Small Knives of one hundred Dozen Six Caggs of powder Each $\frac{\text{el}}{18}$ —			
Page the 14th				
Annamaboe[7] 8ber the 18th 1728 A Man No. 53	Six Large Blue Purpletts at five Ackees each	1	14	
	One Quarter Barrells pow[d]er at Eight Do.		8	
	Two Tradeing Gunns at foure Do.		8	
	Two Buckanneer Gunns at five Do.		10	
	Two halfe anchor of Spirritts at Do.		10	
	Two Caggs Tallow at three Do.		6	
	Twenty foure three pound Beassen at Two thirds Do.	1		
	One pice of thirteen yds Chints at Six Do.		6	
	Six Sheets at One Do		6	
	Foure Brass panns at Do.		4	
		6	8	
Do the 18th	Paid Custom to a Anneskan One halfe Anchor of Spirretts at five Ackees Each		5	
Do the 18th A Man No 54	One Large Blue Ell at Eight Ackees Each		8	
	One Do Green at Do		8	
	One Green Large purplett at five Do		5	
	Two blue Do at Do		10	
	Two Buckannar Gunns at Do		10	
	Twelve Brass panns at one Do		12	
	Thirty: three pound Bassens at Two thirds Do	1	4	
	Eight Brass panns at One Ackee Each		8	
	Three Caggs of Tallow at three Do		9	
	One halfe Anchor of Spirretts at five Do		5	
	Five Sheets at One Do		5	
		6	4	
Do the 18th	Custom To Aggee Eight Sheets		8	
	Paid for three hundred Yams One halfe Anchors of Spirretts at five Ackees Each		5	

[7] Before leaving Sestos, the *Judith* received from the *Portugall,* Capt. Traherne, additional casks of beads and brass pans. She traded at Bassam and Little Bassam until Oct. 5, buying 13 men, 14 women, 2 man-boys, 4 boys, and 1 girl. There are also occasional entries of purchases of gold. On the 6th the vessel was at Assini, where 1 woman was bought, on the 8th at Cape Appolonia, on the 10th at Ancobra, where 5 negroes were purchased. She arrived at Anamabo on Oct. 18. Here most of her slaves were obtained.

An Acct of Slaves purchessed and What Good paid for them.

		oz.	A.	T.
Page 16				
ANNAMABOE 8ber the 19th 1728	For Custom to Great Corramantee foure Sheets		4	
	For Do. to little Do Do		4	
Do the 19th A Woman No 58	Foure Cotton Ramalls at Six Ackees Each	1	8	
	Four Small Nickanees at Do	1	4	
	Foure Middleing Blue purpletts at foure Do	1		
	Three Neguinea pauls at Eight Do	1	8	
		5	4	
Do the 19th	Custom To King of Annamaboe			
	Two Small Nickanees at five Ackees Each		10	
	One Bejuttapaul at Eight Do		8	
	Foure three pound Bassons at three quarters Do		3	
	One Cagg of Tallow at three Ackees Each		3	
	One Sheet at One Do		1	
	One halfe Anchor of Spirretts at five Do		5	
		1	14	
Do the 19th A Woman No 59	Three Buckanneer Gunns at five Ackees Each		15	
	Twelve three pound Bassons at two thirds Do		8	
	Two Caggs of Tallow at Three Do		6	
	One Bejuttapaul at Eight Do		8	
	One Large Green purplett at five Do		5	
	One Middleing Do at foure Do		4	
	One large Blue purplett at five Do		5	
	One Middleing Do at foure Do		4	
	Foure Brass panns at One Do		4	
	One Beguineapaul at Eight Do		8	
	Five Sheets at One		5	
	One halfe anchor of Spirritts at five Do.		5	
		4	13	
Do the 19	For Lymes and Codd pepper for the Slaves			
	One Middleing Blue purplett		4	
Page 43				
ANNAMABOE 9ber the 20th Damaged Goods paid for Ninety Chests of Corne at two Ackees pr. Chest.	Six Two pound Bassons at three fourths ech.	0	4	0
	Two Blue Long Ells at Eight Ackees Ech	1	0	0
	Two Middleing Blue perplets at foure Do	0	8	0
	Foure Large Green Do at five Do	1	4	0
	One Green Long Ell at Eight Do	0	8	0
	Nine Tradeing Gunns at foure Do	2	4	0
	Foure Challows at Eight Do	2	0	0
	Three pices of yd Chints at foure Do	0	12	0
	Three Small Nickannees at foure Do	0	12	0
	Five Blue halfe sayes at five and two fiffths	2	0	0
		11	4	0

An Acct. of Slaves purchased and What Good paid for them.

		oz.	A.	T.
	Two halfe Anchors of Spirritts at five Ackees Ech	0	10	0
	Six paper Brawlls at two and halfe	0	9	0
Do the 20th	One phoattee at Six Ackees Ech	0	6	0
Paid for	Twelve Challow Brawlls at Two Do	1	8	0
Lyme Juce	One Small Nickannee at foure Do	0	4	0
Lyms and	Two Tradeing Gunns at foure Do	0	8	0
Aprabae[?]		3	13	0
Do the 20th	Three Keggs of Tallow at three Ackees	0	9	0
pd. for 500 yams	One Blue long Ell at Eight Do.	0	8	0
at 3 ackees and halfe	halfe head of Beads at halfe Ackee	0	0	6
pr. hunderd		1	1	6
	Drank Amongst the Trade Men and Others to Suport Trade and the Like etc from the first Coming on the Coast to the 19th of 9ber 1728			
	Eight half Anchors of Spirritts at five Ackees Each	2	8	0
	Paid Custom to Cape Corse for wattering the *Judith* Snow—			
	Two Buckanneer Gunns at five Ackees Each	0	10	0
	Two halfe Anchors of Spirritts at five Do	0	10	0
		1	4	0
	Paid for filling and [*illegible*] off watter at Cape Corse at one Tachee per Cask	0	7	1
	For Repairing two Globe Lamps at Cape Corse	0	2.	0
		0	9	1

gold

Page the 46th

ACCRAE xber the 3d 1728	These Recd from the Gentlemen at the Deans fort (In Barter for the following goods Left by Captn. John Dagg of the *Katherine* Gally) for the propper Acct. of humphrey Morrice Esqr. (Merchant in the Citty of London) pr. A: O.		
Recd			
Eleven men	Fiffty Tradeing Gunns at foure ackees Each	12	8
at oz. a T	Fiffty paper Brawll at three Do.	9	6
6 8	Thirty halfe Anchors of Sperritts at foure Do.	7	8
and	Thirty five Challows at Six Do.	11	4
Three boyes	Fiffty pices of Cushlees at five Do.	15	10
oz. a T	Twenty Corriderrys at foure Do.	5	0
at 8 – –			
Recd. Do	Tenn peices of Cotton hankerchies at five Do.	3	2
Elephants Teeth	Eight Quarter Barrells of powder at Seven Do.	3	8
Weghtt	Fiffty three pounds } Bassons		
787 pound at	Two two pound }	2	6
Teeth fourteen	Six Keggs of Tallow at two and halfe Eh.		15
at 2½ pr. Achee	Foure Cuttonnees at foureteen Each	3	8
No. 146 to 159		74	—

Acct. of Slaves purchassed In the "Judith" Snow.

		oz.	A.	T.
Do. the 3d	To Make Compleat In full Between Esqr. Morrices Assignes and the Deans Gentlemen to this Day I have paid the following Goods.			
	Seven halfe Barrells of Powder at twelve Ackees Eh	5	4	
	Six. Quarter Do. Do. at Six Do.	2	4	
	Twenty five Buckanneer Gunns at five Do.	7	13	
	Twenty five Tradeing Gunns at foure Do.	6	4	
	Twenty three Keggs of Tallow at three Do.	4	5	
	Six Whole Anchors of Sperritts at tenn Do.	3	12	
	Six Corriderrys at five Do.	1	14	
		31	8	

Page the 95th

ANNAMABOE Feaby the 21st 1728/9	paid for One hund'd and Sixty Seven Chests of Corn at two Ack. Each—		
	Twenty Trading Gunns at foure Ack Eh	5	—
	One hund'd Twenty Six Sheets at One Do	7	14
	One hund'd Twenty three pd of Beads at three pd and ½ pr. Ack.	2	3
	Six Blue Sayes Damaged at five Ack. Each	1	14
	Seven green Sayes Do at five Do	2	3
	Foure blue long Ells Do at foure Do	1	—
	Three Green long Ell at foure Do	—	12
		20	14

To the Docter at Sev'll times for Rowllers and Spreading plasters.
Six Old Sheets

Expended for Tallowing Our boat Bottom at Sundry times
Foure Keggs of Tallow—

Expended for the Slaves from the 23d of Feab'y 1728/9 to Aprill the 26th 1729
Foure halfe Anchors of Spirretts
One Roll of Brazill Tabaccoe

March the 8th 1728/9	Dyed One Man Slave Mark	I: S
Do. the 31st 1729	Dyed One Woman	I: S
Aprill the 6th	Dyed One Man boy	I: S.
14th	Dyed One Man	I: S.
17th	Dyed One Woman	M. G.
19th	Dyed One Man	I: S.
22d	Dyed One Large Boy	I: S.

Acct. of Slaves purchassed In the "Judith" Snow.

Page the 96th — An Acct of Goods Remaining In the *Judith* Aprill 27th 1729

BARBADOES

Pewter Bason		1
Buccannere Gunns		2
Tradeing Do		90
Brass pann		1
Blue halfe Sayes	Damaged for Slaves Cloutes	3
Middleing Blue perplt		9
Large Green perplt		2
Coopees		2
Seer Suckers		5
Old Sheets		201
Beads Quantity pr wt.		324
Rolls Brazell Tobaccoe		2

Delivered to Messrs. Withers and Harrison Fourty-One Slaves *Vizett*

BARBADOES
Aprill the 27th
1729

Boys Twenty Two	22
Men boys Five	5
Men Two	2
Weomen Five	5
Girls Seven	7
Tottall	41

Do Aprill the 30th	Dyed One Quashaw Man Slave	Mark M. G
Sea May 3d	Dyed One Man Slave	I: S
Do the 17th	Dyed Two Men Slaves	I: S and M: G

ANTHONY OVERSTALL
THOS. TUNN
ROBT. HAYSHAM
FRANCIS BARKER

Page the 97th — Mortallity of Slaves Deliverys and Sale of Some Good pr the *Judith*

Dyed Three Men Slaves
Delivered to Messrs. Bassnett Tyms and Hyde

KINGSTON
June the 5th
1729

One hundred Seventy Three Slaves *Vizt.*

Seventy Eight Men	78
Thirty three Women	33
Fifty two Boys Large and Small	52
Ten Girls	10

169. BOUNTY DEMANDED BY THE COMPANY OF THE INDIES.[1]

1728, September 15, FONTAINEBLEAU

Gratification demandée par la Compagnie des Indes pour les nègres apportés par ses Vaisseaux aux colonies avec approbation d'Orry, contrôleur général.

[169] [1] MSS. des Colonies, C2, 19, ff. 97-98. Inscribed: "A Font'au le 15[e] Sep'bre 1728, Neant au moyen: de Celuy du 20 avril 1729."

Directeurs de la Compagnie des Indes,

La Compagnie des Indes demande une ordonnance sur le Tresor royal pour la gratification de 13 *ll.* par chaque teste de Noirs qu'elle a Introduit dans les Colonies par ses vaisseaux venant de Guinée et du Senegal, laquelle gratification est ordonnée par la Declaration du mois de Janvier 1685. portant Etablissement d'une Compagnie de Guinée, et par l'art. 24 des Lettres patentes du mois de Mars 1696. portant Etablissement de la Comp'e du Senegal;

Sçavoir

Le Vaisseau la *Jolie* Capitaine Boüet a debarqué du petit Goave Suivant le certifficat du 7 8'bre 1727. Signé Duclos	379.	testes de noirs
Le V'au la *Parfaite* Capitaine Noel de la Baronnie a debarqué au Cap françois Suivant le certificat du 20 Novembre 1727. Signé le Gentil et visé de Chastenoye	123.	
	502:	
De l'autre part	502:	
Le V'au la *Junon* Capitaine Grasson a debarqué au dit lieu, Suivant le certificat du 1er May 1728. Signé de Chastenaye et Gentil .	569:	
Le V'au la *Galathée* Capitaine Butler a debarqué au dit lieu Suivant le Certificat dudit jour Signé idem	390:	
Le V'au le *prince de Conty* Capitaine Tredillac a debarqué a la nouvelle Orleans Suivant le Certifficat du 21 November 1727. Signé Perier	266:	
Le V'au le *duc de Noailles* Cap'ne Dupuys a debarqué au dit lieu Suivant le certifficat du 8. avril 1728. Signé idem	262.	
Le V'au le *marquis de Coetquen* Capitaine de Ponthay a debarqué a la Martinique Suivant l'Etat du 15. Janvier 1728. Visé Blondel Jouvancourt et Marin cy	114.	
Le B'au *St. Charles* Cap'ne Villegegu Durand a debarqué au dit Lieu Suivant l'Etat du même Jour Visé id	25.	
	2128	
Cy Contre	2128.	
Le V'au la *Ceres* Capitaine Burgand Desbouchand a debarqué a la Martinique Suivant le Certificat du 7. avril 1728. Signé Burgand Desbouchand et Visé Chateaugué cy	267:	
Le V'au le *Maure* Capitaine Guesneau a debarqué audit lieu Suivant le certificat du 15 Avril 1728. Signé Guesneau et Visé Chateaugué cy	277.	
Le V'au le *duc du Maine* Capitaine la Vigne a debarqué au dit Lieu Suivant le certificat du 3. Juin 1728. Signé Blondel Jouvancourt	431:	
Le V'au le *Fortuné* Cap'ne de Bray a debarqué id. que dessus . . .	314:	
Le V'au le *duc de Bourbon* Cap'ne Texier a debarqué id	294:	
Le V'au *L'affriquain* Capitaine l'Epine forestier a debarqué id . .	189:	
La Corvette *l'Aquilon* Capitaine Basseterre a debarqué id	99:	
	3999:	
De l'autre part	3999:	
Le B'au le *Phoenix* Cap'ne Robinet a debarqué a la Martinique Suivant le certifficat du 3. Juin 1728. Signé Blondel Jouvancourt	38.	
	4037	Testes
de Noirs a 13 *ll.* piece cy	52481 *ll.*	

Il paroist juste d'expedier une ordonnance de la Somme de Cinquante deux mille quatre cent quatre vingt une livres.[2]

[2] Endorsed, "bon".

170. Tyndall and Assheton to Isaac Hobhouse and Company.[1]

Kingston, Novemb. 13, 1729.

Gentlemen, Since our last we [have] Little to add, only we should have been glad to have recd a joint Letter from you, though severall Bristol ships are Lately arriv'd. The *John and Betty* arrived here the 4th Instant, with One hundred and fifty light negroes, she purchas'd two hundred and fifty, and have buried eleven or more since her arrivall. They are the worst Cargoe of Negroes have been imported for severall Years past. Our day of Sale was the 10th Instant, They were so badd Could not sell Tenn to the planters. We yesterday sold one hundred and five to Messrs Lamego and Furtado, at eighteen pounds Ten shillings per head, Which Considering the Condition the Negroes were in, is the greatest price have been given. The remainder are so very bad, Cannot gett £8 per head for them. Wee shall be oblig'd to sell them at Outcry [2] for the most they will Yield. This comes per *Aurora,* per whom have wrote before. she is a Clever Ship and the Master seems to be a man as knows his Business, And as the Guinea Trade must have a Turn if the Assiento open's, as at present it seems to have done,[3] There haveing Last night arrived from Portobell a South Sea Snow, that Carried over the Factors, Where they are Very well recd, And the Factor here now wants 4 or 500 negroes to send over, They haveing a permission till the Scedulas come over And they will no other but Pappaws, Gold Coast, or Angolas. We wish therefore you would send her either to the Gold Coast or Angola, and if any of the Owners chuse to sell, We should be obliged to you, to take for us such part they or any of them like to sell. The gold Coast Ship now expected if they arrive safe must meet with agreable Sails, here being at present now a demand for the Country, of near a thousand shares to be paid the first Sugars in the Cropp. And there will not be this next Year Insuing Negroes Enough For Especially Gold Coast and Angolas, for the demand, the South Sea Company being so much behind hand, of what the're to diliver yearly, By their Assiento Contract. We hope you will putt our friends in mind of the present Incouragement, And you may depend we shall do our Utmost to serve them. Sugars are grown very Scarce and most of the Ships here must Stay till the Cropp. Att present they are started 2/6 or 3/ per lb. But we hope as there is a prospect of a great Cropp, they will break Seasonable. Cotton, pimento and ginger, mostly ship't home. Rum 20 *d.* per

[170] [1] Jefferies MSS., XIII. 124. Tyndall and Richard Assheton were Jamaica correspondents of the Bristol firm Isaac Hobhouse and Onesiphorus Tyndall.

[2] That is, at public auction.

[3] The treaty of Seville, re-establishing the assiento, was signed Nov. 9, 1729.

gallon, Indigo 2/10 *d.* all sorts of Provission's Cheap, new beef fallen to 47/6 per Barrill, next ship will bring it to 40/ We hope the Opening of the Assiento trade, will put some Life into the flower trade, which have been a Long time at a Low price and a dull market. We are very sorry for our friend harding But we hope if he sends his ship to Angola, as we addvised him, It was our opinion would be the best place for a ship of her Burthen, It will make some amends. Here are severall ship's will sail soon, per whom will Write. Till then we are with Utmost Respect

Messrs. Is. Hobhouse, and Ones. Tyndall.

171. Sale of a Cargo of Slaves.[1]

Barbados, Anno 1730.

Merch'ze being Negroes per the *Freke* gally John Bartlett Commr from Guinea for account of William Freke Esqr. and Company, Merch'ts in Bristoll.

	£		
To Cash paid duty of 335 Negroes landed at 5/ per head	83.	15.	
To ditto paid Jno. Walker for landing 326 and Carr'ng 190 ab. the Ships	4.	14.	
To ditto paid for 6 pcs Niconees and 3 pcs perpetts for Clouts	5.	12.	6
To ditto paid for printing notes and for hire of Messingers to give notice round the Island of the Sale	5.	11.	
To ditto paid for greens and other provisions for the Slaves till Sold	10.	17.	9½
To ditto paid for Treating Customers during the Sale	25.	9.	3
To ditto paid for Yardroom and Lodging	12.		
To ditto paid the Vendue Master for outcrying	2.		
To Commission 5 per Cent	310.	7.	3
	460.	6.	9½
To account Currant for Net proceeds hereof being Five thousand Seven hundred and Forty Six pounds Eighteen Shillings and two pence half penny Currant money	5746.	18.	2½
	6207.	5.	

Errors Excepted.

Thos. Withey.
Thos. Harrison.[2]

172. Invoice of Goods shipped to Africa.[1]

London, Jany 7 1729/30.

Invoyce of Sundry Goods shipt on board the "Nassau" Snow John
N G *Sidy Master bound for the Windward and Gold Coast of Affrica under the Marginal mark and Number Cons'd s'd Capt. for acct. as at Foot.*

No.		£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
1 to 5	5 Casks qty. 1535 of Brass Guinea Pans Neptunes and Kettles at £8. 2. 6. (12 cwt. 0. 9) and 14 for 1 cwt. 2. 14	108.	15.	4			
	5 Casks	1.	5		110.		4

[171] [1] Jefferies MSS., XIV. 4.
[2] The firm is elsewhere referred to as Harrison and Withers. The list which follows shows sales of 141 men, 75 women, 65 boys, 48 girls, 329 in all, for £6207 5 *s.* Individual prices are not given.
[172] [1] Library of Congress, Vernon-Wager Papers, no. 4. The editor confesses to failure in interpreting many of the abbreviations of this invoice.

[*Invoice of Sundry Goods*—continued:]

No.				£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
6 a Case qty.	10. Cuttanees	at 29/ pr. p's.		14. 10. —		
	20. Photaes	10/6		10. 10. —		
	30. Silk Romalls	11/3		16. 17. 6		
	20. Striped Persian Taffaties	25/6		25. 10. —		
	20. Fine Silk Romalls	23/		23. —. —		
	15. Seersuckers	21/		15. 15. —		
	10. Coopes	18/6		9. 05. —		
	Case			—. 07. —	115. 14 6.	
7. a Case qty.	30. Chilloes	at 9/6		14. 5. —		
	30. Ditto red	11/6		17. 5. —		
	a Case			—. 4. 6	31. 14. 6	
8. a Case qty.	50. Romalls	at 11/		27. 10. —		
	a Case			—. 04. —	27. 14. —	
9. a Case qty.	10. Neganepants	at 16/6		8. 5. —		
	30. Bejutapants [2]	do		24. 15. —		
	40. Guinea Stuffs	2/6		5. —. —		
	Case			—. 9. —	38. 9. —	
10. a Case qty.	20. Tapseils	at 11/		11. —. —		
	20. Nicanees large	15/		15. — —		
	10. ditto	12/		6. — —		
	Case			—. 8. —	32. 8. —	
11. a Case qty.	21. blue Chilloes	at 15/6		16. 5. 6		
	29. red ditto	16/6		23. 18. 6		
	30. Chints Caddy	7/		10. 10. —		
	Case			—. 07. —	51. 1. —	
12. a Case qty.	100. Brawls at 5/ £25. —Junk and Packg.	6/			25. 6. —	
13. a Bale qty.	30. Blue Basts Fine at 22/6 £33.15-	Do. 3/			33. 18. —	
14 a Case qty.	20. Blue and white Callicoes	at 24/		24. —. —		
	100. Sletias	6/		30. —. —		
	20. Carpetts	4/3		4. 5. —		
	Case			—. 5. —	58. 10. —	
15 to 20.	6 Chests qty. 390 Old Sheets	at 20 *d.*			32. 10. —	447. 5. —
22-23. 26-27.	4. Bales qty. 120 Ranters, measg 1357 yds	at 6½ Dying 1/ each				
21. 1. do.	qty. 30 p's Ranters best broad Green	at 9/6			42. 15. — 14. 5. —	
29. 1. do.	qty. 15 p's Ditto	7/			5 5. —	62. 5. —

[2] These two articles are probably the same as those earlier designated as pauls. The word appears in both forms.

[*Invoice of Sundry Goods*—continued:]

N G			To Amount of Sundrys		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
No. 24.	a Bale qty.	20	Long Ells	at 25/	25. —. —	
28.	a Bale qty.	10	Ditto		12. 10. —	
		30	p's Long Ells Dying	at 3/ p p's	4. 10. —	42.
25.	a Bale qty.	5	half Welch Plains qty. 387 yds.	at 11 *d.* p yd	17. 14. 9	
			Dying 15/ p p's		3. 15. —	21. 9. 9
30 to 42.	13 Cases qty.	175	Round Trading Gunns	at 7/3	63. 8. 9	
		75	Flatt ditto	7/5	27. 16. 3	
		25	Buckaneer	at 11/	13. 15. —	
		25	Musketts	at 8/	10. —. —	
		120	Cutlasses	1/8	10. —. —	
		13	Cases and larmer [?]		4. 3. —	129. 3. —
43.	a Cask qty.	10	Gross. 8 doz. Slopepointed Knives	at 45/	24. —. —	
			Cask 5/ Shiping 1/6		. 6. 6.	24. 6. 6
44.	a Box qty.	10	dozen Looking Glasses	6/	3. —. —	
		2	Gross Fine Steels	at 8/	—. 16. —	
			Box		—. 3. —	3. 19. —
45.	a Box qty.	78	parcells Sealing Wax. weit. 63 l.	at 22 *d.*	5. 15. 6.	
			Box		1. —	5. 16. 6
46.	a Box qty.	120	Masses of Fine Beads	at 1/	6. —. —	
		3000	Arangoes at 5/ per 100 £7. 10			
			Box 10 *d.*		7. 10. 10	13. 10. 10
48 to 52.	5 Casks qty.	520	Guinea Basons weit. 11 Ct. 03 qr. 23 l.	at 94/ per C.	51. 12. 2	
			Cask		1. 3. 6	52. 15. 8
53. 54.	2 Casks qty.	4	Ct. 01 qr. 16 l. Cowries	at £6. 10 per C.	28. 11. —	
			Casks		. 07. 6	28. 18. 6
56. 57.	2 Cases qty.	72	Men's Felt Hatts	at 14½ *d.*	4. 07. —	
		72	Ditto Laced	18½ *d.*	5. 11. —	
			Cases		. 11. 6	10. 9. 6
58.	a Cask qty.	798	Brass Manillaes wrot. weit. 248 oz.	at 2/	24. 16. —	
			Cask		—. 2. —	24. 18. —

[*Invoice of Sundry Goods*—continued:]

					£ s. d.	£ s. d.
N	1. a Chest qty.	66	Bundles of Beeds weit 216 oz.	at 11 *d.*	9. 18. —	
		5	mil. Christal Strings	at £2. 6 per m.	11. 10. —	
			Chests and Cordage		—. 8. —	21. 16. —
	7. a Cask qty.	4	Cwt: 02 qr. of Sugar	at 32/ per Cwt	7. 4. —	
			Cask and Carta		—. 3. 6	7. 7. 6
	20. a Bale qty.	20	pair of 5. quarter Blankets	at 3/	3. —. —	
		20	pair of 6. quarter Ditto	4/9	4. 15. —	
			Packing and Looking over		—. 10. —	8. 5. —
	246. Barrs of Iron qty.	3	Ton	at £17. 15 per Ton	53. 5. —	
	a Basket qty.	18.	Splinter Padlocks	at 6/2 pr. doz.	—. 9. 3	
		6.	do	at 9/	—. 4. 6	
		24.	Flatt padlocks	5/7½	—. 11. 3	
			Cha. on Iron. Basket and Canvas		—. 9. 9	54. 19. 9
	137. Keggs qty.	14:01:24	Tallow	at 45/ per Cwt. "	32. 11. —	
		137	Keggs	"	3. 19. 11	
			Wharfa. and Watera.		—. 2. 10	£36. 13. 9
	4. Casks qty.	24.	mil Flints	at 4/ per mil. £4. 16—		
				Cask 1/		£ 4. 17
	1. hhd Tobacco weit.		N. 456 oz.	at 2½ *d.* per oz.	4. 15. —	
			Charge		— 3. —	£ 4. 18.
	a Cask qty.	51	oz. of Worsted Fringe		2. 11. —	
			Casks		3. 6	£ 2. 14. 6
	a Cask qty.	10	bags Musquet Shott weit. 5 Ct.	at 18/ £4. 10.		
				Cask 4. 6.	4. 14. 6	
	20 Pigs of Lead	3	Cwt. 03 qr. 09 l.	at 16/6 per Cwt	3. 3. 2	
			Carriage		3. —	£ 8. —. 8

[*Invoice of Sundry Goods*—continued:]

		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
121. Keggs qty.	25 Barrels of Gun-powder at 70/. p Barl	87. 10. —	
	Less 3 per Cent for present money	2. 11. 9	
		84. 18. 3	
	70 Kegs at 8 *d.* and 51½ Barrl. at 10 *d.*	4. 9. 2	
	Watera.	10. —	£89. 17. 5
5 Casks qty.	650 Gallons of Malt Spirit at 18 per Galn	46. 10. —	
	4 Iron Bound Casks and Bar	2. 17. —	
	100 ½ Anchor at 1/6 each	7. 10. —	
	100. Spare hoops	. 1. 8	
	Waterage and Cha. on board	. 10	£57. 8. 8
			£1273. 15. 10
	Charges		
	Coqr. 5/6 Serch. 18/9 Portera. Wharfage Lighter and Carta. as per p'ticulars paid for Sundrys £2. 18. 5	4. 02. 08	
	Settg. Callendg makg up and Packg 120 Ranters with Gilt seals and Fillot at 2/3 ½ per p's	13. 15. —	
	Presg makg up and Packg 30 Long Ells wth. Paint'd Fillots and G't Seals	5. 02. 06	
	Settg Plaining measg makg and Packg 5 Welch Plains	1. 03. 04	£24. 03. 06
	To Commis's and Contingencies 2 per Cent	25. 16. —	
	Premio on £1300. at 5 per Cent with Policy	65. 04. 06	£91. —. 6
			£1388. 19. 10

John and Joseph Eyles	2/5	£	555.	11. 11
Burrington Goldsworthy	1/5	£	277.	15. 11
Hugh Raymond Esq.	1/5	£	277.	16. —
Peter Burrell [2]	1/5	£	277.	16. —
		£	1388.	19. 10

173. Tyndall and Assheton to Hobhouse and Company.[1]

Kingston Jam'ca, March 16th 1729/30.

Messrs. Is. Hobhouse and Ones. Tyndall,

Gent'n, By the Recommendation of Mr. Peter Beckford, We have consigned sundry Merch'ize to Capt. Thos. Beckford [2] Merch't in

[2] Peter Burrill was for some years subgovernor of the South Sea Company. It is probable that this cargo was sent by that company, to be exchanged with the African Company for slaves.

[173] [1] Jefferies MSS., Hobhouse Correspondence, p. 97.

[2] An earlier Peter Beckford, who died in 1710, had been lieutenant governor and commander-in-chief of Jamaica, as well as agent for the Royal African Company. His son Peter, speaker of the Jamaica assembly, died in 1735. The Peter to whom reference is here made may have been this son, or a grandson, the fourth to bear the name. One Thomas Beckford was appointed to the Jamaica council in 1716, and at that time was objected to by Lord Archibald Hamilton as a "violent man in the assembly" and "opposed

London, and intend (till We have a Vessell annually to use St. Anns and Bristol,[3] which may [be] in some time worth while) to send him what sugar we make at our Plantation.

Capt. Beckford was formerly an African Co. Director and if we are not mistaken is now a Director of the Banck.[4] We have wrote him of the arrival of the Schedulas [cedulas?] and of the great Demand here is and must continue for Negroes, and if he or any of his Friends would ingage in that Branch of Trade we would be concernd a sixth or an eighth provided she came direct from Guinea to Jamaica, and we have gave him further Power, in case he has not effects enough of ours in his hands to comply with such engagements to draw on you for it and which we desire you to honour, and if at any time you should be in advance on the first advice, shall Remitt and thankfully pay Interest and we shall always endeavour to do our utmost for the Interest and Honour of the House.

We must further intreat you if he should write for a security as it is usual in Guinea consignments haveing advised him that we would engage six eights per ship, and to Ballance in a twelve Month, and that you would give security accordingly.[5]

174. Contract of Francis Moore with the Royal African Company.[1]

[July 23, 1730.]

This indenture, made the Twenty-third Day of July, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty, and in the Fourth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord GEORGE the

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to his Majesties policies". The Capt. Thomas Beckford here mentioned was in all probability a relative of the Jamaican branch of the family, even if not this Thomas. The Beckford family continued to exert great influence in plantation affairs and is the one alluded to by a pamphleteer of 1754, who complains of the influence of West India fortunes in British politics: "No less than three brothers from one of our Sugar islands . . . having offered themselves one for London, one for Bristol, and one for Salisbury, and a fourth . . . intended for a Wiltshire borough" (L. M. Penson, *Colonial Agents of the British West Indies,* 1924, p. 176, n. 2). William sat at this time as a member for London, Richard for Bristol, Julius for Salisbury. In the general election of 1754 Richard Beckford was referred to by an opponent as "a West Indian hog" and a "Negroe tyrant" (John Latimer, *Annals of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century,* p. 310). See *Dictionary of National Biography* for the lives of various members of this large and famous family.

[3] That is, between St. Anne's and Bristol. Kingston, on the south side of Jamaica, was the usual port for Bristol vessels, but this seems to imply that Messrs. Tyndall and Assheton intended to use St. Anne's Bay, on the north side of the island.

[4] The name does not appear in the list of bank directors published in the *Gentleman's Magazine,* 1731.

[5] *I. e.,* six-eights of the purchase price of the negroes will be remitted when the vessel returns to Bristol, the remainder will receive one year's credit.

[174] [1] *Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa: containing a Description of the Several Nations for the Space of Six Hundred Miles up the River Gambia . . . with a particular Account of Job Ben Solomon, a Pholey, who was in England in the Year 1733, and Known by the Name of the African.* By Francis Moore, Factor several Years to the Royal African Company of England (London, 1739). Francis Moore, in the autumn of 1730 went to Africa as a "writer" for the Royal African Company. He was sent first to James Fort, near the mouth of the Gambia, then up the river to various posts. His contract with the company is from the appendix to his volume, no. I., pp. 1-5.

second, by the Grace of God, King of Great-Britain, etc., Defender of the Faith, etc. Between the Royal African Company of England of the one Part, and Francis Moore of London, Writer, of the other Part. Whereas the said Company upon the good Testimony and Character, they have received of the said Francis Moore, have entertained him the said Francis Moore into their Service in the Quality of a Writer at James Fort on James Island, in the River Gambia, or elsewhere, as the Company, or any of their Governors or chief Merchants for the Time being, at any of their Settlements in Africa, within the Limits of their Charter shall direct and appoint, for the Term of three Years certain, to commence from the time of his Arrival at James Fort, on James Island aforesaid, and for as long time after as he shall be by the said Royal African Company continued in the Place or Factories hereafter mentioned, to be employed in all or any of their Traffick, Merchandizes, Business or Affairs in any Place or Places whatsoever in Africa, wherein they or any by them authorized shall think fit to use or employ him. Now this Indenture Witnesseth, that the said Francis Moore for himself, his Executors and Administrators, doth covenant, promise and agree to and with the said Company and their Successors by these Presents, that he the said Francis Moore shall and will henceforth during the said Term of three Years and every part of the same, and for so long Time after as he shall be used or employed in the said Service of the said Company or their Successors well, duly and honestly serve the said Company and their Successors in all and every such Place and Places, and all and every such Affair and Business whatsoever, wherein they or such as shall be authorized shall employ or intrust him. And shall also from time to time, and at all times observe, keep, and pursue all and every the Orders, Directions or Instructions, which from time to time he shall receive from the said Company, or any other Person or Persons thereto authorized, or appointed by them, and to the utmost of his Power and Skill resist, and withstand all and every such Person or Persons as shall break, or endeavour to break the said Orders, Directions and Instructions, or any of them, or shall attempt or practice any Matter or Thing whatsoever, to the Hindrance or Damage of the said Company or their Successors, or of their Goods, Merchandizes, Trade or any of them, or any Part thereof. And as much as in him lies also prevent and defeat all and every such Practices, Attempts and Actions whatsoever, which shall or may tend to the Damage, defrauding or Prejudice of the said Company, or their Successors, or of their Goods or Traffick, or any Part thereof in any wise; and that he shall and will from time to time, and at all times from henceforth conceal without disclosing to any Person or Persons whatsoever, all such

Matters as be delivered unto him as Secrets by any of the Agents Factors, or any other Officers of the said Company, or their Successors, that may any ways concern the said Company, or their Successors, to have the same concealed. And further, that he the said Francis Moore shall and will from time to time, and at all Times from henceforth, give true Notice and Intelligence, with all convenient Speed unto the said Company or their Successors for the time being, or to such as shall be by them authorized in that behalf, or some of them, of all and every intended Deceits, Wrongs, Abuses, Breach of Orders, Inconveniences, and Hindrances, as he the said Francis Moore shall know, or understand, or credibly hear to be contrived, done, practised, offered or intended to be done against the said Company or their Successors, or their Goods, or Trade, or any of them, or any Person or Persons by them employed, or in their Service in any Place or Places; together with the names of those Persons by whom the same shall be so contrived, offered, practised, or intended. And also, that he the said Francis Moore shall and will from time to time, and at all times from henceforth during his said Employment, keep a true and particular Journal of all his Proceedings relating to the Affairs of the said Company, and also Books of Accompts, wherein he shall daily, duly, and truly enter the Accompt of all and every particular Buying, Selling, Receipts, Payments, and all other Transactions relating to his Trust in the said Employment; and shall not charge, place, or put to the Accompt of the said Company for any Goods, Merchandizes, Negroe Servants, or Gold, which he shall buy, any more or greater Sums, or other Things than he shall really and *bona fide* pay, deliver, or exchange for the same. And also shall bring to Account in the said Books, the full Rates and Prices of all such Goods and Commodities as he shall sell, barter, or pay in Exchange for any Negroe Servants, Gold, Elephants Teeth, Beeswax, or other Commodities, which he shall be allow'd to purchase for the Accompts of the Company. Which said Books shall be produced and delivered to the said Company, or any other by them appointed to receive the same, whensoever the same shall be demanded or sent for. And shall also on Demand well and truly deliver and pay unto the said Company, or their Successors, all and every such Monies, Goods, Negroe Servants, Gold, or Merchandizes whatsoever, as by the Foot of the same Account or otherwise shall appear to be due to him, or to remain in his Hands or Possession, or for which he ought to be chargeable or answerable in any Manner whatsoever. And moreover, the said Francis Moore doth for himself, his Heirs, Executors, and Administrators, covenant and promise to and with the Company and their Successors by these Presents, that he the said Francis

Moore shall not, nor will at any Time from henceforth during the time of his said Service, directly, or indirectly, by himself or any other, deal in, use, or practice any buying, selling, trading, bartering, or merchandizing in any Gold, Negroe Servants, Ammunition, Goods, or Commodities, of any Sort or Kind whatsoever. And shall not engage or employ either the Stocks of the said Company or any Part thereof, or make use of the Credit of the said Company in trading for any Commodities, either for himself or any others. And further, that in case he the said Francis Moore shall at any Time hereafter, during the time of his Employment in the Affairs of the said Company, or before he shall be discharged out of their Service, directly or indirectly by himself or any other, with his own Money or Merchandize, or with his own Credit, or with the Money, Merchandize, or Credit of any other, deal in, use or practise, any Buying, Selling, trading or Merchandizing for himself, or for any other Person or Persons whatsoever, but only to and for the proper Use, Benefit, and Account of the said Company or their Successors: That then he shall lose and forfeit to the said Company his growing Wages or Salary hereafter mentioned, and the Arrears thereof. And also all such Commission Money as shall then be or become due to him from the said Company. Nevertheless all and every other the Covenants, Clauses, Contracts and Agreements in these Presents contained, shall stand and be in full Force and Virtue. And moreover, the said Francis Moore doth for himself, his Heirs, Executors, and Administrators covenant and grant to and with the said Company and their Successors, that in case he the said Francis Moore or any other in Trust for him, or by his Order and Direction shall contrary to these Presents, buy, barter, sell, trade, or merchandize in or with any of the Goods, Negroe Servants, Gold, and Merchandize above-mentioned, or in any other Goods, or Merchandizes whatsoever; that then he the said Francis Moore, his Executors and Administrators upon Demand after every such buying, selling, trading, or merchandizing in any of the Commodities prohibited as aforesaid, or in any Merchandize whatsoever, shall and will pay unto the said Company or their Successors, for and upon all Sorts of Merchandize, as a Damage already agreed on and adjusted, after the Rate or Price of three hundred Pounds Sterling per Tun, and so for a greater or lesser Quantity than a Tun: And also for Gold four pounds Sterling per Ounce, and for Negroes twenty Pounds Sterling for each Negroe. And also, that he the said Francis Moore shall from Time to Time, and at all Times from henceforth, with all convenient Speed give Intelligence and Notice to the said Company, or their Successors for the Time being, as well of all and every such Person or Persons who now are, or at any time hereafter shall be employed in the

Service or Affairs of the said Company, as shall use exercise, or practice any Trading, Buying, Selling, or merchandizing in any Place or Places in any the Commodities, Negroe Servants, Gold, or Merchandizes above-mentioned, or in any other Merchandizes whatsoever, either to, from, or on the Coast of Africa aforesaid, or any Place within the Limits of their Charter, other than for the proper Account and Benefit of the said Company, and their Successors: As also of every Particular of the same trading and dealing according to his best Knowledge and Understanding. And also, that he the said Francis Moore shall and will from Time to Time, when and as often as he shall be thereunto required by Letters, Orders, or Authorities from the said Company, remove to any of their Factories where they shall so direct, require, or appoint him. And also shall come and return for England, when he shall be by the Order and Direction of the said Company thereunto required. And in case the said Francis Moore shall refuse or neglect to remove or to return into England when he shall be thereunto required as aforesaid: that then it shall and may be lawful to and for any Person or Persons, thereunto authorized by the said Company, to seize upon the Person of him the said Francis Moore, and send or bring him the said Francis Moore to and for England as aforesaid. And also to seize upon, secure, and inventory all and every the Goods, Merchandizes, Negroe Servants, Gold, and all other the Chattels of him the said Francis Moore in the Parts and Places of Africa within the Limits of the Charters of the said Company, and the same to transmit and send over into England to the said Company, there to rest in the Possession of the said Company, until the said Francis Moore shall clear his Accompts, and make good what he shall owe or stand indebted to the said Company. And lastly, the said Francis Moore doth covenant and agree to and with the said Company, that he shall and will at all Times and in all Things during the Time of his Service as aforesaid, faithfully and diligently use, behave, and demean himself as a good and faithful Servant towards the said Company and their Successors, and those by them authorized. And the said Royal African Company in Consideration of the Covenants and Agreements in these Presents contained, to be done and performed by him the said Francis Moore and provided that the said Covenants and Agreements be severally and respectively done, performed, fulfilled, and executed by him the said Francis Moore, and not otherwise, do for themselves and their Successors covenant and agree to and with the said Francis Moore, that they shall and will pay and allow unto him the said Francis Moore the Wages and Salary of thirty Pounds Sterling per Annum (and Diet according to the Company's present Establishment) in Manner following, (that is to say)

two third Parts thereof yearly and every Year, and the other third Part to remain in the Hands of the said Company, until the End or Expiration of the Time agreed upon for him the said Francis Moore to serve the said Company, and then, and upon his the said Francis Moore's clearing and evening all Accompts which shall be between him and the said Company, the same shall be paid and delivered unto him the said Francis Moore, his Executors, Administrators or Assigns. In Witness whereof the said Royal African Company of England hath to one Part of these Indentures caused their common Seal to be affixed, and the said Francis Moore to the other Part of these Indentures has set his Hand and Seal, the Day and Year first above written.

175. Francis Moore's Travels in Africa.[1]

The Fort is called James Fort, and is the chief Settlement that the Royal African Company have in this River. This Fort keeps the Right of Trading to the River Gambia for the Company, and consequently for the Subjects of England. Were this once in the Hands of the French, who, I am very well inform'd in the Year 1719 would have purchas'd it for the Mississippi Company,[2] could they have obtained Leave for the so doing, they would then exclude not only the Company, but all other Nations, from Trading hither, as they already have from the Coast of Senegal, where they maintain an exclusive Trade by Force, and take all Ships. This they justify by two Forts, which they possess on the Coast of Senegal.[3] The Royal African Company of England had formerly an exclusive Trade here; but for the Encouragement of the Plantations in America, the Parliament thinking fit that all his Majesty's People should enjoy the Liberty of Trade to Africa, for the Company's Right, and in Equity to them, who are at the Charge of maintaining the Forts for the Benefit of others, did first grant them Ten per Cent. upon all separate Ships that should Trade to the Coast, and since that ceased, have for some Years past granted to the Company 10,000£ each Year for the Maintenance of their Forts.[4] This is a very advantageous Bargain to the Nation; for as these Forts are necessary to be kept up as Marks of the British Possessions in Africa, if the Company did not maintain them, the Crown would be obliged to do it, or let them fall into the Hands of Foreigners, and it would cost

[175] [1] Moore, *Travels*.

[2] In January, 1719, John Law had absorbed into his Company of the Indies the Senegal Company, in June that of Africa, and in 1720 that of Guinea. It is altogether probable that his plans included the acquisition of the property of the English company in the Gambia. Pierre Bonnassieux, *Les Grandes Compagnies de Commerce*, p. 275, n. 3; L. A. Thiers, *The Mississippi Bubble* (1859), p. 71.

[3] St. Louis and Goree.

[4] The first parliamentary grant was made to the company in 1730.

the King to maintain them with the Garrisons and Governors under his Majesty's Commissions, 3 or 4 times as much as it does now. By this Agreement, besides a free Trade, the separate Traders have had their ships often assisted, their cargos taken off at good Prices, and have reaped several other Advantages, as well as the Publick: And the Increase of Duties which arises from the Increase that these Advantages have made in the American, as well as the African Trade, more than makes up to the Publick, the Money that is given by them for this Purpose.

Besides the Fort, there are several Factories up the River settl'd for the Conveniency of Trade. They are all under the Direction of the Governor and chief Merchants at this Fort, to whom the Factors remit all their Trade. For this Purpose the Company have here three or four Sloops of about thirty Tons each, and about the same Number of Long-Boats; some of them are constantly employed in fetching Provisions and water from the Main for the Use of the Garrison, and the rest are employed in carrying Goods up to the Factories, and bringing from them Slaves, Elephants Teeth, Wax or whatever Trade they have by them, down to James Fort. . . . These Factories are supplied with Factors sent over by the Company; or, for want of them, the most able Writers, who have given Security to the Company for their Honesty, which is generally done by two Bondsmen for the Sum of 1000 £ besides the Person's own Bond for the like Sum. Notwithstanding this giving Security, several of the Company's Factors have been so base as to embezzle their Goods, and squander them away to the Amount of very large Sums; yet have they met with such Indulgence from the Court of Chancery, that I have not known one Instance of their ever being able to oblige the Bondsmen to pay the Penalties of their Bonds (pp. 16-18). . . .

To this King[5] the Separate Traders generally pay Custom, which amounts to about One hundred and twenty Barrs, it being a Country of good Trade, especially when the Merchants come down with their Slaves, which happens according to the Numbers they bring, which are sometimes so large, that the Company's Factories up the River are not able to purchase them all; and very often when they can sell them all up the River, yet if they hear that there are a good many Ships in Barrah, they will bring their Slaves down to them, having found by Experience that by White Mens outbidding one another, they have sometimes had very large Prices for their Slaves, whereas had they not been so eager to buy from, and out-bid one another, they

[5] This was the king of Barra, "a truculent monarch of the Mandingo tribe", who demanded a salute from all who entered or left the river. He was subordinate to the ruler of Barsally. In his territory the company had two factories, one at Gillyfree and one at Colar on the Colar River, a northern tributary to the Gambia, not far inland.

might have bought the Slaves for half the Money they paid for them. Unless the separate Traders pay their Custom here, the King will not allow them to have either Wood or Water in his Country; for which Reason only a pretty many Masters of Ships chuse to pay the Kings Custom, and yet do not stay to trade here, but proceed directly up the River. . . . In this Country[6] is the Company's chief Factory of Joar, close to the Town of that Name, and about two Miles from the River, the Road to which lies one Mile over a fine pleasant Savannah, the other Mile along a narrow Creek. The Separate Traders generally come up hither to trade at Rumbo's Port, which is about three Miles from Joar, and the same distance from Cower, where is the greatest Resort of People, and the most Trade of any Town in the whole River; for it is to this Place that the Merchants always bring their Slaves, provided that they are not in great Haste to return home, or cannot meet with a very good Market for them before they come down so low (pp. 20-22). . . .

The same Merchants[7] bring down Elephants Teeth, and in some Years Slaves to the Amount of 2000, most of which they say are Prisoners taken in War: They buy them from the different Princes who take them; many of them are Bumbrongs and Petcharies,[8] Nations who each of them have different Languages, and are brought from a vast Way inland. Their Way of bringing them is, tying them by the Neck with Leather-Thongs, at about a Yard distance from each other, 30 or 40 in a String, having generally a Bundle of Corn, or an Elephant's Tooth upon each of their Heads. In their Way from the Mountains they travel thro' very great Woods, where they cannot for some Days get Water, so they carry in Skin-Bags enough to support them for that Time. I cannot be certain of the Number of Merchants who follow this Trade, but there may perhaps be about an Hundred, who go up into the Inland Country with the Goods, which they buy from the White Men, and with them purchasing in various Countries Gold, Slaves and Elephants Teeth. They use Asses as well as Slaves in carrying their Goods, but no Camels nor Horses.

Besides the Slaves which the Merchants bring down, there are many bought along the River. These are either taken in War, as the former are, or else Men condemn'd for Crimes, or else People stolen, which is very frequent. The Company's Servants never buy

[6] Barsally, north of the Gambia. Moore's narrative is accompanied by a map of the river, showing the points at which trade had been established.

[7] The Mandingoes were the middlemen in the slave traffic, for all this part of Africa.

[8] The Bumbrongs and Petcharies or Patcharis, two primitive negro tribes of the middle valley of the Gambia, dominated in the eighteenth century by the Mandingoes (H. F. Reeve, *The Gambia,* pp. 74, 188). Astley suggests that the Bumbrongs were the Bambarros, whom he had previously mentioned. *Voyages,* II. 242, note d.

any of the last, if they suspect it, without sending for the Alcade, or chief Men of the Place, and consulting with them about the Matter. Since this Slave-Trade has been us'd, all Punishments are chang'd into Slavery; there being an Advantage on such Condemnations, they strain for Crimes very hard, in order to get the Benefit of selling the Criminal. Not only Murder, Theft and Adultery, are punish'd by selling the Criminal for a Slave, but every trifling Crime is punish'd in the same manner.

There was a Man brought to me in Tomany,[9] to be sold for having stolen a Tobacco-pipe. I sent for the Alcade, and with much ado persuaded the Party grieved to accept of a Composition, and leave the Man free.

In Cantore, a Man seeing a Tyger eating a Deer, which he had kill'd and hung up near his House, fir'd at the Tyger, and the Bullet kill'd a Man: The King not only condemn'd him, but also his Mother, three Brothers and three Sisters, to be sold. They were brought down to me at Yamyamacunda; it made my Heart ake to see them, and I did not buy them; upon which they were sent farther down the River, and sold to some separate Traders Ships at Joar, and the King had the Benefit of the Goods for which they were sold.

Several of the Natives have many Slaves born in their Families: There is a whole Village near Brucoe of 200 People, who are all the Wives, Slaves, or Children of one Man. And tho' in some Parts of Africa they sell their Slaves born in the Family, yet in the River Gambia they think it a very wicked thing; and I never heard of but one that ever sold a Family-Slave, except for such Crimes as would have made them to be sold had they been free. If there are many Family-Slaves, and one of them commits a Crime, the Master cannot sell him without the joint Consent of the rest; for if he does, they will all run away, and be protected by the next Kingdom, to which they fly. The Slaves sold in the River, besides those brought by the Merchants, may amount in a Year to about 1000, more or less, according to the Wars upon the River (pp. 41-43). . . .

A Barr is a denomination given to a certain Quantity of Goods of any Kind, which Quantity was of equal Value among the Natives to a Barr of Iron, when this River was first traded to. Thus, a Pound of Fringe is a Barr, two Pounds of Gunpowder is a Barr, an Ounce of Silver is but a Barr, and 100 Gun-Flints is a Barr, and each Species of trading Goods, has a Quantity in it called a Barr; therefore their Way of reckoning is by Barrs, or Crowns, one of which does not sometimes amount to above one Shilling Sterling; but that happens

[9] Tomany, south of the Gambia, a country with more large towns in it than any other on the river. The company had a factory at the town of Yamyamacunda in Tomany. Moore, p. 26.

according to the Goods which they are in Want of, sometimes cheap, sometimes dear. These five Articles, *viz.* Spread-Eagle Dollars, Crystal Beads, Iron Barrs, Brass Pans, and Arrangoes, are called the Heads of the Goods, because they are dearest. When you agree with the Merchants for Slaves, you always agree how many of the Heads of the Goods you shall give him upon each Slave, which is three or four, if Slaves are worth forty or fifty; but when Slaves are dearer, as they oftentimes are, at eighty Barrs per Head, then you must give five, and sometimes six of the Heads upon every Slave; and there is an Assortment made of the Goods, by Barrs of different Species, which come out to the Price of the Slaves. The Men and Women used to be much dearer than Boys and Girls; but there have been so many Vessels in the River of late Years, for young Slaves, to carry to Cadiz and Lisbon, that there is scarce any Difference between the Prices of young Slaves and grown ones (p. 45). . . .

On the *14th* [*November, 1730*], sailed the Company's Snow, *Guinea* Pacquet, Capt. William Martin, on a trading Voyage down the Gold Coast, and so to Cape Coast Castle, the head Settlement the Company have in all Africa; with her went Mr. Philip Galand, my Ship-Mate, in order to learn the Coast Trade. About Midnight our Ensign was called down by the Centinels, who were then on Duty, in order to prevent the Slaves from making their Escape, they having got an Iron Bar out of the Slave-House Window; but it was then too small for a Man to get out at, so that they were taken and secured in another Place for that Night, and on the next Day the Ringleader of them being found out, and proving to be an old Offender, he was ordered one hundred Lashes (p. 49). . . .

On the *31st* [*December*], early in the Morning; we saw a Vessel coming up the River: When she was over against Albreda, the Governor ordered a Shot to be fired to bring her to. Upon which she immediately lowered her Sails, but did not think fit to come to an Anchor, till she had run upon the Company's spit of Sand and Rocks, which runs out from the Island where she struck; Upon which the Governor ordered our Ensign to go on Board her, and bring her into the right channel; during which Time she sent her Boat with one of the Mates to tell the Governor, that she was the Brigantine *John and Anne,* Capt. Thomas Stoneham, a separate Trader from London. In the Evening she came to anchor on the North side of the Island, and saluted the Fort and in about three Days time the Captain went ashore to Gillyfree, and was there seized by the Natives, for anchoring at the Port of Gillyfree, and not paying his Customs to the King of Barrah; he immediately sent over Word of his being confined, upon which the Governor sent our Ensign over to his As-

sistance; and upon Promise of his paying the King's Custom of One Hundred and Twenty Bars Country Money, next day, he was permitted to go on board his Vessel, and on the Day following he paid the said sum (p. 56). . . .

. . . [The French at Albreda][10] drive a considerable Trade, but are much hinder'd by the English not allowing them to give above forty Barrs per Head for Slaves: but in the year 1735, there being great Demand for Slaves at the Missisippi, where the French Gentlemen themselves informed me they send their Slaves,[11] they broke thro' that Agreement, and gave fifty Barrs per Head for Slaves, with seven of each of the Heads of the Goods, which amounted to more than Ten Pounds Sterling; their Goods being better in their kind than our English generally are, was the reason of their purchasing a great many Slaves in that Year, notwithstanding there were no less than three Liverpool Vessels trading about a Mile above the French, at the Port of Gillyfree, who gave Seventy or Eighty Barrs per Head, and yet were not able to purchase near the Number of Slaves which the French did. In the Year 1724, there was a Contract made between the French Agents at Goree and the English at James Fort, that the French should settle a Factory in the River Gambia below James Fort, in order to make what Trade they could; and altho' the English Company's Stock was then at the lowest Ebb, and not that only, but it is very probable that the French were resolved to settle there, either with or without Leave, yet is it to be observed, that the Royal African Company, in lieu of the French having a single Settlement in Gambia, obtained Leave for to send Vessels when they pleas'd, to trade both at Joally and Portodally, two Places near Goree, which produce great Trade, and which the French are at a great deal of Pains, as well as Cost, to engross to themselves: By which means, notwithstanding the Articles, our Voyages there often miscarry (pp. 58-59). . . .

The same Evening[12] the Ship *Kent,* Capt. Francis Wheeler, from the Gold Coast, arrived, and anchored at James Fort, in order to

[10] The French establishment consisted of a factor, two writers, and four or five other white men. Relations between the French and the English on the river were friendly at the time of Moore's voyage, and social visits were exchanged between James Fort and the French vessels at Albreda. Moore, pp. 57, 63.

[11] For some account of the French demand for slaves in Louisiana at this time see this work, vol. III., Louisiana.

[12] Feb. 19, 1731. On Jan. 11 the *Elizabeth,* John Carruthers, a separate trader, and an unnamed vessel had arrived in the river; on the 12th the *Herbert,* Plater Onley (see *ante,* no. 126); on the 13th the *Ruby,* brigantine, captains Creague and Colwell; on the 25th the *William and Betty,* Whitloe, a separate trader from Liverpool; on the 31st the *Bonetta,* Captain James Livingstone, a company vessel bringing out a cargo for trade and several persons for the company's service. Moore, pp. 59-60.

take in some Boys and Girls, which he had contracted for of our chief Merchants (pp. 62-63).[13] . . .

On the *17th* [*March, 1731*] the Company's Sloop *Fame,* John Boys Master, sailed for Cohone, in Barsally, on a trading Voyage, which lies in the same Kingdom as the Company's chief Factory at Joar, about a hundred Miles from it, and near the Sea. There the King commonly resides; and as there is good Profit to be made for the Company by these Voyages, provided their Supercargoes are honest, they generally send two or three Times in a Year. Whenever the King of Barsally wants Goods or Brandy, he sends a Messenger to our Governor, at James Fort, to desire he would send a Sloop there with a Cargo; this News being not at all unwelcome, the Governor sends accordingly. Against the arrival of the said Sloop, the King goes and ransacks some of his Enemies Towns, seizing the People, and selling them for such Commodities as he is in want of, which commonly is Brandy or Rum, Gunpowder, Ball, Guns, Pistols, and Cutlasses, for his Attendants and Soldiers; and Coral and Silver for his Wives and Concubines. In case he is not at War with any neighbouring King, he then falls upon one of his own Towns, which are numerous, and uses them in the very same Manner. After the *Fame* Sloop had been gone about five Days, she came back to the Fort, having lost three Anchors, and narrowly escaped being lost herself, in trying to go over the Bar which is at the Mouth of the River Joally, on her Way to Cohone; the Smith immediately set to work and refitted her, and on the Morrow she set out again on her Voyage.

On the *29th,* the Company's Ship *Bonetta* sailed on a trading Voyage down to Sierra Leone, and Cape Coast Castle, etc., with whom went Mr. Thomas Bursey, a Writer, in joint Commission with Capt. Livingstone, who commanded the said Ship. . . .

The Ship *Kent,* Captain Francis Wheeler, sailed for Lisbon, with a Cargo of young Slaves (pp. 65-67). . . .

. . . Soon after[14] came down the *Arabella,* Captain Pyke, a separate Trader, from Joar, loaded with Slaves; and having stay'd a Day or two at James Fort, sail'd for Maryland, having among his Compliment of Slaves one Man call'd Job Ben Solomon, of the Pholey Race, and Son to the High-Priest of Bundo in Foota, a Place about ten Days Journey from Gillyfree; who was travelling on the

[13] On Feb. 10, 1731, the *Success,* Capt. Robert Cummins, a company vessel bound for Cape Coast, came up the river; on the 11th a separate trader, the *Arabella,* under Captain Pyke, from London, arrived and the next evening sailed up the river for Joar; on the 20th the *John and Anne,* Captain Stoneham, arrived. Soon after this the *Ruby* sailed for the Gold Coast, where she was attacked by the natives and Captain Colwell was killed. Moore, pp. 61-65.

[14] Soon after Apr. 11, 1731.

South Side of this River, with a Servant, and about twenty or thirty Head of Cattle, which induced a King of a Country a little Way inland, between Tancrowall and Yamina, not only to seize his Cattle, but also his Person and Man, and sold them both to Captain Pyke, as he was trading at Joar. He would have been redeemed by the Pholeys, but was carried out of the River before they had Notice of his being a Slave.[15] The same day the *Elizabeth,* Capt. Carruthers, came down from Joar with his Compliment of Slaves.

On the *18th* [*April*], in the Morning, the *John and Anne* Brigantine, Captain Stoneham, a separate Trader, came down the River with most of his Men sick (p. 69). . . .

The next Day the *Mary,* Captain Gordon, sailed for the Coast; as did likewise the *Sierra Leone,* Captain Jenkins, for South Carolina; which last arrived here before I came, and delivered his Cargo to to the Governor and Chief Merchants, for which they paid One hundred and eighty Slaves (p. 70). . . .

On the *2d of May,* the *John and Anne,* Captain Stoneham, sailed for Sierra Leone, the Crew being in very indifferent Health. About two Days afterwards the *Herbert,* Captain Onley, sailed for Virginia or Maryland; as did also the Day after the *William and Betty,* Captain Whitloe, for the West-Indies.[16]

On the *15th,* the *Adventure* Sloop sail'd up for Yamyamacunda,[17] from whence she took Mr. James Conner on Board her as Super-Cargo to Fatatenda[18] on a Trading-Voyage. . . . The next Day the Company's Snow, *Guinea* Pacquet, Captain Martin, came up to James Fort, from a Trading-Voyage down the Coast. We had expected her two Months past, but the reason of her Stay was occasion'd by her being obliged to turn to Windward all the Way back from the Coast. The *Greyhound* Galley, Captain Ramsay, from England, a separate Trader, came up in the Evening; and anchor'd near the Fort (pp. 70-71). . . .

[15] For the remainder of this story, see *post,* nos. 176 and 197. Moore describes the Pholeys as "People of a tawny Coulor . . . much like the Arabs, which Language they most of them speak", "they are industrious and frugal, and raise much more Corn and Cotton than they consume. . . . To have a Pholey Town in the Neighbourhood, is by the Natives reckon'd a Blessing". They were a nomadic people, not subject to the rulers of the countries in which they lived, but with their own chiefs. Moore, pp. 30, 32, 39.

[16] For the arrival of these vessels in the river see above, notes 12 and 13. As evidence of usefulness of the Royal African Company, it was its custom to send home certificates as to the services it had rendered the private traders. Such a certificate the master of the *William and Betty* refused to sign. June 10, 1731, Rogers, Stibbs, and Harrison to the company, T 70: 7, p. 179.

[17] Moore speaks of the factory here as having a considerable trade in dry goods, but does not mention slaves. Moore, p. 26.

[18] Fatatenda, or Fath Tenda, two hundred miles from the mouth of the river, was the point at which George Thompson had established a settlement when he was sent out in 1618. The word "tenda", meaning wharf or port, frequently occurs in the names of villages along the river. Reeve, *The Gambia,* p. 51.

On the *22d,* the *Elizabeth,* Captain Carruthers, a separate Trader, loaded with Slaves, sailed for South Carolina. The *Fame* Sloop returned from the King of Barsally's Town Cahone, having made a tolerable Voyage; she directly unloaded, and putting on Board a Cargo for Joar Factory, she proceeded immediately up thither, and from thence to Yamyamacunda, in order to bring down all the Dry Goods [19] from each Factory, to send Home by the *Guinea* Pacquet, which will go very soon for England (pp. 71-72). . . .

On the *24th* [*August*], the Governor and Mr. Harrison sent for me, and told me, that as they were in Expectation of my being appointed a Factor by the next Advice from the Company, they had thought it proper to send me up to Joar in the mean Time, to learn the Nature of the Trade, and the Temper of the Natives, and order'd me to prepare myself for the Voyage.

On the *28th,* about Ten at Night, I embark'd on Board the *Fame* Sloop, John Boys Master, and proceeded up the River towards Joar, having receiv'd from the Governor and Chief Merchants the following Orders.

JAMES FORT, Aug. 28, 1731.

Sir, You are, on Receipt hereof, to embark on Board the Company's Sloop *Fame,* Capt. John Boys, and proceed to Joar Factory under the Direction of Mr. William Roberts, Factor, whom we have order'd to give you the best Light into the Nature of the Trade, and every thing else necessary to qualify you to take upon you the Management of the Company's Affairs, where and whenever it shall be required of you.

You are therefore, upon your Arrival there, to apply yourself to him; and, so long as you shall continue there, to aid and assist him in every thing that relates to the Trade, and the Company's Affairs, and especially to be on all Occasions obedient to his Commands, in order to enable you to be the sooner qualified as aforesaid.

You are to advise us, from Time to Time, of the Progress you make, and give us a particular Account of your Remarks of the Trade, and above all, the Methods you shall think best to be used to please the Traders, and to encourage them to trade with the Company with the least Expence. We wish you Health, and are

Your Loving Friends

ANTHONY ROGERS.
THO. HARRISON.

. . . About thirty Leagues from the Fort [20] we met the *Greyhound* Galley, Capt. Ramsay, a separate Trader, who had been lying at Joar all the Rains, and not purchased above seventy five Slaves, and some of them he was obliged to take by Force, they being free People, crossing the River in a Canoa, whom he took on Account of old Serin Donso, a noted Broker at Cower, near Joar, who having

[19] By "dry goods" Moore apparently refers to all commodities other than slaves which the company received from the natives.

[20] James Fort. Moore was on his way to Joar, which he reached Sept. 4, 1731.

had a great deal of Money from Capt. Ramsay, on Promise of bringing him a great deal of Trade, and not being so good as his Word, he very justly seized these People, and the Natives hearing of it, obliged the old Broker to redeem them, which he accordingly did.

This Ship having lost her Voyage, for want of being able to slave soon, and being obliged to lie, at great Expence and Hazards of Men's Lives, all the wet Season, made me think what great Advantage it might be both to the separate Traders, and the Company, if the great Mart of Exchange was to be at James Fort: That is to say, if the Company kept a Stock of Slaves at the Fort, sufficient to furnish any Ship immediately, with a whole Cargo, which as soon as disposed of, they might be again supplied from their Out-Factories. The separate Trader would afford to give a larger Price at James Fort, than he can up the River, for there is the Charges of going up, the Uncertainty of getting the Cargo, and when he has sometimes got half a Cargo, he may lie some Months before he can be able to compleat it; all the Time he lies there he runs the Hazard of the Sickness and Rebellion of those Slaves he already has, they being apter to rise in a Harbour than when out at Sea; since if they once get Masters of a Ship, in the River, their Escape to Shore is almost certain, by running the Ship aground; but at Sea it is otherwise, for if they should surprize a Ship there, as they cannot navigate her, they must have the Assistance of the White Men, or perish. Besides, whilst the Ships lie in the River, the Crews are apt to be sick, and consequently not able to guard their Slaves; of which several Instances have been, and Ships lost thereby. They are also liable to Palavers, which often turn out very expensive, and they are obliged to pay Customs, and make excessive large Presents to the Kings and Brokers, as those who have been trading to Joar must know by Experience. All this would be avoided by buying a Cargo at once. The Company would have a conveniency also by it, since they cannot without Disadvantage, buy dry Goods, without buying Slaves with them. If therefore they sold the Slaves to the separate Traders, they might assort their Warehouse with the European Goods from them, and thereby command all the dry Goods in the River, in spite both of the Portugueze and French; and with good Care of the Factors, there might be dry Goods enough procured for to load home the Company's Ships with Speed, so as they might not be upon Charges, and lose Time by going on trading Voyages down the Coast, none of which, in my Time, ever turned out to the Company's Advantage (pp. 79-82). . . .

It is to that insatiable Thirst of his [21] after Brandy, that his Subjects Freedoms and Families are in so precarious a Situation; for he very often goes with some of his Troops by a Town in the Daytime, and returns in the Night and sets fire to three Parts of it, and sets Guards to the fourth to seize the People as they run out from the Fire; he ties their Arms behind them, and marches them to the Place where he sells them, which is either Joar or Cohone (p. 87). . . .

On the *22d of December,* Captain Robert Clarke, a separate Trader, who was late in the Company's Service, and went home last June, came to anchor at Rumbo's Port in the Snow *Tryall,* in order to purchase young Slaves for Lisbon.

On the *3d of January* [*1732*] came up a New-England Scooner call'd the *Gambia,* John Major Master, loaded with Salt and Rum; he stay'd here but a short while, and then proceeded up the River to Cassan,[22] about four Tides above this place (p. 89). . . .

On the *21st* of this Month of *January,* arrived the King of Barsally, who yesterday fell upon one of his own Towns, and having taken a good many Prisoners, brought them along with him, with Intent (I believe) to sell them to Captain Clarke, a separate Trader, now at anchor at Rumbo's Port. On his Arrival he took Possession of Mr. Roberts's Bed and Room for himself, and the Slavehouse for his Slaves and People who look after them. He soon inquired after that Fellow which I found robbing the Stores, whom Mr. Roberts some time since sent down to the Fort, he being an intimate acquaintance of the King's. The King's Behaviour this Time was not much unlike the last, which obliged me to write the following letter to the Governor.

To Anth. Rogers, Esq; Governor of James Fort.

JOAR FACTORY, Jan. 22, 1731/2.

Sir, On the 18th Instant I received your agreeable Letter as also some from Mr Oglethorpe and Mr Hayes.[23] I must now acquaint you, that the Day after

[21] The king of Barsally. Shortly after Moore's arrival at Joar this potentate appeared with 300 followers, drank up the liquor at the factory, and rifled the stores.

[22] Cassan, Kassan, or Gasson, a small town on the north side of the Gambia, about 125 miles up the river.

[23] James Oglethorpe had become a director of the Royal Company in 1731 and deputy governor in 1732. Since he became engrossed in his plans for settling Georgia in 1732 and sailed for America in October of that year, it is difficult to believe that the affairs of the company received much of his attention at any period after 1732. For his part in the story of Job ben Solomon see *post,* pp. 423-424. Francis Moore's connection with Oglethorpe did not cease with this expedition, for we find Moore in the winter of 1735-1736 on board the *Simmonds* with the Wesleys and Oglethorpe, bound for Georgia. An account of this voyage he published in 1744. He is thought to have been the writer of the letter from Savannah published in the *Gentleman's Magazine,* VI. 229 (1736). The editor of John Wesley's *Journal* speaks of Wesley as having seen the letters, "afterwards published", in which Francis Moore gives his account of the voyage (*Wesley's Journal,* standard ed., I. 140, 146).

Charles Hayes, deputy governor of the company for a number of years and the author of tracts in its defense, was more of a mathematician and geographer than a merchant.

the King of Barsally arrived with a small Retinue of about a hundred Men, and forty or fifty Slaves, most of which are unmerchantable. He came directly to the Factory, and took Possession of Mr Roberts's Room for himself, and the Slavehouse for his People and Captives. He endeavour'd as much as possible to get the Key of the Stores, which Mr Roberts prevented with much Difficulty by rushing out of the Room. Soon after he sent his Men to seize me, who when they brought me to him, laid me along upon the Bed, and searched my Pockets for the Key of the Store, but found it not. He asks much after that Fellow we sent down for robbing the Stores, and is very angry at our sending him from hence. His being so inquisitive after that Fellow, so eager after the Key of the Stores, and his not suffering People to carry any thing from the Factory, gives me reason to believe that he intends to strip the Warehouse ere he departs; which, I am afraid, nothing but a Sloop's Arrival (with Mr Harrison) can prevent. I am obliged to bear the Insults of his People to prevent Outrages; but as I am now in hopes of going soon from hence, I will bear whatever I possibly can, believing it to be for the Company's Interest (pp. 90-92). . . .

Instructions to be observed by Messrs William Roberts and Francis Moore, Factors, at Joar.[24]

James Fort, 22 January, 1731/2.

Our last to you, Mr. Roberts, was of the 15th Instant, which acknowledged the Receipt of your Letter of the 7th with your Book of Accomps, all which we have perused, but have not as yet had Time to give you our Observations thereon.

This now goes by the *Fame* Sloop, Capt. John Boys, and serves to cover Invoices of sundry Goods and Merchandize, amounting to 4674 Bars, 4 *s.* 0 *d.* which we hope will come safe to Hand, and prove to Content, they being in all Respects agreeable to your own Indent.

We are in the first Place to acquaint you, Mr William Roberts, that whereas the Company in their Letter to us, have signified their Pleasure concerning Joar Factory, that it being a Place of great Trust, ought not to be left under the Direction of one Factor: You are hereby required to admit Mr. Francis Moore, to be your Colleague, and from the Receipt hereof to be with you jointly concerned in the Management of the Company's Affairs, and for the better carrying on the same, you are to observe, that nothing be transacted but what shall first meet with the Approbation of the other; for as you are equally concerned and accountable, so it is but reasonable that each Person should have it in his Power to prevent any thing being done that to him shall seem to be to the Prejudice of the Company. You are therefore on Receipt hereof (if you, Mr Moore, are not satisfied that the Remains in Store do correspond with Mr Roberts's Books from the 1st Instant) to take an Inventory of all the Company's Effects at the Factory first, and which if it should be thought necessary to be done, you are hereby required and directed, that Capt. Boys be there present, in order to enable him to sign and testify to us, that the same is an exact and just Inventory of all the Company's Effects there.

The Company has highly reflected and resented our Conduct for suffering and passing by without showing due Resentment, (by discharging all such Factors and others in the Service, and sending them home with such Characters as they

[24] Moore, *Travels,* App., no. II., pp. 6-11. Before Moore's letter had had time to reach the fort the *Fame* arrived at Joar, bringing new instructions to Roberts and Moore, occasioned by the company's attempt, under the new director, Oglethorpe, to inaugurate a more rigid discipline. Moore adds that the company was also making great efforts to develop trade in commodities other than slaves, a policy which it will be remembered had been inaugurated by the Duke of Chandos. Moore, p. 93.

deserve, in order that they recover the Damages of their Bondmen) to all those who have squandered away and have been lavish of their Capital Goods, even in Trade, and other ways appropriated them to their own Uses; to such who have run themselves in Debt, particularly those who have left Powers of Attorney behind them, and to those in particular who are at Out Factories, such as formerly made good Remittances of dry Goods, and of late none; they, in particular, the Company absolutely commands us to use with no show of Compassion, nor admit of any Excuse or Pretence, but forthwith to send them home as aforesaid, they being but too well assured, that the Reason proceeds from the Factors applying them to their own Uses. . . .

1st. You are to observe, that the keeping of your Books do commence immediately after you have taken an Inventory, and at the latter End of March next to send down an Abstract or Ballance Sheet of your Accompts to that time, and at the latter End of June, two Setts of your Books, (*viz.* Journal and Ledger, and such other Books as are necessary to be kept ballanced and signed by your selves, one of which to be sent to the Company, the other to remain here on the Fort.

2dly, You are on no Account to omit sending us an exact Journal of the real Goods as well as Price you pay for whatever Slaves, Teeth, Wax or Gold you remit to the Fort from time to time, whereby we may see in what manner you trade, and to give you Credit for the same in our Books, conformable to the Company's Instructions.

3dly, You are to take a particular Care that you charge no Goods upon Trade, but what you really and *bona fide* pay for the same; and as it has formerly been a Custom to enter Goods given in Presents on account of Trade, as paid for the Trade you afterwards made, you are now to charge all such Presents in Trade, etc. in distinct Accompts by itself, that the prime Cost of all Trade may appear in your Books without any additional Charges, by which Means it will be a Guide for new Comers hereafter to go by.

4thly, You are to be very frugal in your Expences, and on no account to make unnecessary Presents, and for such as you find necessary to make, you are to be very particular, in expressing the same in your Books, assigning your Reasons for so doing, and for what Account; without which it is the Company's express Orders to us to charge all such Expences, etc. to your respective Accompts.

5thly, You are to be very careful and circumspect in your Choice of Slaves, that you on no account purchase any but such as shall be merchantable, free from Sickness, Distempers, Ruptures, or loss of Limbs; all such as you shall purchase that appear to have any of the above Ails, or are otherways unmerchantable, are (as the Company directs in such Cases) to be placed to your Accompts, charging you for each Slave 50 Barrs, without a Power to dispose of the same again, unless you first obtain Liberty from the Governor and Council for so doing.

6thly, In case of Mortality of any Negroes, you are to enter the same in your Books, and charge no more than the prime Cost of the Slave that dies, drawing out two Certificates, specifiing the Manner of his dying, with the Distemper as near as you can guess, which Certificates must be attested by whatever White Men are at the Factory, and send the same to the Fort, one of which to be sent to the Company.

7thly, You are to omit no Opportunity of advising us of the State of your Affairs, whereby we may be able to send you what Supplies you may have Occasion for from time to time, and if no Opportunity happens in 15 Days, to send a Messenger.

8thly, You must take particular Care, that the Company's Goods suffer no Damage, either by the Bugabugs, or any other Accident, the Company's Orders being, that all such Goods as are damaged by your Neglect, are to be charged to your Accompts.

9thly, You are on no Account to absent your selves from the Factory, unless Leave be first granted you from the Governor, and then for no more than one, to prevent Losses in the mean time.

10thly, You are on no Account whatever to lend any of the Company's Servants or Natives any Money, except those that reside with you, except you receive particular Orders for so doing from the Governor or chief Merchants.

11thly, Whereas the Company has of late received great Abuses by their Servants, appropriating to their own Uses a great deal of dry Goods, *viz.* Teeth, Wax, Gold, and oftentimes Slaves, and it being one and the chief Reason, we have recalled Mr Saxby from Joar, and rendered him unfit to serve the Company: You are hereby to observe and take due Notice, that you are not on any Pretence whatsoever, to take to your Account, dispose of, sell, barter, or deliver to any Person or Persons, any Slaves, Teeth, or Wax, on any Account; neither are you to buy any of the said Commodities, nor any other Person or Persons for you (for any other Use, Intent, or Purpose, or Account, than the Royal African Company of England.) And for the better preventing such gross Abuses for the future, you are hereby to observe, that . . . for every Slave . . . which you shall sell, barter, deliver, or make use of, without our previous Knowledge and Consent thereto, you shall be mulcted 200 Barrs . . . and be rendered incapable to serve the Company hereafter.

Having inserted the above Orders, you are further to observe, that as we have no immediate Call or Demand for Slaves, you are not to exceed 40 Barrs a Head, and above 4 of Silver, Iron, and Crystal, all Charges and Customs included, especially Silver, of which we have but very little, and not sufficient to answer the Demands that the Trade for dry Goods requires. We therefore think it a Matter of the greatest Consequence to endeavour to reduce it to three Barrs a Head in that Commodity, provided in lieu thereof you advance in Brass and Arrangoes to 5 or 6 Barrs a Head; the only Reason we have not to give you Orders peremtorily to give no more than three, is, because we would willingly prevent the Merchants from passing down. On that Consideration only we would have you give four, the Prevention of which would perhaps strengthen a Proposal the Company have given us Orders to make the French Company about supplying them with Slaves on certain Considerations which probably they would come into the sooner, when they find it is in our Power to prevent the Trade from coming down to their Factory. . . .

And as the Company will admit of no Excuses from us, and plainly tells us, our Non-performances proceed from our Negligence, and not commanding our Factors to pursue the same, and to give due Encouragement: We shall expect without fail your Answers to those, that the Company may at least be satisfied with our Endeavours, we mean in Regard to our giving the necessary Orders. We therefore expect that you'll exert your selves, and give all due Encouragement, and as to the Prices we must leave it to your own Prudence to agree with the Natives in the best Manner you can, or otherwise, what Reasons you can have to urge to the contrary.

We have had from sundry Persons good Informations, that the King of Barsally had laid a Foundation of forming a bad Design against the Company's Factory, and their Affairs, on account of your having seized his Slave for Theft; to prevent which, and that of two Evils the least is to be chosen, we have released him, it not being proper by any Means for the sake of gaining one

Slave to run so great a Risque, as the shipping him off would in all Probability create; so that all we can say on that Head, is to recommend more prudent Measures for the future, and not to take Wolves to watch your Sheep.

You are to acquaint old Serin Donso with our Orders concerning the Trade, and that Mr. Rogers can't possibly come up, but that Mr. Harrison will in his way up the River call there in about a Fortnight's Time; in the mean Time acquaint him that we expect the Performance of his Promise to us when down here, in every Respect.

You are not to detain the Sloop longer than while you are unloading her, and than you have finished the Survey as aforesaid provided it is thought meet.

To the Governor, and chief Merchants of James Fort.[25]

JOAR FACTORY, Feb. 8, 1732.

Gentlemen, Yours, per the *Fame* Sloop, came safe to hand, with the Goods, agreeable to Invoice. I have perused the several Paragraphs of your Letter, and shall endeavour, on my Part, carefully to observe the same, and hope shall not fail therein. What merchantable Slaves the King of Barsally brought, he sold to Capt. Clarke, before the Sloop arrived, altho' he gave me fair Promises every Day. As to his Behaviour here, Mr. Moore, and Capt. Boys will inform you more than I can express in Writing. We endeavour'd to keep him out of the Stores, but to no Purpose, he would not be resisted, but go in, and with him ten or twelve of his People, intent upon nothing but Thieving, which we could in no manner prevent. His own Key-keeper has a Key, with which they open'd the Stores in the Night-time, and stole considerable Quantities of Goods, an exact Account of which you have herein inclosed. Had not the Sloop come up, nothing could have prevented their taking the whole Store. They have stole almost all I had, broke my Chest, and Messieurs Harrison's and Moore's Scrutores, and taken most of the Things out of them. All our Servants ran away, being afraid of being seized and sold. Unless the King can be prevented from coming here, and acting in this Manner, no Person can pretend to live here; being not only in Danger of losing what Things we have, but even our Lives. I hope, Gentlemen, you'll consider, and give Redress, our Case being quite desperate. I have no more to add, but remain, Gentlemen,

Your most humble Servant,

WILLIAM ROBERTS.

On our Way down we met a large Ship from Bristol, called the *Gregory,* Capt. Robert Smith, a separate Trader, going up the River to slave at Joar. We also met the *Adventure* Sloop going up to Samy, with Mr. Lemaigre, a Company's Factor, who lives there,[26] and trades for the Company, to whom he remits Slaves the Year round, at forty Barrs per Head.

On the *11th* [*February, 1732*], we arrived at James Fort having had a brisk fair Gale all the Way down. The Governor was gone down in the *Guinea* Packet, Capt. Martin (who arrived here from

[25] Moore returned to the fort on board the *Fame,* carrying with him the letter which follows.

[26] Samy, a factory of the company on the Samy River north of Gambia, in Upper Yani. Stibbs, who was entertained by M. Lemaigre, says that he was a French private trader, who lived five miles up the Damasensa River, and was the only European in the immediate region. Moore, p. 251.

England the 15th Instant) to Barringding,[27] one of the King of Barrah's Towns, where he yet staid, in order to adjust some Disputes between him and the Company, concerning the Governor's assisting some separate Traders, who refuse to pay the King's Customs.

On the *14th,* the *Guinea* Packet returned with the Governor; there likewise came up in Company with her a large Ship from Lisbon, called the *Andaluzia,* Capt. Pearson, to purchase Slaves for the Brazil. The next Day the *Adventure* Sloop carried up the Alcade of Vintain, and his Attendants, to their own Town, they having been down with the Governor at the King of Barrah's Town.

On the *22d,* the Governor and I went on board the *Guinea* Packet, who was then going on a trading Voyage to Cutcheo, after which we went on board the *Dispatch* Sloop, to take Leave of the Captain, being now bound for England. After we had sailed a little Way down with them, we came up in the Cutter. And the next Day we went over to Gillyfree, with Mr. John Harrison, to take Charge of that Factory, in the room of Mr. Hugh Hamilton, who was going to settle a Factory at Fatatenda.

Soon after, the *Andaluzia,* Capt. Pearson, sailed up the River: and the *Tryal,* Capt. Clarke, came down from Joar, having about seventy young Slaves; by him we received Advice that the Company's Factory at Yamyamacunda was burnt down (pp. 96-98). . . .

. . . Soon after, the *Sea-Nymph* sail'd[28] for James Fort, with a Parcel of fine Slaves which Mr. Roberts had purchased during my Absence. . . .

On the next Day [*March 9*], my Colleague, Mr. Roberts, quitted the Factory, on account of my being in Charge of the Store: All the Servants belonging to the Factory he took along with him, except our Girl-Cook, and she would not be perswaded to go away on any Account. He dressed himself in Clothes like the Natives, and went and lived at Cower, which lies about three Miles from Joar (p. 101). . . .

Here [Cower] lives that old Man, so well known to all White Men, call'd Serin Donso, who exacts upon every Body very much, and has such great Power over all the Merchants who bring their Slaves here, that unless you see him, it is in vain to expect Trade. This is the chief Town on the whole River; and, as I hinted before, the best Place for Trade.

On the *12th,* the *Andaluzia,* Capt. Pierson, came up to anchor at Rumbo's Port, in order to purchase Slaves; she had not a sortable

[27] The chief town of the Mandingoes.

[28] On Mar. 1 Moore started the return journey to Joar, on the *Sea-Nymph,* with a letter to Roberts which expressed lack of faith in his accusations against the king of Barsally, and placed Moore in charge of the stores. On Mar. 8 Hugh Hamilton and Edward Peeters, on their way to settle a factory at Fatatenda, and Philip Garland and Henry Johnson, going to Brucoe for the same purpose, arrived at Joar.

Cargo, and therefore bought but few; those which he did buy, lying him in about Ten Pounds Sterling per Head.

On the *22d* I receiv'd Advice, that Capt. Major of the New-England Scooner was some few Days since cut off by the People of Cassan, a little Way up the River, at the Persuasion of Chequo Voss, a Portuguese, who lives there (p. 102). . . .

On the *10th* [*April*],[29] we arriv'd at Yanimarew, which is the plesantest Port in the whole River, being delightfully shaded by Palm and Ciboa Trees, the Leaves of which are made use of for covering Houses, and are called Palmetto. Here the Company have a small House, with a Black Factor, to purchase Corn for the Use of the Fort. In 1734 several separate Traders coming to Joar, and finding themselves ill used by Serin Donso, the chief Broker, they one and all came up to this Place, and made the Merchants bring up their Slaves from Joar after them, which had like to have occasioned a Quarrel between the King of Yany and the King of Barsally, the latter thinking that the former had sent Messengers to decoy the Ships from his Port of Joar.

On the *15th,* we left Yanimarew, and proceeded up to Cassan, a little above it, where, about three Weeks before, the New England Scooner [30] was cut off by the Natives. As soon as we arrived there, Mr. Harrison and I went ashore, where, when the whole Town was come about us, Mr. Harrison demanded the Slattee to give him an Account how he dared to kill Capt. Major, of the New England Scooner: To which he answer'd, as near as I could translate it, in the following Manner.

"Some Years ago this Place was a Port of great Trade, which made a great many Ships resort hither; who often used us very ill, by carrying away several of our Friends and Relations by Force, without any Provocation. Even last Year Capt. Stoneham carried away one of my own Nephews, because Seignior Chequo Voss, a Portuguese, who lives in this Town, was not so good as his Promise, in bringing him Trade by the Time limited. Now lately, this New England Scooner began also to impose upon me in the following Manner. Soon after it arrived at my Port, the King of Lower Yany,[31] in whose Dominion this Town is, sent a Slave to me to sell for him, which I carried aboard the Scooner, to Capt. Major; but he having no very good Goods, at least not such as I liked, made me

[29] Early in April James Davis had arrived to take charge of Joar, and Moore was directed to go to the factory at Yamyamacunda and aid James Conner in its management. Roberts was to assist Davis until a permanent assistant arrived, when he was to return to James Fort.

[30] "This Scooner belonged chiefly to one Capt. Moore, of New England, who was then trading in a Sloop at the Port of Yamyamacunda. The Men when the Slattee gave them the Boat, went up to him thither, where he made a very profitable Voyage" (p. 113).

[31] Yani or Niani is south of the river, about 100 miles from its mouth.

defer selling him, till such Time as I could acquaint the King what Sort of Goods he had; upon which the Captain desir'd I would leave the Slave aboard till the King's Answer came, which I accordingly did. At length I receiv'd Orders from the King not to sell the Slave, for he did not like the Captain's Goods. Upon that, I went on board, and told the Message to the Captain; at which he fell into a great Passion, and would not let me take the Slave out of the Scooner. I did not say much to the Captain, but came home, called all my People together, told them the Case, and then we reckon'd up the many Injuries we had received from other separate Traders, and at last we resolved to take the Scooner, which we did the next Morning. In the Action the Captain was killed, for which I am very sorry; but as for the rest of the Men which were on board the Scooner, I gave them the Boat and some Provisions, and let them go where they pleased" (pp. 111-113). . . .

About twelve Miles up the River [Samy] is the Town of Samy, noted for good Trade: The Company had here a Factory under Mr James Lemaigre, a Frenchman, who bought a great many Slaves, and remitted them to James Fort, at a settled Price: He dying in the Year 1733, one Valentine Mendez, a Black Portuguese, contracted with the Company to remit them Slaves at a certain Price, and now lives at his own House at Wallia, about four Miles above Samy (p. 115). . . .

On the *31st* [*December*], in the Evening, a Long boat, belonging to the *Tryal* Snow, Capt. Robert Clarke, a Separate Trader, then at Joar, came by this Port,[32] telling the Servants, when they challenged her, that she belonged to Sig. Antonio Voss, at Tancrowall, and was going up to Bassy Port, to bring down some Slaves. The Reason of their not being willing to be known, was for Fear of the Natives seizing them, upon Account of the ill Usage they have sometimes received at the Hands of the Separate Traders, by them called Interlopers, and from the Advice, perhaps, of the Accident which happen'd to Capt. Major, some few Months since, at Cassan, which I have before mentioned (p. 148). . . . .

On the *5th* [*February, 1733*], in the Evening, I received Advice, that Capt. Williams, Master of a Brigantine, trading about Joar, having bought a few Slaves, and not looking well to them, they mutiny'd, rose, and killed a great Part of the Ship's Crew; the Captain himself had his Fingers cut by them in a miserable Manner, and it was with great Difficulty he escaped being killed, which he did in swimming ashore, by which means he got safe to James Fort, where he

[32] Moore was then at Brucoe, having gone there to take charge of the company's stores after a fire which had destroyed the factory and left the factor unable to look after them.

was kindly received by the Governor, and took his Passage to England along with Captain Clarke in the *Tryal* Snow; as did likewise our third Chief Merchant, Mr. Thomas Harrison, whose Brother John died at Tancrowall the very Day that he embarked from James Fort (p. 156). . . .

In less than a Year [33] there were great Wars almost all over the Country; which continued so long, that when I came to England they were not over. Vast Numbers of Slaves were taken in these Wars, and the chief Trade of the Company's Factories up the River was for Slaves taken.

On the *4th of April,* in the Evening, the *Bumper* Sloop, from New England, Captain Samuel Moore Master, who had last Year a Scooner cut off at Cassan, came to anchor at Brucoe Port, being bound up to Yamyamacunda; he had on Board a good Number of Guns, and Hands sufficient, and it was thought he design'd either to make good Trade, or else get Satisfaction of the Natives for the Loss of his Scooner last Year at Cassan. He stay'd here all Night, and the next Morning proceeded up the River to Yamyamacunda (p. 157).[34] . . .

On the *11th of May* Mr. Lemaigre came down in his own Sloop, with above thirty Slaves on Board, which he was going to sell at Joar to the Separate Shipping. He stay'd here but a little while, and then proceeded on his Way down. I having occasion to purchase some Necessaries from the Ships below, went with him in his sloop, but when we were got within twenty miles of Joar we met the *Fame* Sloop, Thomas Saxby Master, bound up the River with a Load of Salt to purchase Corn for the Use of James Fort, and in Company with him was the *Amersham* Sloop, Captain Munday, a Separate Trader, bound to Yanimarew to purchase Slaves, by whom we received Advice that the *Dolphin* Snow, Captain Lovett, was arrived at James Fort from the Company, with Mr. Richard Hull, who was come to relieve Gov. Rogers, he designing to return to England by the *Dolphin* Snow. Upon receiving this News, I thought it advisable to go on Board the *Fame* Sloop and return to my Factory. . . .

On the *4th of June* arrived the *Sea Nymph* Sloop, John Brown Master, with Mr. James Boots Writer, and a pretty large Cargo for this Place. She had likewise Cargoes and Writers aboard for Fatatenda and Yamyamacunda. By this Conveyance I received the following Letter:

[33] A thunder-storm on March 16 had caused the natives to predict wars in a short time.

[34] Owing to the exertions of Mr. James Conner, the company's factor at Yamyamacunda, Moore's trading was successful in spite of the great hostility of the natives toward him (p. 164). Capt. Samuel Moore cleared from Boston for Africa on Dec. 13, 1732. *Boston News Letter,* Dec. 14, 1732.

JAMES FORT, May 27, 1733.

Sir . . . You are likewise not to take or pay yourself, or other Servants, any of the Heads of the Goods, nor any Slaves, Teeth, Wax or Gold, or any other Dry Goods, on any Account whatsoever; but to remit such as you have of each at every Conveyance that offers by the Company's Vessels to the Fort, on the Account and Risque of the Royal African Company of England. . . .

You are not to confound your Trade made with the Natives, Portuguese or Merchants, as has been, under Pretence to make the Merchants and Portuguese Trade of Slaves, Teeth, Wax and Gold, come out more reasonable; and as Slaves are bought at much more reasonable Rates of the Natives than of the Merchants, so likewise are Teeth, Wax and Gold, bought at under or almost half the Price as of the Portuguese. Therefore all Transactions for the future are expected to be justly entred in your Waste-Book, that a fair, clear and true State of Trade and other Occurrences may be seen, and to be a Guide for such new Comers as may hereafter happen to succeed you. . . .

By every Remittance you are to send us the real Cost, and the particular Goods paid for every particular Species remitted of Slaves, Teeth, Gold and Wax; and as it has been usual for some of the Companys Servants to be so disingenuous as to act contrary to their Covenants, and their solemn Engagements, as to the Particulars paid or issued-out, so likewise have they in taking all Advantages to themselves of what Dry Goods they have purchased. But now, as the Company have settled your Commissions at Five Shillings per Head for every merchantable Slave . . . we hope it will induce you to dispose of their Goods to the best Advantage you possibly can, and likewise to account for all other Advantages, and that not to your own Account, but for the Company. Your doing otherwise being not only a Breach of your solemn Contract or Agreement with the Company, but an Injury to their Chief Agents, who now draw their Commissions on the clear Profits only that shall accrue thereby. . . .

Your Loving Friend,

RICHARD HULL

(pp. 158-163). . . .

On the *19th* [*January, 1734*],[35] I arrived at Rumbo's Port, near Joar, where the *French* Snow Capt. Coffin, a Separate Trader, was then trading, having in about a Month purchased seventy-five prime Slaves, fit for Cadiz or Lisbon, to one of which Places he was consigned (p. 181).[36] . . .

On the *22d* [*February*] we saw a Vessel coming from the Sea, which about Noon came to anchor at Gillyfree, being the *Scipio,* Capt. Gordon, a Separate Trader, in Twenty five Days from Bristol. . . .

On the *26th,* seeing a Vessel coming from the Sea, we fired a Shot to bring her to; upon which the Captain came up, and acquainted us she was a Separate Trader, the *Thomas* Brigantine, Henry Smith Master, from Liverpool: at noon she anchor'd at Gillyfree. . . .

[35] Moore, because of illness, was on his way to James Fort.

[36] Not long after word came that Captain Coffin was dead and that the natives had taken his chief mate and surgeon prisoners.

On the *25th* [*February*] the Governor and myself dined with Capt. Onley, and the same Day came up a Separate Trader, the *Liverpool Merchant,* Capt. Golding, from Liverpool, and anchor'd at Gillyfree (pp. 183-184). . . .

[Richard Hull and Hugh Hamilton to Francis Moore.]

JAMES FORT, Apr. 21, 1734.

Sir, We received yours of the 1st Instant, and note what you say as to your Conduct at Joar Factory, which was rightly done of you. The Boy-Slave you remitted by Capt. Smith was accepted of by him, and we have credited your Account for the same. We sold all Captain Smith's Slaves for four Ounces of Gold each, one with another; and which both Parties are well pleas'd with. We have likewise received the Remains of Capt. Onley's Cargo, who sails for Maryland in two or three Days with one hundred and ten Slaves (p. 188). . . .

On the *25th* [*May*] the *Sea Nymph* Sloop arrived here on her Way down from Yamyamacunda and Wallia, with Slaves and Dry Goods for Account of the Company (p. 191). . . .

[Richard Hull and Hugh Hamilton to Francis Moore.]

JAMES FORT, May 17, 1734.

Sir, . . . We are not a little surprised to hear from Yanimarew, that the Shipping are trading there for Slaves with Merchants, and that others are gone down to Cower, and that you should neither advise us of their passing you, or what Number, or even of your attempting to trade with them. This is such a Disappointment and Omission, we did not in the least expect from Mr. Moore, and is wondred at the more, because you are tied up to no Price (pp. 193-194). . . .

[Francis Moore to Richard Hull and Hugh Hamilton.]

CUTTEJARR PORT, May 26, 1734.

Gentlemen, . . . I observe what you say concerning my not advising you of the Merchants passing down; in answer to which I must acquaint you, that they went on the Back Part of this Kingdom, and did not come within two Days Journey of this Place, neither did the People here know anything of them till they had passed. And therefore, tho' it was a Disappointment to you, yet it was no Omission in me, for I heard nothing of it till after my last Letter was sent away; tho' if I had, it would have signified nothing, for they were resolved to go down, and on no account to come near Samy.

Since my last there have several small Coffles of Slaves come to Samy with Alcade Donso, but most of them are resolved to pass down; however I have been there, and am in hopes of purchasing some in three or four Days, tho' this same Slattee Donso is a very odd Sort of a Fellow, and never yet traded higher than Joar. . . .

One of the Slaves I have now remitted has five or six Teeth wanting, and therefore I made them abate the same Number of Barrs in the Price, as you

[37] On March 27 Moore was sent up the river on a trading voyage, during the progress of which he was to inspect all the factories on the river. There were frequent letters exchanged between Moore and Richard Hull and Hugh Hamilton during this trip, a few of which are here printed, but little was noted that related especially to the trade in slaves.

will see by the Invoice. I am surprized to find that Sig. Valentine Mendez has not remitted you so many Slaves as I have, and the more, because his Cargo is so much larger and better than mine, you having sent him up a Parcel of Amber, when I at the same time daily lose Trade for want of that Commodity. However, I can only say, that I will do my best Endeavours for the Company's Interest, and make what Trade I possibly can (pp. 195-197). . . .

[Richard Hull and Hugh Hamilton to Francis Moore.]

JAMES FORT, June 1, 1734.

Sir, . . . We have agreed with Captain Nash and Captain Ball for both their Cargoes, and for their Sloops to make a second Tryal at Portodally; where, with Mr. Conner, they were dispatched yesterday. As we on that and other Accounts want a good many Slaves, we desire you to exert yourself, and not stand out for a Price. As to Leach and Cooper,[38] we desire you to give them no manner of Countenance, by keeping them Company, or other ways assisting them (p. 199). . . .

[Francis Moore to Richard Hull and Hugh Hamilton.]

CUTTEJARR PORT, July 1, 1734.

Gentlemen, This comes by *James* Sloop, Nap Gray Master, (who, according to your Order, has deliver'd up the *Fame* to C. Brown) and serves to acquaint you, that you will herewith receive twenty Slaves, as likewise some Elephants Teeth and Gold, Invoice and Costs of which are inclosed, amounting to ——, by which means I am very much dissorted; therefore if you think proper to continue me here all the Rains, I desire you would send me a Supply; for if I have Goods, I don't doubt making good Trade. By reason of my Trade, I could not go down to Brucoe as you proposed; but the inclosed will let you into the Knowledge of the Situation at that Factory. I hear of a great Coffle of Slaves now on the Road under the Conduct of Slattee Sanyconta Madebaugh. If it is true that he is coming, I shall heartily wish for Valentine Mendez's Cargo, who I am sure will make you stay a long time before he remits you what he is indebted to you for that fine Cargo which you have supplied him with, and which he intends to keep by him till Slaves are cheap (pp. 200-201). . . .

The next Day [*Aug. 8, 1734*][39] about Noon came up the *Dolphin* Snow, which saluted the Fort with nine Guns, and had the same Number returned; after which came on Shore the Captain, four Writers, one Apprentice to the Company, and one Black Man, by Name Job Ben Solomon,[40] a Pholey of Bundo in Foota, who in the Year 1731, as he was travelling in Jagra, and driving his Herds of Cattle across the Countries, was robbed and carried to Joar, where he was sold to Captain Pyke, Commander of the Ship *Arabella,* who was then trading there. By him he was carried to Maryland, and sold to a Planter, with whom Job lived about a Twelvemonth without being once beat by his Master; at the End of which time he had

[38] These two had some time before left the company's service and begun trading for themselves. They returned to James Fort with Moore when this trip came to an end.

[39] Moore, shortly after his letter of July 1, had been directed to return to James Fort.

[40] See *ante,* p. 399, and *post,* no. 197.

the good Fortune to have a Letter of his own writing in the Arabic Tongue convey'd to England. This Letter coming to the Hand of Mr Oglethorpe, he sent the same to Oxford to be translated; which, when done, gave him so much Satisfaction, and so good an Opinion of the Man, that he directly order'd him to be bought from his Master, he soon after setting out for Georgia. Before he returned from thence, Job came to England; where being brought to the Acquaintance of the Learned Sir Hans Sloane,[41] he was by him found a perfect Master of the Arabic Tongue, by translating several Manuscripts and Inscriptions upon Medals: He was by him recommended to his Grace the Duke of Montague,[42] who being pleased with the Sweetness of Humour, and Mildness of Temper, as well as Genius and Capacity of the Man, introduced him to Court, where he was graciously received by the Royal Family, and most of the Nobility, from whom he received distinguishing Marks of Favour. After he had continued in England about fourteen Months, he wanted much to return to his Native Country, which is Bundo, (a Place about a Week's Travel over Land from the Royal African Company's Factory at Joar, on the River Gambia) of which Place his Father was High-Priest, and to whom he sent Letters from England. Upon his setting out from England he received a good many noble Presents from her most Gracious Majesty Queen Caroline, his Highness the Duke of Cumberland, his Grace the Duke of Montague, the Earl of Pembroke, several Ladies of Quality, Mr. Holden, and the Royal African Company, who have order'd their Agents to show him the greatest Respect (pp. 202-203). . . .

Job Ben Solomon having a Mind to go up to Cower to talk with some of his Countrymen, went along with me.[43] In the Evening we weighed Anchor, saluting the Fort with five Guns, which return'd the same Number. . . .

In the Evening [*Aug. 26, 1734*], as my Friend Job and I were sitting under a great Tree at Damasensa,[44] there came by us six or seven of the very People who robb'd and made a Slave of Job, about thirty Miles from hence, about three Years ago; Job, tho' a very even-temper'd Man at other times, could not contain himself when he

[41] It will be remembered that the collections of Sir Hans Sloane formed the nucleus of the British Museum.

[42] Moore's volume is dedicated in the usual flowery manner of the century to the Duke of Montagu, who, it has been noted, was one of the patrons attributed by Snelgrave to the Dahomian Tom (*ante,* no. 167, n. 6). It is probable that his interest in this negro and in Job ben Solomon called forth Moore's tribute: "In the Wilds of Africa your Humanity is praised, and the grateful Arabs pray for you in the Desarts." Moore, preface.

[43] Moore on Aug. 23 set out to Joar, where he was to have charge of the factory. The last sentence of his orders reads thus: "By this Conveyance comes one Black Free Man, by Name Job Ben Solomon; whom you are to use with the greatest Respect, and all the Civility you possibly can."

[44] Damasensa was southeast of Joar, on the south side of the river, not far from Elephant's Island .

saw them, but fell into a most terrible Passion, and was for killing them with his broad Sword and Pistols, which he always took care to have about him. I had much ado to dissuade him from falling upon the six Men; but at last, by representing to him the ill Consequences that would infallibly attend such a rash Action, and the Impossibility of mine or his own escaping alive, if he should attempt it, I made him lay aside the Thoughts of it, and persuaded him to sit down and pretend not to know them, but ask them Questions about himself; which he accordingly did, and they answer'd nothing but the Truth. At last he ask'd them how the King their Master did; they told him he was dead, and by further Enquiry we found, that amongst the Goods for which he sold Job to Captain Pyke there was a Pistol, which the King used commonly to wear slung about his Neck with a String; and as they never carry Arms without being loaded, one Day this accidentally went off, and the Balls lodging in his Throat, he died presently. At the Closing of this Story Job was so very much transported, that he immediately fell on his Knees, and returned Thanks to Mahomet for making this Man die by the very Goods for which he sold him into Slavery; and then turning to me, he said, "Mr Moore, you see now God Almighty was displeas'd at this Man's making me a Slave, and therefore made him die by the very Pistol for which he sold me; yet I ought to forgive him, says he, because had I not been sold, I should neither have known any thing of the English Tongue, nor have had any of the fine, useful and valuable Things I now carry over, nor have known that in the World there is such a Place as England, nor such noble, good and generous People as Queen Caroline, Prince William, the Duke of Montague, the Earl of Pembroke, Mr. Holden, Mr. Oglethorpe, and the Royal African Company" (pp. 205-207). . . .

On Job's first Arrival here, he desired I would send a Messenger up to his own Country to acquaint his Friends of his Arrival. I spoke to one of the Blacks which we usually employ upon those Occasions, to procure me a Messenger, who brought to me a Pholey, who knew the High Priest his Father, and Job himself, and express'd great Joy at seeing him in safety returned from Slavery, he being the only Man (except one) that was ever known to come back to this Country, after having been once carried a Slave out of it by White Men.[45] Job gave him the Message himself, and desired his Father

[45] As a matter of fact there are a number of accounts of the return of natives, some of whom had been sold as slaves. Barbot gives one of them, which was related to M. Casseneuve by one Emanuel:

"The king, said he, had formerly sold me for a slave to a Dutch captain, who finding me a good servant, in his passage to the West-Indies, did not sell me to the planters there, as he did all my countrymen he had aboard, but carried me with him into Holland, where I soon learnt to speak good Dutch, and after some years he set me free. I went from Holland into France, where I soon got as much of that language as you hear by me.

should not come down to him, for it was too far for him to travel; and that it was fit for the Young to go to the Old, and not for the Old to come to the Young. He also sent some Presents by him to his Wives, and desired him to bring his little one, which was his best beloved, down to him. After the Messenger was gone, Job went frequently along with me to Cower, and several other Places about the Country; he spoke always very handsome of the English, and what he said, took away a great deal of the Horror of the Pholeys for the State of Slavery amongst the English; for they before generally imagined, that all who were sold for Slaves, were generally either eaten or murdered, since none ever returned. His Description of the English gave them also a great notion of the Power of England, and a Veneration for those who traded amongst them. He sold some of the Presents he brought with him from England for Trading-Goods, with which he bought a Woman-Slave and two Horses, which were very useful to him there, and which he designed to carry with him to Bundo, whenever he should set out thither. He used to give his Country People a good deal of Writing-Paper, which is a very useful Commodity amongst them, and of which the Company had presented him with several Reams. He used to pray frequently, and behaved himself with great Mildness and Affability to all, so that he was very popular and well-beloved. The Messenger not being thought to return soon, Job desired to go down to James Fort to take care of his Goods, I promising to send him word when the Messenger came back, and also to send some other Messengers, for fear the first should miscarry.

On the *26th* [*September*] I sent down the *Fame* Sloop to James Fort, and Job going along with her, I gave the Master Orders to shew him all the Respect he could. . . .

This is the rainy Season, in which it is very difficult to send Goods to upper Factories; no Slaves come down, and therefore it is the time for collecting dry Goods up the River (pp. 207-209). . . .

On the *26th* [*November*] the *Fame* Sloop being at Damasensa, and I having about twelve Slaves by me, sent to Capt. Brown to come and fetch them down, in order to carry them to James Fort; the next Day he accordingly came up, and I having disposed of all my merchantable Goods at the Factory, I thought it advisable to take this

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Thence I proceeded to Portugal, which language I made my self master of with more ease than either the French or Dutch. Having thus spent several years in travelling thro' Europe, I resolved to return to my native country, and laid hold of the first opportunity that offered. When I arriv'd here, I immediately waited on the king, who had sold me for a slave, and having related to him my travels in Europe, added, I was come back to him, to put my self into his hands, as his slave again, if he thought fit. The king was so far from reducing me to that low condition, that he gave me one of his own sisters in marriage, and constituted me Alcaide, or governor of this town, where you see me live, and of that of Portudal; for the person who acts as governor there, is only my deputy." Churchill, *Voyages,* V. 425. See this work, I. 360 n.

Opportunity of going down to the Fort, where I arrived on the third of December.

On the *9th* [*December*] in the Evening came up the *Dolphin* Scooner, Messieurs Norry and Ross, from London, but last from Holland; where they left the Company's Snow *Success* just ready to sail for this Place, with a good Cargo. With this Scooner, came over one Mr William Cleveland, Brother-in-Law to our second Chief Merchant Mr Charles Orfeur, with a full Design to get a Fortune by trading here against the Company, having for that purpose brought over a pretty good Cargo of Goods amounting to 400 *l.* Sterling, intending to settle and live in Mr Orfeur's House at Gilly-free. However, our Governor Mr Hull, being strongly rivetted to the Company's Interest, would not suffer his Colleague's Brother to settle and trade against the Company; upon which Mr Cleveland disposed of his Goods to the Company, for which they paid him in Slaves, after which he went down the Coast with the said Scooner (pp. 219-220).[46] . . .

On the *29th* [*January, 1735*] came up from Damasensa in a Canoa Job Ben Solomon, who I forgot to say, came up in the *Fame* Sloop along with me from James Fort on the 26th of December last, and going on Shore with me at Elephants Island, and hearing that the People of Joar were run away, it made him unwilling to proceed up hither, and therefore he desired Conner to put him and his things ashore at a Place call'd India, about six Miles above Damasensa, where he has continued ever since; but now hearing that there is no farther Danger, he thought he might venture his Body and Goods along with mine and the Company's, and so came up.

On the *14th* [*February*] a Messenger, whom I had sent to Job's Country, return'd hither with Letters, and Advice that Job's Father died before he got up thither, but that he had liv'd to receive the Letters sent by Job from England, which brought him the welcome News of his Son's being redeemed out of Slavery, and the Figure he made in England. That one of Job's wives was married to another Man; but that as soon as the Husband heard of Job's Arrival here, he thought it adviseable to abscond: That since Job's Absence from his Country, there has been such a dreadful War, that there is not so much as one Cow left in it, tho' when Job was there, it was a very noted Country for numerous Herds of large Cattle. With this Messenger came a good many of Job's old Acquaintance, whom he was exceeding glad to see; but notwithstanding the Joy he had to see his Friends, he wept grievously for his Father's Death, and the

[46] On Dec. 26 Moore, taking with him as assistant Thomas Hilton, had started for James Fort. On the journey he learned that owing to a native war the people of Joar had abandoned the town, and he hastened forward, alarmed for the safety of the company's stores, which however proved to be undisturbed.

Misfortunes of his Country. He forgave his Wife, and the Man that had taken her; For, says he, Mr. Moore, she could not help thinking I was dead, for I was gone to a Land from whence no Pholey ever yet returned; therefore she is not to be blamed, nor the Man neither. For three or four Days he held a Conversation with his Friends without any Interruption, unless to sleep or eat.

On the *8th of March* [*1735*] the Snow *Dolphin,* Capt. Robert Clarke a separate Trader, came up to Rumbo's Port, in order to trade for Slaves (pp. 223-224).[47] . . .

On the *8th* [*April*], having deliver'd up the Company's Effects to Mr. James Conner, and taken proper Discharges for the same, I embarked on Board the Company's Sloop *James,* to which Mr. Hull accompanied me, and parted with me in a very friendly manner. Job likewise came down with me to the Sloop, and parted with me with Tears in his Eyes, at the same time giving me Letters for his Grace the Duke of Montague, the Royal African Company, Mr. Oglethorpe, and several other Gentlemen in England, telling me to give his Love and Duty to them, and to acquaint them, that as he designs to learn to write the English Tongue, he will, when he is Master of it, send them longer Epistles, and full Accounts of what shall happen to him hereafter; desiring me, that as I had lived with him almost ever since he came there, I would let his Grace and the other Gentlemen know what he had done, and that he was the next Day going with Mr. Hull up to Yanimarew, from whence he would accompany him to the Gum Forest, and make so good an Understanding between the Company and his Country People, that the English Nation should reap the Benefit of the Gum Trade;[48] saying at last, that he would spend his Days in endeavouring to do good for the English, by whom he had been redeemed from Slavery, and from whom he had received such innumerable Favours.[49] (pp. 230-231).

[47] Moore was now at Joar, where on Mar. 16 Governor Hull arrived, on his way to the "Gum Forest" to open a trade there, taking Job with him. Early in April the company abandoned its factory at Brucoe, as there was little trade there, and Moore was relieved of the charge of Joar. At this point in the narrative Moore inserts an account of his daily routine, his food, his bed, and his service.

[48] The English had made some endeavors to establish a profitable gum trade, but the bulk of that trade remained in the hands of the French.

[49] Moore settled his accounts with the company at James Fort and set sail for England May 13, 1735, where he arrived without special adventure July 13. After reporting to the company in London he returned to his own home in Worcester, but he could have remained here but a short time, for in October he is with Oglethorpe aboard the *Simmonds* bound for Georgia.

176. Memoirs of the Life of Job ben Solomon.[1]

I. *An Account of the Family of Job; his Education; and the more remarkable Circumstances of his Life, before he was taken Captive.* . . . Job's Name, in his own Country, is Hyuba, Boon Salumena, Boon Hibrahema; *i. e.* Job, the Son of Solomon, the Son of Abraham. The Sirname of his Family is Jallo.

Job, who is now about 31 or 32 Years of age, was born at a Town called Boonda in the County of Galumbo (in our Maps Catumbo) in the Kingdom of Futa in Africa; which lies on both Sides the River Senegal, and on the south Side reaches as far as the River Gambia. These two Rivers, Job assured me, run pretty near parallel to one another, and never meet, contrary to the Position they have in most of our Maps. The Eastern Boundary of the Kingdom of Futa or Senegal is the great Lake, called in our Maps Lacus Guarde. The Extent of it, towards the North, is not so certain. The chief City or Town of it is Tombut; over against which, on the other side of the River, is Boonda, the Place of Job's Nativity.

About fifty Years ago Hibrahim, the Grandfather of Job, founded the Town of Boonda, in the Reign of Bubaker, then King of Futa, and was, by his Permission, sole Lord Proprietor and Governor of it, and at the same Time High Priest, or Alpha; so that he had a Power to make what Laws and Regulations he thought proper for the Increase and good Government of his new City. Among other Institutions, one was, that no Person who flies thither for Protection shall be made a Slave. This Privilege is in force there to this Day, and is extended to all in general, that can read and know God, as they express it; and it has contributed much to the Peopling of the Place, which is now very large and flourishing. Some time after the Settlement of this Town Hibrahim died; and, as the Priesthood is hereditary there, Salumen his Son, the Father of Job, became High Priest. . . . When Job was fifteen Years old, he assisted his Father as Emaum, or Sub priest. . . .

II. *Of the Manner of his being taken Captive; and what followed upon it, till his Return.* In February, 1730, Job's Father hearing of an English Ship at Gambia River, sent him, with two Servants to attend him, to sell two Negroes, and to buy Paper, and some other Necessaries; but desired him not to venture over the River, because the Country of the Mandingoes, who are Enemies to the People of Futa, lies on the other side. Job not agreeing with Captain Pike

[176] [1] *Some Memoirs of the Life of Job, the Son of Solomon the High Priest of Boonda in Africa; who was a Slave about two Years in Maryland; and afterwards being brought to England, was set free, and sent to his native Land in the Year 1734.* By Thomas Bluett, Gent., who was intimately acquainted with him in America, and came over to England with him (London, 1734). Those parts of the account of Francis Moore which relate to Job should be read in connection with this narrative (see *ante,* pp. 399, 414-419).

(who commanded the Ship, lying then at Gambia, in the Service of Captain Henry Hunt, Brother to Mr. William Hunt,[2] Merchant, in Little Tower-street, London) sent back the two Servants to acquaint his Father with it, and to let him know that he intended to go farther. Accordingly, having agreed with another Man, named Loumein Yoai, who understood the Mandingoe Language, to go with him as his Interpreter, he crossed the River Gambia, and disposed of his Negroes for some Cows. As he was returning Home, he stopp'd for some Refreshment at the House of an old Acquaintance; and the Weather being hot, he hung up his Arms in the House, while he refresh'd himself. Those Arms were very valuable; consisting of a Gold-hilted Sword, a Gold Knife, which they wear by their Side, and a rich Quiver of Arrows, which King Sambo has made him a Present of. It happened that a Company of the Mandingoes, who live upon Plunder, passing by at that Time, and observing him unarmed, rush'd in, to the Number of seven or eight at once, at a back Door, and pinioned Job, before he could get to his Arms, together with his Interpreter, who is a Slave in Maryland still. They then shaved their Heads and Beards, which Job and his Man resented as the highest Indignity; tho' the Mandingoes meant no more by it, than to make them appear like Slaves taken in War. On the 27th of February, 1730, they carried them to Captain Pike at Gambia, who purchased them; and on the first of March they were put on Board. Soon after Job found means to acquaint Captain Pike that he was the same Person that came to trade with him a few Days before, and after what Manner he had been taken. Upon this Captain Pike gave him leave to redeem himself and his Man; and Job sent to an Acquaintance of his Father's near Gambia, who promised to send to Job's Father, to inform him of what had happened, that he might take some Course to have him set at Liberty. But it being a Fortnight's Journey between the Friend's House and his Father's, and the Ship sailing in about a Week after, Job was brought with the rest of the Slaves to Annapolis in Maryland, and delivered to Mr. Vachell Denton, Factor to Mr. Hunt, before mentioned. Job heard since, by Vessels that came from Gambia, that his Father sent down several Slaves, a little after Captain Pike sailed, in order to procure his Redemption; and that Sambo, King of Futa, had made War upon the Mandingoes, and cut off great Numbers of them, upon account of the Injury they had done to his Schoolfellow.

Mr. Vachell Denton sold Job to one Mr. Tolsey in Kent Island in Maryland, who put him to work in making Tobacco; but he was

[2] Captain Pike (Pyke) occasionally appears in the "Carroll Papers", engaged in carrying tobacco from Maryland to London (*Maryland Historical Magazine,* XVIII. 337-338, XIX. 180). For William Hunt's dealings with the Carrolls see "Carroll Papers", *ibid.,* XVIII., index.

soon convinced that Job had never been used to such Labour. He every Day shewed more and more Uneasiness under this Exercise, and at last grew sick, being no way able to bear it; so that his Master was obliged to find easier Work for him, and therefore put him to tend the Cattle. Job would often leave the Cattle, and withdraw into the Woods to pray; but a white Boy frequently watched him, and whilst he was at his Devotion would mock him, and throw Dirt in his Face. This very much disturbed Job, and added considerably to his other Misfortunes; all which were increased by his Ignorance of the English Language, which prevented his complaining, or telling his Case to any Person about him. Grown in some measure desperate, by reason of his present Hardships, he resolved to travel at a Venture; thinking he might possibly be taken up by some Master, who would use him better, or otherwise meet with some lucky Accident, to divert or abate his Grief. Accordingly he travelled thro' the Woods, till he came to the County of Kent, upon Delaware Bay, now esteemed Part of Pensilvania; altho' it is properly a Part of Maryland, and belongs to my Lord Baltimore. There is a Law in force, throughout the Colonies of Virginia, Maryland, Pensilvania, etc. as far as Boston in New England,[3] *viz.* That any Negroe, or white Servant who is not known in the County, or has no Pass, may be secured by any Person, and kept in the common Goal, till the Master of such Servant shall fetch him. Therefore Job being able to give no Account of himself, was put in Prison there.

This happened about the Beginning of June, 1731, when I, who was attending the Courts there, and had heard of Job, went with several Gentlemen to the Goaler's House, being a Tavern, and desired to see him. He was brought into the Tavern to us, but could not speak one Word of English. Upon our talking and making Signs to him, he wrote a Line or two before us, and when he read it, pronounced the Words Allah and Mahommed; by which, and his refusing a Glass of Wine we offered him, we perceived he was a Mahometan, but could not imagine of what Country he was, or how he got thither; for by his affable Carriage, and the easy Composure of his Countenance, we could perceive he was no common Slave.

When Job had been some time confined, an old Negroe Man, who lived in that Neighbourhood, and could speak the Jalloff Language,[4]

[3] From the earliest days of slavery in Maryland the law had provided that runaway slaves were to be imprisoned. A supplement to this provision, passed in 1719, provided that if the master, after due notice that his runaway negro had been taken up, did not claim his slave the sheriff was to sell him (*Archives of Maryland,* XXXIII. 459-460). The Virginia law (1726) provided that if a negro failed to name his owner he was to be committed to jail and advertised by the sheriff (Hening, *Statutes at Large,* IV. 168-175); the Pennsylvania law (1726) provided that any negro taken ten miles from home without a pass in writing was to be whipped. *Statutes,* IV. 63, sect. X.

[4] The Jalloffs, Jolloffs, or Yalofs, were negroes of the Senegambia, neighbors of the Foulis.

which Job also understood, went to him, and conversed with him. By this Negroe the Keeper was informed to whom Job belonged, and what was the Cause of his leaving his Master. The Keeper thereupon wrote to his Master, who soon after fetch'd him home, and was much kinder to him than before; allowing him a Place to pray in, and some other Conveniences, in order to make his Slavery as easy as possible. Yet Slavery and Confinement was by no means agreeable to Job, who had never been used to it; he therefore wrote a Letter in Arabick to his Father, acquainting him with his Misfortunes, hoping he might yet find Means to redeem him. This Letter he sent to Mr. Vachell Denton, desiring it might be sent to Africa by Captain Pike; but he being gone to England, Mr. Denton sent the Letter inclosed to Mr. Hunt, in order to be sent to Africa by Captain Pike from England; but Captain Pike had sailed for Africa before the Letter came to Mr. Hunt, who therefore kept it in his own Hands, till he should have a proper Opportunity of sending it. It happened that this Letter was seen by James Oglethorpe, Esq;[5] who, according to his usual Goodness and Generosity, took Compassion on Job, and gave his Bond to Mr. Hunt for the Payment of a certain Sum, upon the Delivery of Job here in England. Mr. Hunt upon this sent to Mr. Denton, who purchas'd him again of his Master for the same Money which Mr. Denton had formerly received for him; his Master being very willing to part with him, as finding him no ways fit for his Business.

He lived some time with Mr. Denton at Annapolis, before any Ship could stir out, upon account of the Ice that lay in all the Rivers of Maryland at that Time. In this Interval he became acquainted with the Reverend Mr. Henderson, a Gentleman of great Learning, Minister of Annapolis, and Comissary to the Bishop of London, who gave Job the Character of a Person of great Piety and Learning; and indeed his good Nature and Affability gain'd him many Friends besides in that Place.

In March, 1733, he set sail in the *William,* Captain George Uriel Commander; in which Ship I was also a Passenger. The Character which the Captain and I had of him at Annapolis, induced us to teach him as much of the English Language as we could, he being then able to speak but few Words of it, and those hardly intelligible. This we set about as soon as we were out at Sea, and in about a Fortnight's Time taught him all his Letters, and to spell almost any single Syllable, when distinctly pronounced to him; but Job and my selfe falling sick, we were hindered from making any greater Progress at that Time. However, by the Time that we arrived in England, which was

[5] Oglethorpe became deputy governor of the Royal African Company in January, 1732. *Gentleman's Magazine,* II. 585; see *ante,* no. 175, n. 23.

the latter End of April, 1733, he had learned so much of our Language, that he was able to understand most of what we said in common Conversation; and we that were used to his Manner of Speaking, could make shift to understand him tolerably well. . . .

By his good Nature and Affability he gained the good Will of all the Sailors, who (not to mention other kind Offices) all the way up the Channel shewed him the Head Lands and remarkable Places; the Names of which Job wrote down carefully, together with the Accounts that were given him about them. His Reason for so doing, he told me, was, that if he met with any Englishman in his Country, he might by these Marks be able to convince him that he had been in England.

On our Arrival in England, we heard that Mr. Oglethorpe was gone to Georgia, and that Mr. Hunt had provided a Lodging for Job at Limehouse. After I had visited my Friends in the Country, I went up on purpose to see Job. He was very sorrowful, and told me, that Mr. Hunt had been applied to by some Persons to sell him, who pretended they would send him home; but he feared they would either sell him again as a Slave, or if they sent him home would expect an unreasonable Ransom for him. I took him to London with me, and waited on Mr. Hunt, to desire leave to carry him to Cheshunt in Hartfordshire; which Mr. Hunt comply'd with. He told me he had been apply'd to, as Job had suggested, but did not intend to part with him without his own Consent; but as Mr. Oglethorpe was out of England, if any of Job's Friends would pay the Money, he would accept of it, provided they would undertake to send him home safely to his own Country. I also obtained his Promise that he would not dispose of him till he heard farther from me.

Job, while he was at Cheshunt, had the Honour to be sent for by most of the Gentry of that Place, who were mightily pleased with his Company, and concerned for his Misfortunes. They made him several handsome Presents, and proposed that a Subscription should be made for the Payment of the Money to Mr. Hunt. The Night before we set out for London from Cheshunt, a Footman belonging to Samuel Holden, Esq; brought a Letter to Job, which was, I think, directed to Sir Byby Lake.[6] The Letter was delivered at the African House; upon which the House was pleased to order that Mr. Hunt should bring in a Bill of the whole Charges which he had been at about Job, and be there paid; which was accordingly done, and the Sum amounted to Fifty-Nine Pounds, Six Shillings, and eleven Pence Half-penny. This Sum being paid, Mr. Oglethorpe's Bond was deliver'd up to the Company. Job's Fears were

[6] Sir Bibye Lake was at this time subgovernor of the Royal African Company.

now over, with respect to his being sold again as a Slave; yet he could not be persuaded but that he must pay an extravagant Ransom, when he got home. I confess, I doubted much of the Success of a Subscription, the Sum being great, and Job's Acquaintance in England being so small; therefore, to ease Job's Mind, I spoke to a Gentleman about the Affair, who has all along been Job's Friend in a very remarkable Manner. This Gentleman was so far from discouraging the Thing, that he began the Subscription himself with a handsome Sum, and promised his further Assistance at a dead Lift. Not to be tedious: Several Friends, both in London and in the Country, gave in their charitable Contributions very readily; yet the Sum was so large, that the Subscription was about twenty Pounds short of it; but that generous and worthy Gentleman before mentioned, was pleased to make up the Defect, and the whole Sum was compleated.

I went (being desired) to propose the Matter to the African Company; who, after having heard what I had to say, shew'd me the Orders that the House had made; which were, that Job should be accommodated at the African House at the Company's Expence, till one of the Company's Ships should go to Gambia, in which he should be sent back to his Friends without any Ransom. The Company then ask'd me, if they could do any Thing more to make Job easy; and upon my Desire, they order'd, that Mr. Oglethorpe's Bond should be cancelled, which was presently done, and that Job should have his Freedom in Form, which he received handsomely engross'd, with the Company's Seal affixed; after which the full Sum of the whole Charges (*viz.* Fifty-nine Pounds, Six Shillings, and eleven Pence Half-penny) was paid in to their Clerk, as was before proposed.

Job's Mind being now perfectly easy, and being himself more known, he went chearfully among his Friends to several Places, both in Town and Country. One Day being at Sir Hans Sloan's, he expressed his great Desire to see the Royal Family. Sir Hans promised to get him introduced, when he had Clothes proper to go in. Job knew how kind a Friend he had to apply to upon occasion; and he was soon cloathed in a rich silk Dress, made up after his own Country Fashion, and introduced to their Majesties, and the rest of the Royal Family. Her Majesty was pleased to present him with a rich Gold Watch; and the same Day he had the Honour to dine with his Grace the Duke of Mountague, and some others of the Nobility, who were pleased to make him a handsome Present after Dinner. His Grace, after that, was pleased to take Job often into the Country with him, and shew him the Tools that are necessary for Tilling the Ground, both in Gardens and Fields, and made his Servants shew him how to use them; and afterwards his Grace

furnished Job with all Sorts of such Instruments, and several other rich Presents, which he ordered to be carefully done up in Chests, and put on Board for his Use. 'Tis not possible for me to recollect the many Favours he received from his Grace, and several other Noblemen and Gentlemen, who shewed a singular Generosity towards him; only, I may say in general, that the Goods which were given him, and which he carried over with him, were worth upwards of 500 Pounds; besides which, he was well furnished with Money, in case any Accident should oblige him to go on Shore, or occasion particular Charges at Sea. About the latter End of July last he embark'd on Board one of the African Company's Ships, bound for Gambia; where we hope he is safely arrived, to the great Joy of his Friends, and the Honour of the English Nation. . . .

IV. *Of Job's Person and Character.* Job was about five Feet ten inches high, strait limb'd, and naturally of a good Constitution; altho' the religious Abstinence which he observed, and the Fatigues he lately underwent, made him appear something lean and weakly. His Countenance was exceeding pleasant, yet grave and composed; his Hair long, black, and curled, being very different from that of the Negroes commonly brought from Africa.

His natural Parts were remarkably good; and I believe most of the Gentlemen that conversed with him frequently, will remember many Instances of his Ingenuity. On all Occasions he discovered a solid Judgment, a ready Memory, and a clear Head. And, notwithstanding the Prejudices which it was natural for him to have in favour of his own religious Principles, it was very observable with how much Temper and Impartiality he would reason in Conversation upon any Question of that kind, while at the same Time he would frame such Replies, as were calculated at once to support his own Opinion, and to oblige or please his Opponent. In his Reasonings there appeared nothing trifling, nothing hypocritical or over-strained; but, on the contrary, strong Sense, joined with an innocent Simplicity, a strict Regard to Truth, and a hearty Desire to find it. Tho' it was a considerable Disadvantage to him in Company, that he was not sufficient Master of our Language; yet those who were used to his Way, by making proper Allowances, always found themselves agreeably entertained by him.

The Acuteness of his Genius appear'd upon many Occasions. He very readily conceived the Mechanism and Use of most of the ordinary Instruments which were shewed to him here; and particularly, upon seeing a Plow, a Grist Mill, and a Clock taken to pieces, he was

able to put them together again himself, without any farther Direction.

His Memory was extraordinary; for when he was fifteen Years old he could say the whole Alcoran by heart, and while he was here in England he wrote three Copies of it without the Assistance of any other Copy, and without so much as looking to one of those three when he wrote the others. He would often laugh at me when he heard me say I had forgot any Thing, and told me he hardly ever forgot any Thing in his Life, and wondered that any other body should. . . .

His Learning, considering the Disadvantages of the Place he came from, was far from being contemptible. The Books in his Country are all in Manuscript, all upon Religion; and are not, as I remember, more than Thirty in Number. They are all in Arabick; but the Alcoran, he says, was originally wrote by God himself, not in Arabick, and God sent it by the Angel Gabriel to Ababuker, some time before Mahommed was born; the Angel taught Ababuker to read it, and no one can read it but those who are instructed after a different Manner from that in which the Arabick is commonly taught. However, I am apt to think that the Difference depends only upon the Pointing of the Arabick, which is of later Date. Job was well acquainted with the historical Part of our Bible, and spoke very respectfully of the good Men mentioned in Scripture; particularly of Jesus Christ, who, he said, was a very great Prophet, and would have done much more Good in the World, if he had not been cut off so soon by the Wicked Jews; which made it necessary for God to send Mahomet to confirm and improve his Doctrine.[7]

177. Account of Duties on Negroes imported into Barbados, 1730-1737.[1]

Account of Cash receiv'd and sums Bonded for in the Treasury's Office of this His Majesty's Island [*Barbados*] *ariseing from the Dutys of . . . Negros imported . . . 27th of November, 1730 to the 27th of February 1730/1.*[2]

[7] For an account of another Mohammedan slave brought to America see "Autobiography of Omar ibn Said, Slave in North Carolina", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXX. 787-795.

[177] [1] C. O. 33: 30. The duty was 5 *s.* per head. The African items have been selected from a long list of vessels.

[2] Similar headings, which carry this list to June 3, 1737, have been omitted.

	Persons Names That Enter	Vessells Names	Com. Names	From what Port	New Negros	Cash received £	*s.*	*d.*
1730								
Dec. 1	John Fairchild	*Recovery*	Thos. Chapman	Affrica	11	2	15	
" 3	Withers and Compa.	*Happy* Snow	Wm. Haskins	"	60	15		
" 9	" " "	*Freak* Galley	Jno. Bartlet	"	340	85		
" 14	Wm. Haskins	*Happy* Snow	Wm. Haskins	"	3		15	
1731								
Ja. 3	Blaney Harper	*Aurora*	Thos. Davis	"	270	67	10	
" 7	"	*Mary*	Jno. Chapman	"	165	41	05	
" 13	Withers and Co.	*Happy* Snow	Wm. Haskins	"	4	1		
" "	" "	*Freak* Galley	Jno. Bartlett	"	5	1	5	
" 21	Theo's Morris and Co.	*Hare*	Jno. Sacheveral	"	137	34	05	
Feb. 4	Jno. Fairchild	*Recovery*	Thos. Chapman	"	66	16	10	
" 20	Blaney Harper	*Robert*	Nath'll Letherland	"	170	42	10	
Mar. 4	Blower and Cogan	*Redclif*	Blaney Adair	"	242	60	10	
" 18	Rich'd Morecroft	*Forster*	Chas. Thornton	"	136	34		
Apr. 29	" "	*Lark*, Man of War	Capt. Cockburn	"	8	2		
" 30	Morris and Co.	*Greyhound* Galley	Edward Holden	"	37	9	5	
May 5	Withers and Co.	*Judieth*	Jeremiah Pearce	"	61	15	5	
" 11	" " "	"	" "	"	100	25		
" "	" " "	"	" "	"	36	9		
" 13	Rich. Morecroft	*Hopewell*	Jos. Bird	"	100	25		
" 17	Shurland and Salmon	*Guyney Hen*	Henry Waner	"	201	50	5	
May 25	Rich. Morecroft	*John*	Wm. Cookson	Africa	99	24	15	
" 26	James Jones and Co.	*James*	Wm. Douglas	"	115	28	15	
" 26	Thomas and Sterling	*Neptune*	Jas. Lyon	Africa	130	32	10	
June 1	Rich. Morecroft	*Wm. and Elizabeth*	Jas. Brownbill	Affrica	93	23	5	
" 3	Blower and Cogan	*Jamaica*	Thos. Quirke	"	40	10		
" 15	Withers and Co.	*Betty* Gally	Thos. Gross	"	260	65		
" 17	" " "	"	" "	"	100	25		
July 22	Blaney Harper	*Hardman* Gally	Wm. Penkel	"	170	42	10	
Aug. 20	Blower and Cogan	*Jamaica*	Thos. Quirke	"	1	5		
" "	Withers and Co.	*Betty* Gally	Thos. Gross	"	2	10		
Sept. 18	Withers and Co.	*Cato*	Rd. Uppington	"	10	2	10	
" 20	Ruddock and Co.	*John* Gally	Wm. Kennedy	"	250	62	10	
Oct. 2	Withers and Co.	*Pearl*	Jenkins Hughes	"	91	22	15	
" 29	Blower and Cogan	*Benedicta*	Art'r Raymond	"	29	7	5	
Nov. 19	Lake and Company	*Garway*	Rd. Stockwell	"	290	72	10	
Nov. 30	Blower and Cogan	*Benedicta*	Arthur Raymond	Africa	1		5	
" "	Withers and Co.	*Ruby*	Robt. Maxwell	"	112	28		
" "	Sam'll Salmon	*John and Ann*	Tho. Stoneham	"	88	22		
1732								
Jan. 18	Withers and Co.	*Ann*	Tho. Hill	"	400	100		
" 25	Rich'd Morecroft	*Mary*	Jas. Winfeild	"	153	38	5	
Feb. 1	Harper and Moore	*Robert*	Nat. Leatherland	"	147	36	15	
" 15	Benj. Hall	Scooner *Francis*	Robt. Ball	"	22	5	10.	
" 16	Noblet Ruddock	Briga. *Diana*	Jno. Malcolme	"	101	25	5	
" "	Thomas and Sterling	Snow *Mary*	Wm. Gordon	"	154	38	10	
" 29	Withers and Co.	*An*	Thos. Hill	"	45	11	5	
Mar. 13	Richd Morecroft	Briga. *Forster*	Chas. Thornton	"	34	8	10.	
Ap. 29	Jas. Jones and Co.	*James*	Thos. Newton	"	162	40	10.	

[*Account of Cash received*—continued:]

	Persons Names That Enter	Vessells Names	Com. Names	From what Port	New Negros	Cash received £	s.	d.
May 8	Rd. Morecroft	*Good Intention*	Jas. Williamson	"	40	10		
" 10	"	Briga. *Hopewell*	Jno. Greenwood	"	108	27		
" 10	"	*Endeavor*	Jno. Levett	"	125	31	5	
" "	Withers and Company	Do.	Do.	"	47	11	5	
" 31	HarperandMoore	Ship *Scot*	Hugh Crawford	Affrica	240	60		
June 6	Withers and Co.	*Indian Queen*	Geo. Porry	"	16	4		
" "	Rd. Morecroft	*Pearl* Man of War	Fitz Roy Lee	"	32	8		
June 26	Rd. Morecroft	*Hope*	Robt. Brownbell	Affrica	180	45		
" 27	"	*Endeavour*	John Levett	"	7	1	15	
" "	Withers and Co.	"	" "	"	17	4	05	
" "	John Levett	"	" "	"	3		15	
July 26	HarperandMoore	*Redclif*	Blaney Adair	"	233	58	5	
Aug. 1	Withers and Co.	*St. Andrew*	Geo. Appleby	"	83	20	15	
Sept. 25	Wm. Webster	*Molly* Gally	Jno. Caunther	Affrica	45	11	5	
" 27	HarperandMoore	"	" "	"	32	8		
Oct. 18	" " "	*Rainbow*	Rd. Morgan	"	150	37	10.	
" "	" " "	"	"	"	171	42	15	
Nov. 27	Rd. Morecroft	*Princess Ann*	Robt. Stevenson	"	43	10	15	
Dec. 13	Withers and Co.	*Sarah*	John Hog	"	90	22	10	
" 19	HarperandMoore	*Helina*	John Dyke	Affrica	226	56	10	
1733								
Jan. 9	Withers and Co.	*Berkley*	Pereg'ne Stockdale	"	79	19	15	
" 18	HarperandMoore	*Mary*	Jas. Winfeild	"	181	45	5	
" 26	Withers and Co.	*Sarah*	John Hogg	"	3		15	
Feb. 1	Rich. Morecroft	*Lark*	Thos. Dickenson	"	30	7	10	
Mch. 20	Withers and Co.	*Ruby*	Robt. Maxwell	"	20	5		
" 31	Robt. Maxwell	"	" "	"	110	27	10	
Apr. 3	HarperandMoore	*Charles*	Jas. Brownbill	"	262	65	10	
" 9	Murry Crimble	*Bridget* Galley	Wm. Clarke	"	68	17		
May 3	Murry Crimble	*Oldburry*	John Tyler	"	71	17	15	
" 8	Noblet Ruddock	*John*	John Willson	"	31	7	15	
" 19	Murry Crimble	*Pheasant*	Jno. Drummond	"	61	5	5	
June 23	Richd. Morecroft	Snow *Vine*	Richd Gregson	"	32	8		
July ?	Murry Crimble	*Oldburry*	John Tyler	"	1		5	
Oct. 1	Noblet Ruddock	*Mary* Galley	Price Powell	Affrica	40	10		
" 8	Withers and Co.	Snow *Jenny*	Ed. Bryan	"	8	2		
" 10	" " "	" "	"	"	32	8		
" 11	HarperandMoore	*Scott*	Hugh Crawford	"	15	3	15	
" 12	Noblet Ruddock	*Mary* Galley	Price Powell	"	12	3		
" 13	HarperandMoore	*Scott*	Hugh Crawford	"	12	3		
" 16	Richd Morecroft	*Hope*	Robt. Brownbell	"	68	17		
" 19	HarperandMoore	*Scott*	Hugh Crawford	"	16	4		
Nov. 20	Noblet Ruddock	*Mary* Gally	Price Powell	"	4	1		
" 29	Richd Morecroft	*Betty* Gally	Ed. Deane	"	112	28		
Dec. 6	Noblet Ruddock	*Mary* Gally	Price Powell	"	15	3	15	
" 10	Anthony Lynch	" "	" "	"	23	5	15	
1734								
Jan. 11	HarperandMoore	Brig'e *Hare*	Nichs. Gallimore	"	100	25		
" 22	Withers and Harrison	Scoonr *Little Molly*	Wm. Bond	"	120	30		
" 26	Richd Morecroft	*Torrington*	Wm. Perry	"	7	1	15	
Feb. 16	HarperandMoore	Snow *Rose*	Robt. Law	"	1		5	
" 19	" " "	Brig'e *Hare*	Nichs. Gallimore	"	20	5		
" "	" " "	Snow *Rose*	Robt. Law	"	145	36	5	

[*Account of Cash received*—continued:]

	Persons Names That Enter	Vessells Names	Com. Names	From what Port	New Negros	Cash received £	s.	d
Apr. 20	Thos. Newton	*Mary andEllinor*	Thos. Newton	Affrica	47	11	15	
" 20	Rich. Morecroft	*Lively*	Fra'e Cutting	"	23	5	15	
" 29	Salmon and Harris	*Sea Flower*	Francis Quirke	"	45	11	5	
May 25	Rich. Morecroft	*Isabella*	Peter Poly	"	102	25	10	
" 30	Thos. Newton	*Mary andEllinor*	Thos. Newton	"	8	2		
June 11	Salmon and Harris	*Aurora* Gally	Tim's Tucker	"	30	7	10	
June 15	Salmon and Co.	*Aurora*	Tim's Tucker	"	2		10	
" 17	" " "	"	"	"	12	3		
July 4	Noblet Ruddock	*Bridget*	Wm. Clark	"	27	6	15	
" 5	" " "	"	" "	"	8	2		
" 6	" " "	"	" "	"	11	2	15	
Aug. 13	Withers and Co.	Ship *Nassau*	Jno. Bradshaw	"	30	7	10	
Sept. 4	William Day	*Bonaventure*	James Cahoone	"	2		10	
" 25	Chris'r Brown	"	"	"	10	2	10	
Oct. 11	HarperandMoore	*Princess Amelia*	Ed. Tarlton	"	30	7	10	
" 15	Withers and Harrison	*Molly*	John Mackett	"	55	13	15	
Nov. 5	Benj. Hall	Briga. *Barron*	Thos. Nash	"	20	5		
Nov. 5	Benj. Hall	*Bumper*	Robt. Ball	Africa	20	5		
" 7	Thos. Lake	*Barron*	Thos. Nash	"	12	3		
" 11	Benj. Hall	*Bumper*	Robt. Ball	"	6	1	10	
" 18	" "	"	" "	"	43	10	15	
" 19	" "	*Barron*	Thos. Nash	"	15	3	15	
Dec. 7	Noblet Ruddock	*Peneil*	Benj. Tanner	"	143	37	5	
" 10	" "	"	" "	"	9	2	5	
" 24	Rich'd Morecroft	*Crocodile*	Philip Aubin	"	60	15		
" 27	" "	"	" "	"	59	14	15	
" 27	David Minvielle	"	" "	"	26	6	10	
Feb. 21	" "	Snow *Blank*	Ezekiel Davies	"	55	13	15	
Mch. 10	Rich. Morecroft	*Nancey*	Egerton Cutter	"	32	8		
" 13	" "	*Crocodile*	Philip Aubin	"	11	2	15	
1735								
Mch. 15	Richd. Morecroft	Snow *Nancy*	Egerton Cutter	"	32	8		
" 18	" "	"	" "	"	20	5		
" 20	" "	"	" "	"	20	5		
" 27	" "	Ship *Stoneage*	Thos. Hill	"	20	5		
Apr. 14	Rich'd Morecroft	Snow *Nancy*	Egerton Cutter	Africa	56	14		
" 28	" "	Ship *Betty*	Murray Campbell	"	35	8	15	
" "	" "	*Willoughby*	Richd. Heysham	"	20	5		
May 2	" "	Snow *Grace*	Jas. Cowley	"	100	25		
" 3	" "	" "	" "	"	12	3		
June 21	" "	*Susanna*	Wm. Kennedy	"	37	9	5	
" 26	" "	Briga. *Swallow*	Patrick Norris	"	50	12	10	
July 1	" "	" "	" "	"	69	17	5	
Sept. 2	" "	*Pine Apple*	David Hallow	"	30	7	10	
" 8	" "	" "	" "	"	27	6	15	
" 9	" "	" "	" "	"	25	6	5	
Nov. 4	" "	*Mermaid*	Wm. Hambly	"	150	37	10	
" 8	Withers and Harrison	*Stagenhoe*	H. Strangeway	"	53	13	5	
" 24	Saml. Salmon	*Neptune*	Thos. Newton	"	39	9	15	
Dec. 12	" "	*Berkley* Gally	Peregrine Stockdale	"	50	12	10	
" 16	Richd. Morecroft	*Mermaid*	Wm. Hambley	"	143	35	15	
" 29	Withers and Harrison	*Illustrous Pair*	Chas. Tweedy	"	20	5		

[*Account of Cash received*—continued:]

	Persons Names That Enter	Vessells Names	Com. Names	From what Port	New Negros	Cash received £	*s.*	*d.*
1736 Jan. 5	Withers and Harrison	*Illustrous Pair*	Chas. Tweedy	Africa	110	27	10	
Jan. 7	"	" "	" "	"	10	2	10	
Feb. 16	"	*Prince William*	Geo. Brichall	"	23	5	15	
" 25	"	" "	" "	"	49	12	15	
Mch. 2	Rich. Morecroft	*Mary and Ann*	Jas. Winfield	"	50	12	10	
" 2	Withers and Harrison	" " "	" "	"	16	4		
" 3	Richd. Morecroft	*Carolina*	Geo. Campbell	"	25	6	5	
" 6	" "	*Poyntz*	Rich'd Williams	"	20	5		
" 18	Patrick Johnson	H. M. S. *Argyle*	Geo. Slater	"	10	2	10	
" 24	Joseph Ball	"	"	"	2		10	
" 26	Richd. Morecroft	*Susanna*	David Mallortie	"	30	7	10	
Apr. 5	"	*Grace*	James Cowley	"	60	15		
" 6	"	"	" "	"	18	4	10	
" 30	Withers and Harrison	*Mary*	Wm. Frasier	"	30	7	10	
May 18	Richd. Morecroft	*Wm. and Betty*	Robt. Halliburton	"	21	5	5	
" "	" "	*Princess Amelia*	Andrew Ross	"	15	3	15	
" 20	" "	*Earl of Derby*	Thos. Grenup	"	125	31	5	
June 4	" "	*Cape Coast*	Thos. Parkes	"	20	5		
"	" "	*Antelope*	James Hurst	"	30	7	10	
"	" "	*Pretty Betzie*	John Boyes	"	18	4	10	
Dec. 20	Richd. Morecroft	Snow *Nancy*	Thos. Ball	Africa	32	8		
" 22	Samuel Salmon	Sloop *Neptune*	Thos. Newton	"	43	10	15	
" 24	Richd. Morecroft	*Nancy*	Thos. Ball	"	7	1	15	
" "	" "	*Dianna*	Jno. Malscolme	"	51	12	15	
1737 Jan. 24	" "	*Forster*	Henry White	"	70	17	10	
Apr. 15	Richd. Morecroft	*Forster*	Henry White	"	82	20	10	
May 13	Abra. Delyon	*Ranger*	Dan. Smith	St. Eustace	8	2		
June 3	Rich. Morecroft[3]	*Willoughby*	Richd Heysham	Africa	40	10		

178. Theodore Morris to Isaac Hobhouse.[1]

Barbados, Jan'y 12th, 1730/1[?]

Mr. Isaac Hobhouse.

Sir, My last to you was the 26th Dec'r, since which I have not been honoured with any from you. The 29th the *Aurora* Capt. Davis

[3] There also appears in this account a record of 10 new negroes from Madeira, entered by Richard Morecroft, from the *Hope,* Capt. James Lamb; no duty recorded.

[178] [1] Jefferies MSS., XIII. 133. The Bristol merchants were at this time not happy over their profits. The *Boston News Letter,* Sept. 9, 1731, contained the following item: "Bristol, May 1. There are Letters from Annamabo, which relate, that on the 7th of December last, a Sloop belonging to Glasgow in Scotland, was carried off by the Negroes, on that Coast, who to the Number of 140 rose, and killed the Mate and most of the Men. Several of our Ships lately come from that Coast have met with dangerous Repulses by the Negroes rising, to quell whom the Sailors were obliged to kill several, and some of them lost their Lives in the Expedient; a Sickness too in that Climate has been very fatal to some of our Ships Companies, and carried off many. What with the Negroes rising, and other Disappointment, in the late Voyages thither, have occasioned a great Reducement in our Merchants Gains."

arrived here and in pursuance to his orders he applyed to Messrs Blower and Cogin, who refused the Slaves at the Limits and orders for remittances, on which the Capt: offerd them to me, and I refused the Consignment as did Messrs. Withers and Harrison afterwards, on which the Capt. applyed to Mr. Harper, who accepted of them, and as it's reported he Sould the Cargo to Mr. Ruddock,[2] who retailed them, and I hope to good advantage, as they were a good Cargo of Slaves.

The 31st the *Scipio* Capt Bradshaw arrived from the Bite Seven Weeks, and proceeded to Leeward without comeing to an Anchor, he left there only your *Grayhound* and *James* the first with about 50 Slaves, and the other with but fue. The Capt. said the *Grayhound* would saile in about a month so that I may Expect her the latter End of this, and if you have sett me any Limits, under Twenty, I don't doubt but I shall come up to them, for there has not a Cargo of Ebbo Slaves [3] sould here a long time, and many People are Enquiering for them. Capt. Chapman whos arrivall I formerly advised of, from a small place near Widdaw landed last week 200 Slaves, and sould about ¾ of them at a verry good price. This Day the *Hare* Brigantine of Liverpoole arrived here from the Galinas last, she has been this Voyage as far to the Southward as Annamabo, and Turned back to windward, and to little purpose, for her Slaves are but Midling, this cons'd to B. H: NR and me, and they are working with the Capt. to give them to them, which he may do if he pleases, for as I so soon Expect the *Grayhound* I choos to sitt still untill she arrives. . . .

I am now come to the 14th, since which the Capt. of the *Hare* Brigantine of Liverpoole has given me the sale of his Cargo of Slaves, which consists of 140 Slaves, which I shall gett rid of in a feu Days, so that they shall be no hindrance to any that may arrive after, for a short Horse is soon curryed. I have not Elce. . . .

Sir, I am now come to the 15th, and have verry little to add but to Inclose you the two second bills to the first remitted you on the *James* acct., and to acquaint you that 8 weeks since the following Ships were at the Gallinas.

The *Penrill* Capt. Chreighton with	20 Slaves
The *Betty* Capt. Gilbert	25 Do.
The *Comerse* Capt. Cole	25 Do.
The *Phenix* Capt. Arthur	50 Do.

[2] Noblet Ruddock, a bankrupt Bristol merchant, who was in the West Indies from 1727 to 1734, may have been the seller of this cargo (John Latimer, *Annals of the Eighteenth Century,* p. 237). He is probably the consignee referred to below as "N R". The "B. H:" is without doubt Blaney Harper.

[3] Slaves from Calabar.

which is all the news I have by the *Hare* Brigantine.[4]

[P. S.] I am unacquainted with the Owners of the 3 last Vessells, for want of an African list therefore pray advise them what I have wrote you.

179. Charges of the Royal African Company.[1]

African House Feb. 22d 1730[/1].

An Estimate of the Charges of the Royal African Company of England, for the Maintenance of the Severall British Forts and Settlements belonging to the said Company on the Coast of Africa for the Year One thousand Seven hundred and thirty one.

Cape Coast Castle[2]	41 Guns.
Fort Royal	25
Phipps' Tower[3]	7
Queen Ann's Point	5

[4] A news item from Liverpool adds a number of vessels to those here mentioned: From Barbados, *Violet,* Oxenden, from Anamabo, 212 slaves; *Dreadnought,* Calabar, 227 slaves; *Mercury,* Smith, Antigua, 380; *Unicorn,* from Bonny; *Levant,* from Anamabo, 350; *William,* Jump, from Boston, taken by her slaves, and retaken. The *Berkley,* Burroughs, was on the coast; the *Amarilla,* at Cape Palmas; the *Diana,* at the Bite of Benin; the *Hope,* Brownbill, at Barbados. At St. Thomas was the *Hare,* Sacheverel; the *Henry* had sailed. At Bonny the *Mary,* Cornwall, and the *Freke*; at Angola, *Hayman, Amoretta, Budget,* and a South Sea Company's ship. From Bonny had recently sailed the *Infanta,* the *Indian Queen,* the *Bonny,* and the *Bath. Read's Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer,* Jan. 23, 1731.

[179] [1] Archives of the Society of Merchant Venturers, Bristol, "African Trade," Bundle D, box V. Under the monopoly of the Royal African Company the Merchant Venturers had had no legitimate share in the African trade, though Latimer intimates that even in the days of the monopoly they were secretly trading between Africa and America. At the end of the period of exclusive trade Bristol merchants were among the most active in taking advantage of the newly granted privileges and in opposing all efforts of the company to regain its former position. In this activity the Merchant Venturers shared with the corporation of Bristol. In the first nine years of open trade (1698-1707) 160,950 negroes were said to have been sent to America on Bristol vessels. In 1725 sixty-three vessels, with a capacity of 16,950 negroes, went out from here. Latimer estimates that this city spent £2000 in defeating the attempts of the company to regain the monopoly (*Merchant Venturers,* pp. 178-180; *Annals of the Eighteenth Century,* p. 90; Pitman, p. 67). The Merchant Venturers may have had the charges which follow, and which were doubtless part of a report prepared by the Board of Trade, in order to see whether they could be disproved. With them was a long account of the coast establishments, dated Feb. 16. For Bristol petitions presented during the struggle to prevent the revival of monopoly see *Commons Journals,* XII. 125, XVI. 83, 86, 550, 551, XVII. 76, 298, 299, 308; *Lords Journals,* XVI. 305; Stock, II. 218, 239.

[2] The company at this time described the castle as a square building fortified with four large bastions, and a platform towards the sea. It had by this time been enlarged by the company to six times the size of the original building. *C. J.,* XXI. 477.

[3] Phipp's Tower was an out-work built to protect the tower and gardens of Cape Coast against inland enemies.

		Salary £	Diet £
1 Surgeon	at 50 and 50 £	50	50
1 Surgeon's Mate	at 30 and 20 £	30	20
10 Armourers Smiths Carpenters etc.	at 30 and 20 £	300	200
1 Deputy Inspector of the Fortifications		30	20
1 Gunner	at 30 and 20 £	30	20
1 Gunners Mate	at 20 and 15 £	20	15
3 Serjeants	at 30 and 20 £	90	60
6 Corporals	at 20 and 15 £	120	90
2 Drummers	at 18 and 14 £	36	28
40 Soldiers	at 13 and 14 £	520	560
2 Linguists and Messengers,	1 at 48 and 1 at 24 £	72	
313 Castle Slaves	at 6 £ each		1878
43 Canoemen	at 8 £ each		344
	Totals	1298	3285
	The Salary added to the Diet		1298
	Carried to the Abstract on page 5 [436]		£4583

Dixcove Fort, 24 Guns.

1 Serjeant	at 30 and 20 £	30	20
1 Corporal	at 20 and 15 £	20	15
8 Soldiers	at 13 and 14 £	104	112
1 Carpenter	at 30 and 20	30	20
10 Black Sawyers Carpenters, etc 30 Castle Slaves	at 6 £ each		240
6 Canoemen	at 8 £ ea		48
	Totals	184	455
	The Salary added to the Diet		184
	Carried to the Abstract on page 5 [436]		£ 639

Succundee Fort, 31 Guns.

1 Corporal	at 20 and 15 £	20	15
9 Soldiers	at 13 and 14 £	117	126
20 Castle Slaves	at 6 £ ea		120
5 Canoemen	at 8 £ ea		40
	Totals	137	301
	The Salary added to the Diet		137
	Carried to the Abstract on page 5 [436]		£ 438

Commenda Fort, 24 Guns.

1 Corporal	at 20 and 15 £	20	15
9 Soldiers	at 13 and 14 £	117	126
20 Castle Slaves	at 6 £ ea		120
5 Canoemen	at 8 £ ea		40
	Totals	137	301
	The Salary added to the Diet		137
	Carried to the Abstract on page 5 [436]		438

		Salary £	Diet £
	Tantumquerry Fort, 8 Guns.		
1 Corporal	at 20 and 15 £	20	15
5 Soldiers	at 13 and 14 £	65	70
20 Castle Slaves	at 6 £ each		120
5 Canoemen	at 8 £ each		40
	Totals	85	245
	The Salary added to the Diet		85
	Carried to the Abstract on page 5 [436]		330
	Winnebah Fort, 16 Guns.		
1 Corporal	at 20 and 15 £	20	15
10 Soldiers	at 13 and 14 £	130	140
20 Castle Slaves	at 6 £ each		120
5 Canoemen	at 8 £ each		40
	Totals	150	315
	The Salary added to the Diet		150
	Carried to the Abstract on page 5 [436]		465
	Accra Fort, 40 Guns		
1 Corporal	at 20 and 15 £	20	15
10 Soldiers	at 13 and 14 £	130	140
30 Castle Slaves	at 6 £ each		180
5 Canoemen	at 8 £ each		40
	Totals	150	375
	The Salary added to the Diet		150
	Carried to the Abstract on page 5 [436]		525
	William's Fort, Whidah, 32 Guns.		
1 Gunner	at 30 and 20 £	30	20
1 Serjeant	at 30 and 20 £	30	20
4 Armourers, Smiths, Carpenters	at 30 and 20 £	120	80
1 Drummer	at 18 and 14 £	18	14
15 Soldiers	at 13 and 14 £	195	210
100 Castle Slaves	at 6 £ each		600
10 Canoemen	at 8 £ each		80
	Totals	393	1024
	The Salary added to the Diet		393
	Carried to the Abstract on page 5 [436]		£1417
	James Fort, Gambia, 36 Guns.		
1 Surgeon	at 60 and 40 £	60	40
1 Surgeon's Mate	at 30 and 20 £	30	20
10 Armourers, Smiths, Carpenters, etc.	at 30 and 20 £	300	200
1 Surveyor	at 50 and 20 £	50	20
1 Gunner	at 30 and 20 £	30	20
1 Serjeant	at 30 and 20 £	30	20
2 Drummers	at 18 and 14 £	36	28
30 Soldiers	at 13 and 14 £	390	420
5 Native Linguists and Messengers		55	
32 Castle Slaves	at 8 £ each		256
	Totals	981	1024
	The Salary added to the Diet		981
	Carried to the Abstract on page 5 [436]		2005

Abstract of the Estimate of the Castle Charges for the Year 1731.

	Castle Charge £
Cape Coast Castle and it's Outworks	4583
Dixcove Fort	639
Succondee	438
Commenda	438
Tantumquerry	330
Winnebah	465
Accra	525
Williams Fort, Whidah	1417
James Fort, Gambia	2005
Incident Charges on the Gold Coast and Whidah to be pd. there	4500
Incident Charges to be paid at Gambia	1200
Total Charges to be paid in Africa	16,540
Which by deducting 50 per Cent is Sterling money	11,027
To which is to be added the Charge of procuring and subsisting recruits of Artificers and Soldiers to be sent out, And of their passage to Africa, Also of Castle Stores, Ammunition and Materials, Computed to be paid in England in the Year 1731	2,400
To be likewise Added an Allowance for 70 persons who are Chiefs, Factors and Writers, and who upon all Occasions Act as well in a Military as trading Capacity after the rate of £27 Coast money or £18 Sterling each per Annum, being the pay of Common Soldiers only	1,260
Total of the foregoing Estimate for the Maintenance of the British Forts and Settlements on the Coast of Africa, for the Year 1731, in Sterling mony, amounts to	14,687

By Order of the Court of Assistants

EDWARD SPARKE
Accountant to the Royal African Company of England

Abstract of the Whole Charges of the Company's Forts.

Names of Places	Trade Charge this Year £	Castle Charge this Year £	Total Trade Charges £	Total Castle Charges £
Cape Coast Castle	1820	3865		
Dixcove	200	513		
Succondee	180	312		
Commenda	180	359		
Tantumquery	165	251		
Winnebah	165	287		
Accra	165	431		
Williams Fort, Whidah	310	967		
Incident Charges paid on the Coast		5312		
Total Charge of the Gold Coast and Whidah paid in Africa			3185	12,297
James Fort, Gambia	1364	1547		
Incident Charges paid at Gambia		1321		
Total Charge of James Fort Gambia pd. there			1364	2,868
Total of the Charges paid in Africa			4549	15,165
Which reduced into Sterling Money is			3033	10,110

	Total Trade Charges £	Total Castle Charges £
To which must be added the Charges of sending out thirty two Factors and Writers	415	
And the Charges of procuring and subsisting 70 Recruits of Artificers and Soldiers, and of their Passage to Africa, Also of Castle Stores Ammunition And Materials, being paid in England from June the first to Dec. the 31st 1730		2028
Total Trade Charges for the Year 1730 in Sterling Money	3448	
A Deduction being made out of the Trade Charges for 70 Persons who are Cheifs, Factors, and Writers, and who upon all Occasions act as well in Military as a Trading Capacity, after the Rate of 27 £ Coast Money or 18 £ Sterling each per Annum, being the Pay of only Common Soldiers, and added to the Castle Charges, the same will Amount to		1260
Total Charges of the Companys Establishments for the Maintenance of the Forts and Settlements on the Coast of Africa for the Year 1730 in Sterling Money Amounts to		13,398

An Account of the Disposal of the Sum of £10,000, Granted the last Session of Parliament towards the maintenance of the foregoing Forts and Settlements.

	£
Paid in England for procuring and subsisting 70 Recruits of Artificers and Soldiers, and for their Passage to Africa, Also for Castle Stores, Ammunition and Other Materials for the Use of the said Castles from June the 1st 1730 to Ult. Dec. 1730, as before mentioned	2028.

Sent out in Goods by the Undermentioned Ships to Africa since the first day of June 1730 for defraying such part of the foregoing Castle Charges as is payable there, to the amount of £13,542. 1. 5, vizt.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By the ship *Diligence,* Capt. John Deer	415.	4.	4			
By the *Guinea* packet, C. Wm. Martin	5081.	7.	3½			
By the *Bonetta,* James Livingstone	3337.	4.	3			
By the *Clarendon,* C. John Usher	4708.	5.	7			
				13,542.	1.	5
				£15,570.	1.	5

By Order of the Court of Assistants

EDWARD SPARKE

Accountant to the Royal African Company of England

180. Considerations upon the Trade to Cuba.[1]

Some further Considerations humbly proposed in order to prevent farming out the Factorys upon the Island of Cuba.

	p'ces of $\frac{8}{8}$
That there has been sold at havana from 10 Novr. 1730 to Jan'ry 11th 1731 abt 1549 Negroes, which at 250 p'ces $\frac{8}{8}$ per head amount to	387,250:
The Company have had sent home in return 11,325 of Snuff, supposing ea: to weigh 7 Arr:[2] make 79,275 arrb. w: at 2 p'ces $\frac{8}{8}$ per Arr: (very nearly the mean proport: in price, said Snuff has been charged at to the Company) amount to no more than	160,384:3¼
Remains to be recovered upon sd. Acct p'ces $\frac{8}{8}$	226,865:4¾

Excepting a deduction to be made for Bags, Some Sugar and a little Logwood for dunnage, for the Ships which will hardly amount to more than the odd thousands p'ces of $\frac{8}{8}$ so that it may be supposed, there remains 200,000 p'ces to be collected, besides the other debts, created in abt 12 or 13 Years before, arising in the whole, to a very great Sum; which when comes to be duly considered, it's not unlikely but many Gentlemen in the Direction, might be brought to think it more for the Interest of the Company, to continue the Factorys upon the old footing, especially as the Company will be certain Gainers upon every piece of India, sent thither hereafter, 70 p'ces of $\frac{8}{8}$ as no more Negroes are to be sent them from Jamaica, but what can be disposed of for Money, and that the Proffit will arise even when Negroes are dear at Jamaica, than to hearken to proposals for farming out their Factorys, admiting the Terms offerred should be seemingly as beneficial as for the Company to keep the Trade in their own hands when it should be further set forth, the necessity there will be (if the Honble Court of Directors give into the proposed Scheme) of having some persons besides the Farmers at the Factorys to take Care of the Companys property, the Exceptions the Spaniards may take to this Method, and the frequent cavils it may raise, to have that Trade carried on by persons who are not imediately under the Companys Direction.

All which are offerred with the greatest Submission.

[180] [1] Williams L. Clements Library, Shelburne MSS., Assiento, II. 913 (XLIV.). This paper has neither date nor signature. The trade of the South Sea Company had been for the second time violently interrupted in 1727 by the outbreak of war between Spain and England. The company's establishments were restored and trade resumed after the treaty of Seville, in November, 1729. For an account of the contribution which the assiento volumes among the Shelburne Papers make to the history of the Spanish-American slave trade from its re-establishment to its surrender by the English company, see A. S. Aiton, "The Asiento Treaty as reflected in the Papers of Lord Shelburne", *Hispanic American Historical Review,* VIII. 167-177.

[2] Arroba, a measure which varied, but was between 25 and 36 pounds.

181. Daniel Wescomb to —— Humphrey.[1]

South Sea House 18th June 1731.

Sir, In answer to Your Letter of Yesterday to the Court of Directors, I am by their Order to acquaint You, That as They have Resolved for some time past, to depend on the Jamaica Market for the Provision of all such Negroes as their Agents shall want for the Supply of the Spanish West Indies, upon which Encouragement, many Merchants as well from hence as from Bristol and Liverpoole, have dispatched Their Ships to the Coast of Guinea, It is by no means proper for the Company to Concern themselves about Your ordering or not, the Ships You mention from Barbadoes to Jamaica, That being a Matter That must rest within Your own Judgment. Our Agents Buy of all Importers Indifferently as They want and find Negroes for Their Purpose as to price and Goodness, and if You think proper to Order Your Ships to Jamaica, They will stand equal chance with other Ships.

182. Jonathan Dennis to Peter Burrell.[1]

Cuba, Novr. the 2d 1731 at N. S.

. . . The *Anne* Galley Capt. Spackman, was taken off the E't End of Jamaica the 24th of June 1728, and brought into this Port with two hundred and Sixty negroes and a Considerable Value of Camwood and other comoditys from the Coast of Affrica.[2] . . .

We have now been Six months without a Vessel from Jamaica though we have by several Occations prayd the Agents to send us one to load for Europe on the Hon'ble Companys Account. We cant help it but 'tis a miserable case nor doe I mention this by way

[181] [1] Add. MSS. 25557, p. 119. It will be observed from this letter that the company of the assiento had abandoned any attempt to obtain its supply from the Royal African Company and was buying from any seller. This gave to the separate traders of the American continent the same opportunity to share in the Spanish-American markets that was presented to the merchants of London, Bristol, and Liverpool. Those writers who have attributed to the possession of the assiento by the English great influence on the trade of the North American continent can find their only support in the share which New England vessels were now at liberty to obtain if they could. That they took any considerable share in this branch of the trade, there is little reason to believe.

[182] [1] William L. Clements Library, Shelburne MSS., XLIV. 341-352. Jonathan Dennis was a factor of the South Sea Company in Cuba.

[2] The case of the *Anne* had been the subject of interminable negotiations ever since its seizure by a Spanish Guarda Costa in 1728, and continued a subject of dispute through 1735. Capt. Joseph Spackman began petitioning for a restoration of vessel and cargo, valued at £10,590 1 *s.* 6 *d.,* in July, 1728; Benjamin Keene, minister to the court of Madrid, was instructed by numerous letters to obtain restitution; Christopher Astley, Benjamin Weale, and Joseph Croucher, of London, petitioned for letters of marque, that they might obtain private satisfaction. The English contention was that the vessel had been seized after word reached the West Indies that the preliminaries to peace had been agreed upon. The history of the case is set forth in a report to the king, Nov. 22, 1729. Add. MSS. 33028, pp. 198 ff.; 18272, f. 294; see also *Boston News Letter,* Nov. 16, 1732.

of complaint perhaps the Gentlemen at Jamaica may have had reasons, that I cant think of, for not sending us negroes, (for we have had but twelve sent us in Six Months) notwithstanding our pressing them for three hundred, for which number we are sure of a Sale at this time; and tis for this reason we send this Sloop in order if possible to prevaile with those Gentlemen to send as many as they can; which without they doe; there will be no proposing to live at all here. . . .

183. Order in Council concerning the Jamaica Duty.[1]

1731, 1 Dec.

[The Committee submit their report with the draft instructions. The report of the Board of Trade had set forth:] That by the said Act a Duty of fifteen shillings per head is laid upon all Negroes imported into Jamaica and another of Thirty shillings for every Negroe that shall be exported from thence, or put on Board for exportation, excepting such slaves only as have paid the Import Duty, and have not been sold in the Island since their Importation; . . . That the said Lords Commissioners further Reported, That the said Act so far as it relates to the Duties on Negroes is a Burthen upon the British Trade and Navigation, and contrary to Your Majestys additional Instruction to the Governor of Jamaica; By which he is forbid to consent to any Law upon any pretence whatsoever imposing a Tax upon Negroes imported into Jamaica, or Landed there for refreshment only, . . . whereupon the said Lords Commissioners humbly propose that in regard this is a Temporary Act and in all probability will have had its effect before an order for its repeale can reach the said Island, that therefore instead of repealing the same Your Majesty would be pleased to signify to the Governor of the said Island Your Majestys Dissatisfaction of this proceeding and to command him upon pain of Your Majestys highest Displeasure to adhere more strictly to his Instructions for the future—And at the same time absolutely to forbid him to give his assent to any Law imposing Duties upon Slaves imported into Jamaica payable by the Importer, or upon any slaves exported that have not been sold in the Island, and continued there for the space of twelve months, and to forbid him likewise to give his assent to any Act whatsoever imposing Duties on the Importation of any Felons from this Kingdom into Jamaica.[2]

[183] [1] *Acts P. C. C.*, III. 161-162. Three petitions had been received against the Jamaica act levying a duty: one from the merchants trading to Jamaica, one from the Merchant Venturers of Bristol, and one from merchants and shipowners of Liverpool.

[2] The recommendation was carried out and most specific instructions were sent to Governor Hunter (Add. MSS. 25562, pp. 136, 137, 250-251). Either in disregard of these orders, or before they were received, the governor assented to an act of Jan. 19,

184. Voyage of the *Mary*, 1732.[1]

We have now about 260 Slaves on board, and hope to get out of this unwholesome Place about a Month hence; the Captain and Doctor have been very ill, but are now on the Recovery. We have buried the Carpenter and six other Hands: and all the People we have left are in a very bad state of Health.

Another Letter is arrived this Week from the said Ship, dated from St. Christopher's which say, they have buried in all twelve Men, and 128 Slaves, that the Captain, Doctor, and Mr. Masters the Chief Mate, with several of the People, and some Slaves are in a very sickly and weak Condition, the former having lost the Use of his Limbs.

Another Letter mentions, that our Ships trading at Bonny have had a sickly Time on it, not one but much weakened by the Loss of their People, insomuch that it must be with great Difficulty for them to make their Voyage. The *Indian Queen* Capt. Perry, have buried some of her Hands, and a Number of Negroes.

Bristol Aug 26 [1732].[2]

Came in since our last, the *Mary*, Bibbe, from Africa and Jamaica, which Ship has made a very sickly Voyage, out of 27 Sailors they have buried 20, and about 141 Negroes. They had but five able Hands to take Care of a great number of Negroes, and to Navigate the Ship from St. Christopher's to Jamaica, which they did with great Difficulty and Fatigue. One of the Sailors was kill'd on the Coast by the Chief Mate, who unhappily flung a Yam (a root that grows in Africa) to the Deceased, which hitting him on the side of the Head, he fell on the Deck with the same, and expired in about four Hours after. The People on board say they do not know what is become of the Mate, intimating that he has made his Escape.

1732, placing 10 *s.* a head on all negroes imported and 20 *s.* on all those exported. The Merchant Venturers at once took steps to obtain the disallowance of the measure. On Jan. 3, 1732, £100 was voted for that purpose; and on May 11 a petition to the king was prepared ("Calendar of the Records of the Merchant Venturers," II. 63). The question was referred to the Board of Trade, which, after considering it through September and early October, with petitions from merchants of London, Bristol, Liverpool, and the South Sea Company, letters from Governor Hunter, an address from the council and assembly of Jamaica, and a presentation of the needs of the island by the colonies' agents, recommended that the act be repealed, and the Council renewed its instructions to that effect. Oct. 13, 1732, C. O. 137: 20; *Acts P. C. C.*, III. 162-164; *B. T. Jour.*, 1728-1734, pp. 305, 307-310, 314, 401-403, 417-427, *passim*; Library of Congress, Vernon-Wager MSS., vol. I., 1732, Sept. 4.

[184] [1] *Boston News Letter,* Oct. 5, 1732, "Extract of a Letter from on Board the *Mary* Galley, Capt. Bibby, dated at Bonny on the Coast of Guinea, Jan. 4, 1731/2."

[2] *Boston News Letter,* Dec. 7, 1732. The item is copied from Bristol News.

185. Vessels of the South Sea Company.[1]

[Havana, 1732.]

Ships Names	Commanders	When arrived	When sailed	Nett Proceeds No. Negroes	Total amount	Comm @ 4 p Ct.
		1730	1730			
Bridgen	Capt. Sam Webster	May 6th	July 25th	200	The only Negroes sold per I D and Compa. at havana	
Flotta	Marq: de Mari	May.....	June 17th			
John Brigantine	And: Bissett	July 16th	Nov'r.23rd @ Curaçao	15		
			1731			
Prince of Asturias	Will: Blackburne	Novemb'r 10th	Jan'ry 13th	150	39,424.5 p'ces $\frac{8}{8}$	1,684.3
Granada	John Gibson	Novemb'r 27th	February 26th	200	52,299.4	2,990.2
		1731				
Adventure Man of Warr	L'd Muskerry	Jan'ry 19th	February 27th			
Hanibal	Robt. Turner	March 12th	August 29th	200	43,880.7½	1,914.5
Assogues [?]	Dn Rodrigo de Torres	March 17th	May 26th			
John Brigant: 3 Voya	And: Bissett	April 3rd @ Jam'ca	May 26 to Campechy	10	2,395.6½	114.
Sloop *Adventure*	Thom's Pinkney	February 17th	April 16th			
Boat *Mercury* @ Prov.	Richd. Leggett	May 25th	June 9th			
William Galley	Alexander Inness	May 27th		15	3,119.4	145.2
Snow *Dn. Carlos*	John Seymour	June 16th	August 29th	98	24,246.1	104.1.2[2]
St. George	Edward Fennell	July 16th	August 29th	233	60,910.7	2,597.5
John Brigantine	Andrew Bissett	July 20th				
				906	226,277.3 p'ces $\frac{8}{8}$	10,487.2½
Galeons @ Cartaxena	Dn Manl Lopez Pintado	July 22nd	August 19th			
Sloop *Diamond*	Jno: Parris w'th Provisions for the Galeons		August 19th to Carolina			
Belinda		August 6 and 7th	October 7th to Jamaica			
Brigantine *Fox*			Aug'st 29th to Philadelp:			

[185] [1] William L. Clements Library, Shelburne MSS., XLIV. 911. This paper has no explanatory superscription or signature. According to the Spanish record, the South Sea Company had introduced under the assiento: into Buenos Aires, Oct. 14, 1715–Jan. 3, 1731, 8600 negroes; into Porto Bello, Sept. 16, 1715–July 22, 1723, 3994¾; into Cartagena, Dec. 22, 1714–Apr. 22, 1724, 2808¼; into Vera Cruz, Apr. 6, 1716–Jan. 15, 1731, 1464¼; Havana, July 25, 1715–Feb. 5, 1725, 1580⅔ (Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, legajo 2525). The fractions make it clear that *piezas de Indias* not slaves per head are here reckoned.

[2] The figures are transcribed as they appear in the Shelburne MSS., though there seems little meaning to some of them.

Ships Names	Commanders	When arrived	When sailed	Nett Proceeds No. Negroes	Total amount	Comm @ 4 p Ct.
Sloop *Adventure*	Peter Kearney	August 8th @ Jamca		60		
Boat from Providence	Higgonbotham	August 18				
Bellamont	George Eaves	September 13th		264		
Betty Snow	James Phelps	October 15th		180		
Sloop *Adventure*	Peter Kearney	December 1st		32		
Catherine	Wolfe	December 7th 1732		27		
Mary	Poynter	January 11th		80		
No. of Negroes sold at havana per W N and H T from Nov'r 10th: 1730 to 11 Jan'ry 1732				1549		

Which according to the foregoing Analogy of 906 for 226,277 p'ces of $\frac{8}{8}$ in an Average, is very nearly 250 p'ces per head, So that 1549 Negroes at said Price, amount to £87,131. 5 (@ 4/6 per p'ce of $\frac{8}{8}$) Commiss: of which at 4 Ct. is £3485. 5.

The above 215 Neg's (included in the Parenthesis) were the only Negroes sold by I D and Compa. while at Havana, the 200 carried thither in the *Bridgen* with them, and the 15 were sent in the *John* Brigantine only as a qualification for her admittance into Port; for the real design of her being sent thither was to carry I D the shocking News of his intended removal, and lest this should not be great enough Mr. P was pleased to consign the Negroes to Messrs N and T. on supposition I D would have resigned his Commission as Chief there, to W N on said Notice, but this, not carrying the face of a Certainty with it, there were no more Negroes allotted for that Place till 10 Nov'r which were sent in the *Prince of Asturias* Capt Blackburne, who carried the Orders of the Hon'ble Court of Directors relating to the new regulation of the two Factorys on that Island, and then were sent 150 Neg's and on the 27th of the same Month 200 more in the *Grenada.* So that altho I D had writ to the Agents for Negroes very pressingly, 4 several times, under the following dates, *vizt.* on 9th 28th and 30th May and 12 June, yet none were sent him, but as soon as he was prevented from any benefit in the Sales, You find Sr that Factory was supplied with as many or truly more than they had occasion for, Wherefore that Usage and the

neglect shewn him at Santiago de Cuba, for we learnt, from his last Letters, that they had had no more than 12 Small Negroes, sent thither in 8 Months, tho' had several times writ for 150, having a pressing occasion for them, and could have disposed of for money gives but too much reason to say he has had a great deal of partiallity and ill Will shewn him etc.

186. THE OWNERS OF THE *UNION* TO CAPTAIN RICHARD PRANKARD.[1]

BRISTOL, January 29th 1732/3.

Capt. Richard Prankard,

We hope this will find you safe arrived on the coast of Angola and with a fine Parcell of Negroes ready to putt on board our Ship *Union,* by whom (God willing) you'll receive this, which is to confirm the orders already given you to continue on the Coast so long as Capt. Williams and you think will be to our Interest which we reckon must be till the departure of the *Union,* who sails at a great Expence and as you are sensible our design of sending you is to give dispatch to her, so you must in the best manner of which you are capable exert yourself in the purchase of a parcell of fine Men and Women, that you may not loose the good caracter you have already gott. And as you are obliged to take at times some boys and Girls, you must endeavour between you and Capt. Williams to purchase about 100, aiming chiefly at the females from 10 to 14 years of age, and when have settled all your affairs with Capt. Williams and that you are sensible of his having no longer occasion of your assistance, must receive from him sundry goods and Merch'zes loaded on the *Union* as per Invoyce and bill of loading here inclosed amtg to £386.0.2 Sterling money, and proceed for Gaboon and Cape Lopez, where you are with the utmost dispatch to dispose of the same for Wax, Elephants teeth or Redwood, and some Negroes if to be had.

During Capt. Williams stay in London, he gott information of Capt. Lone of the nature of the Trade and the Assortment of the Cargoe which he assures us will answer well so hope you will not be long in disposing of so small a Cargoe, which as soon as done you must make the best of your way to Cadiz in Spain applying there to Messrs. Casamajor,[2] Sympson, Warre, and Polier, and before you go too farr up the Bay, send them an express of your arrival, where shall meet with our farther orders and that they may know you at a Distance observe to carry your Ensign at the Foretopmast head, when

[186] [1] Jefferies MSS., p. 4 B.

[2] It was to a Casamajor, a Bristol correspondent of Humphrey Morice, that instructions were sent for Snelgrave after his capture by pirates in 1718. Snelgrave, *New Account of Guinea,* p. 288.

one of them may come off to you, and give you orders what River to proceed to.

Observe that the Boys and Girls you buy be very black and handsome, and in case of your not having provisions to proceed directly to Cadiz may stop at Annabona [Annobon] or any Island for fresh subsistance.

Keep us advised of what passes in all our concerns and make what dispatch possible to return to

Your friends and Owners

JAMES LAROCHE
MATT. THOMAS
LS. CASAMAJOR
ISAAC HOBHOUSE
JOHN BARTLETT
LYONEL LYDE, For the Exrs of Alderman [*illegible*][3]

187. CARGO FOR A SLAVE VESSEL.[1]

Estimate for a Cargo wherewith to purchase 250 Negroes at Benny.[2]

250 paper brawles at 5/6	£ 68. 15		
80 blew Chints of the Smallest Flower and none with Large Spriggs	104.		
50 blew Byram pauls	50.		
50 Demi long cloaths	60.		
100 Large Niccanees fine small stripe	80.		
100 Small ditto	60.		
100 Cotton Romals with red and blew stripes mixd	60.		
30 Photeas blew and white Check'd	20.		
		502.	15
300 Musquets bright barrels }	190.		
100 ditto black }			
40 pair common large pistols	28.		
40 blunderbusses 18 inches	30.		
		248.	
2 tonns lead in small barrs abt. 4 lb. each		32.	
5 cwt. Neptunes 22 in. in the bottom		40.	
15 cwt. Monelas		56.	5
14 Tonns Iron		230.	
1000 Copper Rods		50.	
80 wicker bottles brandy		40.	
5 cwt. Christial pipe beads		28.	
		£1226.	

[3] Latimer speaks of James Laroche as the owner of a privateer in 1747, but has no reference to his trading activities. His son, Sir James, five years a member of Parliament, was a master of the Merchant Venturers and a leader in the opposition to abolition (Latimer, *Eighteenth Century*, p. 477, and *Merchant Venturers*, p. 185). See signatures of the petition of 1739 for several of these names.

[187] [1] Jefferies MSS., p. 9.

[2] Undoubtedly Bonny.

Provisions and necessaries.

80 cwt. Rice
150 bus. Beans
30 cwt. wt. bread
10 cwt. wh. Flower
60 cwt. beeff and Porke
10 bushells pease
5 bh. Malagetta
2 Firkins butter
2½ tonns Shipbeere
12 Groce Tebaccopipes
4 cwt. Tebacco
a Surgery chest and Medicines
14 doz. Candles
2 bbls. Gunpowder
50 Galls. brandy
20 dozn. beere
10 bushells Grutts
Groceries

188. Bounty demanded by the Company of the Indies.[1]

A Marly, le 19e fevrier, 1733.

Compagnie des Indes

La Compagnie des Indes demande une ordonnance sur le Tresor Royal pour la gratification de 13 *ll.* pour chaque teste de noirs qu' elle a introduit dans les Colonies par ses Vaisseaux venant de Guinée et du Senegal depuis le 5 may 1730 Jusqu'au 3 Novembre 1732, laquelle gratification est ordonnée par la Declaration du mois de Janvier 1685. portant Etablissement d'une Compagnie de Guinée et par l'article 24 des lettres patentes du mois de mars 1696, portant Etablissement de la Compagnie du Senegal.

Sçavoir

	teste de noirs
Par le Vaisseau *l'anglique* Capitaine herault il a eté debarqué a Cayenne suivant le Certificat du S'r lefebvre d'Albon du 5 may 1730 cy	314
Par le V'au le *Superbe* Capitaine P're Cadou il a eté debarqué a la Martinique suivant le Certificat du 8 Decembre 1731.	314
Signé Marin cy	288:
Par le Vaisseau le *Cheval Marin* Cap'ne Charles Negre il a eté debarqué au petit Goave Suivant le Certificat du S'r de St. Aubin du 8 mars 1732 cy	175:
Par le Vaisseau la *bien-aimée* Capitaine Charles Boy il a eté débarqué aud. lieu suivant le certificat dud. S'r de St. Aubin du 2. avril audit an cy: . .	136:
Par le V'au *L'Entreprenante* Cap'ne de Jonceray des forges il a eté introduit a la Martinique Suivant le certificat du 23 Juin aud. an visé du S'r de Champigny cy	284:
Par le V'au le *Jazon* Capitaine Pierre Tonault de la Cour il a eté débarqué au cap franzois Suivant le Certificat du S'r de Sartre du 2. 7'bre audit an cy .	361:
Par le V'au le *Pontchartrain* Cap'ne Du Rocher il a eté debarqué aud. lieu Suivant le certificat du S'r de Sarte du 24. du mois de Septembre cy	107:
Par le Vaisseau *L'union* Capitaine Desqueyroux il a eté debarqué aud. lieu suivant le Certificat id. du 26 dud.	122:
Par le Vaisseau *Le Nestor* Capitaine Negre il a eté debarqué aud. lieu Suivant le Certificat id du 3 Novembre aud. an	392
	2179:
Noirs a raison de 13th par Teste font la somme de	28327 *ll.*

[188] [1] MSS. des Colonies, C2, 25, ff. 114-115. "Gratification demandée par la Compagnie des Indes pour les Nègres introduits par elle aux colonies. Rapport approuvé par Orry."

Il paroist juste D'Expedier une ordonnance de la d'te Somme de Vingt huit mille trois cent vingt sept livres.[2]

189. THOMAS GERALDINO TO DIONISIO MARTINEZ DE LA VEGA.[1]

Sir: In a letter dated October 7, which I received December 15 by the English ship called *El Prospero Solomón,* Capt. Joseph Cobb, your lordship acknowledges receipt of my letter of May 21, which I sent you by Don Nicolas Holloway and D. Juan Eden, both agents of the royal company of the treaty of negroes, who were sent at that time to the agency in that city [Havana] and its jurisdiction. On that occasion I informed your lordship of having told the court of directors that the king had appointed agents who were to co-operate with those of the company in all the ports where this enterprise had been established in accordance with the stipulations contained in chap. 28 of the treaty, and that the provisions introduced there should be limited to the precise quantity necessary for the support of the number of slaves carried by each vessel. I also notified your lordship that notwithstanding the fact that the company, or rather its court of directors had approved of these new rules and had given orders to their agents in Jamaica to obey them, it took occasion to represent to the king the prejudices it feared in consequence of these rules. Nevertheless your lordship begs me to write to you with greater detail about the co-operation of his Majesty's agent with those of the company, for the reason that you did not receive any orders or information in this matter, remonstrating at the same time that the regulating of provisions for the support of slaves having been left to the arbitration of the agents of Jamaica, your lordship considers this disposition, as it is expressed in chap. 22 of the treaty, quite confusing.

In answer to the above stated I wish to inform your lordship that I have given an account of the context of your letter to the king so that in case the orders which I supposed you to have received did not reach you, they may be repeated. . . . I am enclosing a copy [of the orders sent to Vera Cruz] herewith so that it may serve your lordship as guide. it answers your inquiry, it being well understood that its practice has been accepted by the court of directors. With regard to the adjustment concerning the number of slaves each vessel is to carry, it was decreed this number should amount to 80 heads, of all ages, per 100 tons with the exception of that port and

[2] Endorsed: "Tresor R'al. 1733, 2179 testes de noirs a 13 par teste 28327 *ll.* Expedié l'ord'e le 23 fevrier 1733. Rendu les Certifficats au bureau de M. Raudot le 20 fev. 1733." In the margin is "bon".

[189] [1] Archives of the Indies, 153-5-7, 41B. Thomas Geraldino was the London agent appointed under the terms of the assiento contract to safeguard Spanish interests in England. Dionisio Martinez de la Vega was governor of Havana.

Campeche, where payment for slaves is generally made in products and (although orders have now been given to the agents to sell slaves only against cash) they say that they cannot be limited to a certain number on account of the bulkiness of the cargo which they are taking on their return voyage.[2] For this reason an agreement was made with the court of directors to the effect that for the present and until this point is cleared, all vessels sent to the two above-mentioned ports for the purpose of bringing back products should carry certificate of tonnage, number of slaves and corresponding provisions and should be chartered to accept cargo belonging to the company. It is for this reason such vessels do not carry the regulation number of slaves.

As for the limitation of provisions which your lordship contends was left to the arbitration of the agents in Jamaica, although by the enclosed copy of the king's order, his intention is clearly defined, I feel compelled to reply that, since the distances as well as the time needed for the voyage, vary when and where to the company sends negro slaves and since their sale everywhere involves expenses to the company, it has been found impracticable to establish a general rule to be applied to all alike. For this reason the generic term of limitation of provisions in accordance with the number of slaves carried was applied so that, in accordance with distance and the time necessary in each port for their sale, the agents in Jamaica were to provide them and the king's officials were to admit them at the port of destination, thus guarding against the misuse which the commissioners of the company have always made of this permission, through intervention by the governor and a commissioner of the king, both of whom are to take possession of these provisions and lock them in the custody of the three keys as ordained in the enclosed decree issued by his Majesty. . . .

In case the king should not have appointed a commissioner at that port, the inspection will become the duty of the royal official whom your lordship is to appoint ad interim until his majesty provides otherwise. . . .

Chap. 26 of the treaty provides that vessels used by the company of the assiento are not allowed to carry away from America other values than what results from the sale of slaves, yet I am convinced that the two ships which lately arrived here from that port have brought several sums of money and that very particularly the *St. James* brought besides the money, the amount of which I have so far been unable to ascertain, sixty pouches of cochineal and four of indigo and within the latter several bars of silver, all of which was unloaded in Portsmouth. If the bill of lading which the factors over

[2] Logwood was a frequent return cargo from Campeche.

there remit to the court of directors, declares that not one real in money is contained in the shipment for the account of the company, the transgression of the treaty or agreement is established, for which however the only penalty stipulated consists in not retaining the said vessel any longer in the services of the company, which is very poor satisfaction to the interests of the king, especially in case this vessel was chartered instead of being the property of the company. I cannot refrain from placing such a case before the consideration of your lordship for the reason that, even though I, complying with my duty, should use all the means at my disposal to expose such shipments, all my care can produce is to give an account to the king—as I have done—in order that his Majesty may ordain the necessary measures to have the shipping in America carefully watched, with the result however that upon the ship's arrival here all possible means are used to avoid my vigilance and even in case my care should lead to discovery there exists no law to force the captains to denounce the owners. All I have been able to attain so far is that three of these captains whose guilt I have been able to prove, were declared unfit to serve the company again.

Your lordship will be kind enough to ordain that from now on the royal officials over there are to send me a statement of the visit of inspection they make on board the company's vessels which are ready to sail with cargos for this kingdom and, as orders have been given by the court of directors—upon my petition—to the agents at Jamaica, that they also send me a copy of the visit of inspection on all vessels sent to the different agencies, your lordship will be so good as to ordain that affidavits are sent to me of everything ships, bound for that port, carry, as well as those bound for Cuba, thus to enable me to compare lists of these vessels with those of the cargos the agents of the company issue and in this manner avoid disorder, or rather, remedy it, for up to the present, factors have taken advantage of their powers to the detriment of the interests of the king and his subjects. . . .

LONDON, Jan. 12, 1734.

190. BOUNTY DEMANDED BY THE COMPANY OF THE INDIES.[1]

A MARLY le 16[e] Janvier 1734.

Compagnie des Indes.

La compagnie des Indes demande une ordonnance sur le tresor Royal pour la gratification de 13 *ll.* par chaque teste de noirs venant de Guinée et du Senegal qu' elle a fait Introduire dans les Colonies

[190] [1] MSS. des Colonies, C2, 26, ff. 4-5. "Rapport au sujet de la gratification demandée par la Compagnie des Indes pour les nègres introduits par elle aux colonies, avec approbation d' Orry."

par les Vaisseaux cy-après, laquelle gratification est ordonnée par la declaration du mois de Janvier 1685, portant Etablissement d'une compagnie de Guinée, et par l'article 24 des lettres patentes du mois de mars 1696, portant Etablissement de la Compagnie du Senegal; et pour la gratification de 20 *ll.* par chaque marc d'or qu'elle a apporté en France et porté a la monnoye de Paris, aussy ordonnée par l'article 25 desd. lettres patentes de 1696.

Sçavoir

	Teste de Noirs
Par le Vaisseau le *Mercure* Cap'ne Baugin, il a eté debarqué a la Martinique de M. D'orgeville du 20 Decembre 1731 cy	159:
Par le Vaisseau le *St. Esprit* Capitaine Trehoüart il a eté debarqué aud. lieu Suivant le certificat idem du 26 mars 1732, cy	270:
Par le Vaisseau la *Renée françoise* Cap'ne Desprez lefebvre, il a eté debarqué aud. lieu Suivant le Certificat Id. dud. jour cy	211:
Par le V'au la *Ste Trinité* Capitaine Jolly il a eté debarqué Idem Suivant Idem cy	130:
Par le Vaisseau le *Diligent* Cap'ne Mary il a eté debarqué Id. Suivant Id. cy	244
Par le Naivre *l' Aimable Suzanne* Captaine le Houx il a eté debarqué au Cap françois Suivant Certificat de M. Du Clos du 10 decembre 1732 cy	222
Par le Vaisseau la *Baleine* Capitaine Vaubercy il a eté debarqué au Cap françois suivant le certificat de M. de Sartre du 7 Janvier 1733 cy	491:
Par le Navire la *Ste. Elisabeth* Cap'ne Texier il a eté debarqué au petit Goave Suivant le Certificat de M. Du Clos du 24. dud. mois cy . .	118:
Par le V'au le *Pacifique* Cap'ne Buron il a eté debarqué au Cap françois suivant certificat de M. de Sartre du 27 dud. mois cy	567:
Par le Navire la *Thetis* Cap'ne fillon il a eté debarqué aud. lieu Suivant le Certificat dud. S. de Sartre du 30 dud. cy	192:
Par le Navire le *St. Philippes* Cap'ne Pellissier il a eté debarqué aud. lieu suivant le certificat dud. Sr. de Sartre visé par M. Chastenaye du 31 dudit cy	333:
Par le Navire le *Duc de Bourbon* Capitaine Pichon il a eté debarqué du cap françois Suivant le certificat de M. de Sartre du 24 fevrier 1733 cy	183:
Par le brigantin le *Phoenix* Cap'ne Le Gueroult il a eté debarqué au petit Goave Suivant le Certificat de M. Du Clos du 26 dud. mois cy	115:
Total	3235:

Les N. 3235 testes de noirs a raison de 13 *ll.* par Teste font la somme de	42,055 *ll.*		
Il a eté porté a la monnoye de Paris 17 Marcs 6 onces, 6 gros ½ d'or Suivant le Certificat du 22 may 1733, signé aviat et Souchet, a raison de 20 *ll.* Le marc cy	357:	0:	7:
Total	42,412:	0:	7:

Il paroist juste d'Expedier une ordonnance de la dite Somme de quarante deux mille quatre cent douze livres sept deniers.[2]

[2] Note in the margin, "bon".

191. Tariff of Charges at Vera Cruz.[1]

1733, May 13.

The Articles for a Tariff of Charges on 200 Negroes Computed to be Sold Annually at Vera Cruz.

No. 1.	Port charges on the Vessels Employ'd to Carry Negroes, and bring back the Returns (it may be 4 annually) with some Charges at Landing the Negroes, etc., whatever shall be really paid.	
2.	Negro Provisions and Maintenance from the Time of Landing till Sold or de[livered] at 1¼ Rial per diem for each Neg'o suppose 12 days	375
3.	For Medicines, Surgery, Nursing and Burial of the Negroes at 2 pieces of ⅛ per Negro	400
4.	For Negro keeper, Bombo's etc. 3 pieces of ⅛ per Negro	600
5.	For contingent charges 3 pieces of ⅛ per Negro	600
6.	For Rent of a House and Negro [?] per annum	750
7.	For Sallary to the Judge Conservator per annum	1500
8.	For Commission to the Factor and Bookkeeper (as Settled the 9th Ultimo) 10 per cent. on the Returns	

192. News Item relating to Slave Trade.[1]

Bristol, Nov. 14, [1733.]

By the *Susannah* came Letters from Jamaica of the 12th of August, which advise, that the Market for Negroes (of whom there are great Numbers lately arrived there) is at a stand in that Island, by reason of the Trade being stopp'd at the Havvanna and other Places on the Main by the Spanish Governors, on Account of the *Deal Castle* Man of War's taking a Spanish Register Ship, as a Reprizal for the *Wool Ball*; this will prove a great Detriment to some Merchants in this City; the Merchants of Jamaica, to whom the Cargoes of Negroes are consigned, not knowing what way to dispose of them.

193. Thomas Geraldino to José Patiño.[1]

Sir. . . . In my letter of December 31 I stated that the court of directors intended to send the second agent of Jamaica to Porto Bello with the order of the agents who reside in that port [Jamaica] to seize the property of the company there, and that, though not objecting to this decision (for I consider it advantageous), I did oppose the election of the second agent of Jamaica because I presumed that by appointing him to fill this position it would be impossible to obtain the dismissal of Prater which I had previously demanded. After a great many objections the court agreed and tomorrow is the day chosen to elect another man for this commission,

[191] [1] Add. MSS. 25554, p. 34.

[192] [1] *South Carolina Gazette,* Feb. 17, 1733.

[193] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-5-7, doc. no. 14, "Indiferente General Asienti de negros. Correspondencia de la via reservada con los ministros y Directores del Asienti en Londres. Añon 1733 a 1734". The first paragraphs report the decision of the South Sea Company to make no further payments to Spain until the disputed value of the peso has been settled.

the election of commissioners for the said port having been delayed for some time. This decision convinces me of the advisability of sending, as quickly as possible, someone to fill that agency, and that this act demands a certain amount of precaution, caused by the present attitude in Europe, where they failed to send the necessary commissioners who had been appointed for Carácas, while the trading post of Campeche has not been provided and the agents who went lately to Havana died and they do not apparently intend to replace them. For these reasons the introduction of negro slaves is at a standstill. For the greater part of all of this I feign ignorance in order to lend more power to those who are inclined to favor the negotiations for the suspension of the treaty, which will soon be brought up for consideration, and to the attainment of which I do not spare any efforts. I beg your excellency to render account of this to his Majesty.

LONDON, January 21, 1734.

194. THOMAS GERALDINO TO JOSÉ PATIÑO.[1]

Your Excellency. . . . as doubtless in the said assembly [general court of the South Sea Company] the question of applying the proceeds of the cargo of the ship the *Royal Caroline*[2] towards a part payment of the 900,000 pounds sterling which the company owes and on which it pays interest, would be discussed, one of these proprietors[3] might make a suggestion, by stating that the only means of paying the entire debt would be to abolish the treaty of Negroes and to apply the capital diverted for this purpose to payment of the debt. This suggestion was well received by my confidants among the proprietors and after calling others to the meeting and holding several conferences with me, they put this plan into execution and at an opportune moment in the general assembly, one of them said to the assistant governor that he wished to remind him that time and again the consideration of the proposition which I had made of suspending the treaty had been deferred by justifiable reasons, but that since these reasons no longer existed, he proposed that a day be assigned for the convocation of another general assembly for the sole purpose of discussing this matter, which he considered to be of the greatest importance to the company. From reports he had about the matter, he found that the profits derived were very small, while the losses were very considerable, owing to the bad faith on the part of the agents, who not only appropriated the entire profit which

[194] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-5-7, doc. no. 32.

[2] The *Royal Caroline,* the "annual ship" allowed to the company by the assiento, had just completed a profitable voyage, Anderson says, the only profitable voyage a "permission ship" ever made. Anderson, *Origins of Commerce,* III. 430.

[3] Those proprietors who favored surrendering the negro trade.

the company might have had, but, taking advantage of the opportunities afforded them as employees in the service of the company, undermined the fair understanding between the two Crowns and thus injured the nation; that if the company paid the king the 33,000 pound sterling per annum as duties on the slave trade, the saving of this amount, together with what might be obtained as its equivalent from Spanish commerce, would, in a short time, wipe out the entire debt of the company and would at the same time prove advantageous to both nations.

This proposal was greatly applauded by the entire general assembly and without giving the assistant governor time or occasion to reply, another member took the floor and stated that, owing to the fact that at the end of March another general assembly was to be called in accordance with the statutes of the company, which provided for a meeting every three months, the court should then be ready to inform the general assembly of the steps taken in their consideration of my proposal and what measures were to be adopted towards a resolution. This was unanimously agreed upon.[4] . . .

London, Mar. 4, 1734.

195. The South Sea Company: Order of the General Court.[1]

Whereas: it is stipulated and agreed upon between the court of directors of the royal company of the treaty and Don Thomas Geraldino, director for his Catholic Majesty to superintend the business transactions of said company, that the different vessels which are sent by the commissioners of the company in Jamaica, to Cartagena, Porto Bello, and Vera Cruz in the Spanish West Indies, should never carry less than four negro slaves to each five tons of each vessel's total tonnage (to wit: that a vessel of 100 tons is to carry 80 slaves and so forth in due proportion) unless such a vessel should carry a special certificate issued by the assembly of the court, stating why she was sent with a smaller number of slaves. When it concerns Havana, Santiago de Cuba, Carácas, and Campeche, this could not be done nor could any general rule be established because it has to be borne in mind that the proceeds from the sale of negroes in these parts would have to consist for the greater part in products.

Therefore, in accordance with the said agreement, the court of directors and the said Don Thomas Geraldino, by the present docu-

[4] By an investigation of 1734 the proprietors reckoned that their profits had not amounted to more than £3226 a year. This seemed to them so inconsiderable that they desired to surrender the assiento privilege. Anderson (III. 468, 470) quite seriously remarks on the selfishness of this, since it ignored the advantage which England gained from the large illicit trade carried on under cover of the assiento.

[195] [1] Arch. Ind., 153-5-7, 107A. "Translation of a document issued by the general court of directors of the company of the treaty for the introduction of 150 slaves to Campeche on the ship called the *Aguila,* of 300 tons."

ment, certify to Don José Savariego, governor of Campeche and to the other ministers and officials of his Catholic Majesty who are qualified or might be qualified, that they have issued permission or passport marked No. C. allowing the vessel called the *Aguila* of 300 tons more or less, her Captain George Haynes, to proceed to Campeche with 150 negro slaves and provisions (concerning which Mr. Edward Prater and Mr. John Merewether, agents of said company in Jamaica, will issue certificates) for the support of the crew, the negroes, and also of Messrs. Campbel and Oren, agents in Campeche, to whom the above mentioned agents in Jamaica are to consign the slaves, stock, and provisions. The said vessel is to bring on her return voyage from the said port of Campeche such effects belonging to the treaty as may be shipped conveniently and which the agents may wish to ship on her. For this reason the vessel referred to is to be admitted readily at the said port of Campeche and she is to be allowed to deliver there the aforesaid 150 negroes with the food and provisions necessary for their support, together with food and provisions shipped for the use of the aforesaid agents and which are to be so declared by the certificates from the agents in Jamaica and, in exchange, she is to take on board the amount of goods the agents in Campeche may consider best to send, which are to be declared in a signed manifest to be delivered by the ship to the assembly of directors, with a duplicate for Don Thomas Geraldino. By the present the governor and all other ministers and officials of the king are entreated to render all due protection and assistance to these aforesaid agents in the sale of the slaves and in the shipping of the negroes under their care and direction.

Issued in LONDON, November 8, 1734.

By order of the assembly of directors of the royal company of the treaty of Great Britain.

Signed: WILLIAM SMITH, Secretary.

Fifty barrels of flour Five quarter casks of rum Ten barrels of lard Five quintals of cheese Twenty four hams	for one hundred slaves

For the vessel the *Drake,* Captain Pedro Hannar, of 300 tons, another similar document has been issued on the same date.

196. John Merewether and Edward Manning to Peter Burrell.[1]

Jamaica, Janry 6th 1736.

Hon'd Sir, . . . Those Traders never deal in Gold Coast Negroes. If we might be indulged with receiving the Consignments of those Ships, we might hope for a few in the Year from some of our very good friends, which would help out: And we would not vary from our present method in choosing those Negroes ashore in the most publick manner. The Genl Account of Negroes duely transmitted with our half Yearly Accounts which specifies of whom bought and the Prices given, together with the Factors approbation of the Negroes they receive will we hope be Sufficient to Convince our Hon'ble Masters we intend no prejudice to the Company.

We have made the same request to the Deputy Governour and we begg leave to desire your favour.

You will please to Observe how much Cheaper we buy Callabar and Angola Negroes, than those from the Gold Coast, on which Account we take as many from the former Countrys as possibly we can, in order to render the Negroe Account proffitable to the Company.

We are under a very great uneasiness for fear the money so long expected from Lima should not arrive, Otherwise, as the Demand for Negroes has this last Year run low, we shall be able to make but a poor remittance in the Spring. . . .

197. Job ben Solomon to Mr. Smith.[1]

Yanimerow in the River Gambia Jan: 27th: 1735/6.

Sir, This is to acquaint you of my safe arrival at and return here from Bonda[2] being conducted safe and used with great civility all the way, which was owing to the respect and regard all the natives in

[196] [1] Shelburne MSS., XLIV. 869.

[197] [1] In the archives of the Royal Society there are two letters, numbered 1. 2. 21, and 1. 2. 22, *Catalogue of Miscellaneous Manuscripts,* p. 68, nos. 1614, 1615. The copy here given is of 1. 2. 21, with indications of the variations in the wording of the second letter. Differences in spelling, punctuation, and capitalization are not indicated. At the bottom of 1. 2. 22 is written, "To Mr. Smith, writing master to St. Pauls School", and in another hand is the endorsement, "Job the black priest". Both letters are written in the same hand and on the same paper.

"On Thursday last Sir Hans Sloan communicated to the Royal Society a Letter which a Gentleman had receiv'd from Job the African, whom Mr. Oglethorp releas'd from Slavery, and the African Company sent home to his own Country in one of their Ships about twelve Months ago. In this Letter he very gratefully acknowledges the Favour he receiv'd in England, and in answer to some things desir'd of him when here, says, he has been in the Country where the Gum Arabick grows, (which at present we get chiefly from the French Settlements) and can assist the English in that Trade . . .", *Boston Weekly News Letter,* Jan. 13, 1737. A similar item is to be found in the *Virginia Gazette,* Jan. 28, 1737.

[2] 1. 2. 22, "Bunda".

every part have for the Company and by being conducted by one white man only which was the Governors nephew on the Companys behalf which made no little noise and was of much service to me, one of my wives had got another husband in my room and the other gave me over, my father died soon after my misfortune of being seized and sold for a slave, but my children are all well, my redemption was so remarkable and surprizing that my messengers and letters sent on my first arrival here [3] were not credited, but how elevated and amazed they were at my arrival, I must leave you to guess at, as being inexpressible as is likewise the raptures and pleasure I enjoy'd, floods of tears burst their way and some little time afterwards we recover'd so as to have some discourse and in time I acquainted them and all the country how I had been redeem'd and conducted by the Company from such distant parts as are beyond their capacity to conceive, from Maryland to England, from thence to Gambia Fort, and from thence conducted by them to my very house, the favours done me by the Queen, Duke of Montague and other generous persons, I likewise acquainted them of and all with me praised God for such his providence and goodness, and as a more publick acknowledgment thereof I kept from my arrival [4] a months fast, I should think myself very happy in your company in these parts if your inclination continues to come in the companys service.

I am Sir, Your oblidged and most humble servant,

JOB THE SON OF SOLOMON
of the nation (or tribe) of Jalof.[5]

Pray my service to Mr. Ames and Dr. Oxley the book I promised of mine to send him was burnt in the wars, I shall send him some anti-poison per first opertunity.

198. TRANSACTIONS OF THE VERA CRUZ FACTORY.[1]

LONDON, May 3, 1736.

A Relation of the Transactions of the Vera Cruz Factory whilst under the Management of David Findlay and William Butler.

. . . In the month of December 1733 we had the honour to acquaint the Court of the steps we were taking to secure for the Comp's account a parcell of Prise Negroes taken out of a Jamaica

[3] 1. 2. 22, "letters sent on my behalf on my arrival here". This statement concerning the death of Job's father does not seem in exact accord with the one made by Moore, p. 418.

[4] 1. 2. 22, "from arrival".

[5] The signature, in Arabic, Dr. J. R. Jewett has kindly transcribed. There is also added the message: "I send greetings to Mista Ames and Dr. Oxley a Mista Sail."

[198] [1] Shelburne MSS., vol. XLIV., no. 45, pp. 270-275, 284.

Interloper by his C[atholic] M[ajesty's] Ship of War the *Blandon*. The Carthagena Factory having demanded them in virtue of the Cedula of the 9th October 1717 for regulating the price of Prize Negroes, obtain'd Judgement in the Companys favour, but the Commodore resisted the Governours authority and refus'd delivering them up. On his arrival at Vera Cruz having had an information of the affair, we insisted on searching the ship in consequence of the 18th Art. of the Assiento, and accordingly requir'd the assistance of the Comp's Judge Conservator and the concurrance of his C. M's Interventor. The former not finding himself with sufficient authority over the officers of the Navy refer'd us to the Vice King, and we had then occasion to experience the little dependance to be laid on the other injoining with us to procure any redress for the Company affairs where they in the least clasht w'th either his C. M'y or his officers Interest, for instead of concurring with us he artfully retir'd to the Country, after having started several difficultys such as a distinction was to be made between King's ships and Merchantmen, which last he alledg'd only meant by the 18th Art. tho' it expressly says "we shall search all Ships and Vessells that shall come upon the Coasts or into its Ports in w'ch we have reason to believe or suspect there are contraband Negroes:[2] but the partiality of the Spanish Directors did not prevent us from executing our duty in setting a vigorous prosecution on foot against the Commodore, in which the part we acted expos'd us so much to the resentment of the Captors, that the Streets for some time became unsafe to us, and tho' at last we obtain'd a Decree that such of the Slaves as were alive (being 36) should be deliver'd to us, yet as if all Judgements granted by the Spanish Government in behalf of the Company were to be attended with some sinister circumstances, it was declar'd we should pay for the negroes at the rate of 110 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ per head, that the Duty of 33 1/3 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ should in like manner be regulated per head and made good by us into the Royal Coffers, and that we should further be oblig'd to enter into an obligation to stand to his C M's determination on the whole affair should he even disapprove of the delivery of the Negroes, or order the refunding of their value. To this we replyed that the regulating Prise Negroes at pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ 110 per head was a manifest breach of the Cedula of October 1717 which directs their being regulated at piece of $\frac{8}{8}$ 110 per pc. of India; that in like manner the regulating the dutys per head was a notorious violation of the 2d Art: of the Assiento, by which the Dutys of 33 1/3 *d* are stipulated per p's of India. That the demanding these dutys of us was no less an Infringement of the 4th and 5th Articles of

[2] This extensive power was limited by the provision that the governor's permission must be obtained before such search could be inaugurated.

said Treaty which directs all dutys being made good in Madrid, and that the forceing us to enter into any obligation to stand H C. M's determination with regard to the validity of the delivery of the Negroes when the before mention'd Cedula of October 1717 contains no such clause, was derogatory to the Hono'b Company and their Servants rights and priveledges against all which Breaches, Violations and Infringements we protested in the most solemn manner, and sent the Court testimony of the same in the Mo of Sep't 1734. . . .[3]

Nor was it indeed long ere we had occasion to experience the nature of some of those discretionall Instructions on our having provided a remittance of 39,000 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ and 7 [*illegible*] of Cochineal to be sent the Agents in Jamaica in December '34, when we were notified by the Director that no Effects but such as we could make appear to be the produce of Negroes would be permitted to be embarkt, which (to avoid the detention of the Vessell then in Port) we offerd to submit to under a proper salvo of our right to ship off in the Companys Vessells any of their Effects whatsoever Whether the produce of negroes or annual ships Cargoes, we were hereon again notified with another of his private Instructions requiring us to deduct from the amount sales of Negroes all Factory charges and payments, the surplus being what would only be permitted to be embarkt.[4] . . .

Our returning a hundred heads of Negroes consign'd us by the Campechy Factory least their sales might affect those of the Company when a Commission of the 10 per Ct. would have brought us upwards of 3000 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ will I hope be admitted as a proof of the disinterested Zeal w'th which we transacted the Comp's affairs, and the ready and punctual obedience I paid to the Court's orders in delivering up all and every their affairs to Messrs Hays and Butler in the most clear and distinct manner. . . .

With regard to the Negro trade of Vera Cruz tho' the prices there are the best being pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ 300 for a p's of India either male or Female, pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ 270 for Girls under a p's and pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ 260 for boys, yet no settlement the Company have made has had a smaller demand for slaves owing to the vast number of tributary Indians w'th which the Kingdom of New Spain abounds who perform all Labour at easy rates. Since the first settlement of the Factory in 1715 to the time of my leaving it the whole number Introduc'd amounted only to 2449 heads and none [of] the Provinces of Yucatan, Tabasco, Guatemala have been supplied by the Campechy Introductions. The

[3] The omitted section raises objections to the Spanish claim that all documents must be signed by Spanish officers.

[4] In April, 1734, the factors were notified that they could not introduce their own stores but only negro provisions. This they regarded as a misinterpretation of art. XXII. of the assiento. On appeal, action was suspended. Shelburne MSS., XLIV. 276-278.

demands at Vera Cruz are become less. Had Campechy on the annulling of Mr. Spencers farm [5] been joind to the Vera Cruz Factory both Ports might have been supplied by the same Vessell agreable to the 25th Art. of the Asso.[6] and the Refuse Negroes that did not immediately go off for ready money at Vera Cruz would have servd to have barterd at Campechy for Logwood, Wild Cochineal, and Drugs but at present the Provinces Contiguous to that Port have been so glutted by the large Introductions the Farmers have been oblig'd to make to qualifie their Vessells and at same time the Marketts in Europe for Logwood, Drugs and are so much reduc'd by the Campechy and Hondoras trades being overdone, that what would have proved a most advantageous settlement three years ago (if kept regularly supplied w'th moderate introductions) I am of Oppinion would now be attended with loss. . . .

199. John Merewether to Peter Burrell.[1]

Jamaica, Septem'r 6th 1736.

Sir, I had the Honour to write you of the 23 July. Since then Mr. Davison has cleared up the mistake of his and Mr. Humphreys giving a different account of the Negroes delivered them by Capt. Pitts, and Mr. Davison and I are in perfect good understanding; the last [two ?]Cargoes of Negroes sail'd clear this Morning, And we have [now a ?] prospect between this and Christmas of being very well supplied with Negroes, which we have advised the Factors on the other [side?]

A Brigantine arrived last Friday called the *Post Boy* of Bristol with 350 Negroes. These are proper for the Havanas and Cuba. As we want Girls we shall take those who are not too much on the Yellow cast, to which these Country Slaves are subject. But without a demand for the Havanah we shall take but few of the others, they not being in demand on the Continent, some we shall purchase to reduce the price of the Gold Coast Negroes.

It is these Cargoes which are not fitt for the Honourable Compy or this Island, that give cause to the Illicit trade, And some of these will be sent to the South Keys and to Hispaniola. The Consignees would choose to sell their Negroes here, but as they cannot they are forced to send them out, and oftimes to take a p[art] themselves to help forwards the Voyage. So that the Illicit trade hence to Cuba is founded on distress and necessity, And the Voyages for the most part turn out accordingly, for Sometimes when the Factors in

[5] That is, his license to trade in a given territory.

[6] Art. XXV. provided that those negroes not sold at one port might be carried to another.

[199] [1] Shelburne MSS., XLIV. 876.

this place are forced to take a larger share than ordinary They loose as much by the Voyage, as they get by the Consignment of Negroes. The usual price for small Boys and Girls at the South Keys is 65 p'ces to 70, large Boys 70 to 85 p'ces Men and Women 100 to 110. And there is 12/2 per Ct paid on the gross Sales for Commission and freight. The Sloops in these Voyages being liable to be taken are fitted out in a defencible and expensive manner. What is called the private trade of this Island is the Clandestine trade carried on with the French and Spaniards. And it has been on the decline for some Years past, And is now at a very low ebb, So low that when I see a person entring largely into it, I think him to be in no good way. I have been the larger on this head because of the mistaken notion I find some Gentlemen in at home about it. At our last quarter Sessions I was surpris'd to see a Jew, one of the top Suprâ Cargoes in the Illicit Trade for Negroes and dry goods making Application to be releiv'd in his taxes by reason of his poverty, and he had an allowance. . . .

200. Letter on Board the *Prince of Orange*.[1]

St. Christophers, April 7 [1737].

At our Arrival here, I thought all our Troubles of this Voyage was over; but on the contrary I might say that Dangers rest on the Borders of Security. On the 14th of March we found a great deal of Discontent among the Slaves, particularly the Men, which continued till the 16th about Five o'Clock in the Evening, when to our great Amazement above an hundred Men Slaves jump'd over board, and it was with great Difficulty we sav'd so many as we did; out of the whole we lost 33 of as good Men Slaves as we had on board, who would not endeavour to save themselves, but resolv'd to die, and sunk directly down. Many more of them were taken up almost drown'd, some of them died since, but not the Owners Loss, they being sold before any Discovery was made of the Injury the Salt Water had done them. The Reason I have learn'd since of this Misfortune was owing to one of their Countrymen, who came on board and in a joking manner told the Slaves that they were first to have their Eyes put out, and then to be eaten, with a great many other nonsensical Falsities. I can't be certain when we shall sail from hence, there being a great Scarcity of Sugar, and the Slaves not all Sold; we are in hopes of selling 240; the Captain has lost

[200] [1] "Extract of a Letter from on board the *Prince of Orange* of Bristol, Capt. Japhet Bird". *Boston Weekly News Letter,* Sept. 15, 1737.

two of his own Slaves. This Misfortune has disconcerted the Captain's Design of proceeding to Virginia with part of them.[2]

201. Letter on Board the ——, Captain Phelps of Bristol.[1]

May 27, 1737, Malemba.[2]

On the 9th Instant we arriv'd here, all perfectly well. The following Ships are already on the Coast of Angola, *viz.* At Loanga, the old *Queen Mary* of Bristol, (now in French service) for 700 Slaves, a large Pink for 500; a Snow for 300. At Malemba, Capt. Phelps of Bristol for 400. At Capebenda, the *Pearl,* of London, Tomson, for 550; the *Betty* Galley, Winster, for 450; and one large Frenchman for near 700. Neither of these (Winster excepted) hath 130 Slaves on board: So that, when Capt. Foy, in the *Medway,* Bower, in the *Shepherd,* and Hemley, in the *Morning Star,* are arriv'd from Bristol, (and without doubt several from other Places) what a Prospect shall we have for a quick Dispatch? All our Meat on board is quite rotten and stinks horribly.

202. John Merewether to Peter Burrell.[1]

Jam'a, Sep'r 30th, 1737.

Sir, I now give farther answer to your fav'rs of the 11th July. The Masters who have used the African trade, purchase as many slaves as they possibly can, proper for the Comp'y. The ships from Angola and Calabar bring in three assortments of negroes. The first for us, the second for the Planters, And the third for the illicit traders. The Gold coast ships Import Negroes for us, and the Planters. They are to[o] dear for the traders. By the last halfe years account we sent home, we bought only 940 out of 2907 Negroes imported, And we did not put by one, that we thought would please the Spaniards. And sometimes the Negroes are kept for us three and four months. If you should want any farther information of this trade I shall with the greatest pleasure give it you. . . .

203. John Merewether to the South Sea Company.[1]

Jamaica, Jan'y 29, 1738.

Hon'd Sirs, My last was of the 27th ult: I am at present under a good deal of care about the negroes. The small pox increases greatly.

[2] The slave trade, throughout the eighteenth century, provided the colonial reader of the newspaper with many tales of horror, sometimes tersely related, sometimes told with great elaboration. These were usually, though not always, taken from London or Bristol papers. The *Boston Weekly News Letter,* not long after this, published a gruesome account by one of the two survivors of the *Mary,* lost on a voyage from Cacheo to Lisbon with slaves. *News Letter,* Sept. 8, 1737.

[201] [1] *Virginia Gazette,* Nov. 11, 1737.
[2] Or Malimba, south of Loango.

[202] [1] Shelburne MSS., XLIV. 817-820.

[203] [1] *Ibid.,* pp. 794-795.

But the sort continues favourable The [*illegible*] *Clara* was smoakt with brimston and tar before the Negroes were put on board. And the vessell ordred to the Keys to prevent the small pox breaking out; The Master had orders, in case nothing of that distemper appeared in seven days, to proceed in his voyage to the havannah. I ordred a double q'ty of provisions on board, And the master if it broke out at sea, to put into the grand Cumanas [2] where the Negroes might be taken care of on shore.

But on Saturday two men, and 1 woman and yesterday a boy all with the smallpox came on shore. Soe I ordred the vessell into our harbour. And the negroes to be landed at the palisadoes, where they shall be taken good care of: We have now at the pen 26 Negroes down And more falling down. Another place will be ready this day to receive the sick, that to[o] many may not be together. And this reason induced mee, to order the [*illegible*] *Clara's* Negroes to the Palisadoes. She shall proceed, as soon as ever it is fitting with the 100 negroes Mr. Wellden demands. I feared to mention this in the courts letter, least the Spanish agent should be allarmed, And frighten the American Spaniards, who have the small pox in the utmost terrour. . . .

204. George Peele to Peter Burrell.[1]

[Havana.]

Good Sir. . . . Another Affair which might tend to the benefit of the Company, and their Servants, would be to authorize their Factors, to oblige the several persons possessed of Negroes, introduced by the Tobacco Factors at the Havana during the late interruption of the Assiento [2] to indult them to the Assiento, for it's said there are not less than 5 or 6000 Negroes, so brought in there; besides a great many more, which have been constantly introduced, and sheltered under that Cover; by counterfeiting that mark in the inland Countrys. And as now their Supply will not be equal to their demand from the Assiento, private Traders will take the advantage of furnishing them, with as many as they want, which they could not do, if all Negroes but such as carry the Assiento Mark were liable to be seized; because then the Spaniards would be afraid and backward to purchase such. . . .

[2] Grand Cumanas or Camagnos, sandy shoals, south of Cuba.

[204] [1] Shelburne MSS., XLIV. 956-957. This letter is undated.

[2] Trouble with Spain, long brewing, reached the stage of avowed hostility in the summer of 1739. For at least a year previous to this the South Sea Company and Spain were attempting to arrive at some settlement of their differences. For the convention between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, in 1739, see Jenkinson, *Collection of Treaties,* II. 339-343; *Boston News Letter,* May 3, 10, Aug. 2, Sept. 13, 1739; *Gentleman's Magazine,* IX. 133-134.

205. Deposition of Alexander Torbott.[1]

This Day Personally appeared Alexander Torbott of Leverpoole in the County of Lancaster Mariner, Chief Mate on board the *Pretty Peggy* of Leverpool, whereof Robert Law deceased was Master, in her Late Voyage from Leverpool to the Coast of Africa and Montserratt, before George Norton Esqr. Mayor of the Borough and Corporation of Leverpool, and made Oath, That, in or about the Month of August last Past, as they were Trading on the said Coast, and were taking in Wood and Water at Cape Coast, this Deponent saw his Majesty's Ship the *Diamond* of Forty Guns, Riding at Anchor, which, as this Deponent was informed by some of the Sailors belonging to the said Ship, had been Trading on that Coast, And Saith, That, as he passed alongside of the said Ship of War, he saw several Negroes on board; and also saw the *Spence* Sloop of Eight Guns then Riding there, which, as this Deponent was likewise informed there, Did afterwards go down to Anamaboe and there take Negroes from on board the Ship called the *Argyle* then Lying there, whereof Captain More and Captain Hamilton were said to be the Commanders, or had the Direction of her and her Cargo, and carried the same to St. Thoma; And the said Ship *Diamond* did also go down to Anamaboe, and took from on board the said Ship *Argyle* a Number of Negroes, and carried the Same to Barbadoes, as this Depon't was informed by the said Mr. More, who told him they had sent a Considerable Number of Negroes by the *Diamond* to Barbadoes; And, as this Deponent did hear, they had sent them upon Freight, and that they were 200 in Number or thereabouts, that were so sent, otherwise they would have Freighted the said Ship which this Deponent did belong to, and was then come down to and lay at Anamaboe, or would have sold to them those Negroes from on board the *Argyle,* And also did see the *Diamond* Man of War Riding at Anchor at Anamaboe near to the *Argyle* with Negroes on board.[2]

Alexr. Torbott.

Taken and Sworn at Leverpool abovesaid the 12th day of July 1738 before.

Geo: Norton.

[205] [1] Archives of the Society of Merchant Venturers, Bristol. This deposition, with those which follow, is in "Bundle D, box V, African Trade". For a further account of the episode here described see Latimer, *Merchant Venturers,* pp. 180-181.

[2] The *Diamond* and the *Spence,* along with the *Greenwich,* mentioned in the next deposition, were vessels of his Majesty's navy, and of course should not have engaged in traffic of any sort.

206. Deposition of William Muff.[1]

Bristol, 26th July, 1738.

The Information of William Muff Chief Mate of the *Plymouth* Brigantine on her late Voiage from Bristol to the Coast of Africa who on his Oath saith, That in the Month of November last Past this Informant was sent from Anamabo to Mumford to trade in the said Ships Long Boat for Negroes, etc. And he found his Trade there much Interrupted by Mr. Tibble and Mr. George Tyndall who were both in the Man of War *Greenwich's* Longboat Capt. Cornwall Commander and not only traded with the said Man of Warr's Long Boat but also kept a Store house on Shore with a Large Canoe to Ply and Carry Goods between the Ship and Longboat and he saith that his said Trade was much Distressed by the same Gentlemen for that they Advanced the Price of Negroes and Lowered the Prices of Goods Exchanged for Gold Particularly he saw them Give Thirty two Pounds per head for Men Slaves which before were Currently bought for the Merchants at Twenty eight Pounds per head and also saw them Sell Perpets and Anchors of Brandy at two Akeys and An half Each and half Says for five Akeys for Gold which usually Passed as follows *Vizt.* the Perpets and Anchors of Brandy for four Akeys each And the half Says for Six Akeys Each at Least Gold: And he Saith that the said Mr. Tibble told this Informant that he was Employed by Capt. Cornwall to trade for him and that Mr. Tyndall was second Mate of the *Greenwich* at that Time.

207. Deposition of Valentine Needham.[1]

This Day Personally Appeared Valentine Needham of Leverpoole in the County of Lancaster Mariner, Master of the *Mary and Ann* of Leverpoole in her late Voyage from Leverpool to the Coast of Africa and the West Indies, Before George Norton Esquire, Mayor of the Borough and Corporation of Leverpool aforesaid, and made Oath, That He was at Little Bassam[2] on the Coast of Africa on or about the beginning of the month of January last Past, and then and there saw His Majesty's Ship called the *Spence* Sloop whereof Captain Laws was Commander Lying at Anchor, and saw several Empty Canoes go from the Shore to the said *Spence* Sloop, and saw them return back with Goods of several Sorts in them, and such as are usually sold there, and traded with; And further Saith, That the said Captain offered to trade with this Deponent and to sell him

[206] [1] Archives of Merchant Venturers. Sworn July 26, 1738, before Nathaniel Day, mayor, and John Blackwell.

[207] [1] Archives of Merchant Venturers. Sworn Aug. 3, 1738, before George Norton.

[2] Grand and Little Bassam were between Cape Lahou and Cape Three Points.

Negroes for Goods, or barter for some Sort of Goods which he did not care to part with, And told this Deponent and Doctr. Carr on board the said *Spence* Sloop, that he had so much of the same Sort of Goods which this Deponent offered to have bartered with him, that he declared against taking those Sort of Goods, but would give him Negroes for some particular Sort of India Goods which this Deponent would not part with, or would let him have Negroes for Gold.

208. Deposition of William Dobb.[1]

This Day Personally Appeared William Dobb of Leverpoole in the County of Lancaster Mariner, Master of the *Pardoe*[2] Brigantine in her late Voyage to the Coast of Guinea and Barbadoes, Before George Norton, Esqr., Mayor of the Borough of Leverpool aforesaid, and voluntarily made Oath, That in or about the Month of May last Past, he this Deponent was at Barbados when his Majesty's Ships the *Greenwich* and the *Spence* Sloop arrived there with Negroes from the Coast of Guinea, and, as he was informed, and which he verily believes to be True, they then brought thither, which were sold by the Commanders or Officers belonging to the said Ships by Way of Cant or Auction at Barbadoes, in or about that Month, 300 Negroes or thereabouts: And this Deponent hath the Greatest Reason to believe the same to be True, for that he was Present at several of their Sales, and particularly, saw several of the Officers there present managing the said Sales.

209. Deposition of John McGown.[1]

This Day Personally appeared John McGown of Leverpool in the County of Lancaster Mariner, Master of the Brigantine *Mary and Betty* of Donaghadee in her late Voyage to the Coast of Africa, Before George Norton Esquire Mayor of the Borough of Leverpool aforesaid, and voluntarily made Oath, That, on or about the fifteenth Day of December last Past he was at St. Andrews on the said Coast, and saw there His Majesty's Ship the *Spence* Sloop, whereof Captain Laws was Commander Trading there; That he was on board her, and saw a Large Quantity of Teeth upon her Quarter Deck, which, as he understood were purchased by the Doctor of the said Sloop by Order of the said Captain, and saw some Negroes on board, and, (as he heard amongst and from the Persons on Board) there was a Large Quantity of Gold on board, which had been Like-

[208] [1] Archives of Merchant Venturers. Sworn Aug. 7, 1738.

[2] In 1749 the *Pardoe,* Anthony Galter, delivered slaves in Charleston, S. C. She was the property of a Mr. Pardoe of Worcester.

[209] [1] Archives of Merchant Venturers. Sworn Sept. 23, 1738.

wise purchased by or by the Order of the said Captain Laws or by his Clerk on that Coast; and that he afterwards saw the said Sloop at Axum on the said Coast, where he was purchasing Gold and Teeth as any Merchant did, And this Deponent hath the greatest Reason to beleive the same, for that he was informed by the said Doctor, That they brought a Cargo of Goods with them from London of one thousand six hundred Pounds Value for that Purpose, which Cargo, as the Doctor told him, was Privately got over board a Ship from Holland as the said Sloop lay in the River, just before they Sailed from London.

210. Deposition of George Home.[1]

City and County of Bristol, ss.

George Home of the City of Bristol Mariner and Commander of the Ship *Young Watty* in her late Voiage from the Port of Bristoll to the Coast of Africa thence to the West Indies and back to the sd. Port maketh Oath That in the Months of December and January One thousand Seven hundred and thirty Seven as he was trading along the Windward Coast of Africa he saw several Notes brought off shore Attesting the purchase of a great many Slaves by the respective Long Boats Crew of His Majestys Ships of Warr the *Diamond, Greenwich* and *Spence* And Signed by the severall Commanders of the said Longboats, That this Deponent at his Arrival at Anamaboe in February following having frequent Occasion to go on Board the *Spence* saw there Negroe Slaves of both Sexes to the Number of Seventy and upwards at one time together with diverse Sorts of trading Goods lying on Deck and in the Capts Cabbin (to wit) Buckanier Guns and Musquets, India Wares of Various Sorts such as blue Basts, blew Chints, Beruda potts, Nicanees, and the like, And also pewter Basons Brass pans, Neptunes, Coarse hats peices of Silesia's, Keggs of Gunpowder, Cases of Spiritts Long Ells, perpets and other Goods (Escaping at present this Deponent's remembrance) that were as this Depont. verily beleives brought on sd. Coast in order for trade.

That about the latter end of February aforesaid or beginning of March this Deponent being on board the *Bonetta,* of London, Phillip Commins Commander, One William Nicholas Clerk of the sd. Sloop *Spence,* bought of sd. Commings Ten Negroes who were forthwith sent on Board the *Spence* And for such Purchase the sd. Mr Commings received the next day Sundry Sorts of trading Goods as above mencioned. That about the beginning of March aforesaid The Boats crew belonging to the sd. Ship *Greenwich* forced out of

[210] [1] Archives of Merchant Venturers. Sworn Jan. 15, 1738/9, before John Becher, alderman.

a canoe, trading to and fro, a Trader named Coffee Ango, for two Slaves owing to Capt. Cornwal who Commanded the *Greenwich,* which said Ango was redeemed by two Slaves being given in Lieu of him.

And this Depont. further Saith That Capt. Lawes Commander of the *Spence* very much Enhanced the price of Corn by giving very extravagant rates for the Same And being by this Depont. asked the Meaning of his so doing he the said Laws Answered That what Corn he then bought was for the use of his own and the Ship *Greenwich,* that he wanted Corn and must buy it at any rate or Otherwise his Slaves (being Numerous) must Starve And this Depont. is well assured That had it not been for the sd. Men of Warrs trading on the said Coast he should have purchased Negroes and other Commodities there much Cheaper and better, And had been more quickly Dispatcht with a Cargo from thence.

211. The South Sea Company: Payments for Duties on Negroes.[1]

Simancas.

Payments by the South Sea Company for Dutys on Negroes since the 1st of January 1730/1.

To 8th	December	1733	£74,039.	09.	6	Ps. 420,226.	4. 26
To 23d	"	1734	18,460.	04.	0	110,039.	2. 14
To 13	"	1735	18,353.	15.	5	109,382.	5. 31
To 19	"	1736	12,637.	13.	2	74,584.	1. 21
To 14	June	1737	21,575.	10.	2	124,277.	6. 11
To 25	December	1737	13,906.	14.	3	80,615.	3. 28
To 31	October	1738	10,694.	17.	7	63,562.	5. 22½
To 25	December	1738	7,283.	15.	1	43,648.	6. 5½
To			176,951.	29.	2	1,026,337.	4. 23
			2,182.	9.	11	13,000.	.
To 25th	April	1739, Errors excepted,	£179,134.	9.	1	Ps. 1,039,337.	4. 23

April 26, 1739[2]

Jno. Reed, Accountant.

[211] [1] Simancas, Estado 2365 (old no. 7006). This contains papers from the estate of Don Tomas Geraldino, of Jerez de la Frontera.

[2] The privilege of carrying slaves to Spanish America, after much discussion, was renewed for four years by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle (Jenkinson, *Treaties,* II. 384-385) but was surrendered in 1750. For statements of some of the arguments accompanying the last years of the assiento see Anderson, *Origins of Commerce,* III. 548-549; Postlethwayt, *Considerations on the Revival of the Royal British Assiento* (1749); Add. MSS. 32819, ff. 147-199.

212. The Traders to Africa to the King.[1]

November 7, 1739.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty, The humble Petition of the Traders of London, Bristol, and Liverpoole, to the Coast of Africa.

Sheweth, That the trade of your Majesty's Subjects to that Coast is of the greatest Importance to this Kingdom as well in regard of the great Quantity of Manufactures and other goods annually exported thither as in respect of the great Numbers of Negroes annually Imported into your Majesty's Plantations in America therefrom, and there being Imployed at such Plantations in the producing of Sugar and other Commodities.

That your Petitioners being apprehensive, unless some of your Majesty's Ships of War be constantly stationed on the Coast of Africa That his Catholick Majesty, or his Subjects or any other persons under Spanish Commissions may send Ships of War, or Privateers to cruize on the Ships and Vessels of your Majesty's Subjects Trading on that Coast.

Therefore, your Petitioners most humbly beseech your Majesty will be Graciously pleas'd to give directions that a Sufficient Number of Ships of War may be ordered on this Service And that such Ships be releived every three or four Months by a like Number during the apprehension or continuance of a Rupture with Spain or any other Nation.

R. Armitage (Mayor of Liverpool)
R. Gildart
Geo. Norton
Foster Cunliffe
Sam'l Powell
John Hardman
Sam'l Ogden
Thos. Cockshutt
Bryan Blundell
Hen: Trafford
In: Fon [?] Gildart
Thos: Steel
Chas. Robert
Arthur Heywood
Jno. Goodwin

R. Cawband
Tho. Vardon
W. Jeffries (Mayor of Bristol)
Jos. Jeffries
Jas. Danning
Lyonel Lyde
Math. Day
St. Cluterbuck
B. Weeks
Rd. Lougher
Mich. Becher
Henry Combe
Jno. Combe
Mich'l Pope
Sam'l Davies

Richd. Henville
John Love
Sam. Bonham
Geo. Tryer
Jas. Pearse
Chas. Pole
Hen. Lascelles
Tho. Hull
Tho. Hill
Nath. Basnet
Edwin Somers
Thos. Truman
Jam. Buchanan
Wm. Love [Lone?]
Thos. Lengard[good?]
David Crichton
Thos: Heberts

[212] [1] House of Lords MSS., Feb. 18, 1741/2, Petition no. 1. The declaration of war between England and Spain had come in October, 1739.

Geo. Tyrer	Phil. Cornist	Robt. Atkins and Co.
John Parr	Abel Greens	Geo. Arnold and Co.
Jos. Davies	Jas. Laroche	Tim: Cockshutt
Jas. Percival	Wm. Gordon	Chas. Wheeler
John Knight	Isaac Hobhouse	John Baker
John Reid	Jobb. Charleton	
Hen. Townsend	Corseley Rogers	

213. A Defense of the African Slave Trade, 1740.[1]

The African Slave Trade defended: And Corruption the worst of Slaveries.

Sir, The Guinea Trade, by the Mistake of some, or Misrepresentation of others, hath been charged with Inhumanity, and a Contradiction to good Morals. Such a Charge at a Time when private and publick Morals are laugh'd at, as the highest Folly, by a powerful Faction; and Self-interest set up as the only Criterion of true Wisdom, is certainly very uncourtly: But yet as I have a profound Regard for those superannuated Virtues; you will give me Leave to justify the African Trade, upon those Stale Principles, from the Imputations of "Mercator Honestus"; and shew him that there are People in some boasted Regions of Liberty, under a more wretched Slavery, than the Africans transplanted to our American Colonies.

The Inhabitants of Guinea are indeed in a most deplorable State of Slavery, under the arbitrary Powers of their Princes both as to Life and Property. In the several Subordinations to them, every great Man is absolute lord of his immediate Dependents. And lower still; every Master of a Family is Proprietor of his Wives, Children, and Servants; and may at his Pleasure consign them to Death, or a better Market. No doubt such a State is contrary to Nature and Reason, since every human Creature hath an absolute Right to Liberty. But are not all arbitrary Governments, as well in Europe, as Africa, equally repugnant to that great Law of Nature? And yet it is not in our Power to cure the universal Evil, and set all the

[213] [1] *London Magazine,* IX. 493-494 (1740). This item is scarcely worth preservation for its intrinsic importance, but rather because its appearance is indicative of a changing attitude toward the slave trade. In July, 1740, "Mercator Honestus" had published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (X. 341) "A Letter to the Gentlemen Merchants in the Guinea Trade, particularly addressed to the Merchants in Bristol and Liverpool", which argued against slavery and the slave trade: (1) that men were born with a natural right to liberty; (2) that they can only forfeit this by attempting to take away the property of another; (3) that the loss of liberty on the part of the parent is no reason why a child should be enslaved; (4) that the men in the Guinea trade deal in men, women, and children; (5) that they encourage acts of hostility among Africans; (6) that the blacks in Africa are more virtuous than after they are brought to America; (7) that the treatment of the negroes in the West Indies is shocking. He concludes by asking that some of the gentlemen who carry on the trade, "among whom there are no doubt wise and good men", give their reasons for it.

Kingdoms of the Earth free from the Domination of Tyrants, whose long Possession, supported by standing Armies, and flagitious Ministers, renders the Thraldom without Remedy, while the People under it are by Custom satisfied with, or at least quiet under Bondage.

All that can be done in such a Case is, to communicate as much Liberty, and Happiness, as such circumstances will admit, and the People will consent to: And this is certainly by the Guinea Trade. For, by purchasing, or rather ransoming the Negroes from their national Tyrants, and transplanting them under the benign Influences of the Law, and Gospel, they are advanced to much greater Degrees of Felicity, tho' not to absolute Liberty.

That this is truly the Case cannot be doubted by any one acquainted with the Constitution of our Colonies, where the Negroes are governed by Laws, and suffer much less Punishment in Proportion to their Crimes, than the People in other Countries more refined in the Arts of Wickedness; and where Capital Punishment is inflicted only by the Civil Magistrates. . . .

Perhaps my Antagonist calls the Negroes Allowance of a Pint of Corn and an Herring, penurious, in Comparison of the full Meals of Gluttony: But if not let him compare that Allowance, to what the poor Labourer can purchase for Ten-pence per Day to subsist himself and Family, and he will easily determine the American's Advantage. . . .

Nevertheless, Mercator will say, the Negroes are Slaves to their Proprietors: How Slaves? Nominally: Not really so much Slaves, as the Peasantry of all Nations is to Necessity; not so much as those of Corruption, or Party Zeal; not in any Sense, such abject Slaves, as every vicious Man is to his own Appetites. Indeed there is this Difference between Britons, and the Slaves of all other Nations; that the latter are so by Birth, or tyrannical Necessity; the former can never be so, but by a wicked Choice, or execrable Venality.[2] . . .

[2] In December the *Gentleman's Magazine* (XI. 145-146, 186-188) contained a second article, brought forth by the letter of "Mercator Honestus", from inhabitants of the Leeward Islands. This refers to a controversy over the morality of the trade in which a negro, Moses Bon Saam, had taken part. The article distributed responsibility for the trade, first, on the African chiefs; secondly, on the English traders who bought in Africa; thirdly, on the people who protected the trade because of the gain in it or in the sugar trade which rested on it; lastly, on the planters, who would prefer white labor but could not get it. From this time forward the adherents of the trade were more and more frequently placed upon the defensive, being forced to consider not so much the economic contribution made to the nation by the slave trade as its ethical aspects. Their defense is in reality usually directed, as it is here, not to the trade but to the institution of slavery.

214. The Merchant Venturers of Bristol: Minutes of Proceedings.[1]

Feb. 26, 1747/8.

African Committee. Having considered the intended bill, Recommendation that a letter be sent to our M.P.'s stating that the forts and settlements are at present of no service, except James Fort and Cape Coast Castle; that the scheme for a new company will be detrimental to private traders, and that the trade ought to be kept open; that the fee for admission should be settled at not exceeding 40 *s.* without any power to raise it; that the number of managers for London, Bristol, and Liverpool should be equal; that as many in the trade would not choose to pay to be made free of the company, such persons should not be debarred from trading; and that the clause for certifying on oath the value of every ship's cargo threatens new inconveniences and should be omitted.[2]

[214] [1] Latimer, "MS. Calendar of Records, Merchants Venturers' Society", II. 103. The entries are not exact quotations from the original minutes but calendared items. In 1720 the African Company, assisted by the South Sea Company, had tried to regain the monopoly, and in 1725 the former had offered the government a loan of £1,000,000 provided it could obtain the African grant. These requests Bristol spent a considerable sum in opposing (Latimer, *Merchant Venturers*, p. 180). In November, 1741, the Royal African Company had agreed upon an enlargement of its capital stock by the sale of 17,500 shares at £10 per share, and an appeal to the king for what further assistance was necessary. With the money thus obtained it hoped to pay its creditors and revive its trade (*Gentleman's Magazine,* XI. 607, Nov., 1741). This plan came to nothing and was presently abandoned. In 1744 the company petitioned the House of Commons for aid in the upkeep of the West Coast forts and received £20,000 in place of the customary £10,000 paid them annually since 1730 (*C. J.,* XXIV. 534). The Board of Trade took up the preparation of a report on the trade. The Merchant Venturers of Bristol, receiving a request for information, on Sept. 11 directed their standing committee to forward a reply to the board. On Mar. 11, 1745, the society again considered the matter, this time in response to a letter from a Bristol member of Parliament. The master (Arthur Hart) was directed to state that an ingraftment into the company would be very injurious to the Bristol traders, thus declining an invitation which had been extended to the Bristol traders to join the company. As to what the government should do in case the company declined to support the African forts longer, the society had no advice to offer ("MS. Calendar", II. 90-91). The company was determined either to regain the monopoly or to resign the forts. The report of the Board of Trade came before the House of Commons Jan. 31, 1745, and the subject was discussed during the sessions of 1747, 1748, and 1749 (C. O. 389: 30, pp. 131-161, 192-198, *passim*; *C. J.,* XXIV. 730, XXV. 676-677). As usual, the pamphlet literature carried on the controversy outside Parliament while it was under consideration in Parliament. For the company the arguments were excellently presented by Malachy Postlethwayt in *The African Trade, the Great Pillar and Support of the British Plantation Trade in America* (1745). For the opposing side see John Cary, *Discourses on Trade and other Matters relative to it* (1745), pp. 57-60; and *A Detection of the Proceedings and Practices of the Royal African Company* (1749). One of the most informative of the controversial pamphlets was *A Short View of the Dispute between the Merchants of London, Bristol, and Leverpool and the Advocates of a New Joint Stock Company, concerning the Regulation of the African Trade* (1750).

[2] In April, 1748, the company proposed a bill which is probably that to which reference is here made. A new joint-stock company was to be established, which in addition to possessing the monopoly of the African trade should have entire control of the business of pawnbroking. The old company was to sell to the new its property on the African coast, and from the funds thus obtained pay its creditors. The argument for the preservation of a company was that French encroachment made more forts and stronger defenses on the coast necessary. Anderson, *Origins of Commerce,* III. 547-549; Hansard, *Parliamentary History,* 1747-1753, pp. 564-568.

Mar. 17, 1747/8.

African Committee. Having received letters from Mr. Hoblyn, M.P., with a copy of a London petition on the trade, a letter was drawn up to Mr. Southwell, M.P., contradicting the assertions of the Londoners.[3] "The trade from this port in particular has lately been very considerable, and still increases, and we think that a joint-stock company will be very prejudicial, if not entirely destructive, to the separate traders." [4]

215. Thomas Boteler to Francis Boteler.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, Mar. 17, 1748/9.

. . . The Ships in General will make most excessive bad Voyages this Year, there is now 12 Sail at Anamaboa, Capt. Geddis in a very large Ship the *St. Phillip* belonging to Mr. George Fryerhow and one Capt. Burrish in a Ship from London between this and Dixcove and amongst them all they don't buy 6 Slaves per Diem and these at 9 z 8 per head the English, and 9 z 9 the French give. Capt. Duncombe in the *Alexander* from Bristol but owned chiefly in London will I believe make a great Voyage if Slaves bear any Price at Jamaica as he made his purchase before the French came down amongst them.[2] . . .

[3] The "Londoners" were to Bristol merchants synonymous with the African Company (Latimer, *History of the Society of Merchant Venturers,* pp. 181-182). This does not entirely accord with the facts, as many of the important separate traders were Londoners, and two distinct plans for the future management of the African trade found support in London: a joint-stock company with a monopoly, and a company with open trade. Martin, *British West African Settlements,* pp. 8-9.

[4] The Bristol vessels engaged in the trade amounted to 47, with a capacity of 16,640 negroes, and an estimated value for ships and cargoes of £260,800. C. O. 388: 45, 1749, Dd 4.

[215] [1] C. O. 267: 5. Thomas Boteler was an agent of the company at Cape Coast Castle. Francis was his father. The first paragraph of the letter speaks of the necessity for closing all out-factories and letting the servants go, because of the failure of the company to send supplies. To this is affixed a memorial of the company asking for a grant.

[2] "In the Year 1749 the late Company's governor at Cape Coast Castle remonstrated to the Masters of the Seperate Trading Vessels then at Anchor in Annamaboa Road, that their giving such high prices for Negroes, must in the Event Ruin the Trade, by disabling the Planters to pay for them, that it also was the occation of fewer Negroes being brought for Sale, and quite destroyed the Gold, and Ivory Trades, which they acknowledge, and approved of a Plan the Governor laid before them, in order to lower the prices of Negroes, which was executed from £24 to £14 Sterling each, at which price they continued till the arrival of Governor Melvil on the 20th of June 1751, from the African Committee who was the ingenious Schemer of the present destructive Plan." The author goes on to say that prices under him were increased to £27, with no increase in the supply of slaves, since Africans were not tempted to sell by high prices but by need for merchandize. In 1748 Captain Pecket, in the *Adventure,* purchased 570 slaves in 6 weeks, at £10 stg., which he sold in Barbados for £30, his profits amounting to £7100. Eg. MSS. 1162, ff. 231, 236.

216. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the General Court.[1]

London, May 4 [1749].

On Tuesday was held a general Court of the Royal African Company of England, when the Court came to some Resolutions to the following Purpose:

That, if the Company should be required to part with their Lands, Forts, Castles and Properties in Africa, on Account of the new proposed Establishment of an open Company, without any joint Stock or Power to trade as a Corporation, under proper Regulations; and that the Forts and Settlements upon the Coast of Africa be put under proper Management and Direction; That the Court of Assistants do make all due Applications to Parliament, by Petition or otherwise, to assert the Company's Rights and to use their utmost Endeavours to obtain such Consideration for their Property as shall enable the Company to pay their just Debts, and to make some reasonable Consideration to the Proprietors for the many and heavy Charges and Expences which they have sustained, by maintaining their Forts and Castles in Africa for the Benefit of the Publick over and above all Allowances which have been granted by Parliament.[2]

But in case such an open Company, upon due Examination, and Consideration of Parliament, be found liable to so many Difficulties and Uncertainties, as not to answer the good Purposes thereby intended, as has been the Case in several Instances of the like Kind, in former Applications to Parliament, And that the Company be not required to part with their Property in Africa: That the Court of Assistants do continue their Application and Endeavours to obtain such a provision for such a certain Term of Years, as shall be sufficient to enable the Company to support and maintain the British Honour, Dominion, and Jurisdiction in Africa, and to keep up and maintain their Forts and Castles in a defensible and respectable condition; and more especially in those Parts where this Nation has

[216] [1] *Boston Weekly Post Boy,* July 24, 1749. The plan of the London group for the re-establishment of exclusive trade gained no encouragement in 1747 and 1748, and by 1749 the company, convinced of the futility of the struggle, was prepared to accept a company with open trade. Petitions came to the House of Commons from London, Liverpool, and Bristol, and a bill was introduced on May 4 (*C. J.,* XXV. 697-698, 732-733, 777-778, 823-824, 829-830, 856). Colonial interest in the African bill is evidenced not only by this item but by one from the *Boston News Letter*: "London, April 15, 1749. We hear that the Trade to Africa will be laid free and open to all his Majesty's Subjects whatsoever, without being taxed with any Duties for the Support of the Forts and Settlements: that all who trade thither will be united in an open Company, under proper Regulations, without any joint Stock or Power to trade as a Corporation; and that the Forts and Settlements upon that Coast will still be maintained, as Marks of our Possession in those Parts, and be put under proper Management and Direction."

[2] The company petitioned on May 5, its creditors on May 9. Throughout the consideration of the bill frequent communications passed from Mr. Spence, secretary of the company, to the House of Commons. *C. J.,* XXV. 857, 861-862, 868, 872, 873, 876-877, 880, 882.

several powerful Rivals to contend with: and also for obtaining such a reasonable provision as may be sufficient to clear off the Company's just Debts contracted by Means of an insufficient Allowance from the publick to support and maintain the Forts and Castles, and other British Rights in Africa: And thus to enable the company to carry on the African Trade to the mutual Interest and Satisfaction of the Company and all British separate Traders.

217. An Act for extending and improving the Trade to Africa, 1750.[1]

Whereas the Trade to and from Africa is very advantageous to Great Britain, and necessary for the supplying the Plantations and Colonies thereunto belonging with a sufficient Number of Negroes at reasonable Rates; and for that Purpose the said Trade ought to be free and open to all his Majesty's Subjects: Therefore be it enacted, and it is hereby enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That it shall and may be lawful for all his Majesty's Subjects to trade and traffick to and from any Port or Place in Africa, between the Port of Sallee in South Barbary, and the Cape of Good Hope, when, and at such Times, and in such Manner, and in or with such Quantity of Goods, Wares or Merchandizes, as he or they shall think fit, without any Restraint whatsoever, save as is herein after expressed.

II. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all his Majesty's Subjects, who shall trade to or from any of the Ports or Places of Africa, between Cape Blanco, and the Cape of Good Hope, shall for-ever hereafter be a Body Corporate and Politick, in Name and in Deed, by the Name of The Company of Merchants trading to Africa; and by the same Name shall have perpetual Succession, and shall have a Common Seal; and by that Name shall and may sue, and may be sued, and do any other Act, Matter, and Thing, which

[217] [1] *Statutes of the Realm,* V. 696-701, 23 Geo. II. c. 31. The bill of 1749 passed the Commons on June 6, 1749, and was considered for three days in the Lords before it was dropped and the Board of Trade asked to prepare a report on the method of trade (*C. J.,* XXV. 885-886; *L. J.,* XXVII. 362-364). Liverpool merchants sent to the board a representation arguing for free and open trade; the sugar planters, an argument for a joint-stock company with open trade (*Papers laid before the Honourable House of Commons by the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations,* etc., 1750); the Bristol Society of Merchant Venturers prepared amendments to the bill of 1749, and later spent £1000 in carrying through Parliament a bill which accorded with their desires (Latimer, *Merchant Venturers,* p. 182). For the legislative history of the bill, see *C. J.,* XXV. 977-1058, *passim*; *L. J.,* XXVII. 400-443. It passed the Commons on Mar 19, and received the sanction of the king on Apr. 12 (*C. J.,* XXV. 1114). With reference to the outpouring of petitions throughout this period of discussion, one writer dryly remarked: "Even Rippon in Yorkshire, which made nothing but spurs, not a single pair of which had ever gone to Africa, petitioned for open trade." Eg. MSS. 1162 A, f. 54.

any other Body Corporate or Politick, as such, can or may lawfully do.

III. And the better to uphold, maintain, and defend, all such Forts, Factories, and Settlements, on the Coast of Africa, as now are erected, or hereafter shall be thought necessary to be erected, for the securing and better carrying on the said Trade, Be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all and every the British Forts, Settlements, and Factories on the Coast of Africa, beginning at Cape Blanco aforesaid, and extending from thence to the Cape of Good Hope inclusive, and all other the Regions, Countries, Dominions, Territories, Continents, Coasts, Ports, Bays, Rivers, and Places, lying and being within the aforesaid Limits, and the Islands near adjoining to those Coasts, and comprehended within those Limits, which are now claimed by, or are in the Possession of the Royal African Company of England, or which may be hereafter in the Possession of the Company hereby established, shall, from and after the passing of an Act of Parliament for divesting the African Company of their Charter, Forts, Castles, and Military Stores, Canoe Men, Castle Slaves, and all other their Property on the Coast of Africa, their Goods and Merchandizes only excepted, be absolutely vested in the said new Company, established by this Act, and their Successors, to the Intent and Purpose that the said Forts, Settlements, and Premisses, shall be employed at all Times hereafter, only for the Protection, Encouragement, and Defence of the said Trade.

IV. And it is hereby further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall not be lawful for the Company established by this Act, to trade to or from Africa in their corporate or joint Capacity, or to have any joint or transferrable Stock, or to borrow or take up any Sum or Sums of Money, on their Common Seal.[2]

V. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the Direction and Management of the Affairs of the said Company hereby established, shall be in and by a Committee of nine Persons,[3] to be chosen annually, as hereafter is mentioned, who are to meet and assemble together, from Time to Time, as often as shall be necessary, at some Place in the City of London; and the Committeemen for the Time being, or any five or more of them, or the major Part of them so assembled, shall, from and after the passing such Act of Parliament for divesting the African Company of their

[2] This article embodies the radical change in the management and method of trade which the act was intended to accomplish. An earlier draft of the bill added after the word "Act", "or the Committee to be chosen for managing the Affairs of the said Company", a prohibition which is provided for in article XIX. of the act as passed. Many of the company's future difficulties resulted from violations or suspected violations of these two articles. See *Considerations on the Present Peace* (1763), pp. 43 ff.

[3] The bill of 1749 provided for eight committeemen, four from London, two from Bristol, and two from Liverpool. Martin, *British West African Settlements,* p. 10.

Charter, Forts, Castles, and Military Stores, Canoe Men, Castle Slaves, and all other their Property on the Coast of Africa, as aforesaid, or before the passing such Act, so far as the said African Company shall consent thereto, have full Power, from Time to Time, to make Orders for the governing, maintaining, preserving, and improving the Forts and Factories already built, or which hereafter shall be built, within the Limits aforesaid; and to appoint Governors, Deputy Governors, or any other Officers, Civil or Military, of or for the said Forts and Settlements, and them to remove and displace when they shall see fit; and to make Orders and Regulations for the better Government of the said Officers and Servants abroad, and to take Security from them for their good Behaviour, and for their paying due Obedience to the Regulations established by this Act, and to such other Orders and Regulations as the said Committee shall, from Time to Time, think proper to make; so as no Orders or Regulations, to be made by the said Committee, shall tend to lay any Restraint whatsoever on the said Trade or Traders to and from Africa, contrary to the true Intent and Meaning of this Act.

VI. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the Traders or Persons intending to trade to or from Africa, who, in order to be admitted into the Freedom of the said Company, shall, on or before the thirtieth Day of June one thousand seven hundred and fifty, have paid into the Hands of the Chamberlain of the City of London the Sum of forty Shillings each for their Freedom in the said Company, shall or may meet and assemble on the tenth Day of July one thousand seven hundred and fifty, in the Gui[l]dhall of the said City; and they, or the major Part of them so assembled, shall or may choose three Persons: And that in like Manner such others of the Traders to or from Africa, who, in order to be admitted into the Freedom of the said new Company, shall, on or before the said thirtieth Day of June one thousand seven hundred and fifty, have paid into the Hands of the Clerk of the Merchants Hall in the City of Bristol, the Sum of forty Shillings each for their Freedom of the said Company, shall, or may assemble on the tenth Day of July one thousand seven hundred and fifty, in some convenient Place in the City of Bristol; and they, or the major Part of them so assembled, shall choose three other Persons; and that in like Manner such other of the Traders to or from Africa, who, in order to be admitted into the Freedom of the said new Company shall, on or before the said thirtieth Day of June one thousand seven hundred and fifty, have paid into the Hands of the Town Clerk of Liverpool the Sum of forty Shillings each for their Freedom of the said Company, shall or may assemble on the said tenth Day of July one Thousand seven hundred and fifty in the Town Hall of Liverpool; and they, or the

major Part of them, who shall be so assembled, shall and may chuse three other Persons; and the nine Persons so to be chosen in the Manner before expressed, shall be the first annual Committee for managing the Affairs of the said Company, and shall continue in Office for one Year, and until others shall be chosen in their Room respectively, as is herein after mentioned.

VII. And it is hereby further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That in all future Elections, the said Committee of nine Persons shall annually, on the third Day of July in every Year, be nominated and chosen as follows; that is to say, Three of the said Committee shall be nominated and chosen by the major Part of the Freemen of the said Company, admitted to the Freedom of the said Company in London, who shall assemble for that Purpose at London; Three other Persons to be of the said Committee, shall be chosen and nominated by the major Part of the Freemen of the said Company admitted to the Freedom of the said Company in Bristol, who shall assemble for that Purpose at Bristol; and Three other Persons to be of the said Committee, shall be chosen and nominated by the major Part of the Freemen of the said Company admitted to the Freedom of the said Company in the Town of Liverpool, who shall assemble for that Purpose at Liverpool.[4]

VIII. [In case of the death of any member of the committee, the freemen of the city to which he belonged shall fill the vacancy after giving notice in the *London Gazette* ten days before such election is to take place.]

IX. Provided always, and be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That in case at the Time appointed for the first and other Elections of the said Committee-men, the Traders admitted to their Freedom, in any one or more of the said Cities and Towns respectively, shall neglect to proceed to such Choice; in that Case, such other of the Persons who shall be chosen by the Traders admitted to their Freedom in the other of the said Cities or Towns, or the major Part of them, though less in Number than nine, shall or may act as the Committee for managing the Affairs of the said Company, until the next annual Election; and that all Elections of Committee-men for managing the Affairs of the said Company, shall be determined by the Majority of Votes then present; and that in all Cases, where the third Day of July shall happen to fall or be on a Sunday, the annual Election of Committee-men shall be had and made on the Monday the fourth Day of July.

[4] The election of the committee was the sole duty of the freemen. For the year 1750 they numbered: London 118, Bristol 156, Liverpool 99. The first committee elected was: London, Richard Boddicott, Robert Scott, Samuel Turner; Bristol, Vincent Briscoe, Joseph Champion, Samuel Dicker; Liverpool, Nathaniel Basnett, Richard Gildart, Charles Pole. Aug. 30, Sept. 14, 1750, "Minutes of Company of Merchants Trading to Africa, 1750-1755", T 70: 143; House of Lords MSS., 1750.

X. Provided always, That in case of an Equality of Votes, the Lord Mayor of London, the Mayor of Bristol, and the Mayor of Liverpool respectively, shall and may determine which of such Persons shall be the Committee-man or Committee-men.

XI. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Committee for managing the Affairs of the said new Company, shall meet together for the first Time on the first Monday in August one thousand seven hundred and fifty, and shall then settle the Manner of their future Meetings, and of the Notices and Summons to be sent for that Purpose, from Time to Time to the Members of the said Committee; and no Order or Resolution of the said Committee, to which all the Members of the said Committee present at the making thereof, shall not be consenting, shall be valid or binding, unless the same shall be approved and confirmed at a subsequent Meeting of the said Committee, at which all the Members of the said Committee shall be present, or of which, such of them as shall happen to be absent, shall have had the usual Notice.

XII. [At each meeting of the committee a chairman shall be chosen who is while chairman permitted to vote only in case of a tie. No member of the committee not present when the chairman is chosen is allowed to vote.]

XIII. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That such of his Majesty's Subjects who shall, on or before the said thirtieth Day of June one thousand seven hundred fifty, pay to the Chamberlain of London, the Clerk of the Merchants Hall in Bristol, or the Town Clerk of Liverpool respectively, the Sum of forty Shillings each, for their Freedom in the said Company, shall be the first Freemen and Members of the said new Company, established by this Act: And that, from and after the said thirtieth Day of June one thousand seven hundred and fifty, any other of his Majesty's Subjects, trading, or intending to trade to or from Africa, shall and may be admitted to be a Freeman or Member of the said Company at London, Bristol, or Liverpool, upon his Payment of the Sum of forty Shillings for the same, to such Person or Persons, as the Committee for managing the Affairs of the said Company shall, and are hereby required, from Time to Time, to appoint to receive the same in London, Bristol, or Liverpool, respectively.

XIV. Provided always, That no Persons so admitted, after the said thirtieth Day of June one thousand seven hundred and fifty, shall be intitled to vote for the Election of any Committee-man, until one Year after such Admission.

XV. [The persons paying forty shillings to receive a certificate and their names to be recorded in a book kept for that purpose.]

XVI. [The sums of forty shillings and the lists of names shall be delivered to such persons as the committee may designate.]

XVII. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the Person or Persons who shall, from Time to Time, be appointed by the said Committee, at London, Bristol, and Liverpool, to receive the said Sums of forty Shillings, payable by Persons on their being admitted into the Freedom of the said Company, shall annually or oftener, if required by the said Committee, pay and deliver over all such sums which shall have been paid to them respectively for Freedoms in the said Company, together with Lists of the Names and Places of Abode of the Persons from whom they shall have respectively received the same, to the said Committee, or as they shall, from Time to Time, direct.

XVIII. [Exact lists of the freemen are to be printed ten days before the annual election and delivered to all freemen who desire them.]

XIX. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no Person shall be capable of being chosen or acting as a Committee-man, above three Years successively;[5] and two or more Persons, who shall be in Copartnership in Trade, shall not be capable to be chosen or act as Committee-men, during the same Time or Year: and the same nine Persons, or any of them, shall not, during such Time as they shall be of the said Committee, in any Manner, directly or indirectly, trade jointly, or in Copartnership, to Africa, or lade or cause to be laden, any Goods or Merchandizes on board the same Ship, in which any one of the said nine Committee-men shall, for that Voyage, have before laden Goods to be carried to any Place in Africa.

XX. And be it further enacted, That the same Committee shall and may, from Time to Time, invest such Part of the Money in their Hands, as they shall judge necessary, in the Purchase of Goods and Stores, which after the same are insured, which they are hereby impowered and required to procure to be done, are to be sent and exported to Africa, there to be sold, disposed of and applied, for the sole Use, Preservation, and Improvement of the Forts and Settlements there, and for the Payment of the Salaries and Wages to the Officers, and other Persons employed for keeping and preserving the said Forts and Settlements, and not otherwise: But it shall not be lawful for the said Committee to carry, or cause to be carried, or exported from Africa, any Negroes, or other Goods, in Return for the said Goods they shall so export from Great Britain, or in any

[5] For the method by which the intent of this clause was defeated see *Considerations on the Present Peace,* pp. 43 ff. It is to be noticed that this act does not forbid the officers on the coast to trade for themselves, a fact which was responsible for much complaint in succeeding years.

other Manner to carry on any Trade to or from Africa: And a just and true Account of the said Committee's Receipts and Payments shall, from Time to Time be kept in a Book or Books for that Purpose; which Book or Books shall be open at the Office or Place where the said committee shall transact the Affairs and Business of the said Company, in London, to be perused at all seasonable Times by any Person admitted to the Freedom of the said Company, without Fee or Reward.

XXI. [The Commissioners for Trade and Plantations to have power to remove any committeemen or officers appointed by them, in case of misbehaviour.]

XXII. Provided nevertheless, That whenever any Committee-man shall be charged with Misbehaviour in his Employment, the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations shall summon such Committee-Man to appear before them, and shall, in case he attends, hear such Committee-man; and upon his Attendance or Default, examine into the Truth of the said Charge, before they shall remove him from his Employment as aforesaid; any Thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

XXIII. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Committee shall, and they are hereby required to render a just and perfect Account of all their Transactions once a Year, to the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, or oftener, if thereunto required by the said Commissioners, or any three or more of them; in which shall be contained an Account of all the Monies received and disbursed by the said Committee, or their Order; and also an Account of all the Orders and Instructions given by the said Committee, as well to their Officers and Servants in Great Britain, as on the Coast of Africa; and all the Answers given thereto by the said Officers and Servants employed by the said Committee; and of all other Matters and Things whatsoever which shall be transacted by the said Committee.

XXIV. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Committee, out of the Monies they shall receive, shall deduct annually a Sum, not exceeding the Sum of eight hundred Pounds, for defraying, in the first Place, the Salaries of the Clerks and Agents at London, Bristol, and Liverpool, the House-Rent of their Office in London, and all other Charges of Management, Commission, or Agency, in England; and the Residue of the said eight hundred Pounds shall be shared and divided amongst themselves, as they shall judge proper, as a Compensation for their Trouble and Attendance in the said Office of Committee-men; and the rest of the Monies which the said Committee shall receive for the Admission

of Persons into the Freedom of the said Company, or otherwise, shall be applied and appropriated wholly to the Maintenance, Support, and Improvement of the Forts and Settlements already built, or which hereafter shall be built, on the Coast of Africa, which shall be in the Possession of the said Company; and for keeping them in good Repair; and for providing Ammunition, and other Stores, and Officers and Soldiers to defend the same; and for paying the said Officers and Soldiers; and to and for no other Use or Purpose whatsoever.

XXV. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Committee shall, within one Month after the Expiration of the Year for or during which they shall have been chosen Committee-men, lay before the Cursitor Baron of the Court of Exchequer, an Account of all the Money received by the Committee during the preceding Year, and of the Application thereof, upon Oath; and the said Cursitor Baron shall, within one Month after the said Account shall be laid before him, examine, pass, and audite the same; and for the better discovering of the Truth of such Account the said Cursitor Baron is hereby impowered to examine any of the said Committee-men, and such other Person or Persons as he shall judge necessary, upon Oath, touching the Articles or Particulars in such Account expressed, or such of them as the said Cursitor Baron shall think fit; which Account, so audited and passed by the Cursitor Baron, shall be final and conclusive, and shall be a full and absolute Discharge to the said Committee-men, without their being compelled to give or render any further or other Account thereof; and the said Committee shall, every Session of Parliament, lay before the Parliament a Copy of such annual Account, audited as aforesaid, and of all Orders and Regulations made by them in the preceding Year, relating to the said Forts and Settlements, or the Government of their Officers or Servants employed therein; and Copies of every such annual Account, Orders, and Regulations, shall be annually laid before a General Meeting of the Members of the said Company, to be had in London, Bristol, and Liverpool respectively; of which fourteen Days Notice shall be previously given in the *London Gazette*.

XXVI. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no Officer or any other Person to be employed by the said Committee, at any of the Forts or Settlements built or to be built in Africa, shall at any Time hereafter, in any Manner, or on any Pretence, obstruct or hinder any of his Majesty's Subjects in Trading; and that the Forts, Warehouses, and Buildings, already erected, or which shall hereafter be erected, by the said Company, shall and

may at all Times hereafter be free and open to all his Majesty's Subjects, to be used as Warehouses for depositing Gunpowder, Gold, Elephants Teeth, Wax, Gums, and Drugs, and no other Goods.[6]

XXVII. Provided nevertheless, That the said Forts, Warehouses, and Buildings, may and shall, in case of Necessity or Danger, be free and open to all his Majesty's Subjects, for the Safety of their Persons, and Security of all their Effects whatsoever.

XXVIII. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful for any of his Majesty's Subjects trading to Africa, for the Security of their Goods or Slaves, to erect Houses and Warehouses, under the Protection of the said Forts, or elsewhere in any other Part of Africa within the Limits aforesaid, for the better carrying on of his or their Trade there; which Houses and Warehouses shall be the Property of the Person or Persons who shall build the same; but shall not be disposed of, or left, to any Foreigner whatsoever.

XXIX. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no Commander or Master of any Ship trading to Africa, shall by Fraud, Force, or Violence, or by any other indirect Practice whatsoever, take on board, or carry away from the Coast of Africa, any Negro or Native of the said Country, or commit, or suffer to be committed, any Violence on the Natives, to the Prejudice of the said Trade; and that every Person so offending shall, for every such Offence, forfeit the Sum of one hundred Pounds of lawful Money of Great Britain; one Moiety thereof to the Use of the said Company hereby established, and their Successors, for and towards the maintaining the said Forts and Settlements, and the other Moiety to and for the Use of him or them who shall inform or sue for the same.[7]

XXX. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, or the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain for the Time being, shall, from Time to Time, give Instructions to the Captains of such of his Majesty's Ships of War as shall be stationed or ordered to cruize within the Limits aforesaid, from Time to Time,

[6] An earlier draft of the bill included slaves in this list of commodities.

[7] In the days when the Royal African Company dominated the trade there are few references to the kidnapping of free negroes, but all the evidence seems to point to a great increase in this abuse as the private trade increased. The minutes of the new committee (T 70: 143, 144) contain many references to the trouble caused by the disregard of this clause in the act, and in the instructions of the committee: "If the King of Barra shoud complain of two Natives having been carried off the Coast by an English Merchant Ship, you are to endeavor to pacify him and inquire into the circumstances and send them to the Committee and you must caution all Captains of Ships against taking or carrying off Pledges as they are liable to a Fine of £100, for each free Native by a late Act of Parliament". Apr. 6, 1751, Instructions to Messrs. James Skinner and Frederick Smith, James Fort, T 70: 143, p. 76.

to inspect and report to them the State and Condition in which the said Forts and Settlements shall be; and the Officers of such Forts are required to permit such Captains to view and inspect the same; and Copies of all such Reports shall, every Session of Parliament, be laid before Parliament.[8]

XXXI. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That such Commission Officers of his Majesty's Navy, as the Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, or the Commissioners for executing the the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, for the Time being, shall appoint for that Purpose, shall inspect and examine the State and Condition of the Forts and Settlements on the Coast of Africa, in the Possession of the said Royal African Company, and the Number of Soldiers therein, and also the State and Condition of the Military Stores, Castles, Slaves, Canoes, and other Vessels and Things, belonging to the said Company, and necessary for the Use and Defence of the said Forts and Settlements, and shall with all possible Dispatch report how they find the same, to the said Lord High Admiral, or Commissioners for executing the said Office; and the said Company, and their Officers and Servants, are hereby required to permit the said Officers of the Navy to make such Inspection and Examination, and to assist them therein: a Copy of which Report shall be laid before Parliament at the Beginning of the next Session.

XXXII. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the Accountant General of the High Court of Chancery for the Time being, and such two of the other Masters of the said Court, as the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain for the Time being, or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of Great Britain for the Time being, or the Lords Commissioners for the Great Seal of Great Britain for the Time being, shall, from Time to Time, nominate for that Purpose, shall be, and they are hereby constituted and appointed Commissioners for examining into the Claims of the Creditors of the said Royal African Company: [Such commissioners shall be impowered to examine the accounts of the company and the creditors; creditors residing in Great Britain and Ireland to submit their claims before Aug. 30, 1750; those resident in Africa or beyond the seas to submit theirs before Dec. 30, 1750] and the Directors and Officers of the said Company, and all other Persons whatsoever, whom the said Commissioners, or any two of them shall think fit to

[8] These annual reports, including reports from the commanders cruizing the African coast and returns from the chief officers of the English forts, constitute a considerable source of information on African affairs during the second half of the century. The greater emphasis is laid on the military strength of the English establishments, but there are brief comments on trade. Reference to the returns made by Commodore Graves after his voyage (eighteen papers in all) may be found in *Lords Journals*, XXXI. 278. The series is to be found in the Admiralty Papers in the Public Record Office.

examine, touching the Matters aforesaid, are hereby strictly required and enjoined to attend the said Commissioners, from Time to Time, and at all such Times and Places as the said Commissioners, or any two of them, shall under their Hands require or appoint, and to give the best and truest Information they can, touching the said Claims, and to produce all Books, Papers, Deeds, or Records relating thereto, in their respective Custody or Power, as the said Commissioners, or any two of them shall direct; and the said Commissioners, or any two of them, are hereby authorized to administer an Oath, for the better Discovery of the Truth of the Facts, touching which such Examination or Inquiry shall be made; and they are hereby required to close and finish their Examinations of all the Claims that shall be made by such of the said Creditors, who reside in Great Britain or Ireland, at the farthest, on or before the thirty first Day of January one thousand seven hundred and fifty, and of all the Claims that shall be made by such of the said Creditors who reside in Africa, or any other Parts beyond the Seas, on or before the twenty-eighth Day of February, one thousand seven hundred and fifty; and the said Commissioners shall lay Accounts of their Proceedings before the Parliament with all convenient Speed.[9]

XXXIII. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That in case any Person or Persons summoned to appear before the said Commissioners, shall wilfully neglect or refuse to appear and be examined touching the Matters and Things by this Act directed to be inquired into, or shall refuse to answer, or shall not fully answer to the Satisfaction of the Commissioners present at the Time of such Examinations, or any two of them, all Questions put to him, her, or them, by the said Commissioners, or any two of them, as well by Word of Mouth as by Interrogatories in Writing; or shall refuse or wilfully neglect to produce, from Time to Time, to the said Com-

[9] Speed could hardly be said to have been achieved in the settlement of the affairs of the Royal African Company. Not until 1752 did the commissioners make noticeable progress. On Jan. 9 they received from the Royal African Company a list of the shareholders and on the 20th recommended that £112,142 3 *s.* 3 *d.* be voted as compensation to the company. Of this, £84,652 12 *s.* 7 *d.* was to go to the creditors; £1695 3 *s.* to the commissioners for their labors; £23,688 15 *s.* 5 *d.* to the proprietors of stock on record Dec. 31, 1748, which is 10 per cent. of the par value of such stock; £2105 12 *s.* 3 *d.* to the proprietors of stock acquired since that date, which is 5 per cent. of the par value (*C. J.*, XXVI. 342, 350, 360, 366, 382, 389-390; *L. J.*, XXVII. 622, 685, 704; *Gentleman's Magazine,* XXII. 272-274, 321; *London Magazine,* XXI. 267-268). In accordance with these recommendations a bill was introduced into the Commons on Feb. 22, was passed and sent to the Lords on Mar. 13, and given the royal assent on Mar. 26. This transferred the property of the old company to the new, and allowed the old to go out of existence (*C. J.*, XXVI. 401, 406-407, 453, 486-487, 494, 515; *Gentleman's Magazine,* XXII. 420-421). On Apr. 12, 1753, the commissioners gave notice to the creditors of the company that certificates for their claims would be issued to them on May 10 and 24 (*London Gazette,* Apr. 14, 1753). On Apr. 15 a committee of the Royal African Company met the new committee and delivered up the charter, and all books, papers, and writings, for the housing of which two rooms were taken in the Jerusalem Coffee-House. T 70: 143, pp. 135-136.

missioners, or any two of them, all Books of Accounts, Papers, and Writings, in their Custody or Power, relating to the Matters herein directed to be inquired into by the said Commissioners, as the said Commissioners, or any two of them shall, from Time to Time direct; then and in every such Case it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Commissioners, or any two of them, by Warrant under their Hands and Seals, to commit him, her, or them, to such Prison, as the said Commissioners, or any two of them, shall think fit, there to remain, without Bail or Mainprize, until such Person or Persons shall submit him, her, or themselves, to the said Commissioners, and produce before them such Books of Accounts, Papers, and Writings, upon Oath, and full Answer make, to the Satisfaction of the Commissioners, to all such Questions as shall be put to him, her, or them, as aforesaid, according to the true Intent and Meaning of this Act; and the said Commissioners, in every Case where any Person or Persons shall be by them committed for refusing to answer, or for not fully answering any Question or Questions put to him, her, or them, by the said Commissioners, by Word of Mouth, or upon Interrogatories, shall in their Warrants of Commitment specify such Question or Questions. . . .

XXXVI. [The expenses of passing this act to be paid from the first money received by the committee from freemen.] . . .

218. News Items relating to the Slave Trade.[1]

Boston.

By a Vessel lately arrived here from the West-Indies, we have Advice, that a Ship belonging to Liverpool coming from the Coast of Africa, with about 350 Slaves on board, and when in Sight of the Island Guardaloupe, the Slaves, as 'tis supposed, being admitted to come upon Deck to air themselves, took an Opportunity on the 28th of May, N. S. and kill'd the Master and Mate of the Ship and threw fifteen of the Men overboard, after which they sent the Boat with two white Lads and three or four others to discover what Land it was, meanwhile the Ship drove to the Leeward, which gave the Lads an Opportunity to discover the Affair to the Commandant of that Quarter of the Island, who immediately raised about 100 Men, and put them on board a Sloop, who went in Pursuit of the Ship, and in a few Hours took her and carried her into Port Louis.

New York, August 6 [1750].[2]

Last Tuesday arrived here the Ship *Hawk,* Capt. Waynman, in 11 Weeks from the Coast of Africa; in whom came two Men, late be-

[218] [1] *Boston Post Boy,* June 25, 1750; also in the *Boston News-Letter,* June 21, 1750.
[2] *Boston Post Boy,* Aug. 13, 1750.

longing to the Snow *Ann,* Benjamin Clark Master of Liverpool; which Vessel having arrived on the Coast the Beginning of November last, with 12 Men, continued trading to the 14th of April; when having 60 Negroes on board, and the most of their white Men being sick, the Negroes got to the Powder and Arms, and about 3 o'Clock in the Morning, rose upon the Whites; and after wounding all of them very much, except two who hid themselves; they run the Vessel ashore a little to the Southward of Cape Lopez, and made their Escape. The Vessel soon beat to Pieces, and in attempting to get their Boat out, one of the well Men was drowned; so that 'twas with much Difficulty they got ashore: the Captain soon after landing expired from his Wounds, and next Day six of them set out to travel for Magumba,[3] to meet with some English Vessels, leaving five sick of their Wounds, on the Shore unable to go: After six Days travelling, another of them fainting with his Wounds, gave out, and they were obliged to leave him also; the remaining five got alive to Magumba the 3d of May; where three of them got on board the *Rider* to Galby, Capt. Bush, of Liverpool, bound for Amsterdam, tho one of them was so bad that he was given over by the Surgeons; and the other two got on board Capt. Waynman, as above; which last Vessel has also lost six of her Men by Sickness in the Voyage. This should be Caution of great Care and Vigilance to be used at that Trade.

BOSTON, Sept. 6, 1750.

By Capt. Tarr who arrived a few Days ago from St. Kitts, we have the following account that was sent him by Hamilton Montgomery, belonging to the Ship *King David* of Bristol, bound from the Coast of Guinea, *viz.* That on the 8th Day of May last, the Slaves on board the said Ship arose about five o'Clock in the Morning, none of them being in Irons on board. The Insurrection was contrived and begun by 15 that had for a considerable Time been treated with the same Freedom as the white men; and a great many of the latter dying, encouraged them in the Design. As the Chief of these Slaves spoke very good English, he often convers'd with the Captain in his Cabbin, where all the Arms were loaded; and consulting with his Comrades, knowing the small Strength of the white men, they at once flew into the Cabin, and secured the Arms in a few Minutes, kill'd the Captain and five of the People. Thereby putting it out of the power of the Remainder of the Ships Crew to make any Resistance, so that they got down the Hold to save themselves: But the Head of the Negroes call'd to them, and told

[3] Mayumba, in Loango.
[4] *Boston News-Letter,* Sept. 6, 1750.

them, if they would come upon Deck and surrender, he would save all their Lives; which they soon did, except the chief Mate, who remain'd in the Hold some Hours after; but sending down a white Boy to acquaint him if he did not come upon Deck, they would come down and cut him in pieces; he therefore came up, and they directly put him in Irons, as they had all the others before: About 8 o'Clock the same Evening, they threw over-board nine of the white men alive with their Irons on: The chief Mate was also bro't on the Gunnel to be serv'd in the same Manner: but one of the Head Negroes interpos'd, and said, Who must take Care of the Ship? and withal declar'd that if they destroy'd him, he would kill the first that attempted it: whereupon they saved his Life. Having let the Ship drive with Wind and Tide for 24 Hours, they at last insisted to have her carried to the Gold-Coast, or Callabar, or St. Thomas's an Isle near the Coast of Guiney; but the Head Negro being a Fellow of more Sense than common, being persuaded there was no possibility of getting there, it was agreed to go where no white Man liv'd; and Desiada was pitch'd upon; which they made on the 14th of May; and at 6 in the Evening the Negroes oblig'd the chief Mate to hoist out the Boat; and they then put two white Men and four Negroes on board to go for the Isle: and if there were any Whites liv'd there, they were to return and kill the remainder of the Crew. But as the Relator writes, he afterward heard that they did not reach the Island, and that he heard nothing of them till he got the Ship to Anchor at Grand-tier Point, in Teage, a French Island, on the 19th. Where the French upon giving some small Assistance, not so much as venturing their Lives, or anything like it, charged the Expences to 3000 £, Currency. What further was done with the ship or the Negroes he does not write.

LONDON, May 25 [1751].[5]

By a Vessel just arrived at Liverpool, from Anamaboa on the Gold Coast in Africa, we have certain Advice that six French Ships of War are at Anchor there, with Troops, Artificers, Ordnance Stores, and all other necessaries for building a Castle; and that the Foundation thereof was actually laid before the Ship sailed. Thus will that Nation get such firm Footing on the only valuable Part of the Gold Coast, as must entirely and forever exclude us from the important Trade which we have hitherto advantageously carried on therewith. This however is no sort of Surprize to such as have seriously considered the Nature of our Commerce with Africa, and its connection with the true Interest of our Colonies, and of Great-

[5] *Boston News-Letter,* Aug. 8, 1751.

Britain itself; whatever it may be to those who were desirous of seeing Anamaboa in the Possession of our most dangerous Rivals, rather than in the Hands of a free and open Company of British Merchants.[6]

219. The Company of Merchants trading to Africa: Minutes of Committee.[1]

London, the 5th February, 1752.

Resolv'd That the following Letter to Thomas Melvil Esqr. be laid before the Board of Trade.[2]

Sir, Since we wrote our Answer to your Letter of the 11th July, we have received one from you of the 23d of the same Month inclosing Copies of your last Letter and of the References therein a Certificate of the Loss of a Cask of Cowries the Bills of Lading endorsed by you and a Remonstrance from Messrs. Boteler and Husbands,[3] to all which we give you the following Answer. As the Trade is laid open by Act of Parliament it is impossible for us to induce the separate Traders to order their Ships to this or that Place upon the Coast; it is to be hoped a Fort will afford the same Protection to the Boats at Annamaboe as at Cape Coast Castle.

We cannot alter our Instructions in Regard to the French Trade till the Affair has been more fully considered, in the mean Time, if you could bring about an Agreement with Generall Van Voorst to forbear trading with them it will at once put an End to all the Inconveniences you complain of: and we are told the General himself made such a Proposal to Messrs. Stockwell and Husbands in the year 1749;[4] neither can we authorise you to seize the Goods of

[6] The *News Letter,* May 24, 1750, contained an earlier warning: "London, March 20. By an extract of a letter from Barbadoes, we learn, That capt. Picket was arrived from the coast of Africa, and declares, that unless the Parliament does soon settle the African trade, it will be lost in a few years; for that he left twenty French vessels, and but one English ship on the coast." Cape Coast Castle was about the same time threatened by the Dutch. *Boston News Letter,* Apr. 4, 1751; C. O. 388: 45, 1751, July, Dd 42.

[219] [1] T 70: 143, pp. 127-128. The minutes of the committee which was now managing the trade, a few selections from which are here printed, give much detail concerning the instructions to agents, relations with the Dutch and French, as well as with the natives, and difficulties with the Royal African Company, whose confirmation was necessary to all actions of the new committee between the passage of the act of 1750 and that of 1752. Miss Martin sums up the difficulties involved in this situation in *British West African Settlements,* pp. 13-14.

[2] Thomas Melvil, appointed chief agent on the Gold Coast in June, 1751, was soon made governor in chief, the first to hold that position under the new régime. An earlier letter discusses relations with the French, the Dutch, and the natives (T 70: 143, p. 101). It is possible that the reference of this letter to the Board of Trade indicates a desire for the support of the board in gaining the confirmation of the Royal African Company, which still held the right to confirm all appointments and instructions. For the relations between the committee and the board see articles XXI., XXII., and XXIII. of the act of 1750.

[3] Thomas Boteler and William Husbands, factors at Cape Coast Castle. They had recently written complaining of the refusal of the separate traders to trade with the factories. C. O. 388: 44, Cc 73.

[4] Richard Stockwell, sent to the coast in 1749, had found the affairs of the company in a desperate condition. By his energy he revived trade, paid off much of the debt of the company on the coast, and saved the forts; but to accomplish this he traded with the French. For this offense he was, after nine months, superseded by Roberts. Capt. Thomas Pye, on the coast in 1749, apparently regarded his removal as a mistake,

free Traders upon this Account, but We expect you should to the utmost discountenance and embarras such Traffick and suffer no French Ship to lie longer at the Forts than a proper Time for the Supply of Wood and Water if in Distress. It gives us great Pleasure to hear that English Woolen Goods and Manchester Checks are so much in Demand, We hope you will encourage the Consumption of them as well as every other Manufacture of this Country, with which View, We applaud your Attempt to open the Ashiantee Trade and heartily wish the Sum you mention may be sufficient to do it;[5] if your Allowance will not permit you to go great Lengths in purchasing an Extension of Commerce you must continue your Endeavors to engage the Assistance of the Kings and Gods of the Country to establish new or revive the old Channels of Trade upon the Coast.

LONDON, 19th February, 1752.

Addition to be made to the Second Clause of Mr. Melvil's Letter.

but we are so far from encouraging the least Attempt to draw the Trade from one Place to the other, that we think it necessary and do enjoin you most strictly to cultivate a good Correspondence and Harmony with the Fanteens, particularly with John Currantee and in the Prosecution of your Attempt to open the Ashiantee Paths we recommend you most carefully to avoid any Thing that may give the least Distrust or Suspicion of a Design to prejudice the Trade of his Town.

Instead of the last Clause

The Introduction of American Products upon the Coast of Africa is a very serious Affair and requires great Consideration, we are sorry you attempted it before you had communicated your Design that we might have either licensed or prohibited it with the Authority of the Government. In all Probability the Parliament may take it up this Session and in the mean Time we must insist upon your suspending your Progress in any Thing but Gum which it is foreseen there can be no Objection to.[6]

220. A PROPOSED LETTER TO THOMAS MELVIL.[1]

LONDON, the 15th June, 1752.

We are sensible that the Scheme of a free Trade upon the Coast must furnish Matter of Uneasiness and Discontent to the Fanteens

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as he wrote to the Admiralty on Mar. 18, 1750, that Stockwell had accomplished wonders. The new committee received the papers relating to Stockwell's conduct, among others sent to it by the Admiralty, when it took up its duties. "Minutes", Aug. 30, Oct. 23, 1750, T 70: 143, pp. 5, 13; C. O. 388: 44, Cc 73; House of Lords MSS., Feb. 8, 10, 1750/1.

[5] The Ashantis were in the midst of the protracted warfare which eventually made them the ruling native power on the Gold Coast. Many of the peoples with whom the English traded (Denkera, Akim, and Assini) had been made tributary to the Ashantis, who could thus close the paths used by traders taking slaves to the coast. At this time the Ashantis and the Fantis on the coast, with whom the English were on friendly terms, were outwardly friendly, but the English soon recognized that a contest between them was inevitable, and made great efforts to remain neutral, in order that they might maintain friendship with the victor, whichever it was. A. B. Ellis, *History of the Gold Coast*, pp. 85-90, 99-100.

[6] The reference is not to the importation of American products but to the raising of them in Africa. Melvil had planned to introduce the cultivation of cotton and indigo into Africa, but the Board of Trade disapproved of the scheme and it was dropped.

[220] [1] T 70: 143, pp. 150-151. This tart letter may have given place to a milder rebuke, but it is here included for the light it sheds on the fear of French aggression felt by the committee.

since they must naturally be deprived by it of Part of that Trade which the Inability of the old Company and their exclusive Power at the Forts had thrown entirely into their Hands for some years past.

What then should have been your Conduct in this Case? especially when you saw the French were attempting to get a Footing among them at that critical Juncture and saw the Natives at the same Time (from some Cause or other no Matter what for to us it was meritorious) stand by their old Friends and prevent those invidious Rivals from becoming your troublesome Neighbours.

Should you not then have used your utmost Skill to have soothed the Minds of these loosing Traders by a proper Behaviour. Situated as you were, was the Trade of all your Ships at Cape Coast equal to the Risk of losing their Affections? Suppose the Admiralty from early and well founded Intelligence had not supported you with a Squadron support[?] to the French—in whose Hands would have Annamaboe been now? and how soon after in your own Suspicions must even Cape Coast and the other Forts have gone the same way? Sensible of all these Things, how could you irritate the People who surely shoud have been flattered and courted to serve your present Purpose, for national as the Object of that Coast may be you should consider how much it would lessen its Consequence if no less than a Squadron of men of War is constantly required to protect it?

It may be true if we had the secure and unmolested Possession of the Gold Coast that it is the same Thing to England upon what Part of it the Trade is carried on, but you who knew the Attempts the French had made and knew from the Value of it that it was likely they should repeat those Attempts, surely could distinguish that at such a Time it required all your Attention, Care and Thought to preserve in the Fanteens such a Regard for the English as might induce them to continue the Disposition they had so lately shewn to give us the Preference.[2] But when the French came upon the Coast

[2] One of the methods used by both English and French to gain the allegiance of the native rulers was the entertainment of their sons in England and France. In December, 1750, the "prince of Annamabo" returned to Africa from a sojourn in England, and a few months later the Admiralty was said to have received a letter from his father, expressing gratitude for his son's treatment, and offering the assistance of 20,000 men in building a fort in his territory. In July, 1751, news reached England that the kings of Anisham and Fetu were preparing to send their eldest sons to England (*Gentleman's Magazine,* XX. 272, XXI. 331, 375). John Currantee and Coffee Yango, two Fanti cabboceers, had sent sons to France, a fact which, without doubt, the French believed would help them in their endeavors to gain the support of the Fantis (Dec. 13, 1752, C. O. 388: 45, Dd 161). Readers of Walpole may remember an item of Mar. 23, 1749: "There are two black Princes of Anamaboe here, who are in fashion at all assemblies, of whom I scarce know any particulars, though their story is very like Oroonoko's: all the women know it and ten times more than belongs to it" (*Letters,* ed. Cunningham, II. 149). To this Wright, an early editor of Walpole's *Letters,* added: "Their story is briefly this: A Moorish king, who had entertained with great hospitality a British captain trafficking

with two Men of War and were buying the Natives with Liquor, with Cloths and with Promises, to neglect them then was surely the highest Degree of Infatuation. Was a Bottle of Rum and a little Gunpowder (which we are informed was all you sent) a proper Present to be made at such a Time? Could you have contrived a Scheme more likely to affront the Natives and give Success to the French? if the Committee had not Liquor upon the Coast doubtless they had Goods to purchase it or had they not, would it have been much for you to have risked your own Credit for it at such a Ticklish Crisis? What monstrous Policy to put Contempt upon those from whom you expected Favor.

This Sort of Behavior has been the Cause of great Uneasiness to us, and if our Tenderness for your Character and our Unwillingness to punish you without allowing you Time to vindicate yourself were not supported with some prudential Reasons, we should think ourselves sufficiently warranted to suspend you immediately but as we hope what we have heretofore wrote you together with this Remonstrance will produce a total Alteration in your Behavior to the Fanteens and an absolute Obedience to all our Orders we have endeavored to obtain the Consent of the Lords of Trade who were equally surprised with us at this part of your Conduct, that you may continue in your Command upon the Coast.[3]

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on the coast of Africa, reposed such confidence in him, as to intrust him with a son, about eighteen years of age, and another sprightly youth, to be brought to England, and educated in the European manners. The captain received them, and basely sold them for slaves. He shortly after died, and, the ship coming to England, the officers related the whole affair; upon which the government sent to pay their ransom, and they were brought to England, and put under the care of the Earl of Halifax, then at the head of the board of trade, who had them clothed and educated in a suitable manner. They were afterwards received in the higher circles, and introduced to the King. On the first of February in this year, they appeared at Covent Garden theatre, to see the tragedy of Oroonoko; where they were received with a loud clap of applause, which they returned with a genteel bow. The tender interview between Imoinda and Oroonoko so affected the Prince that he was obliged to retire at the end of the fourth act. His companion remained but wept all the time so bitterly, that it affected the audience more than the play."

[3] "CHARLES-TOWN, SOUTH-CAROLINA, May 11 [1753]. From Africa we have Advice, that there are a great Number of French Men of War on the Coasts of that Continent: And that they are erecting floating factories and Forts, in several Parts where we formerly had the greatest Trade. Capt. Bestock [Bostock], who arrived a few Days ago, saw three French Ships of 74, 56 and 18 Guns, on the Windward Coast" (*Boston News Letter,* July 3, 1752).

"The *Badger* sloop of war, arrived at Plymouth from the coast of Guiney, which place she left the beginning of March, brought advice, That upon commodore Buckle's arrival there with 3 men of war and the above sloop, he found 3 French men of war on the said coast, *viz.* one of 64, one of 54, and another of 20 guns, who were about building a fort, in order to make a settlement at Anamaboe: Upon which the commodore desired them to desist, the property or right to that place being in the Crown of Great Britain, otherwise he should be obliged to compel them by force to abandon their enterprize, and accordingly he made ready for an engagement: But the French commodore, after a little parleying and consideration, thought fit to sheer off and quit the coast. Commodore Buckle having afterwards had some conferences with the natives of the country, they told him, that they should be very glad to see a settlement made at Annamabo, and rather by the English than by the French, and therefore desired that our nation would go to

221. The Company of Merchants trading to Africa.[1]

June 24, 1752.

A List of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa, (established by an Act of Parliament passed in the 23rd of George II., entitled an "Act for Extending and Improving the Trade to Africa"), belonging to Liverpool, June 24th, 1752.

Armitage, John
Atherton, John
Ashton, John
Bostock, John
Bulkeley, William
Blundell, Jonathan
Backhouse, John
Blundell, Bryan
Blundell, Richard
Blackburn, John
Bradley, George
Brooks, George
Benson, Wm.
Ball, Thomas
Bridge, Edward
Blundell, William
Brooks, Joseph
Brooks, Jonathan
Bird, Joseph
Crowder, Thomas
Crosbie, James
Cunliffe, Foster
Cunliffe, Ellis
Cunliffe, Robert
Campbell, George
Clay, Robert
Craven, Charles
Clayton, John
Crompton, John
Clews, George
Chalmer, Thomas
Davis, Joseph
Dean, Edward
Dobb, William
Dunbar, Thomas
Earl, Ralph

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work as soon as possible, for they wanted to see a good trade carried on there. One in the assembly indeed observed that there was room enough on the coast for both English and French, and that it was indifferent to them which of the two prevailed, provided they would deal fairly with his countrymen. After these conferences commodore Buckle sailed to Cape-Coast Castle, and there had intelligence, that the captains of the aforesaid French men of war, a little before abandoning Anamaboe, told natives that they might expect to see them again in ten months at least; for as they had given a valuable consideration (about 15,000 *l.* sterling) for leave to settle there, they were resolved to carry their point sooner or later (*London Magazine,* XXI. 237-238, May, 1752). An item in the *Boston News-Letter,* July 30, 1752, repeats this account, with the names of the English vessels.

The *London Magazine* (XXII. 482) printed a "Copy of a Treaty concluded at Cape-Coast Castle, between England and the Fantee Nation on Feb. 6, 1753", in which the chief men of the Fantees renounced the French and swore devotion to the English (see also, *Gentleman's Magazine,* XXIII. 588). A diary of transactions with the Fantis is to be found in C. O. 388: 46, Ee 16.

[221] [1] Gomer Williams, *History of Liverpool Privateers,* p. 674, "From Williamson's Liverpool Memorandum Book, 1753." Of this list the following were at one time or another mayors of Liverpool:

John Blackburn, 1760
George Campbell, 1763
James Crosbie, 1753
Foster Cunliffe, 1716, 1729, 1735
Ralph Earl, 1769
Charles Goore, 1754, 1767
Richard Gildart, 1736
James Gildart, 1750
Richard Hughes, 1756.
William Pole, 1778
Edward Trafford, 1742
John Williamson, 1761

Eddie, David
Ellams, Elliott
Forbes, Edward
Farmer, Joseph
Ford, Richard
Fletcher, Potter
Gildart, Richard
Goodwin, William
Goore, Charles
Gorrell, John
Gildart, James
Gordon, James
Goodwin, John
Hardman, John
Heywood, Arthur
Heywood, Benja.
Hesketh, Robert
Hughes, Richard
Hardwar, Henry
Higginson, William
Hallhead, Robert
Hughes, John Capt.
Kendall, Thomas
Knight, John
Leatherbarrow, Th.
Laidler, George
Lee, Pierce
Lowndes, Edward
Lowndes, Charles
Mears, Thomas
Manesty, Joseph
Nicholas, Richard
Nicholson, John
Ogden, Samuel
Ogden, Edmund
Oldham, Isaac
Okill, John
Pritchard, Owen
Parr, John
Parr, Edward
Pardoe, James
Penket, William
Pole, William
Parker, John
Rowe, William
Reed, Samuel
Strong, Matthew
Shaw, Samuel
Savage, Richard
Seel, Thomas
Strong, John
Smith, Samuel
Seel, Robert
Smith, Rob't.
Broad st.,
London
Tarleton, John
Townsend, Henry
Townsend, Richard
Trafford, Edward
Tarleton, John
Unsworth, Levinus
Williamson, Wm.
Whytell, Christo
Whalley, William
White, Hen. Lanc.
Williamson, John
Total 101

N. B. There are One Hundred and thirty five merchants free of the African Company in London, and One Hundred and fifty-seven in Bristol, whereas their Trade to Africa is not so extensive as the Merchants of Liverpool.[2]

[2] The author of *A General and Descriptive History of Liverpool* (pp. 212-217) explains the success of Liverpool in her competition with London and Bristol for the African trade by the greater economy of her dealings with employees in it. Bristol captains received ample wages, in addition to primage, cabin privileges, and port charges. The factors were given five per cent. commissions on sales, and five per cent. on returns. Liverpool captains were not only on more restricted pay, but received no primage, and no port charges whatever, in comparison with those of from five to seven

222. Petition of Matthew and John Stronge.[1]

[September 27, 1752.]

To the Right Honourable William Pitt Esqr. his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, The Humble Petition of Matthew and John Stronge and others Merchants of Liverpool,

Sheweth, That Your Petitionors fitted out a Snow called the *Clayton* of Liverpool for the African Trade which Sailed from the River Bonny in Africa on the 22d of February 1752 having on Board 324 Slaves bound to the West Indies and about two days afterwards was taken near the Coast by Nine English seamen who before had Robb'd their Own Captain and also another Ship and after having cruelly wounded the Captain of the said Snow turned him adrift in their Boat and ordered the chief Mate who they forced into their Service to Steer the Vessell for Pernambuco in Brazil. But soon after their Arrival he getting on Shore Discoverd the Affair to Captain John De Costa Britto Commander of the *Nazarone* Man of Warr of Portugal who took Possession of the Ship and Secured the Nine Pirates.

That the said Captain Britto Sold the Slaves who were reduced to near 200 by Sickness for the Benefit of the Owners and upon his Arrival with the Fleet at Lisbon in September 1752 Paid the Remainder of the Money arising from such Sale into the King of Portugal's Treasury and delivered up the Vessell and about 105 Elephants Teeth the Remainder of the Cargo to George Crowle Esqr. the then Consul at Lisbon who sold the same and remitted the Money to Your Petitioners after having deducted the Charges of refitting the Vessell at Pernambuco.

That a Memorial was presented by the said Consul to the Secretary of State at Portugal Praying that the said Pirates might be Delivered up to him to be Sent to England to be Tryed and Punished and that the Ballance of the Sale of the Slaves might be Paid to him for the Benefit of your Petitioners as appears by the Consul's Letter to Mr. Cleavland secretary to the Admiralty Dated 27th September 1752.

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shillings a day of the rival cities. The factors were on annual salaries rather than commissions. The prevailing method in Liverpool was to take poor boys as apprentices for long periods, make of them good seamen, then advance them to second mates, first mates, captains, and factors. As a result of this management Liverpool cargoes could be sold for about twelve per cent. less than those of London and Bristol. The effect of this on the African trade of Bristol was felt by the middle of the century, and by 1764 she had but 32 vessels to Liverpool's 74. For the rapid growth of the trade of Liverpool see also no. 289, n. 1.

[222] [1] P. R. O., Chatham Papers, vol. 78. Matthew and John Stronge were said by Gomer Williams to be among the principal shipowners of Liverpool. *History of Liverpool Privateers,* p. 155.

That upon such Application from the Consul his Majesty of Portugal ordered his Secretary of State to Pay the Money out of the Mint. But the Consul Dying soon after the said order never was Complied with (although your Petitioners have since by their Friends at Lisbon made frequent application for that Purpose. And Your Petitioners are Fearfull never will be unless your Honour would be Pleased to send Directions to Mr. Castros the Minister there to apply for the same.

Your Petitioners therefore most humbly Pray your Honour to Give such Directions to Mr. Castros or grant them such Relief in the Premisses as to your Honour shall seem Meet.[2]

223. Draft of an Indenture.[1]

London, 11th October, 1752.

This Indenture made this Day of in the Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second and in the year of our Lord 175 between of the one part and the Company of Merchants trading to Africa of the other part Witnesseth that the said hath agreed and for and in Consideration of the Covenants and Agreements hereinafter mentioned on the said Company's Part to be performed doth covenant promise and agree to and with the said Company of Merchants trading to Africa that he the said shall and will well and truly serve the said Company at any of their Forts Territories or Factories on the Coast of Africa in the Station or Capacity of a for the Space or Term of years to commence and be computed from the Time of his Arrival and Landing in Africa and from thence next ensuing and fully to be compleat and ended (and for such further Time as shall be agreed upon between the said and the Gov'r Deputy Gov'r or other Agent or Factor of the said Company) and for which Purpose he the said shall and will forthwith ship himself and go on board and proceed in such Ship or Vessel and remain and continue therein during her Voyage from England to Africa as the said Company shall provide direct and appoint for that Purpose, And that the said shall and will on his Arrival there apply himself to the Gov'r or Deputy Gov'r Agents or Factors appointed by the said Company for the Time being and follow such Rules Orders and Directions as he or they shall give direct or appoint. And the said doth hereby further covenant promise and agree that he the said shall and will during the

[2] This petition was accompanied by an "Extract of a Letter from George Crowle Esqr. Consul General of Portugal, dated at Lisbon the 27 Septem. 1752 to Mr. Cleveland", secretary to the Admiralty. The facts given in the two accounts are substantially the same. Crowle's letter gives the name of the master of the *Clayton* as Thomas Patrick. See Williams, *History of the Liverpool Privateers,* pp. 479-480.

[223] [1] T 70: 143, pp. 181-182.

said Space or Term of years (and for such longer Term as he the said shall contract and agree for) well faithfully truely and honestly behave and demean himself towards the said Company their Committee Gov'r Deputy Gov'r and other Officers of the said Company and diligently employ do and perform to the utmost of his Power and Ability all such Works Labors and Business of the said Company as he shall be set about ordered or directed to do by the said Gov'r Deputy Gov'r or other Officers, Agents, or Factors of the said Company, and that he will not absent himself therefrom without their License and Consent and shall and will render and deliver to them a just and true Account of all such Business Matters and Things as shall or may be committed to his Care.

And the said Company for themselves and their Successors do hereby covenant, promise, and agree to and with the said that they will forthwith at their Expence provide a Passage for him the said in some good Ship or Vessel from England to the Coast of Africa and maintain and support him in such Voyage. And that the said Company and their Successors shall and will yearly and every year by Payments to be made every Months during the Time that the said shall continue in their Service and Employ well and truely pay or cause to be paid unto the said in Goods and Merchandise at a fair and Market Price according to the Custom of the said Coast for his Maintenance and Support. In Witness whereof the said hath to one Part of these Indentures set his Hand and Seal and the said Company hath caused their Seal to be set and affixed to another Part thereof.

224. Liverpool Vessels for Africa, 1752.[1]

A List of the Guineamen belonging to Liverpool in the Year 1752, with their Owners' and Commanders' names and the number of slaves carried by each:

Ships	Commanders	Where Bound	Owners	No. of Slaves
Africa	Harrison	Benin	Jno. Welsh and Co.	250
African	John Newton[2]	Win'd and Gold Coas	J. Manesty and Co.	250
Annabella	Wm. Harrison	Do.	W. Dobb and Co.	260
Antigua Merchant	Robt. Thomas	Angola	Jas. Gildart and Co.	200

[224] [1] Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* pp. 675-677; Richard Brook, *Liverpool as it was during the last Quarter of the Eighteenth Century* (1853), pp. 510-513. For an account of the slavers sailing from Bristol and Liverpool to Africa between Jan. 1, 1754, and Jan. 1, 1755, see Eg. MSS. 1162 A, ff. 258-261.

[2] John Newton, who later in life became the friend of Cowper and the rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, was on the Windward Coast from 1745 to 1748. Between 1750 and 1754 he made three slave-trading voyages. For the details of his highly picturesque career see his *Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade* (London, 1788), and *The Life of John Newton: an Authentic Narrative* (London, 1822). *Nicholas Owen: Journal of a Slave-Dealer* (ed. Eveline Martin, London, 1930) recounts similar adventures in the life of a slave trader between the years 1746 and 1757.

[*A List of the Guineamen*—continued:]

Ships	Commanders	Where Bound	Owners	No. of Slaves
Anglesey	James Caruthers	Win'd and Gold Coast	Tine, Farrar and Co.	180
Alice Galley	Rich. Jackson	Do.	R. Cheshyre and Co.	350
Ann, Galley	Neh'm'h Holland	Calabar	Wm. Whalley and Co.	340
Adlington	Tho. Perkin	Win'd and Gold Coast	J. Manesty and Co.	320
Allen	Jas. Strangeways	Do.	J. Brooks and Co.	250
Achilles	Thomas Patrick	. . . . .	Hen. Hardwar and Co.	450
Betty	Sm. Sacheverelle	. . . . .	John Robinson	100
Blake	Alex. Torbet	Calabar	Jo. Bird and Co.	460
Barbadoes Merchant	John Wilson	Angola	G. Campbell and Co.	500
Boyne	Wm. Wilkinson	Bonny	E. Forbes and Co.	400
Beverley	William Lowe	Angola	E. Lowndes and Co.	200
Brooke	Thomas Kewley	Old Calabar	Roger Brooks and Compy.	400
Barclay	John Gadson	Do.	Jno. Welsh and Co.	450
Bulkeley	Chris. Baitson	Win'd and Gold Coast	Foster Cunliffe, Sons and Co.	350
Britannia	Jas. Pemberton	Do.	Thos. Leatherbarrow and Co.	300
Bridget	Anth'ny Grayson (or Hayston)	Do.	Foster Cunliffe, Sons and Co.	250
Clayton	Patrick	. . . . .	. . . . .	. .
Cumberland	John Griffin	Gambia	E. Deane and Co.	260
Chesterfield	Patrick Black	Old Calabar	W. Whalley and Co.	440
Charm'g Nancy	Tho. Roberts	Win'd and Gold Coast	W. Davenport and Co.	170
Cavendish	Robert Jennings	Win'd and Gold Coast	Nicholas and Co.	170
Cecilia	Rd. Younge	Gambia	Fr. Green and Co.	120
Duke of Cumberland	John Crosbie	Bonny	J. Crosbie and Co.	450
Dolphin	Joseph Pederick	Win'd and Gold Coast	Ed. Forbes and Co.	200
Elizabeth	William Heys	Gambia	Sam. Shaw and Co.	200
Elijah	. . . . .	Win'd and Gold Coast	E. Lowndes and Co.	200
Enterprise	Sam. Greenhow	Gambia (miss'g)	John Yates and Co.	130
Ellis and Rob't	Rich. Jackson	Win'd and Gold Coast	F. Cunliffe and Sons	320
Eaton	John Hughes	Angola	John Okill and Co. Wood and Teeth	
Fanny	Wm. Jenkinson	Win'd and Gold Coast	J. Knight and Co.	120
Ferret	Joseph Welch	Do.	Jno. Welch and Co.	50
Florimel	Samuel Linaker	Calabar	Rich. Townsend and Co.	320
Frodsham	James Powell	Angola	Nich. Torr and Co.	450
Fortune	Hugh Williams	Bonny	Hy. Townsend and Co.	480
Foster	Edward Cropper	Benin	Foster Cunliffe, Sons and Co.	200
George	Charles Cooke	Angola	G. Campbell and Co.	250
Grace	. . . . .	Old Calabar	Ed. Forbes and Co.	400
Greyhound	Maurice Roach	Win'd and Gold Coast	Rd. Savage and Co.	120
Hesketh	James Thompson	New Calabar	R. Nicholas and Co.	260
Hector	Brook Kelsall	Do.	W. Gregson and Co.	480
Hardman	Joseph Yoward	Win'd and Gold Coast	J. Hardman and Co.	300
Jenny	Thos. Darbyshire	Do.	Jno. Knight and Co.	450
Judith	Nich. Southworth	Bonny	Jno. Welch and Co.	350
James	Jno. Sacherevelle	Win'd and Gold Coast	James Gildart	120
Knight	Wm. Boats	Do.	Jno. Knight and Co.	400
Lintott	Ralph Lowe	New Calabar	R. Nicholas and Co.	400
Lord Strange	Edward Smith	Benin	Wm. Halliday and Co.	230
Lovely Betty	George Jackson	Win'd and Gold Coast	Geo. Campbell and Co.	140
Little Billy	Thos. Dickenson	Do.	J. Knight and Co.	60
Mersey	John Gee	Benin	J. Kennion and Co.	300

[*A List of the Guineamen*—continued:]

Ships	Commanders	Where Bound	Owners	No. of Slaves
Middleham	John Welch	Old Calabar	R. Gildart and Sons	320
Methuen	John Coppell	Win'd and Gold Coast	J. Crosbie and Co.	280
Minerva	Thomas Jordan	Gambia	Jas. Pardoe and Co.	400
Mercury	John Walker	Win'd and Gold Coast	Kennion and Holme	100
Molly	Richard Rigby	Win'd and Gold Coast	R. Golding and Co.	320
Neptune	Tho. Thompson	Old Calabar	Joseph and Jona. Brooks and Co.	450
Nelly	Joseph Drape (or Jno. Simmons)	Do.	Wm. Williamson and Co.	320
Nancy	John Honeyford	Bonny	T. Kendal and Co.	400
Nancy	Robert Hewin	Do.	Pet. Holme and Co.	400
Nancy	Thos. Midgeley	Gambia	Knight, Mairs and Co.	300
Orrel	James Griffin	Do.	W. Whalley and Co.	120
Ormond Success	. . . . .	Angola	Wm. Williamson and Co.	300
Pardoe	. . . . .	Win'd and Gold Coast	Jas. Pardoe and Co.	240
Priscilla	Wm. Parkinson	Angola	Jno. Welch and Co.	350
Phoebe	Wm. Lawson	Win'd and Gold Coast	Arthur and Ben. Heywood and Co.	280
Prince William	John Valentine	Angola	R. Gildart and Sons	200
Rider	Michael Rush	Do.	R. Gildart and Sons	300
Ranger	John Sanders	Win'd and Gold Coast	W. Farington and Co.	300
Sarah	Alex. Lawson	Bonny	T. Crowder and Co.	550
Salisbury	Thos. Marsden	Old Calabar	Robert Armitage	350
Sterling Castle	Charles Gardner	Bonny	John Backhouse and Co.	300
Samuel and Nancy	James Lowe	Win'd and Gold Coast	R. Savage and Co.	220
Swan	Peter Leay	Bonny	John Tarlton and Compy.	400
Sam'y and Biddy	Rob. Grayson	Win'd Coast	J. Blundell and Co.	120
Schemer	Robt. Grimshaw	Do.	T. Chalmers and Co.	120
Stronge	Thomas Cubbin	Bonny	Mat. and Jno. Stronge and Co.	300
Tarlton	Jas. Thompson	Do.	J. Tarlton and Co.	340
Triton	Chas. Jenkinson	Do.	Levinus Unsworth and Co.	240
Thomas	Jas. Hutchinson	Gambia	G. Campbell and Co.	200
True Blue	Benjamin Wade	Benin	J. Cheshyre and Co.	300
Thomas and Martha	Jn. Gillman	Win'd and Gold Coast	G. Campbell and Co.	200
Vigilant	Wm. Freeman	Do.	J. Bridge and Co.	160
Union	Tim. Anyon	Do.	J. Pardoe and Co.	350
William and Betty	Thos. Barclay	Angola	S. Shawe and Co.	400

Total 88 Ships carrying upwards of 24,730 Slaves, and 550 wood and teeth.

225. James Skinner to the Committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa.[1]

James Fort [Gambia], Jan. 23, 1753.

Mr. Hunt belonging to London arrived here the 18th Instant and is this day gone up the River to Purchase Slaves. This comes by Capt. Bray bound for Antigua with about 80 Slaves. He proposes

[225] [1] C. O. 388: 45, Dd 162, 167. It is possible that the first item should be Jan. 23, 1754, as it follows the March items in the manuscript.

to call in at Sierraleone to get 20 Slaves more before he goes off the Coast. . . .

18th March, Capt John Walker from Liverpool gone up the River to trade.

23 Do. Capt. Allen and Bennet both from Liverpool gone up the River.

26 Do. Capt. Hutcheson came down the River with Slaves bound for Barbadoes. Capt. Elphinstone from Scotland and Holland gone up the River to trade. Capt. Midgeley from Liverpool gone up the River to Trade.

27th Capt. Sherrar from Rotterdam bound to Sierre Leone and Cape Coast Loaded with Spirits sailed this day.

226. The Company of Merchants trading to Africa: Minutes of Committee.[1]

London, the 27th April, 1753.

Messrs. William Wansey and Thomas Harris attended with a Letter dated Bristol 5th April 1753 signed by Wm. Hare[2] and others importing that they were chosen by a general Meeting of the African Company in that City, to be a Committee of Correspondence etc. and that the said Messrs. Wansey and Harris were desired by them to communicate the Sentiments of that Committee with respect to the present State of Affairs upon the Coast; and to confer with Mr. Hardman[3] (on the Part of the Members of the Company at Liverpoole) in order to fix upon such Matters as shall be expedient for the general Good of the Trade.

Messrs. Wansey and Harris then proceeded in a Complaint of the Inconveniences attending the Trade from the Liberty allowed to the Governor and other Officers upon the Gold Coast of trading in Slaves upon their own Accounts to support which they called in Captains Graham and Hamilton and Mr. John Roberts late Governor of Cape Coast and the Committee having made a Progress in the Examination of the said Evidence

[226] [1] T 70: 143, p. 207.

[2] William Wansey was made an honorary freeman of the Society of Merchant Venturers of Bristol in 1749; in 1755 he was a warden of the society (Latimer, *Merchant Venturers,* pp. 225, 330). A Thomas Harris was mayor of Bristol in 1769, but the name was not an uncommon one. William Hare was master of the Merchant Venturers in 1752. *Ibid.,* p. 329.

[3] This is the John Hardman of whom the author of *Considerations on the Present Peace* (pp. 9, 11) wrote years later: "The great Hardman is no more . . . he was noted for his contriving, and being industrious at procuring and presenting, memorials and petitions. He even influenced some merchants of the town of Rippon in Yorkshire, to petition the parliament, when that great and important trade to Africa was under its consideration. He likewise prevailed on many other towns to petition, all as little interested and connected with the trade of Africa as Rippon. . . . Mourn! mourn! O Liverpool for the loss of thy great hero and champion, who was at all times ready to enter the lists in defence of thy trade and commerce."

Resolved That the Committee do adjourn to Wednesday the 2d May next at 10. . . .

LONDON, the 10th May, 1753.[4]

Read a Letter from the Committee of the African Company in Liverpoole complaining of the Consequences of the Governor and the other Officers upon the Coast being permitted to trade in Slaves and desiring that they may be restrained therefrom.

The Committee proceeded to the Consideration of the Complaints of the Merchants of Bristol of great Injury done to their Trade upon the Gold Coast of Africa by the Liberty allowed the Servants of the Company to trade in Slaves, and to which Cause they impute the high Prices which have been lately given for the same; and having gone through the Examination of the Evidence brought by Messrs. Wansey and Harris and taken it into Consideration together with their Letter containing their Observations upon the said Evidence and Proposals for remedying the Inconveniences complained of, and also the Letter from a Committee of the African Merchants in Liverpoole with the like Proposals

Resolv'd That the following Instructions be sent to the Governor and other Officers upon the Gold Coast.

That for the future no joint Trade shall be carried on by the Servants of the Company residing at different Forts upon any Pretence whatever.

That no Servant of the Company do presume to send out any Servant or Slave up the Country or Paths to intercept or prevent the Slave Trade from coming freely down to the Shipping.

That none of the Warehouses, Vessels, Canoes or other Craft belonging to the Company shall be made Use of for the Lodgement or Conveyance of any Goods except such as are sent out by the Committee for the Payment of Salaries and the Support of the Forts and Settlements, but in such Cases as the Act of Parliament directs.

That no Servants of the Company be permitted to lodge any Slaves in any of the Castles, or to export any Slaves purchased upon their own Accounts from any Part of the Coast.

That the Chief of every out Fort as well as the Governor of Cape Coast Castle be directed not only to prevent every Obstruction to the free Exercise of the Trade of Settlers in their neighbouring Towns but to encourage and protect them as much as possible.

That the like Instructions be given them to assist to the utmost the Commanders and Companies of every Brittish Ship in the Prosecution of their Trade and in wooding and watering their Ships.

Copies of the above ordered given in Answer to the Letters from Bristol and Liverpoole and to Messrs. Wansey and Harris.

. . .

LONDON, the 30th May, 1753.[5]

Ordered, That the Secretary do inclose Copies of the Letters from Messrs. Wansey and Harris of Bristol and Messrs. Hardman

[4] T 70: 143, pp. 209-211.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 218-219.

and others of Liverpoole in the following Letter to the Lords of Trade.

My Lords, By Order of the Committee etc. I have the Honor to lay before your Lordships Copies of Letters from the African Merchants of Bristol and Liverpoole complaining of the great Disadvantage they labor under from the Trade that is carried on by the Gov'r of Cape Coast Castle and the other Officers of the Forts that are concerned with him in the Purchase of Negroes, asserting that they have fully proved ten Articles of Complaint and proposing that the Servants of the Company shall be restrained from all Manner of trading in Slaves.

Your Lordships will observe that the Instructions intended to be sent to the Coast do not contain the whole of what is desir'd as the Committee are of Opinion that an absolute Restriction may be attended with bad Consequences to the national Trade.

A great Part of the Complaints are personal and not fully proved, the Committee will not trouble Your Lordships with any particular Remarks upon the Evidence, but if the Remedy proposed by the Complainants should appear to your Lordships the properest Regulation, they are very ready to offer those Reasons which in their Opinion render it improper, and shall then submit to your Lordships Determination.[6]

227. Deposition of William Brown, 1753.[1]

Affidavit of William Brown, master of the *Bristol,* sworn 16 June, 1753, saith, that when he was last in Africa carrying on trade, was informed by Brew, chief of Tantumquery, and Withers, chief of Winnebah, that they were engaged in partnership in the slave trade with Melvil, Young, and other officers at cape Coast Castle.

That Melvil and others told deponent, they expected a ship from Holland with a Dutch cargo, which ship they had some time before sent to Jamaica with slaves.[2]

That he was in company with Dacres, chief of Accra, who informed him Young was coming to turn him out of the fort, by reason he would not enter into partnership with Melvil and Young; that Dacres declared he should have been glad to have continued his employ, but rather than be uneasy he would quit it, and soon after did so. That deponent could not purchase from the chiefs of forts, slaves under an ounce and half, or two ounces a head more than he gave for those of equal goodness to the Negro traders, occasioned by the trade being carried on by the chiefs of the forts.

That deponent was informed by the Negroes at Annamaboa, if he wanted to trade under the forts, he must take canoes and canoe-men; for the canoe-men under the forts were overawed by the chiefs,

[6] See C. O. 388:45, Dd 163, 1753, June 26, for a full statement of the complaints of the Bristol and Liverpool merchants.

[227] [1] *Considerations on the Present Peace,* pp. 44-45.

[2] A deposition of John Roberts, June 26, 1753, also testified to these facts. C. O. 388: 45, Dd 164.

and they durst not assist him in trading; and deponent did so, and should have been under difficulties if he had not so done; and deponent found the Negroe traders under said forts, cautious and fearful of trading with him, lest the chiefs should know thereof, and sent to deponent in a private manner, when they had slaves to dispose of.

That cape Coast, Tantumquery, Winnebah and Accra were used by the chiefs as repositories for their market slaves, and saw them lodged in said castle and forts; that Negroes will bear a high price as long as the chiefs are permitted to trade in them, which will destroy the trade with all persons, but the chiefs and those settled at the forts.

228. Affidavit of James Hamilton, 1753.[1]

Affidavit of James Hamilton, chief mate of the *Polly* of Bristol, sworn the same day as above, Swears to the same purport and effect as above set forth by Brown, in regard to the chiefs copartnership conversation with Dacres, and his being displaced, and the high price of slaves, and the reasons, etc. And then saith, that during his voyage, he hired a factory at Logoe, and endeavoured to purchase slaves; on which Brew sent negro traders and goods thither to oppose deponent; and Brew told deponent, it was impossible for him to trade to same advantage as Brew could, as he had so good assortment of goods; that if deponent gave eight ounces a head for slaves,[2] Brew would give eight and [one] half; and to intimidate deponent, declared he would send the servants of the forts up the paths, and prevent the trade coming down, and accordingly did send them with liquor, and carried the traders to his own fort. That Brew refused to sell deponent slaves; and his reason was, Melvil had wrote him not to sell, as he could get a better price at cape Coast. That Young at Winnebah refused deponent slaves at ten ounces per head, unless deponent would give him the very best of his cargo, which would have unsorted him.

That Young refused him water for fifteen slaves, and deponent was obliged to give the natives fifteen shillings for forty gallons. That he went on shore with his gold taken at Succondee to trade, carried some checks with him; that Hippesly,[3] the chief there, took the gold taker on one side, whispered him, and threatened to whip him if he ever saw him bring goods there to trade with the natives.

[228] [1] *Considerations on the Present Peace,* pp. 45-46.

[2] A note in the text adds: "An ounce is a nominal value set upon goods which cost about 40 *s.* in Europe; but sold in trade on the coast of Africa at 4 *l.*"

[3] John Hippisley was appointed governor Mar. 1, 1766. He died in the following summer (Claridge, *Hist. of the Gold Coast,* II. 582). Two years before this he had published three essays on the African trade, in one of which he demonstrated the necessity for allowing the officials on the coast to carry on trade if the forts were to be kept up. *Essays* (1764), pp. 26-32.

That the natives and canoe-men at all the forts were fearful of trading with deponent, and declared they were afraid of being seen by the chiefs; that the forts were used as repositories for slaves, and that the trade will be hurt by the chiefs trading, as set forth by Brown.

229. Affidavit of Alexander Graham.[1]

[June 16, 1753.]

Affidavit of Alexander Graham, master of the *Fly,* sworn the same day, saith, that when he and Jenkins, commander of the *Silvia,* were trading at Annamaboa, they at first bought slaves at five ounces and half, and from thence to seven and a half per head, and went on in a good way. On a sudden found a stagnation, enquired the occasion, and were informed the prices were raised at the neighbouring forts; and this deponent was obliged to give an advanced price; that if the chiefs trade, the prices will be high, and the trade hurt.

230. Memorial of the Merchants of Bristol and Liverpool to the Board of Trade.[1]

. . . That an act was passed in the year 1750, for making the trade to Africa free and open, for which end the management of the forts and affairs were trusted to the care of nine persons, a committee as there set forth; that the said committee had the power of appointing officers and servants for managing their affairs in Africa, and discharging them at pleasure for not obeying their orders, or other misdemeanours; and they were to take care that the orders given their servants did not extend to public detriment, or the hurt of the free traders.

That officers were appointed, and leave given to trade (but not with foreigners, except Portuguese, for gold and tobacco)[2] so that they became the regulators of the market. The committee, by the act, are annually to lay before the general meeting of the company of the chambers of London, all resolutions, orders and instructions given their servants previous to such meeting, and copies to be sent to Bristol and Liverpool; but they have not so done.

That the committee's chief agents, instead of regarding the interest of their constituents, have acted opposite thereto, as soon as in power. Instead of assisting the free trader, they entered into a joint stock copartnership, and attempted a monopoly more formidable

[229] [1] *Considerations on the Present Peace,* p. 46.

[230] [1] *Ibid.,* pp. 47-48. The author of the *Considerations* states that this memorial was presented on the basis of the facts of the preceding depositions and "other allegations."

[2] The prohibition against trade with foreigners on the coast had been the cause of much protest from the officers sent out by the committee.

than any could have been at home, as they were on the spot, and had the whole power.

That the merchants of Bristol had advice of the chief proceedings from their commanders, which on their return they found too true; and that by the attempts of the chiefs to engross the trade, the prices of slaves were raised much higher than ever known. Also that the commanders were denied what strangers were always before assisted with, *viz.* canoes, canoe-men, wood, water, etc.

That a memorial was laid before the committee for their relief, but, to their great surprize, they found their complaints were treated as groundless surmizes, and unjust aspersions of the character of their officers, arising only from personal prejudice and party interest; a second and several repeated applications were made, and the committee at last informed the managers, that they had referred the matter to the lords of trade.[3]

231. Thomas Melvil to the Committee of the Company of Merchants.[1]

Cape Coast Castle, July 1, 1753.

There has lately sailed Capt. Ellis of Bristol 260 Slaves, Capt. Walker of Do. 190 Slaves, Capt. Boats[2] of Liverpool 418 Slaves, Jepson of Rhode Island 150 Slaves, almost ready Yowart of Liverpool and Chillcot of Bristol. Trade is midling. The Ashantee Paths neither altogether open nor are they quite Shut.

232. The Company of Merchants trading to Africa: Minute of Committee.[1]

London, the 22d August, 1753.

Resolved That the following Letter be sent to Francis Gildart Esqr. Secry to the Freemen of the African Company in Liverpoole in Answer to his Letter of the 7th Instant.

Sir, Your Letter of the 7th Inst: was laid before the Committee etc. and they have directed me to inform the Freemen of the African Company (through you) that with other Instructions which they shall send very soon to the Coast they

[3] "Accordingly their Lordships heard the matters in dispute between the merchants of Bristol and Liverpool, and that of the committee. And were of the opinion, that the officers and servants employed by the committee, ought not to be allowed to trade for Negroe-slaves further than the amount of the salaries allowed them by the committee; and that such slaves, should be disposed of for ivory, gold, bills of exchange, or other proper returns to England only" (*Considerations on the Present Peace,* p. 48). The author of the *Considerations* adds that the committee paid no attention to this expression of opinion, and that the governors on the coast continued to trade in slaves. *Ibid.,* p. 49.

[231] [1] C. O. 388: 46, Ee 14.

[2] Captain William Boats, "born a beggar", if he did not "die a lord", at least died an affluent merchant, after a successful career as captain of slave vessels. For some account of his picturesque life see Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* pp. 484-485.

[232] [1] T 70: 143, p. 240.

will transmit the Opinion of the Board of Trade and recommend it strongly to them to prevent any future Cause of Complaint. As the Act of Parliament doth not give any Power to the Committee to restrain or limit the Servant's Trade, they can not take it upon them to send any Orders to that Purpose, but must leave it to the Merchants concerned in the African Trade to consider of an Application to Parliament for such Alterations or Amendments in the Act as they shall think necessary and when that is done the Committee will conform (as they think they do now) to the Sense and Meaning of it.

233. Committee of the Company of Merchants to Thomas Melvil.[1]

Oct. 17, 1753.

. . . In your last Letter we observe you mention that the Paths have not been shut some Months. by the Paths, we suppose you mean the Ashantee Paths which you formerly attempted to get opened by Cudjoe's means and from whence you represented a Prospect of a very considerable Trade. But since we find that tho' the Paths are not shut, the Trade is not so much encreased as we could wish, we should be glad [if] you would give us as perfect an Account of the Nature of the Ashantee Trade as you can and the Means of extending it.

234. William Mackinen to Abraham Redwood.[1]

Sir, . . . Pray let me take upon [myself] to advise you about buying negros, which is, to buy negro[es] at least of the best countrys. there are some other countrys [from whi]ch young women and girls do well enough, but it is not the [case wi]th the men; of some countrys they are not worth the [expe]nce I would likewise advise that you would buy some [women] or girls with your men and boys, by which means you [ha]ve your estate stock't with creoles for your children, the [advant]age of which my friend Jonas Langford now reaps the [benefit] I should be glad if you would advise with Capt. Jepson, on [the] article of the negros. I think your estate would make near [as] much sugar as Mr. Langford's, if it was equally slaved, where[as] now, it does not make above half so much, and your expence [for] task work last year was within a trifle of five hundred [po]unds. . . .

Antigua, Octr. 18th 1753.[2]

[233] [1] T 70: 143, p. 265. From the minutes of committee, Nov. 21, 1753.

[234] [1] Newport Historical Society, Redwood Letter-Book, no. 646. The manuscript is badly torn. In following the procedure of the company in London and the officials on the coast one is prone to lose sight of the planter and his policy in purchasing negroes. Redwood was the owner of a large sugar plantation in Antigua, managed by Mackinen and Stephen Blizard. For further knowledge of him see this work, vol. III., Rhode Island.

[2] On the same day Mackinen wrote: "You direct the buying Slaves with Country produce; the best Slaves can not be bought but for Bills of Exchange or Gold and [sil]ver money; indeed we can seldom buy any Slaves for Country produce; [be]fore you would have your plantation well slaved you must part with some of your Sterling money; and when a good opportunity offers we [ ] you may put on twenty in a year". *Ibid.*, p. 61, 4th sheet.

235. Committee of the Company of Merchants to Thomas Melvil.[1]

London, the 21st November, 1753.

. . . Since our last Letter we have had Complaints from some of the Merch'ts of Bristol and Liverpoole and Mr. Roberts etc. of the bad Effects produced to the Trade of the Ships, and the private Merchants settled upon the Coast by the Permission granted to the Servants of the Company to trade in Slaves a Copy of which is enclosed together with their Reasons and Proposals for restraining that Permission, and having examined the Evidence we do believe Mr. Brew's Conduct at Tantumquerry has been very blameable, it having been insisted upon by several Persons, that he not only bid upon the Ships and private Traders, but publickly declared that they should have no Trade there for if they gave 8. he would give 8½ oz. and so on—a Proceeding so contrary to the Orders given to assist the Ships and private Traders, that we direct you to suspend him, and let him know that unless he can prove himself innocent of the Charge laid against him, to the entire Satisfaction of the Committee, he must not expect any future Employ in their Service; let Mr. Farquhar have the Care of the Fort till we have received Mr. Brew's Defence and considered what will be proper to do upon the Occasion.

You will see in the 10th Article a Charge against one of the Chiefs of the Out-Forts for threatening to whip a Linguist for bringing Goods on Shore to sell for an English Commander. This is said to be Mr. Hippisley who we are surprised to hear has been guilty of such an Indiscretion as We have heretofore had a good Account of his Behavior, but we direct you to enquire into the Fact and if it should appear to be true to inform him that the Committee are very much displeased at it and shall dismiss him the Service if he continues so imprudent.

With Regard to the other Charges as they relate to the Advantages which the Servants have over the private Traders, the Committee having taken them into Consideration resolv'd to send the inclosed Resolutions,[2] a Copy of which we direct you to deliver to the Chief of each Out-Fort and acquaint him that the least Disobedience to these Orders will be punished with immediate Dismission. The Merchants not being satisfied with these Instructions laid their Complaints before the Board of Trade, upon which their Lordships were pleased to give the inclosed Opinion; and if we were not fully convinced that the Liberty allowed the Servants of the Company to trade in Negroes would if properly conducted be at all Times ad-

[235] [1] T 70: 143, pp. 262-263.

[2] The resolutions are those contained in the minutes of May 10, 1753. See *ante*, no. 226.

vantageous to the Nation and very frequently beneficial to the Trade of the Ships, and that a strict Observance of the enclosed Instructions would remove the Cause of these Complaints, we should be entirely of their Lordships Opinion. You see therefore the Necessity the Servants are under of conducting their Trade in such a manner as neither to interfere with the Trade of the Ships, nor to raise the Price of Slaves upon them, for if these two Points cannot be obtained, the Merchants will certainly apply to Parliament for a total Restriction.

236. Mr. Pownal's Account of the Slave Trade.[1]

. . . The African Company say, in a Representation in 1744, that the French then [when they held Anamabo] carried off the Coast ten times as many Slaves as we did. This I apprehend however is an exaggerated account.

The Clearings in 1753,

London	13	Chester	1
Liverpool	64	Plymouth	1
Bristol	27	Glasgow	4
Lancaster	7		
			117

To which must be added those trading upon the Coast from different parts of No. America which, at a reasonable Computation, might amount to about 20 Sail. . . .

Before the War Gold Coast Slaves were bought upon the Coast at £12 per head and Windward Slaves at 9/10 [9 *l.* 10 s.] to £10.

Since the war the price for Gold Coast Slaves upon the Coast has been at £16 at an average, and Windward Slaves at 12 to £14.

Before the War the average price of a Gold Coast Slave in the Colonies was from £28 to 30 and a windward Slave from £20 to £25. Since the war, the price of the former has risen to from £35 to £40 and the latter to from £28 to £30.

I speak now of the Price given by the English for it is certain that the French gave upon the Coast before the War near 20 p Cent more than you did, and consequently their slaves came proportionally dearer to the market, a good Slave being sold in the french Colonies from 12 to 1300 Livres which at 10 the Livre is £54. 3. 4. per head.[2]

[236] [1] Add. MSS. 38416, f. 221, "Answers to queries". Endorsed: "Mr. Pownals Account of the Slave Trade". Possibly John Pownall, secretary of the Board of Trade.

[2] Of the 34,250 annually purchased, 16,000 were supplied to the English colonies, the rest to Spaniards, French, and Portuguese: Jamaica, 6000, Barbados, 3500, Leeward Islands, 3500, North America, 4000, total "16,000" [17,000]. From 25,000 to 30,000 were annually imported into the French islands, a part of whom, especially those to Santo Domingo, were furnished by the English, the rest by their own trade and that of the Dutch. The Whydah trade was almost entirely destroyed, partly because of the depopulation of the coast, partly because of the obstruction of the "paths of trade" caused by native wars. *Ibid.*, ff. 223, 224.

237. Samuel Poirier to John Cleveland.[1]

Cowpers Court, Cornhill, 1754, Oct. 8 [28].[2]

Two Black Boys the Sons of Two Caboceers of Anamaboo and Aga, who came home with Capt. Cockburne, being at their Friends Request to be immediately sent back to Africa: and the Committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa being desirous of their Return in a King's Ship they have directed me to request the Favour of the Right Hon'ble The Lords of the Admiralty for an Order for their being taken on board the *Gosport* Capt. Edwards and carried to Mr. Melvil at Cape Coast Castle. As the Company intend writing by this Man of War, they would be glad to know.

238. The Company of Merchants trading to Africa: Minutes of Committee.[1]

Oct. 16, 1754.

Read a Letter from Mr. Benjamin Read to the Secretary dated Wombwell Hall, 8ber 14th, 1754, relating to the Two Black Boys at Rochester.

Ordered. That a Lodging be provided for the said Two Black Boys, and order'd up to Town. . . .

Oct. 23, 1754.

Order'd That a Letter be wrote to the Lords of the Admiralty to procure an Order for the Two Black Boys, now come from Rochester: to be taken on board the *Gosport* Capt: Edwards to be carried to Africa.

Order'd That the Two Black Boys, Agna and Suckee,[2] be supply'd with the following Apparel, *Vizt:*

12 Rufled Shirts, 1 Blue Coat and Breeches for each lin'd with white, lac'd with Silver and Silver Buttons, 1 Scarlet Cloth Wast coat for each trim'd with Silver, 2 Frocks and Breeches, 2 Scarlet worsted Wast coats, 2 Silver laid [laced] Hatts, 2 Bag Wiggs, 8 pr. of white stockings, 4 pr. of worsted Do., 8 pr. of Pumps, 2 pr. of strong shoes, 2 pr of Silver Buckles.

And that Mr. Peregrine Cust be desir'd to provide the same. . . .

Agreed with Mr. Waters for the Board and Lodging of the Two Black Boys, at one Guinea per Week each; Washing, and other Expences, attending, and shewing them the Town, to be allowed him.

[237] [1] Admiralty Papers, 1, 1754, Oct. 8. Samuel Poirier was secretary of the committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa; Cleveland was secretary to the Admiralty.

[2] See minute of Oct. 30, in no. 238.

[238] [1] T 70: 143, pp. 314-316, 321.

[2] These names later appear as John Aqua and George Sackee.

Oct. 30, 1754.

Read a Letter from John Cleveland Esqr. to the Secretary, dated Admiralty Office 8ber 28th 1754 advising, that the Lords of the Admiralty had given the necessary Directions for taking the Two Black Boys on board the *Gosport,* Capt. Edwards, to be carried to Mr. Melvil, at Cape Coast Castle: that the *Gosport* was now in the Downs, and after her geting to Spithead, she would sail with the first fair Wind.

Order'd That the Secretary do wait upon My Lord Halifax with the Two Black Boys. . . .

Nov. 6, 1754.

Read an Account deliver'd in by Mr. Peregrine Cust for the Cloathing of the Two Black Boys, John Agna and Geo. Suckee; amounting to fifty Three Pounds Fifteen Shillings and Ten Pence.

Feb. 26, 1755.[3]

Mr. Peregrine Cust deliver'd to the Committee several Bills on Account of the Two Black Gentlemen John Aqua and George Sackee *vizt.*

	£	s.	d.
The Rev'd Mr. John Moore's Bill, for Board, Schooling and Necessaries	40.	8	6
Mr. Richard Walter's, for Board, nursing etc.	17.	11	
Mr. Thos. Thornley Apothecary, for Physick for Mr. Sackee in the small Pox	2.	4.	2
Mr. Thos. Thornley's Bill, for Doctor's Fees, and Physick for Mr. Aqua in small Pox	18.	5.	8
Mr. Peregrine Cust's for Two Suits of Cloaths for the Two Gentlemen	14.	10	
	£92.	19.	4

That Ninety Two Pounds, Nineteen Shillings and Four Pence be paid to Mr. Peregrine Cust to pay the above Bills.

March 5, 1755.

Bill for Capt. Geo. Cockburne for the Maintainance and Education of the Two Black Gentlemen John Aqua, and George Sackee, from the 23d of July 1754, to the 21st of 8ber following, amounting to sixteen Pounds, Twelve shillings.

Order'd That the said Bill be paid.

May 28, 1755.[4]

Paid the Revd. Mr. John Moore £42. 6. 2 for a Quarter's Education and Maintenance of the Two Black Gentlemen John Aqua, and George Sackee.

[3] T 70: 143, pp. 335, 336. The items in the minutes of the committee which deal with these two boys have been brought together even though this interferes with strict chronological order.

[4] T 70: 143, p. 346.

Ordered Letter to Cleveland for permission of Admiralty for *Humber* man of War, to carry them to Africa.[5]

239. James Skinner to the Committee of the Company of Merchants.[1]

Gambia, Apr. 2, 1755.

. . . as for Shipping off Slaves on my own Account, I have done it to my loss by the villainy of Masters of Ships; at Present am under Contract with some Merchants in London, to sell them what slaves I can purchase while in the River, so that will be no loss to me, but should not choose to be oblig'd to do it more than any other British subject. . . .

As to complaints of Masters of Ships there is no end of them to their owners especially when they make a bad voyage, must blame somebody for it, and think what they tell them will never be heard of more, so have very little regard to truth. Therefore beg you will for the future make all Masters of Ships sign their complaints.

240. William Mackinen and Stephen Blizard to Abraham Redwood.[1]

Antigua, 20 February, 1755.

Sir, . . . In December we bought from Blizard and Banister Twenty three Gold coast slaves Eighteen men at Thirty five pounds Sterling and five women at Thirty four pounds Sterling, amounting to Eight hundred pounds Sterling; they prove well hitherto, and will always answer better than any Slaves from Africa except Papaws, and those are very seldom brought hither. The same Gentlemen have advice of another ship from the same place (Anamabon)[2] about June next, but we shall not care to take any of them for fear of drawing out too much of your Sterling money, unless you will consent to give us derections to take some of them. The bills to be given for what we have already brought will not be given till the first or perhaps the latter end of March nor paid till the latter end of June probably, so you will have Six months use of the slaves without paying any interest for the purchase money. If you are inclined to take ten or a dozen out [of] the cargoe expected in June, and your money in England not hold out, you need not draw for above half their value

[5] On June 2 Samuel Poirier wrote the letter here ordered, and the Admiralty granted the permission. About this time Cleveland was invited to dine with them. They were still in England on July 2, for on that date Lord Halifax asked that they stay longer in England. T 70: 143, p. 352.

[239] [1] C. O. 388: 46, Ee.

[240] [1] Newport Historical Society, no. 646, pp. 68-69.

[2] This is probably intended for Anamabo, not the island of Annobon.

this year, and the other half in the year 1756; or possibly we may get credit for the whole till next year, but then you must allow interest from the time we make the purchase upon as much as shall not be paid by the departure of the vessel. . . .

241. William Mackinen and Stephen Blizard to Abraham Redwood.[1]

Antigua, June 13: 1755.

Sir, . . . Another very fine cargoe of Gold coast slaves having been imported in the last month, we have ventured, without waiting for an answer to what we wrote [you] in our last, to take ten of them, We we[re] induced to do this from the goodness of the slaves and their country; from [the pro]spect, we might say the certainty, of a good crop; from the great want of them, for we are now obliged to hire by [the da]y, and to open ground too; and because it is conformable to your orders to a good crop to take 20 and in a bad [one] ten till your plantation is well hand[l'd]. now for the last year which was a bad one, and for this w'ch will prove [a ver]y good one, we shall have purchased thirty three; more than you directed by three only; besides there is [litt]le prospect of having any more suc[h very] soon, and if we have a French war wch: is thought unavoidable, the[y will] for that reason be much scarcer, and consequently dearer; tho these cannot be said to be cheap yet 23 of [the]m sold in three hours; we are paying [for] them in sugar. . . .

242. Captain Baillie to the Owners of the *Carter*.[1]

Bonny, January 31, 1757.

. . . We arrived here the 6th of December, and found the *Hector,* with about 100 slaves on board, also the *Marquis of Lothian,* of Bristol, Capt. Jones (by whom I now write), who was half slaved, and then paying 50 Barrs, notwithstanding he had been there 3 months before our arrival. I have only yet purchased 15 slaves at 30 and 35 Barrs;[2] but as soon as the bearer sails, I propose giving more; for at present there is a dozen of our people sick, besides the two mates, some of whom are very bad, and I have been for these last 8 days in a strong fever, and frequently insensible. Yesterday morning I buried Thomas Hodge, and on the 13th James Barton. Capt. Nobler of the *Phoenix* arrived here the 3d, and on the 19th our trade was stopt (as it had often been before);

[241] [1] Newport Historical Society, no. 646, p. 69.
[242] [1] Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* pp. 481-482.
[2] This would amount to £9 or £10 stg. On Nov. 27, 1756, Captain Jenkinson, of the *Fanny,* wrote from Jamaica to his Liverpool owners that he had sold 110 slaves for from £48 to £50 per head. *Ibid.,* p. 480.

upon which we all marched on shore to know the reason and applied to the King thrice, though he constantly ordered himself to be denied, and wou'd not admit us. However, we heard his voice in doors, and as he used us so ill, we went on board, and determined (after having held a Council), to fire upon the town next morning, which we accordingly did, in order to bring them to reason, but found that our shot had little effect from the river, upon which we agreed that the *Phoenix* and the *Hector* shou'd go into the Creek, it being nigher the town, whilst Captain Jones and I fired from the river. The *Phoenix* being the headmost vessel went in, and the *Hector* followed about a cable's length astern. The *Phoenix* had scarce entred the Creek before they received a volley of small arms from the bushes, which were about 20 yards distant from the ship, and at the same time several shot from the town went through him, upon which they came to anchor, and plied their carriage guns for some time; but finding there was no possibility of standing the decks, or saving the ship, he struck his colours, but that did not avail, for they kept a continued fire upon him, both of great and small arms. His people were thrown into the utmost confusion, some went down below, whilst others jumpt into the yaul which lay under the ship's quarter, who (on seeing a number of canoes coming down to board them) desired Capt. Nobler to come down to them, which he at last did, as he found the vessel in such a shattered condition, and that it was impossible for him to get her out of the Creek before the next ebb tide, in case he cou'd keep the canoes from boarding him. With much difficulty they got on board the *Hector,* but not without receiving a number of shot into the boat. The natives soon after boarded the *Phoenix,* cut her cables, and let her drive opposite the town, when they began to cut her up, and get out her loading, which they accomplished in a very short time. But at night in drawing off some brandy, they set her on fire, by which accident a great many of them perished in the flames. The *Phoenix's* hands are distributed amongst the other three ships, and all things are made up, and trade open, but very slow, and provisions scarce and dear.[3]

243. William Mackinen and Stephen Blizard to Abraham Redwood.[1]

Antigua March 24th 1757.

Sir . . . We have lately received letters from your Sons relating to two vessels they have a part in on th[e coa]st of Africa. . . .

[3] Williams adds that the *Marquis of Lothian* was afterwards taken by the French and carried into Martinique.

[243] [1] Newport Hist. Soc., no. 647, p. 3. On Jan. 15, 1758, Mackinen and Blizard wrote: "on the 28th June last we bought of [*torn*] Mr. John Martin seventeen Windward

We have bought . . . only the nine slaves charged in your Plantation account. if Your [two] Vessels arrive safe we will take some out of them for you, but I am afraid they will [fall] to the hands of the French who have sent four sail of Men of war to sweep the [coast?] and we have had some account that they had mastered all our places in the river [Gam]bia.[2]

244. Capture of Senegal.[1]

London, July 21 [1758].

The Number of Ships employed in the Expedition to Senegal, were six; and the Number of Forces that landed were upwards of 6000. Whether the Fort be ever restored to the French, or not, they may date from this Time, the entire Loss of their Slave Trade, for the English have agreed for them, with the People of the Country, at a considerable advanced Price; which has not only hurt the French in this main Article of their Trade, but has likewise had the good Effect to ingratiate the English with the Moors of the Country, who seem very fond of their new Masters. . . . The French African Trade, under the Title of the Senegal Company, in the Year 1758 [1718], was incorporated with the India Company. This Company had then six Departments, or distinct Factories, *viz.* Those of Senegal, Galam, Goree, Joal, Gambia, and Bisseaux. The Senegal Factory, at this Time, supplies annually about 500 Slaves, 4000 Hides, 1200 Quintals of Gum, and 20 Quintals of Elephants Teeth, and 50 Marks of Gold; Goree, 400 Slaves, and 2400 Hides; Joal, 100 Slaves, 40 Hides, and 10 Quintals of Wax, and 200 Quintals of Teeth; Bisseaux, 250 Slaves, 250 Quintals of Wax, and the like Quantity of Teeth.[2]

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and Gold coast Slaves and put them upon your Plantation [*torn*] £33 sterling per head." On the next page of the letter-book are the following items: "new negroes bought July 30th, 1757, 17 new negroe Men, May 5th, 1758 [*torn*] new negroe men from George Walker and 3 women ditto."

[2] The French had sent a squadron to the Gambia coast in November, 1756. In April, 1757, word reached England that James Fort had been taken, as well as many English vessels trading in or near the Gambia River (*London Magazine,* XXVI. 202, April, 1757). Not long after came news of the English capture of Senegal. It is surprising that the French attacks had not raised the price of slaves above that cited in the preceding note. A year later one writer was predicting that the increase in the price of slaves on the coast of Africa would soon lessen the "inhuman trade". *Ibid.,* XXVII. 625.

[244] [1] *Boston News-Letter,* Oct. 12, 1758; see also *Boston Evening Post,* Oct. 9, 1758. The capture took place May 2, 1758. The *London Magazine,* XXVII. 302 (June, 1758), and the *Boston News-Letter,* July 20 and Aug. 3, 1758, all recorded the fall of Fort Louis as a great triumph for the English.

[2] Goree, the second French stronghold on the African coast, was captured Dec. 27, 1758. The colonial papers contained frequent references to the French loss of these two forts, which it was supposed would deprive them of any hand in the slave trade. The English at once began shipping slaves from the Senegal (*Boston News Letter,* Apr. 6, June 14, 1759). In 1761 it was stated that the effects of the two forts had yielded £20,000 prize money. *Ibid.,* Aug. 20, 27, 1761.

245. Memorial of the Merchants of Liverpool trading to Africa.[1]

[November 3, 1762.]

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Egremont, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, etc. The memorial of the merchants of Liverpool trading to and in Africa and the West Indies, whose names are hereunto subscribed.

Humbly sheweth, That the West-Indian and African trade is by far the largest branch of the great and extensive commerce of this town.

That this is also the most beneficial commerce, not only to themselves, but to the whole kingdom, as the export is chiefly of the manufactures of this kingdom, British ships and seamen solely employed, and the returns made in the produce of the colonies belonging to Great Britain.

Your memorialists further beg leave to represent to your lordship, that though they possessed this commerce in a very great and extensive manner before the reduction of Guadalupe and its dependencies, yet the possession of that island has increased their trade beyond all comparison with its former state, in the demand of British manufactures for slaves, and for the produce of that island (at foreign markets) purchased with British manufactures.

And your memorialists have all possible reason to believe and be assured, that in succeeding years this demand will be prodigously increased, and in this hope your memorialists conceive they are well grounded from the single circumstance of that island not being yet much more than half cultivated to reasonable, not to say possible, advantage.

That your memorialists, not presuming to trouble your lordship with a minute detail of their general export to Guadalupe, submit to your lordship's consideration the single article of the numbers and value of the negroes sold there by the merchants of this town only: this your lordship will perceive, by the annexed list, to form by itself alone a most extraordinary and interesting object in the national commerce.

But your memorialists must not omit representing to your lordship, that the export of British manufactures for this town, directly

[245] [1] *London Magazine,* XXXI. 602-603 (November, 1762); also printed in John Entick, *The General History of the Late War* (third ed., 1772), V. 434-435. By the terms of the treaty of Paris, Great Britain restored to France Guadeloupe, Martinique, Belleisle, Desirade, and Mariegalante in the West Indies, and Goree on the African coast. France ceded her rights and property in the Senegal to Great Britain. Of the smaller West India islands, France retained St. Lucia, the others went to Great Britain (Jenkinson, III. 183, 184-185). This memorial is probably a fair statement of the feeling of the mercantile class over the terms of the treaty and its effect on the slave trade.

to Guadalupe, is of a prodigious value, and very little, if at all, inferior to their export, to all other his majesty's leeward West-Indian Islands.

Prompted by these considerations of particular and national advantage, your memorialists intreat your lordship to lay before his majesty their humble but earnest hopes, that the possession of Guadalupe, and its dependencies, so valuable at present, and so constantly and greatly increasing, may if not incompatible with the general scheme of affairs, be deemed an object worthy of his majesty's attention in the negociation of a peace.

Your memorialists have the greatest confidence to lay this their humble and dutiful request before his majesty, being imprest with the deepest sense of his majesty's care and attention to the welfare of all his subjects, so apparent in every measure of his government.[2]

246. Considerations on the Present Peace, 1763.[1]

. . . Their [the French] field labourers, sugar boilers, distillers, coopers, mill-wrights, carpenters, masons, builders, smiths, and house servants, are blacks; therefore it is not the number of islands, but the greatest number of the best Negroes that benefit the mother-country, which sort we can make appear, the French since the year 1729, in times of peace, to the commencement of the present war, have been constantly supplied with. That is one of the true causes why they have produced such quantities of sugar, and other plantation-product;[2] that for several years before the war, they were become our rivals at foreign markets, so far as to draw from thence a great annual balance of trade in favour of France. But this effect would have been prevented, if proper measures had been pursued by us for the preservation of the African trade, to that part of Africa

[2] "Signed by 145 of the principal merchants. The list referred to in the above memorial, and annexed to it, contains an account of 41 ships, the cargoes of which amount to 12,347 slaves, and were sold for 334,605 *l.* 11 *s.* 2 *d.* sterling. The memorial was not, we are informed, however, presented to the secretary of state" (*London Magazine,* XXXI. 603; Entick, V. 435). Entick gives as the reason why it was not presented the fact that it was completed too late to influence the outcome.

[246] [1] *Considerations on the Present Peace, as far as it is relative to the Colonies and the African Trade* (London, 1763). The writer of this tract had apparently two purposes: to demonstrate the danger to the English sugar plantations from the rapid advance of the French colonies, but more than that, to attack the legislation of 1750 and the way in which it had been carried out. Much of the material has small bearing on the peace of 1763, but relates to complaints against the African committee of 1753. The affidavits which he cites have been printed under the date of their origin. See *ante,* nos. 227-229.

[2] Note in the original: "For several years before the war, the French received from foreign nations above 1,000,000 *l.* sterling for the article of sugar only; besides a large sum for indigo, and other West India products; the loss of which will induce them, without delay, to push on their trade to Africa with the utmost vigour, which, we know, they are making great preparations to do, that sufficiently points out the necessity for some measures to be speedily taken to prevent their succeeding."

where the hardy Negroes, who are inured to labour in their own country, were to be purchased.

The French, from the year 1729, to the end of the year 1738, carried from the Gold Coast, Popo and Whydah, fifteen or seventeen thousand of those valuable people annually; when four thousand, in any one year during that period, were not carried to the British plantations; which is the truest reason that can be assigned for the prosperity of the French colonies, and the main spring of the great increase of their product. For they do not understand the cultivation and management of a plantation in any degree equal to the British planters: therefore their advantage and success has been owing, in a great measure, to the good and hardy labourers they have had to till their land, and manufacture the product of it.

We doubt not but the merchants trading to Africa will say, they have imported since the year 1729, more Negroes into the British sugar islands, than the French have to theirs in time of peace (to the commencement of the present war). We admit they have, of Negroes from Gambia, Calabar, Bony, Benin, the windward coast, and Angola. But we take upon us to assert, they cannot with truth say, they have imported to the colonies as many Negroes from the Gold Coast, Popo, and Whidah, which are the most valuable for the laborious cultivation of the sugar-cane, and other plantation-product, and manufacturing it into sugar and rum, for the following reasons.

The Gold Coast, Popo, and Whidah Negroes are born in a part of Africa which is very barren; a small bullock carried thither from another part, when fatted, will sell for near 32 *l.* a sheep for 20 *s.* four small fowls for 4 *s.* sterling, and all other provisions in proportion, except fish; and their coarse kind of bread, which is their chief food. On that account, when able to take the hoe in hand, they are obliged to go and cultivate the land for their subsistance. They also live hardily; so that when they are carried to our plantations (as they have been used to hard labour from their infancy) they become a strong, robust people, and can live upon the sort of food the planters allow them; which is, bread made of Indian corn, and fish, such as herrings and pilchards sent from Britain, and dried fish from the North America, being such food as they lived upon in their own country. Indeed they live better in general in our plantations; and they are always ready, on the arrival there, to go to the hard work necessary in planting and manufacturing the sugar cane.

On the other hand, the Gambia, Calabar, Boney, and Angola Negroes are brought from those parts of Africa, that are extremely fertile, where everything grows almost spontaneously; and where a bullock may be bought for less than 20 *s.* a sheep for 1 *s.* and a dozen

of fowls for the same. They have every other necessary of life in great plenty. On that account, the men never work, but lead an indolent life, and are in general of a lazy disposition and tender constitution; for the necessary work among them is done by the women, which is little more than fetching wood to dress their victuals; so that when those people are carried to our sugar islands, they are obliged to be nursed, to be taken great care of, and brought to work by degrees.

The planters, when the Gold Coast and Whidah Negroes were carried to the sugar colonies, before the French interfered in that trade, found there was not a sufficient number to extend their cultivation, by carrying on all the different planting business, and therefore were accustomed to purchase those tender (the worst sort of) Negroes, and employ them for houshold servants, to raise corn, aloes, look after cattle, bring them up to trades and easy labour, knowing them unfit for the hard work necessary in sugar-plantations.

The Negroes of the river Gambia are better than the last-mentioned; both of which are much more proper for the North American planters, as they have plenty of provisions at a small expence, and, on that account, can use them to gentle labour, and inure them, by degrees, to work with the same sort of food they were accustomed to in their own country.

But that is not the case of the planters in the sugar islands; which sufficiently proves how disadvantageous it must be to have such imported there, in preference to those that would be so immediately useful and serviceable, or to let the French purchase the better sort.

Yet such has been the case, it being for the interest of the African merchants to supply the British planters with the inferior sort, as each Negro costs much less on the coast of Angola, etc. than those from the Gold Coast,[3] etc. which saves a great deal in the outset of the cargoes sent to Africa, and consequently greatly encreases the net profits on the voyages, as the tender and worst sort of Negroes will sell in the sugar islands for near as great a price each as the best, provided there is none of the latter at market; and a greater number of the former being subject to die, must encrease the demand.

This I thought proper to take notice of, to shew how necessary it will be for the interest of this country, that the French should not for the future be allowed to trade in Africa, at cape Appolonia, or between it and the river Volta, where, and at Popo and Whidah, to the eastward of that river, the valuable Negroes beforementioned,

[3] Later in the argument the author asserts that a cargo of 300 can be purchased on the Benin, Calabar, and Angola coasts for £3600; on the Gold Coast it would require £4950. His prediction was that if the French were allowed to trade on the Gold Coast the price of 300 negroes would soon go above £6000 (*Considerations,* p. 28 n.). Similar sentiments were expressed by the author of *Cursory Observations on the Trade to Africa* (1778), who characterized the negroes that the separate traders were accustomed to deliver as "effeminate and unequal to the toil of the sugar plantations".

adapted by their natural constitution for cultivating the sugar plantations, are to be purchased; otherwise, in times of peace, they will be constantly making encroachments as heretofore (pp. 16-20). . . .

It is also necessary to remark, that the French should not be permitted to re-settle a factory they had before the war at Abreda [Albreda], about a league below James Fort, in the river Gambia, which was destroyed by that gallant sea officer, and brave commander Sir George Pocock, in the year 1744, but settled again after the peace; and again destroyed this war by Capt. Marsh, commander of his majesty's ship *Harwich* (p. 22). . . .[4]

The African merchants, to vindicate themselves in carrying on the trade for the worst Negroes in preference to the other, give out, that the better sort are not to be come at. But there is no other grounds for such assertions, than that the roads to those great and populous inland countries lying at the back of the forts and settlements on the Gold Coast, have been stopt since the year 1738, which has prevented all intercourse with the natives, except those who live within about fifty miles of the sea-coast; whereby a stop was put to that great trade which came down, when the roads were kept open by the power and influence of the company's officers, and by their alliance and friendship with the several princes and people in power, living in the different countries near, and in the towns on the said roads, that were opened and settled by the late company's officers at a very great expence (pp. 23-24). . . .

For it is a mistaken notion, that the company's officers (during their command) created wars between the African chiefs, in order to purchase the prisoners, which should be made on either side. This falsehood was propagated also at a certain time, to serve particular purposes. On the contrary, slaves are bred in the inland parts of Africa, and sent for sale, according to the want those people are in for European manufactures; the same as an ox or horse is taken to market, when a farmer in England wants money to pay his rent, or for other purposes. Every man in Africa is looked upon to be

[4] Senegal, acquired by the English, the author regarded as a valuable addition to English possessions, since it not only gave to them the gum trade which France had heretofore controlled, but also the slave trade of the interior, which the French had directed to the mouth of the Senegal by means of their factory at Galam. This new territory was, by act of Parliament, Apr. 19, 1764, placed under the control of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa (Martin, *British West African Settlements,* pp. 60-61). This disposition of the territory proved unsatisfactory and by an act of May 25, 1765, it was transferred from the Company of Merchants to the crown (*ibid.,* pp. 62-66). If one accepts the evidence of the casual items in newspapers and periodicals during the years subsequent to this adjustment, one must conclude that the slave trade from this section was less lucrative than had been hoped. The French were charged with inciting the natives against the English (*Gentleman's Magazine,* XXXVIII. 585), and widespread illness among the negroes was said to have increased the price of slaves some twenty per cent. *Boston News Letter,* Dec. 8, 1768.

a man of property and power in proportion to the number of Negroes he is possessed of.

When such disputes as above glanced at happen, the consequence is an immediate stoppage of the roads by those people nearest the sea-side, to prevent their adversaries getting guns, powder, or any other necessaries for war; which in 1738 occasioned the king of Warsaw, and his allies, to draw a discriminating line along the Gold Coast for that intent; and this hath ever since prevented all intercourse and trade with the inland natives in the direct way; as also any gold or slaves for sale coming from them, except a few stolen away by the king of Warsaw's soldiers, with a little gold; and an inconsiderable number of slaves brought from the great kingdom of Ashantee, in a very difficult and dangerous way, by the traders of that country, in order to purchase guns and powder at the British, Dutch, and Danish forts at Acra.

These traders are obliged to come and return in arm'd bodies, many miles round about through strange countries, where they are afraid of being plundered by the natives of the European goods, and are themselves in danger of being seized upon, and sold as slaves, which prevents their bringing the trade down as usual (pp. 24-25). . . .[5]

That by an act of parliament, passed in the 23d year of the reign of his late majesty, the trade to Africa was intended to be made free and open to all his majesty's subjects, without distinction or preference. But contrary to the intentions of the said act, that trade has been engrossed and monopolized by the officers of the committee on the Gold Coast and Whydah, by their entering into a confederacy or joint stock, and intermixing the government supplies with their own merchandize, and by that means asserted themselves so as to command said traffic.

Those officers have many other great advantages over free merchants and traders, such as having a considerable part of their private merchandize sent to them freight free, their extraordinary influence over the natives, by the command of the several castles to deposit their effects in, salaries, maintenance, European servants, artificers, doctors, castle-slaves, canoe-men, canoes, medicines, stores and necessaries of all sorts, being under their management and direction. Besides the presents to princes, caboceers and great men of the countries, being defrayed by the public, together with the said benefits arising from the Government supplies: and many other advantages

[5] Holland, Denmark, and Portugal all need negroes. The future will see a contest for the control of the sources of supply. The old African company was better fitted for such a struggle than is the new system. By letters and affidavits, a few of which have already been printed (*ante,* nos. 227-229), the author demonstrates the righteousness of the earlier organization and the iniquities of the existing system. The paragraphs which follow the omission are extracts from a certificate of Dec. 28, 1753, attested by seven masters who had traded to Africa before 1750.

which they have taken, whereby they acquired such a superiority over the free traders, as obliged the merchants of Bristol and Liverpool to apply by memorial in the year 1753, stating therein the foregoing facts to the lords commissioners of trade and plantations for redress, which will appear by said memorial, supported by the following affidavits (pp. 43-44). . . .

The committee paid no regard to their lordships' opinion,[6] consequently we conjecture, no regulation or orders has since been given by them to their servants; or if there has, the execution of such orders have not been enforced; for it is a truth which cannot be contradicted, that governor Melvil to his death, and the other officers of the committee, during his command, carried on the Negroe trade, and sent them from Africa to America for their own accounts, without the least reserve or restraint; also that Governor Senior,[7] and the officers under his command, did the same, and that Governor Bell who commanded at cape Coast Castle, when the last advice came from thence, did carry on a trade for Negroes, and continues to send the Negroes so purchased, to America, in the same manner his predecessors had done; which the gentlemen of the African committee must know was, and is the practice; and also that it is most certainly contrary to the true spirit, meaning, and intention of the act of parliament, passed in the 23d year of his late majesty's reign, for extending and improving the trade to Africa (by which the African committee was established) and the opinion of the lords of trade and plantation; for the legislative power could mean no other than to put all his majesty's subjects upon an equal footing.

But lest the gentlemen of the African committee's memories should fail, we will remind them of some things that surely could not have happened without their knowledge; (to wit) the committee appointed Mr. Richard Brew in the year 1761, to the command of the Annamaboa fortress; although at the same time they could not but know that he had fitted out the *Brew,* a large ship at Liverpool, and another in the river Thames; the former with a large cargo for Africa; the latter went to Holland for Dutch merchandize, to compleat her cargo, to the manifest disadvantage of this country, because it prevents so much of our manufactures and East India goods being exported; and the Dutch brandy and Geneva interfere with the exportation of British Spirits, besides being of great disadvantage to the rum trade from the British Colonies to Africa. Said ship

[6] For the opinion of the Board of Trade to which reference is here made see *ante,* no. 230, n. 3.

[7] Melvil died in 1756. He was succeeded by William Tymewell, who died in less than a month after his appointment; Charles Bell was acting governor Feb. 17, 1756–Oct. 15, 1757. At that date Nassau Senior became acting governor, to be displaced May 10, 1761, by Charles Bell. Bell was replaced by William Mutter on Aug. 15, 1763. Claridge, *Gold Coast,* II. 582.

returned from Holland, and arrived at Portsmouth in or about the month of July, 1761, when Mr. Brew went on board; and also Messrs. Westgate and Flemming, who had been in the committee's service upon the coast of Africa; but, as we have been informed, they are now gone out in partnership with said Brew. We have also been informed, that the cargoes of the said ships were landed in Africa, and deposited in the fort of Annamaboa; and that Negroes were purchased with said cargoes, and sent from thence to Jamaica for the account of Mr. Brew, and those concerned with him.

It is also as true that Mr. Samuel Smith,[8] merchant, in the Old Jury in London, one of the committee of the company of merchants trading to Africa was the acting agent for Messrs. Brew, Westgate and Flemming, during their residence in Africa; that he received their consignments from thence, and acted for them by commission after their arrival in England; likewise during their stay there, and since their arrival in Africa; and also that Mr. Smith lately fitted in the river Thames a large ship with a great cargo: we have reason to believe from good authority, that said ship and cargo was fitted out for the account of Mr. Brew, and others concerned with him: which ship is now on a voyage to Annamaboa: but whether any of the African committee are concerned or interested in said ship, besides Mr. Smith we can not take upon us to say.

We conjecture it was never intended by those gentlemen who prepared the act of parliament, which appointed there should be a committee of nine persons, who were to have the care of the forts in Africa, with the charge and application of the monies granted by parliament for their support, that any one of those persons should supply merchandize to be paid for with the public money under their care and management. However, such has been the case, as appears by the committee's accounts laid before parliament. The following is an abstract of their last account for the year 1761, so far as it relates to any of the committee-men furnishing merchandize, by that our readers form a judgment on their annual accounts they being nearly the same as to the amount of what the African committee supplied the public with. Abstract of the before mentioned accounts as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Messrs. Touchett and company[9] for Manchester goods	1774	14	9
Messrs. Smith and company for Irish linen and provisions	796	12	11
Messrs. Aufere and company for East India goods	349	1	6
Cust and company for ditto	250	2	6
Mr. William Boden for tobacco	39	0	6
	3209	12	2

[8] See *post,* no. 260, n. 2.

[9] Samuel Touchett, Liverpool merchant, was a member of the Liverpool committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa in 1753 and 1755. He was an applicant for a monopoly of trading rights in the Senegal, when the disposition of that

. . . By the foregoing clauses [10] it was most certainly intended that the election for committee-men should be free and uninfluenced, but that has not happened; for there was great interest made by those who were chosen committee-men the first year after the act passed, for establishing the company of merchants trading to Africa. After which, the several tradesmen employed by the African committee in London, and by their friends in Bristol and Liverpool, took up their freedom of the new company, in order to vote for committee-men; so that, at the expiration of the first year, when the committee-men that had been chosen for London, Bristol and Liverpool for the preceding year, could act no longer, then, or at the expiration of the three years (which we cannot now take upon us to say) three new committee-men were chosen instead of three that went out, which nine committee-men so chosen, continued to act for three years, when the three other were again elected; by which means there are twelve persons who take it by rotation alternatively, to be of the committee or not, as they agree among themselves; on which account it is a folly for any person, not being one of the twelve, to attempt getting elected a committee-man for either London, Bristol, or Liverpool; there having been as great interest made against such persons who have offered themselves, as hath happened on some occasions preceding the election of a member of parliament; therefore we have the greatest reason to believe, there is not any person who will again attempt to stand a candidate in opposition to one of the twelve persons who have had the direction and management so long, of which number those gentlemen are, we have mentioned in the account of the merchandize supplied by the committee-men (pp. 48-53). . . .[11]

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territory was under consideration (Martin, *British West African Settlements,* p. 59), maintaining that in return for fitting out an expedition against French Senegal Pitt had promised him monopoly rights. Against this claim the Bristol merchants protested sharply. *A Letter to a Merchant at Bristol concerning a Petition of S—T—Esq. to the King* (1762).

[10] The author has quoted article VII. and the first sentence of article XIX. of the act of 1750, which bear upon the election of the African committee. See *ante,* no. 217.

[11] The London committeemen elected in 1757 were William Bowden, Ronjat Lehook, and Robert Scott; those from Liverpool, Samuel Touchett, Richard Gildart, and Nathaniel Basnet; from Bristol, Joseph Champion, Samuel Smith, and Vincent Biscoe (*London Magazine,* XXVI. 362). In 1758 Henry Douglas took the place of Bowden, Charles Pole that of Touchett, and Peregrine Cust that of Champion (*ibid.,* XXVII. 368). An investigation of the activities of the committee began in 1758. Add. MSS. 14034, ff. 182-201.

From this point on the author demonstrates the difficulties of the private trader if he is obliged to compete with the company officials, who are freed from all customs and warehouse charges. They must live in mud cottages, in which their goods are in such danger that they cannot insure them for 25 per cent. They receive no assistance from the forts and officers. The methods of bookkeeping used by the old company were greatly superior to those of the new, and the trade was actually more open than it is under the new system (pp. 55-66). Richard Miles, governor of Tantumquerry, was deep in private trade during much of his term of office. He was accused of trading with Schoolbird, Ross

It is to be hoped that the British forts will be put upon such an establishment, that the officers commanding them will be sufficiently empowered to hinder the Dutch officers from exercising that arbitrary power they have done and continued to do, over the Portugueze upon the Gold Coast of Africa, to prevent their trading at the British settlements, in open violation of a treaty concluded between the English and Dutch principal officers in Africa, and ratified by both companies in Europe.[12]

If the African committee has not represented that affair in a true light to the government, we are surprized they have neglected it as it is a very valuable commerce now wholly engrossed by the Dutch; who will not suffer the master or super cargo of any Portugueze vessel to trade at the English forts, or with the British subjects, not withstanding the beforementioned treaty, which, perhaps, might be deemed obsolete, since the dissolution of the late company. If that should be the case, then, in our humble opinion, it ought to be renewed, as well as many other regulations made between the English and Dutch in Africa. . . .

We think it necessary here to observe, that notwithstanding almost all the trade had been for some years before, and at that time, carried on by the French on that part of the coast where the most valuable Negroes were to be got; the separate British traders made no application to the legislative power to prevent such pernicious commerce, though several remonstrances were made for that purpose by the late royal African company to the government; who also did lay before the public, in several letters inserted in the daily papers, as well as by pamphlets the danger of the French incroachments.[13]

Yet as soon as the private traders found the said company applying to parliament for money, to put their forts upon a proper and respectable footing, to prevent foreign innovations upon the terri-

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and Mill, Burton and Cockburn, and the French, and was said in six years to have sent 3000 slaves off the coast (Martin, "The English Establishments on the Gold Coast in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century", unpublished MS., pp. 158-161). In 1789, Miles was a witness against the abolition of the trade.

[12] Note in the original: "That such Portugueze ships as shall come to anchor in any of the English roads belonging to any of the English forts or factories, shall not be molested by any Dutch ship or ships belonging to the said company, nor be blocked up by them in the said English roads, nor attacked and seized at their going out of the said roads; neither shall they offer to seize any ship or ships that have first put themselves under the protection of any British fort, or being in possession of any English vessel, they having one of the said royal African company's servants on board certifying the same.

"That on the other side, none of the English forts, or company's ships, shall attack, or seize, any Portugueze which were first in possession of any Dutch West India company's ships; neither shall the English general, or chief director for the time being, grant passports to any Portugueze ships, going to or from Brazil, or any of the Portugueze islands."

[13] The number of items relating to French aggression in Africa, to be found in colonial newspapers about this time, is noticeable. See *South Carolina Gazette,* Apr. 13, May 25, 1765; *Massachusetts Gazette and News Letter,* Feb. 7, 28, Oct. 24, Supp., Nov. 28, 1765.

tory and trade under their care, they took the alarm, awakened from their lethargy, strained every nerve, and put every scheme in execution their invention pointed out, to prevent the company's succeeding, and to obtain their dissolution, which they compleated in the year 1750. But how far the African trade has been improved thereby, in upwards of twelve years that the African committee have had it under their direction and management, will appear from the facts and truths we have before stated, to which we beg leave to refer, and to the judgment of our readers (pp. 57-59). . . .

247. Samuel Poirier to Richard Farr.[1]

London, May 17th 1763.

Sir, I am directed by the Committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa to acquaint you, and the other Gentlemen concern'd in that Trade, that they have some Suspicion Mr. Brew, the Governor of Anamaboo, and other Officers on the Coast, are carrying on a Trade, in sending Slaves upon their own Account from Africa to the West Indies, or North America, not only against the Instructions of the Committee, but to the Detriment of the free and open Trade to Africa, of which they Look upon themselves as the Guardians. The Committee therefore desire you will acquaint them whether the Merchants at Bristol have received any authentick Information of a Trade carrying on by any of their Servants, to the Prejudice of the free Trade to Africa; they being determined, as far as in them lies, to support their own Instructions, and to fulfill the Intentions of the Legislature in passing the Act of Parliament relative to the African Forts.

248. Account of Sales, Kingston, Jamaica.[1]

Sales of 268 Negro slaves imported in the ship "African," Captain Thomas Trader, from Malemba, on the acct. and risque of

[247] [1] Bristol, Archives of the Merchant Venturers, Running Letters.

[248] [1] Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* p. 530. The newer island of Dominica was absorbing a large number of slaves at this time. See "Account of number of Slaves sold by Kender Mason and Company at the following Islands in the West Indies":

	Dominica	Porto Rico		Dominica	Jamaica
1767	1826	1321	1773	1275	
1768	3710	1713	1774	1157	
1769	3351	817	1775	2069	
1770	3099		1776	959	
1771	4467		1784		464
1772	5003		1786	404	
		2851 [3851]		27,320	464

Note: "The greater part of the Slaves sold at Dominica were purchased by the French and Spaniards, who paid for them in specie, Bills of Exchange, Cotton, and Coffee." Add. MSS. 38416, f. 178.

Messrs. John Cole and Co., owners of the said ship, merchants in Liverpool.

To whom Sold	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Total	Price	£	s.	d.
By James Fisher			1		1		35	0	0
" John Miller			1		1		35	0	0
" Augustus Valtette			1		1		40	0	0
" George Richards			1		1		35	0	0
" Ditto			1		1		35	0	0
" Papley and Wade	103	26	67	34	230		7820	0	0
" Chambers and Mead	5		2	1	8		296	0	0
" Sloop *Two Brothers*			6		6		204	0	0
" Monsr. Fontanelle				2	2	@ £36	72	0	...0
" John Darey			2		2	@ £30	60	0	0
" Ditto	4	3	2	3	12	@ £35	420	0	0
" Alexan. Forceton		1		1	2	Sickly	30	0	0
" Sold at Vendue			1		1	C'pt to a/c for			
	112	30	85	41	268		£9082	0	0

Charges, *viz.*:	£	s.	d.			
To Cash paid Import Duty on 268 Slaves at 10/ and Bond 5/	134	5	0			
To ditto paid the Dr. his head money on ditto at 12 *d.*	13	8	0			
To ditto paid Captain Trader, his Coast Commission, at £4 per 104 on £9082 gross sales	349	6	2			
To my Commission, at 5 per cent. on the gross sales	454	2	0	951	1	...2
To Messrs. John Cole and Co., owners of the *African*, in account current for				£8130	18	10

Errors excepted.

KINGSTON, JAMAICA, 19th September, 1764 Per WM. BOYD.

Messrs. John Cole and Co., Owners of the Ship *African*, in Acct. Current

Dr. with Wm. Boyd and Co.	£	s.	d.	Cr.	£	s.	d.
To Amount of Sundries shipped in the *African*, per Invoice	6384	16	5¼	By Nt. Proceeds of the *African's* sales	8130	18	10
To Balance of the *African's* a/c of disbursements, per Capt. receipt	269	7	3½				
To my draft on Snell and Co., of London, for £1054 16 *s.* 6 *d.* sterling, Exc. at 40 per cent., payable at 60 days' sight	1476	15	1¼				
	£8130	18	10		£8130	18	10[2]

Errors excepted.

KINGSTON in JAMAICA, 20th September, 1764 Per WM. BOYD.

[2] Captain Simmons, *Vine*, returned to Liverpool in 1766, from a voyage to Bonny and Dominica, which had consumed seven months and ten days. His cargo of 400 slaves Gomer Williams reckons as worth not less than £13,000, which assumes as an average price about £33, a little less than the negroes of the *African* sold for. If Captain Simmons's expenses were proportionate to his larger cargo, the proceeds of his voyage would be about £11,600. *Liverpool Privateers*, p. 529.

249. News Items relating to the Slave Trade.

April 11, [1765.][1]

European intelligence. Comercial treaty between France and Spain completed. France engages to furnish Spanish-American provinces with 40,000 negroes from Africa, in a certain number of years, which naturally accounts for their extraordinary solicitude to extend their settlement on the coast of Guinea.

New York, June 24, [1765.][2]

Commodore Graves, in his Majesty's Ship the *Edgar,* and the *Shannon* Frigate and *Hound* Sloop of War, were at Gambia the 1st of May.[3]

Captain Richards left a number of Vessels on the Coast, and among them the following, *viz*: Captains Allen, White, Lenox, Williams, Miller, Robertson, Smith, Priest, Reed, Tallow, Addison and Woodbarn, belonging to England, Captains Carr, Mumford, Carpender and Towman of Rhode Island, Logan and Hammond of Philadelphia, Easton of New London, and Mackey and Harrison of this Port.

Wednesday last Capt. Roger Richards arrived here from the Coast of Africa: He left Searalone the 2d of May, and says there was not the least Account of any Disturbance by the French in that Part of the World, nor of their effecting any new Settlements on that Coast, as has been lately mentioned in the London news, when he came away.[4]

250. Letters from Anamabo.[1]

July 10, 1765.

Our trade here has strangely altered within these six weeks. The long-talked of Shanty [Ashanti] expedition was at last effected in the following manner:

Sea Cooma, who succeeded Quishy, King of Ashanty, mustered an army (by the best intelligence we can get) of 60 [50] or 60,000 men, with which he marched against the Warsaws and Akims in

[249] [1] *Georgia Gazette,* Apr. 11, 1765.

[2] *Boston News-Letter,* July 4, 1765.

[3] It was reported that the *Edgar,* the *Shannon,* and the *Hound* had been sent to destroy the French fort at Albreda. *Georgia Gazette,* Mar. 28, 1765.

[4] Fear of French aggression had already led the Board of Trade to investigate the strength of the English possessions on the West Coast and to recommend that the Senegal and Gambia region be taken from the company and vested in the crown. An act carrying into effect this recommendation was passed May 25, 1765 (5 Geo. III. c. 44). This greatly diminished the amount of territory controlled by the company. Martin, *British West African Settlements,* pp. 62-65.

[250] [1] *Newport Mercury,* Mar. 10, 1766, from a London item of Nov. 27, 1765. The subject of the difficulties between Ashanti and Fanti peoples, which concerns the writer of this letter, occupies considerable space in official papers of this period. A memorial and a number of letters are to be found in Admiralty Papers, 1: 3810, 1767.

April last, and drove them all down to the Fanty country: Here they have been skirmishing all the months of May and June, and on the 25th ult. after three or four days fighting, the Akims submitted to him, by which he immediately got possession of their camp, in which were all their women and children, and the greatest part of their men, to the number of about 15 or 20,000 in all: Two of the principal Akim Caboceers shot themselves; the one was carried to Sea Cooma ally, and Poby the King of Akim, is secreted some where about Abrador Murrum. A day or two before this great revolution, Enimber, at the head of the Warsaws, escaped to Shinpoora, where they expect to be visited by the Shanty King. When the Akims and Shanties were fighting, the worthy Fanties were very busy, pillaging and stealing the Akims, who were so reduced by famine, that they gave themselves up in great numbers to any body that would promise them victuals, so that slaves became very plenty among these gentry, but they have not yet offered them for sale. Neither did they confine themselves to stealing the Akims only: For the Shanties began to pillage the Fanty Crooms (towns) and plantations, by which conduct the Fanties picked up about 1000 of them, 300 of which we purchased in eight or nine days, in Castle Brew.[2] Yan Woortman, who is chief of Cormantine[3] purchased about 250 or 300 more; the remainder was bought by the ships at Cape Coast and Moore [Mouree]; we got ours at six ounces men, and four ounces women.[4] The King of Shanty was greatly exasperated on losing so many of his people, especially as he had no thoughts of injuring the Fanties; and those last gentry being flushed with their success, formed a camp, and for four or five days had frequent skirmishes with parties of the Shanties, who made frequent visits to their plantations in search of food, being almost famished as well as the Akims.

These skirmishes obliged Sea Cooma to call in all his people, and both parties are at present very quiet, and sick of fighting. The Shanties are encamped within three hours walk of Annamabo, waiting to have a conference with the principal people of Fantin; when, it is imagined they will open the paths once more, and a flourishing trade will be carried on to Ashanty. . . .

The Fanties will not allow the King of Shanty to send a slave to the water side before every thing is amicably adjusted: Besides,

[2] Castle Brew, not far from Anamabo, was the headquarters of the private company of which Richard Brew was the head.

[3] The Dutch Fort Amsterdam was here.

[4] An item in the *Mass. Gazette and News Letter,* Feb. 28, 1765, illustrates the wide publicity given to African news. It was taken from a London item of Nov. 29, 1764, which in turn had been taken from French information that, owing to the native wars, blacks were to be had very cheap on the Gold Coast.

Burrora Burra Wigo (their god) must, you are sensible be very often consulted, during these conferences. I forgot, however, to tell you that the King of Shanty took fetish (solemn oath) to the Fanties, immediately upon his entering their country, and gave them his cousin german, a fine young fellow of about 20, as an hostage for their good and peaceable behaviour: This young man the Fanty Caboceers and Punins (chiefs and councellors) have deposited in Castle Brew, in preference to Cape Coast or Elmina: As for Annamabo fort it was never thought of. I have the extreme pleasure to inform you, my friend, that Castle Brew is so well established, that if six slaves are to be sold we get four of them; and altho' there are 25 sail in this road, mostly capital ships, we buy more slaves than they do all together. Trade, for these many months, has been miserable indeed; so very bad, that poor old Miller (who you know, always brings good cargoes) has been here six months, and has not purchased 20 slaves, Crump has been here upwards of five months, and has not got 15; Grimshaw (whose abilities you are no stranger to) has been eleven months out of England, and has not bought thirty slaves; so that if their palavers are not amicably settled with the King of Shanty, all the ships now here must make ruinous voyages.[5]

CASTLE BREW, ANNAMABOA, June 20, 1766.[6]

Sir, you'l be good enough to acquaint the Merchants trading to this Place, that the Coast is very much infested with Pirates, and that one, in particular, is a Schooner, copper sheathed, commanded by one Hide, has on board thirty four Men, and is extremely well fitted with Swivels, and Small Arms. She cruises between the River Settra-Crue and Cape Three Points, and has taken between 12 and 14 Shaloops, one of which belonged to Governor Brew, and had on board 1200 *l.* Sterling in Goods, and 50 Ounces of Gold Dust: After taking from her a Cable and Anchor, for which they gave the Master a Receipt, they permitted him to go about his Business. These Fellows neither murder or force any into their Services; but on the

[5] The influence of the Ashantis and the Fantis on the trade, to which reference has already been made, continued throughout the century. Captain Cotton of H. M. S. *Pallas,* in his report made in 1777, included a statement relating to the trade of Accra: "some few Months ago there was the greatest prospect of the Ashantee Trade being totally opened here, as a large body of them were down, and the Le[ew]ard Fanteens had sworn not to molest them in the Paths but now on account of War between the Dutch and the Danish Forts, it is much to be feared the Ashantees will be fearfull of coming Down as the Dutch have hired the Fanteens to stop the Paths to distress the Danes and their allies at Prampram: the Trade was in as flourishing condition as it has been for many Years past." Eg. MSS. 1162 A, f. 227.

[6] *Mass. Gazette and News Letter,* Oct. 16, 1766, headed, "Newport, October 6. A Letter from Castle Brew, at Annamaboa, on the Coast of Africa, to a Gentleman in this Town, dated June 20, 1766". The letter was copied by the *Virginia Gazette,* Oct. 30, and by the *Georgia Gazette,* Dec. 17. It also appeared as an item of news in the *Gentleman's Magazine,* XXXVI. 546 (November, 1766).

contrary, one of their Crew complaining that he was weary of that life, they put him on Shore and allowed him a Sufficiency to bear his Expences to the first English Factory.[7]

251. Accounts of the *Edgar* with Calabar Traders.[1]

An Acc't of Goods and Slaves Owing to the Ship "Edgar" from the Traders of Old Town as under:

Archibong Robin John five slaves Goods — Dr

	Co[2]	
20 Iron 5 Nicconees 5 Brawels	155	
4 Romales 3 Cushtaes 2 Photes	106	
8 B. Pipes 5 Flagons 50 Rods	102	Recd. Nothing
3 Basons 4 Guinea Stuffs	25	
3 Blunderbus's 8 Kegs	112	
	500	

24th July 1767 Goods for 5 slaves.
Received a further trust 10 rods 1 Nicconee 20

Orrock Robin John — Dr

	Co	
23rd July 1767 To 1 Keg of Powder	8	
By a boy left on board name Asuqu not stoped by me as Orrok says nor was Orrock's son		

Ambo Robin John — Dr

August 7. 1767 To Goods for two men slaves

	Co	
2 Blunderbs's 3 Kegs 8 Iron 1 Nicconee	98	
2 Brawels 1 Cushtae 2 Romales	44	
1 Photae 2 Flagons 2 basons 3 Pipe bds	44	Recd. Nothing
10 Rods 8 Chints	18	
	204	

Ephraim Robin John — Dr

	Co	
July 23rd 1767 To 20 Rods 1 Romale 4 Basons 4 L. Meneles	48	
1 Neganepaut 1 Blunderbus 20 Rods 1 Baft 12 Knives	74	Recd. Nothing
	122	

[7] Pirates were not the only difficulties threatening the traders. Early in the year a report reached the colonies by way of London that a serious epidemic among the negroes of the Gold Coast was impeding the trade. *Virginia Gazette,* Mar. 4, 1766.

[251] [1] Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* pp. 539-541.

[2] Cowries. East India cottons still form a considerable part of this list. Of these Anderson writes: "For the better supply of our export trade to Africa, with such coarse printed callicoes and other goods, being the product or manufacture of the East Indies, or other places beyond the Cape of Good Hope, as are prohibited to be worn in Great Britain, the East India Company were permitted to import the same from any part of Europe not within the British dominions, under proper limitations" (Feb. 16, 1765, *Origins of Commerce,* V. 102). It is noticeable that English vessels up to this time carried little liquor to the coast. In 1765 it is said that two distilleries were established at Liverpool to supply "Guineymen". *Georgia Gazette,* May 23, 1765.

24th to Goods for 2 men slaves under

	Co	Dr
4 Kegs 8 Iron 2 Nicconees 2 Brawels 1 Cushtae	104	
1 Romale 1 Photae 16 Chello 4 bg Pipe bds	60	
2 b'g Red 2 G. Stuffs 1 Flagon 14 rods	36	Recd. Nothing
	200	

John Robin John

	Co	Dr
July 7th 1767 To 10 rods 1 Nicconee 6 Romale	26	
Augt 2 To 8 Chello 1 hatt 1 Jug brandy	16	Recd. Nothing
	42	

	Co	Dr
Augt 1 1767 Otto Rob. John To 5 Rords	5	
do Tom Andrew Honesty, do	5	Recd. Nothing
July 30 Robin John 6 L Meneles 1 Rom	18	
Augt 1st Rob. Rob. Jno. 1 Keg 2 Caps 1 Shenda 1 Br.	20	

All Coppers makes 240 and 9 slaves makes 11 slaves and
20 Copers Tom Robin had makes near 12 slaves

OLD CALABAR, August 22, 1776 [1767?]

This is to certify whom it doth or may concern that the within is a True List of Debts owing by the Natives of Old Town to Captain Lace of Liverpoole,[3] and that the Boy named Assogua was not stoped by Captain Lace as has been Reported, but was put on board by Orrock Robin John unto whom he belonged, and that Captain Lace carried him of for the within debts, because we made no application for him nor did we even offer to Redeem him whilst the ship staid in the River, as Witness our hands

Witness
JOHN RICHARDS
JAMES HARGRAVES

his
KING X GEORGE
mark
his
JNO. X ROBIN JOHN
mark
OTTO EPHRAIM
his
ORROCK ROBIN X JOHN[4]
mark

[3] It was to Capt. William Lace, a son of Ambrose Lace, that William Roscoe once wrote: "To have the unlimited direction and controul of several hundreds of people who are to rely upon your care and management for their protection and support, places you in a situation of great responsibility, not only to your owners, but to the poor creatures committed to your charge, and to your own conscience. That you will discharge this serious duty with fidelity, and with as much humanity as is consistent with the nature of this business, I make no doubt. I have observed with pleasure, that your

252. Customs imposed at Whydah.[1]

State of the Customs which the ships that make their whole trade at Whydah pay to the King of Dahomey:

Eight Slaves for Permission of Trade, gongon Beater and Broakers	These slaves paid to the Caborkees after which he gives you two small children of 7 or 8 years old which the King sends as a return for the Customs.
1 Slave for Water and washerwoman 2 Do. for the Factory house 7 Do. for the Conoe	These slaves paid to whom supplies you These to the Fort

The above Slaves are Valued as under:

6 Anchors Brandy is	1 Slave	And if any other good must be in proportion but you must observe to pass the Goods Least in Demand.
20 Cabess of Cowries is	1 Do	
40 Sililees	1 Do	
200 lb. Gunpowder	1 Do	
25 Guns	1 Do	
10 Long Cloths	1 Do	
10 Blue Bafts	1 Do	
10 Patten Chints	1 Do	
40 Iron Barrs	1 Do	

After the Customs are paid which should be done as soon as possable for the traders dare not trade till the Kings Customs are paid, the Vice Roy gives you the nine following Servants *viz.* one Conducter to take care of the goods that comes and go's to and from the water-side which you deliver him in count and he's obliged to answer for things delivred him he's paid 2 Gallinas of Cowries every time he conducts any thing whether coming or going and one flask of brandy every Sunday.

Two Brokers which are obliged to go to the traders houses to look for slaves and stand Interpiter for the Purchas the[y] are paid to each two Tokes of Coweres per day and one flask of brandy every Sunday and at the end of your trade you give to each of them one Anchor of Brandy and one p's of Cloth.

Two Boys to serve in the house the[y] are paid each two tokees per day at the end of your trade per p's of cloth.

One Boy to Serve at the tent water side 2 Tokees per day.

One Doorkeeper paid 2 Tokees per day 1 p's Cloth for him and the above.

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natural disposition is kind and liberal and you can never have a fitter opportunity of exerting these qualities than your present situation affords. I need not, I am sure, remark that any warmth or hastiness of temper (which, if ever you had it, is, I think, now well corrected by experiences) might be productive of consequences which you might ever have to repent. Coolness, vigilance, compassion, attention to the necessities of all under your charge are essential requisites. Let these never be forgotten, and let the poor imprisoned African find that in all his distresses he is not without a friend." Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* p. 615.

[4] A fifth signature was undecipherable.

[252] [1] Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* pp. 550-553. Williams's suggestion is that this list of customs was drawn up by Capt. Ambrose Lace for one of his captains.

One Waterwoman for the factory 2 Tokees per day at the end of trade. One p's of Cloth.

One Washer Woman 2 Tokees per day and six Tokees everytime you give her any Linnen to Wash and one p's of Cloth at the end of trade.

N. B. the two last Servants are sometimes one if so you only pay one.

To the Cannoe men for bringing the Captain on shore one Anchor Brandy and to each man a hatt and a fathom Cloth. To the Boatswain a hat ½ p's Cloth one Cabes Cowrees a flask of brandy every Sunday and a bottle every time the[y] cross the Barr with goods or Slaves and every time the[y] pass a white man and at the end of trade for carring the Capt'n on board one anchor of Brandy and four Cabeses Cowrees.

N. B. The above Bottles flasks etc. was usely given to the Conoemen but now the Capt'n gives them one Anchor of Brandy and one Cabese of Cowrees every Sunday for the weeks work. To the Gong Gong Beater for anouncing trade 10 Gellinas of Cowrees and one flask of Brandy.

To the Kings Messenger for Carring News of the ships Arrivell and Capt'n's Compliments to the King ten Gallinas.

To the Trunk keeper a bottle brandy every Sunday and a peice of Cloth when you go away if you are satisfied with his service.

To the Capt'n of the Waterside on you[r] arrivell one anchor of brandy and at your Dept. one p's Cloth and one anchor of brandy.

To the six Waterrowlers two tokees per day each and two Bottles Brandy besides which you pay them 2, 3 or 4 tokees of cowrees each Cask according to the size, at the end of trade two p's Cloth and one anchor Brandy.

To the Vice Roy who go's with his people to Compliment the Capt. at his arrivell and Conduct him to the Fort one Anchor Brandy and two flasks but if Coke be their four flasks Brandy.

To the Vice Roy for his owne Custom 1 p's Silk 15 yards 1 Cask of Flower one of Beef but if you are short of these you may give him some thing else in Lew of them.

To making the Ten one Anchor Brandy 2 Cabess Cowrees.

To the Cap'tn Gong Gong that looks after the house at night one bottle per day and one p's Cloth if your content.

You pay 3 Tokees of Cowrees for every load such as one Anchor 20 Sililees 10 p's Cloth and so in proportion for small goods but when loads are very heavy you pay more as ten Gallinas for a Chest of pipes etc.

The Tokee is	40	Cowrees
The Gallina is	200	"
The Cabess is	4000	"

N. B. their go's five tokees to one Gallina and twenty Gallinas makes one Cabess.

253. Extract of a Letter from Captain Colley of the *Latham*.[1]

Old Town, Old Calabar, July 20, 1768.

Our purchase here at present is very small, owing to a hot and troublesome war amongst the natives, which the day I came here was hotly contested between the people of the New Town and those of the Old Town,[2] wherein the latter (though the others were ten to one) killed and wounded upwards of 300, and totally routed them: However, hope it will be quite subsided, as they seem to be pretty quiet at present. The battle was all in sight, not above a gun shot from the ship, and by that have received the thanks of the New Town people, for not firing at them, as it was Ephraim's particular desire, not to interfere, but to let them fight it out themselves.

254. The Case of the *Africa*.[1]

March 27, 1769.

[Reference to the Committee of the petition of Jasper Hall, merchant of Kingston, Jamaica, for a day for hearing his appeal from a judgment of the Court of Appeals, 18 Aug., 1766, reversing a judgment of July, 1763, in his action against Malcolm Laing, the Receiver General, for 836 *l.* currency, alleged to have been received by him for the use of the Petitioner.]

[253] [1] *Virginia Gazette,* Mar. 9, 1769, taken from a Liverpool item.

[2] Captain Colley does not refer to a massacre of negroes of Old Calabar in 1767, in which the *Indian Queen,* the *Duke of York,* the *Nancy,* and the *Concord* of Bristol, the *Edgar* of Liverpool, and the *Canterbury* of London shared. The details of the treachery of the English commanders are to be found in Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* pp. 535-539. Thomas Clarkson, in his *History of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade, I.* 245-248, 307-308, tells something of the episode. Clarkson had been introduced to Captain Lace, who, having been long in the slave trade, it was supposed could give him much information: "As soon as he mentioned Calabar", says Mr. Clarkson, "a kind of horror came over me. His name became directly associated in my mind with the place. It almost instantly occurred to me that he commanded the *Edgar* out of Liverpool, when the dreadful massacre there took place. Indeed I seemed to be so confident of it, that, attending more to my feelings than to my reason at this moment, I accused him with being concerned in it. This produced great confusion among us. For he looked incensed at Captain Chaffers, as if he had introduced me to him for this purpose. Captain Chaffers again seemed to be all astonishment that I should have known of this circumstance, and to be vexed that I should have mentioned it in such a manner. I was also in a state of trembling myself. Captain Lace could only say it was a bad business. But he never defended himself nor those concerned in it. And we soon parted, to the great joy of us all."

[254] [1] *Acts P. C. C.,* V. 52-55.

[On the Committee report of 7 July, the judgment of 1766 is reversed and that of 1763 affirmed. The Petition set forth] That in the Year 1762, the Appellant Jasper Hall ordered his Correspondent in Great Britain, to fit out a ship on his account, for the Coast of Affrica, for a Cargo of Slaves which in her return was to touch at the Island of Jamaica there to receive the Appellants Direction as to the Disposition of the Cargo, which the Appellant Informed his Correspondent was not Intended for Sale in that Island:—That the Appellants Correspondent according fitted out a Vessell called the *Africa,* on the Appellants Account, and sent her under the Care of Robert Cowie Master, to the Coast of Affrica for a Cargo of Slaves, to be carried to the West Indies, and to touch at the Island of Jamaica for receiving the Appellants Instructions where to proceed.

That the Ship having taken in a Cargo of 630 Slaves sailed from [for] the West Indies, and about the Middle of October, 1762, arrived off the East End of Jamaica; but being in want of water and provisions, and the Slaves of Refreshment, Cowie the Master, wrote to the Appellant, acquainting him of his arrival and the State of the Ship and Cargo, whereupon the Appellant Immediately sent the necessary water and Provisions to bring the Ship into Kingston Harbour, where she arrived the 24th of that Month—That the Ship Proving Leaky, and unfit to Proceed further without Repair, the Appellant for avoiding all Question as to her Destination, the very Day after her Arrival in Kingston Harbour, had her and her Cargo Reported in the Registers Office, in Jamaica, as bound for the Havannah, whither he had Determined to send the Cargo on having received Information, of its Reduction,[2] and as well for Repair of the Vessell, as refreshment of the many sickly Negroes, who wanted Landing for Recovery of their Health, he a few days after the Ships arrival in the Harbour, landed them to the Number of 630, many of whom being taken with the small Pox, and 400 Innoculated, they necessarily continued in the Island until the January following, when all that remained alive, being but 521, were by the Appellant and on his Account, reshipped on Board the *Affrica,* and cleared out for the Havannah their Original and real Destination. That the Respondent Malcolm Laing then Receiver General of the Island was well apprized of the *Affrica's* Arrival in Kingston Harbour with a Cargo of Negroes the Appellants Property; but the Appellant having on her Arrival Reported both Ship and Cargo as bound for the Havannah and the Landing of Negroes being evidently for the Purpose of Refreshment only, and giving time for Repair of the Vessell,

[2] Havana had fallen in the summer of 1762.

Cowie the Master was therefore never called upon to Repair to the Receiver Generals Office, there to give in the account, and take the Oath required by an Act of Assembly Passed in Jamaica the 31st of October 1761, nor was the Appellant as Owner of the Cargo, ever required to Enter into Bond for not delivering the Slaves without the Certificate directed by an Act in Case of Negroes Imported for Sale, nor, notwithstanding the Omission of such Account, Oath and Bond, was any forfeiture or Penalty charged or attempted to be levied either upon the Master of the Ship or the Appellant as Owner of the Cargo, as by the Act Imposed upon Non-Performance of those requisites where Negroes are Imported for Sale; which was Indeed so far from the Appellants Intent that he had notoriously refused applications for Selling any of these Negroes in Jamaica as intended for a far better Market. That the Respondent, however upon the Appellants attempting in January 1763, to reship the remaining part of his Negroes for the Havannah, thought fit to Demand of him and insist upon the payment of 315 *l.* Currency as the Duty of 10 *s.* per Head on the 630 Slaves that had been so Landed. And Likewise 521 *l.* as the Duty of 20 *s.* per Head on the 521 Slaves then remaining alive, and to be reshipped and Cleared out for the Havannah, which the Appellant refused . . . but the Respondent still Insisting on his Demand, without which he would not clear out the Ship and Slaves from his Office, the Appellant for fear of loosing the opportunity found himself under a necessity of Complying, and accordingly paid the Respondent the several Sums of 315 *l.*, and 521, making together 836 *l.* Currency, as the Import and Export Duties on Negroes, but Protesting at the same time against the Exaction, and declaring to the Respondent that he would bring an Action against him for Repayment of the Money. That the Ship and the remaining part of the Negroes were cleared out from the Receiver Generals Office 31st January 1763, as bound for the Havannah for which they were then Actually Destined, but just as the Ship was going to Sail, the Appellant received Advice from his Agent at the Havannah to whose Care he had in the Preceding October Sent a Cargo of two hundred Slaves for Sale, that it would not be Prudent or Adviseable for him to send this Cargo thither on Account of the Governor of the Havannah's Grant to a person resident there of an Exclusive Right of Importing and Vending Slaves, whereby this Correspondent had been prevented from Selling such Cargo in Open Market, and laid under the necessity of selling the whole Cargo thereof at an under price, and great loss to the above mentioned person; so the Appellant finding his Scheme of selling the Negroes at the Havannah frustrated, sent the *Affrica* and her Cargo to His-

paniola where the Negroes were Sold for his Account and Ship never after returned to Jamaica.

That the Appellant in pursuance of his Declaration to the Respondent, brought an Action against him for Recovery of the 315 *l.*, and 521. . . .

255. Liverpool Exports to Africa, 1770.[1]

Beans	1318 quarters.	Linen coloured	42 pieces.
Brass wrought	134 tons and a half.	Lead	833 C. 2 qr. 3
Beer	132 barrels 942 doz.	Looking Glasses	114 doz.
Checks, Cotton and Linen	67545 pieces.	Linen, square printed	1208 yards.
Caps, Worsted	2714 doz.	Millinery Ware	5 Cwt.
Caps, Woollen	401 doz.	Molasses	2 C. 0 qr. 21 lb.
Copper wrought	672 cwt.	Pewter wrought	751 Cwt.
Cottons, square printed	4130 yards.	Pipes	1791 groce.
Candles	5348 lb.	Paper, printed	280 yards.
Callicoes	500 pieces.	Peas split	60 Cwt.
Chairs	7 doz.	Rice	1515: 2: 21
Cyder	quarter of a ton.	Rum	
Cardivines	241 doz.	Stockings, Thread	6 doz.
Cordage	55 C. 2 qr. 5 lb.	Do. Worsted	330 doz.
Drums	2 doz.	Silver wrought	25 lb.
Earthen Ware	14,524 pieces.	Sail Cloth	5148 ells.
Gun Powder	618,500 lb.	Stuffs	833 pieces.
Gun Flints	126,000.	Silk Stuffs	70 pieces.
Glass, Green	1944: 2: 6	Silk only	151 lb. and a half.
Glass, Flint	42: 0: 3	Silk and Cotton mixed	680 lb. and 3-quarters.
Garments made up	3418.	Silk and Inkle mixed	512 lb. 3-quarters.
Haberdashery	1 Cwt.	Stationary Ware	14 Cwt.
Hats, Felt and Carolina	2408 doz.	Sugar refined	516: 2: 11
Handkerchiefs, Linen, square printed	1456 yards.	Spirits, Malt	122,876 gallons.
Do. Silk, Do.	3815 yards.	Salt, Rock	3680 bushels.
	Tons C. qr. lb.	Salt, White	8651 bushels.
Iron wrought	205: 13: 0: 0	Tin Kettles	8 doz.
Iron cast	146: 2: 0	Woollen Cloth	6819 pieces.
Linen, Irish	18,076 yards.	Demi Cambricks	522.
Linen, British	27,586 yards.	Guinea Stuffs	660

256. Richard Brew to Merchants of Liverpool.[1]

Castle Brew [Anamabo], August 25, 1771.

Gentlemen: . . . In one of my former letters to Mr. Barber,[2] I mentioned what the committee, nor any of their servants will dare to deny, and what is perfectly well known to every master of a ship, and settler on this Coast, *viz.* that every servant of the committee,

[255] [1] William Enfield, *An Essay towards the History of Liverpool* (1773), pp. 84-85.

[256] [1] *A Treatise upon the Trade from Great-Britain to Africa, humbly recommended to the Attention of Government.* By an African Merchant (London, 1772), app. H, pp. 101-103. The treatise was written to demonstrate the failure of the existing method of administration of the African trade and to suggest desirable terms for a new act. The appendixes contain various documents intended to add force to the points made in the text. Appendix G is a reprint of an article appearing in the *Public Ledger,* Apr. 20, 1772, on the abuses of the African committee, with letters called forth by that article, and a petition from the "Merchants and Traders to Africa from the Port of London to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations", Mar. 17, 1772. This petition charged an illegal increase in the voting members of the committee of merchants, and an agree-

who has made any money on the Coast since the commencement of this system, has realized and shipped off the whole of their effects in slaves,[3] and that it is of no signification to the British merchants, whether those slaves are shipped off in June or January, this year or the next, so as they are permitted to ship them off at all; but it seems, if you cannot ascertain the particular time these slaves are sent off, you prove nothing.

The greatest part of the slaves sent off this Coast in a clandestine manner for these five years past, have been sent by the *Africa,* late Capt. Stephens, in the three voyages he made here. Capt. Stephens kept a book which contained all his transactions on the Coast, and at the same time served as a log book: this book he called his church bible; and as I am certain every slave he carried off on freight, and the shippers names are to be found in this book, I would humbly propose when African affairs are brought before the House of Commons, that Mr. Michael Herries (procurator for Richard Oswald, Esq;)[4] be summoned to the bar of the House and ordered to produce this book, which if he does I am pretty confident all your doubts will be cleared up; and if it is not forthcoming, depend upon it it has

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ment among the committee members from London, by means of which they retained office (see app. G, pp. 35-53). App. H, pp. 53-123, is devoted to proving misconduct on the part of the servants of the committee on the coast, probably with the connivance of the committee at home. It contains a few extracts from a pamphlet by one Mr. Tweed, who had been on the coast fifteen years (pp. 53-65), but the letters of Richard Brew to Liverpool merchants constitute the largest part of the evidence on this point. Brew states that from 1750 to October, 1763, 13,000 slaves were sold from Cape Coast Castle, that from 1763 to July, 1770, not 500 had been sold (pp. 66-68). Brew, now a private trader at Anamabo, had been suspended from the service of the company, at Tantumquerry in 1753, and from Anamabo in 1764, in both cases the charge being private trading. At the time of the second suspension he was accused of shipping on his own account 512 slaves in the *Duke of Marlborough* in 1761, to which he replied that the act of Parliament forbidding company servants to trade had not yet been passed when this was done (pp. 99-100). He is probably that employee of the company referred to by John Hippisley, as having been dismissed on the affidavit of one captain that he had sent a cargo of slaves to the West Indies (*Essays,* p. 65), though he was by no means the only company official to be dismissed for private trade. Richard Stockwell, thus dismissed, had set up a factory at Appolonia. Over such establishments as his and that of Richard Brew the company had no control.

[2] Miles Barber, a Liverpool merchant, who had petitioned on Feb. 26, 1767, to be allowed to complete a contract made with the French to deliver slaves in the River Gambia (C. O. 5: 223, p. 12). He owned a factory on the Isle de Los in 1779, which was said to have been destroyed later by "Bostonians". J. Machat, *Documents sur les Établissements Français de l'Afrique Occidentale au XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris, 1906), p. 128, n. 2.

[3] In a letter of July 1, 1770, Brew writes that the governor of Whydah is "realizing his fortune in slaves, and has sent the surgeon of the fort up to Annamaboe to agree with a captain of a ship to go down there and carry him and his slaves to the West Indies". His slaves, 150 in number, were being procured, while Captain Norris of the *Unity,* Liverpool, lay by, waiting for a cargo. *Treatise upon the Trade,* app. 4, pp. 68-69.

[4] Richard Oswald, a contractor for army supplies in the Seven Years' War, and a London merchant with many interests in America, was for years a large dealer in slaves, owning his own factory on Bence Island. For accounts of his shipments of slave cargoes to America see this work, vol. III., South Carolina.

been destroyed to prevent a discovery; but as I said before, what does it signify to you if a governor who is worth five hundred slaves ship fifty or one hundred every year, or if the whole are sent off at once?

The trade for many months past has been so very bad, and the opposition from Cape Coast Castle and Annamaboe Fort has been so very great, that the shipping and private traders have suffered inconceiveably; the ship *Ingram,* Capt. James Paisley, has been here now seven months, and has not purchased half her cargoe of slaves, though her complement is but three hundred and twenty; the *Corsican Hero,* late Smith, has been here upwards of four months; and has not purchased sixty slaves; the *Africa,* Capt. Smith of Bristol, has been here four months and has not purchased twenty; and the *Greenwich,* Capt. Harwood of Bristol, has been here upwards of three months, and has not purchased one slave from the natives; Capt. Brown, of the *Kitty,* of Liverpool, and Capt. Fleetwood, of the *Swallow,* from same port, have been each nine months at Annamaboe, and one for three hundred and thirty five, the other for two hundred and fifty slaves; indeed the trade is now so totally ruined, that we have been obliged to barter away two Gold Coast cargoes, amounting to eight hundred and fifty slaves, for Leeward goods, and to send the ships *Albany* and *Pembroke* down there, as we saw no prospect of getting them slaved off in any reasonable time at this place; yet the *Peggy,* Capt. Mill, was here and at Cape Coast no longer than four months, and carried off from between three hundred and fifty and four hundred slaves; and the *Richmond,* Capt. Rogers of London, a ship of three hundred tons, chartered and sent out by Mess. Ross and Mill, has been at Cape Coast little more than three months, and sails this day with four hundred slaves; this ship was sent out here with a cargoe of goods for Mess. Mill [5] and Bell, another cargoe for the general of Elmina, a fourth for the fiscal of Elmina, a fifth for the chiefs of Cormantyne and a sixth for the Dutch chief at Accra.

Our opposition from the Dutch for some years past has been very great; their home manufactures, if not quite so good, are infinitely cheaper, and go off to the full as well as ours,[6] and their slaves sell higher by twenty-five or thirty per cent. in their colonies than ours;

[5] The recurrence of the name Mill is not pure coincidence. James Mill was at this time one of the London committeemen; the firm Mill and Ross was doing a considerable business in slaves for South Carolina, and probably for other colonies as well; the governor of Cape Coast was David Mill; and Captain Mill of the *Peggy* was one of the favored captains on the coast. Three of these men were brothers, and it is probable that the fourth belonged to the same family, which was said to have made a fortune in private trade in slaves under cover of official position.

[6] The popularity of Dutch goods on the coast finds occasional mention throughout the century. Even the company recognized it by ordering that the committee on goods buy in Holland what could not be obtained in England, to complete a trading cargo. July 14, 1720, T 70: 131, pp. 19, 27.

from these advantages they are enabled to over-bid us on the Coast, and if they once get into the method of being supplied with English goods to mix with their own, we shall be assuredly cut out of this trade in a very little time; for it is well known that a mixture of Dutch and English goods is preferable on the Gold Coast to either English or Dutch singly; it will therefore be highly necessary to put a timely stop to these practices; at least members of the committee should be restrained from having any concern directly or indirectly in them. . . .

The council at Cape Coast is composed of Mr. Mill, governor; Mr. Bell, chief of Annamaboe, Mr. Trinder, chief of Winnebah; and Mr. Drew, chief of Accra, all of whom I have accused of mal practices, the three last in particular.[7] . . .

257. Richard Brew to Miles Barber (?)[1]

Castle Brew, August 25, 1771.

Dear Sir, . . . About seven months ago a gentleman, who is now a chief of one of the forts, acquainted me, that he was told by Mr. Alleyn, Captain Stephens's clerk, and who is now a writer in the service, that when the ship *Africa* went down to Accra, last voyage, after burying Capt. Stephens, Mr. Mill (who was Stephens's executor) took ashore the log book or church bible beforementioned, and that he had tore out several leaves in which were particularized the slaves he had sent on freight the preceding voyage or voyages; you will therefore please to observe when this book is produced, whether or not any such thing has been done, and if it has, I think you need no farther proofs, and dare to say that Mr. Bell, Mr. Petrie, and Mr. Grossle [2] will be found also to have shipped off a good many slaves in the same ship.

As I have given a sketch of the times here in the publick letter, there remains only to tell you that gold commands the trade; there is no buying a slave without one ounce of gold at least on it,[3] and the windward Coast has been so ransacked, that there is no such thing as getting gold, even though you sell your goods from forty to fifty per cent. under prime cost; the next best article is fine broad striped taffats, flowered cuttanees, Patna chintz, with small black flowers,

[7] Brew expresses the belief that the only hope for redress for the private traders is for Parliament to do away with the committee altogether.

[257] [1] *Treatise upon the Trade,* app. H, p. 104. This private letter accompanied that of the same date addressed to the merchants. If the recipient was not Miles Barber, he may have been Arthur Haywood.

[2] Gilbert Petrie was governor from Aug. 11, 1766, to Apr. 21, 1769; John Grossle, from that date until Aug. 11, 1770. Charles Bell's two terms were in 1756 and 1761. Claridge, *Hist. of the Gold Coast,* II. 582.

[3] Mistakes in the printing of this letter are corrected in a list of *errata.* The sentence is here printed in its corrected form.

fine white grounds, well chose printed linens and cottons, very large brass pans, fine Silesias, Danish and birdling guns, plain taffatys, fine mixed Romauls, sattin stripes, half pint tankards. Goods not in demand as follows; powder, pewter, knives, ells of no kind, halfsays, Negannepauls, Bejutapauls, checks, cherryderries, and blue bandanoes; there is at present no Ashantee trade, which is the reason powder and pewter are not called for; however it will not be prudent to send ships without these articles. . . .

Mr. Wallace, who now commands the *Africa,* was Capt. Stephens's chief mate all the three voyages he made to the Gold Coast; he should therefore be certainly brought before the bar of the house, and sworn whether he ever knew or heard of any slaves being shipped on freight on board the *Africa.* . . .[4]

258. Richard Brew to Merchants of Liverpool.[1]

Castle Brew, October 1st, 1771.

Gentlemen, I Did myself the honour to write to you the 25th of last August, copy of which goes herewith, but through hurry to get my letter on board the *Richmond,* I forgot to mention a common practice of the committee's governors, Messrs. Mill and Bell in particular, which is their selling great number of slaves to the general and fiscal of Elmina, for Portuguese tobacco, whenever that article is in great demand, the consequence of which is extremely prejudicial to the shipping; first, by getting supplied with a commodity which commands the trade from the natives, and secondly, by disposing of such a number of slaves to our natural rivals the Dutch, which should certainly circulate amongst the British shipping; to this it will be objected, that the captains of ships are at liberty to purchase tobacco as well as the governors; which is very true, but then parting with prime slaves, and slaves that are perhaps seasoned and used to the ships, would not only lengthen their voyages, but dishearten the rest of their cargoes; and it happens but seldom that the captains can barter goods for tobacco with the Portuguese, as our wary and industrious neighbours the Dutch take care either to send convoys down with the Portuguese, or dispatch them away in the night, with orders to stretch out to sea, to prevent the English ships from dealing with them. . . .

I am informed the excuse these gentlemen give for selling slaves to the Dutch is, to procure tobacco for the payment of the committee's slaves and other expences; but it is a known truth that not above one

[4] This must have been the *Africa,* Captain Wallace, consigned by Richard Oswald to John Lewis Gervais of South Carolina. See this work, vol. III., South Carolina, 1772.

[258] [1] *Treatise upon the Trade,* app. H, pp. 105-110.

tenth of what they purchase is consumed, otherwise than in the purchase of slaves. . . .[2]

A most pernicious practice has of late crept into the trade of the Gold Coast, which is the giving gold upon slaves; and it is greatly to be wished that some methods may be fallen upon to put a timely stop to it, otherwise it will be impossible for any man to continue to trade here with any prospect of success; Appolonia, the only place from which the shipping used to be supplied with gold, you are effectually shut out from; that fort, Dixcove, Succondee, and Commenda being factories to the governor of Cape Coast, who is so plentifully supplied with gold from these places, that he carries everything before him; for the truth of which I appeal to all the Liverpool and Bristol captains that have been here this year.

Formerly owners of ships used to send out double cargoes of goods, one for slaves, the other for gold; if slaves happened to be dearer than usual, the cargoe for gold was thrown into the slave cargoe in order to fill the ship; on the other hand, if slaves were reasonable the gold cargoe was disposed of for gold and ivory, at a profit of thirty, forty, or fifty per cent. which went a great way towards paying the portlidge bill in the West Indies; as I have frequently known from five to fifteen hundred pounds sterling in gold and ivory carried off from this coast, over and above a compleat cargoe of slaves. How strangely things are reversed now, you have experienced; we scarce see a ship go off with her complement of slaves, notwithstanding her cargoe is laid in from eighteen to twenty pounds sterling per head on an average, reckoning goods at prime cost, without a shilling charges on them; a great part of which they are obliged to sell where they can for gold, greatly under prime cost, or lie here till their provisions are all expended, and their bottoms eat out with the worms.

As the committee do not appear inclinable to make any regulations in favour of the private trader, I imagine you will be under the necessity of laying your grievances before parliament this next sessions. I have therefore only to add once more, gentlemen, that I am ready and willing to depose upon oath (before any person deputed for that purpose) to the truth of the following charges exhibited by me against the committee and their servants.

I. and principally, That every governor of Cape Coast since the year 1763, to the present governor (mr. Hippisley excepted) have shipped off great numbers of slaves on their accounts, contrary to the act of parliament, and restrictions of the committee. . . .

[2] Other methods whereby tobacco can be obtained are here enumerated. This commodity had become an important one upon the coast. Most of it was vended by the Portuguese, who, in addition to selling 400 or 500 rolls for gold, paid the customs demanded by the Dutch at Elmina in tobacco. Hippisley, chief of Cape Coast Castle in 1766, asserted that this payment maintained the Dutch settlement. *Essays,* p. 41.

III. That the governors of the forts, particularly Messrs. Mill and Bell, make a practice of selling considerable numbers of slaves annually to the Dutch, contrary to the laws and regulations of the service.

IV. That several of the governors continue to employ floating factories, to the great detriment of the shipping and free traders.

V. That the governors of the forts carry on an extensive trade with each other, contrary to act of Parliament, and greatly to the prejudice of the British fair trader; as the governor of Cape Coast (over and above the other advantages he reaps from the publick supplies) is so abundantly stocked with cargoes from England, that he can give the chiefs far better assortments than any ship whatsoever, and can afford a much better price, being complimented with the freight of his goods out, and not being saddled with any expences incidental to the private and fair trader. . . .[3]

By this opportunity, I expect to send you such proofs of Mr. Mill's having shipped off between sixty and seventy slaves on freight by the *Africa,* late Captain Stephens, the last time he left the Coast, as will clear up all your doubts.[4] . . .

259. Richard Brew to Miles Barber (?).[1]

Castle Brew, October 15, 1771.

Dear Sir . . . The articles in demand are the same as when I wrote to you last; gold is still the greatest of all articles in this golden country; the prohibition on powder, pewter, etc. as by my last, still continues. Slaves are exceeding scarce, price ten ounces men, and eight ounces women, to the blacks, and an ounce advance to the whites. Goods wanted by vessels in this road at present: the *Ingram* wants one hundred and twenty slaves, the *Corsican Hero* fifty or sixty, the *Nancy,* Cazneau, forty or fifty, the *Greenwich* one hundred and thirty, the *Africa* taken up. The *N*——— Ritchie; the *Barbara,* Culshaw; the *Venus,* Goodwin; the *Friendship,* Cummings;[2] the *Hannah,* Hughes; the *Charlotte,* Blundell; all new comers; and the *John,* Bold; the *Union,* Pole; the *Austin,* Wilcox, and Captain Price, soon expected, besides rum vessels;[3] I therefore leave you to judge of the shocking state of the trade here, and what reason you have to expect any alteration for the better; had the eight hundred slaves,

[3] Other charges relate to the governors' use of committee servants for private purposes.

[4] Brew's personal estimates of the character of Mill, Bell, Drew, and Trinder follow.

[259] [1] *Treatise upon the Trade,* app. H, pp. 111-112.

[2] Captain Cummings, or Cuming, delivered a cargo in Charleston in July, 1772. See this work, vol. III., South Carolina, 1772.

[3] *I. e.,* New England vessels.

that were sent off in the *Peggy,* Captain Mill, and the *Richmond,* chartered ship, circulated amongst the shipping, the *Ingram, Corsican Hero, Nancy, Greenwich* and *Africa,* would have been off the Coast, and would have left a fine opening for these new comers; besides, the price would have continued at nine and seven ounces.

Captain Culshaw has had great success in the time he has been down; he tells me, he has purchased fifty-seven slaves: he is a very industrious man, and I dare say, will make a voyage, if any man makes one this year. . . .

Indeed the disadvantages trade labours under just now are incredible, and I am much mistaken if any ship this year will get interest for her money, except the prices are very high in the West-Indies, and little or no mortality amongst the slaves; be assured, I will acquaint you with every material alteration in the trade, should any happen.

The letter by Captain Gold (which I fear you have not received) contained a certificate signed by thirteen captains of ships, relative to the risque [to] merchants in England, by the committee's not allowing private traders to lodge their effects in the forts in common with their servants.[4] . . .

260. Certificate of Isaac Garrick.[1]

Annamaboe, October 1st, 1771.

These are to certify all whom it may concern, that I (Isaac Garrick) was employed upwards of three years on the Coast, by David Mill, Esq; governor of Cape Coast Castle, in the following stations; first, as a factor at Shadoe, an English town three miles to the eastward of Barracoe, and afterwards as master of a shallop in the Gaboon trade; that during the time of my keeping the factory at the abovementioned place, there was a private trader, called John Hyde, came to settle at Shadoe also, of which I acquainted Mr. Mill, who immediately wrote me for answer, that I must endeavour to get him turned out of the town if possible, or trade in such a manner that it would be impossible for him to continue there without a very great

[4] The signatures were: "Master of the ship *Marlborough,* of Bristol, John Marshall, Ditto of the ship *John,* of Liverpool, Arthur Bold, Ditto of the ship *Maisguin,* of Bristol, Robert Howe, Ditto of the ship *Roebuck,* of ditto, Tho. Gullan, Ditto of the ship *Friendship,* of Barbadoes, Robert Erskine, Ditto of the ship *Swallow,* of Liverpool, Geo. Fleetwood, Ditto of the snow *Dispatch,* of ditto, John Ritchie, Ditto of the ship *Kitty,* of ditto, James Brown, Ditto of the ship *Sally,* of Boston, Dan. M'Carthy, Ditto of the ship *Sultan,* of Rhode Island, Silas Cook, Ditto of the brig *Othello,* of ditto, John Duncan, Ditto of the brig *Peggy,* of ditto, Charles Moore, Ditto of the sloop *Adventure,* of ditto, Thomas Rogers, N. B. Fourteen sail in the road of Annamaboe this day", Nov. 3, 1770. *Treatise,* p. 118.

[260] [1] *Treatise upon the Trade,* app. H, pp. 116-117. Brew accompanied his letters with a number of certificates testifying to the truth of his accusations, one of which is here printed.

loss; upon which I followed his instructions and soon got him turned out of the town.

And I also declare that on or about the month of September in the year 1769, the abovementioned David Mill, Esq; sent me off the Coast, a passenger in the ship *Africa,* commanded by the late Capt. John Stephens, in order to purchase a vessel for him in America, and he told me, he had shipped upwards of sixty slaves, which were marked, M S, upon his account and risque, to answer this purpose; that I accordingly did proceed in the said ship for the West Indies, having first settled my accounts with the said Mr. Mill, and received a note from him for fifteen pounds sterling, the balance due to me on leaving the Coast; that upon our arrival in the West Indies, I found it was impossible for me to go on with the plan of purchasing a vessel, owing to the great mortality amongst his slaves; that I then proceeded to America, and from thence to London; when I applied to Mess. Ross and Mill for the aforesaid balance due to me from Mr. Mill, produced to them my instructions, and note from Mr. Mill, which they refusing to pay, I drew up a petition to the committee of the company of merchants trading to Africa, in which I set forth the whole of my connections and transactions with Mr. Mill, which I shewed to his brother Capt. Hercules Mill, who told me, if I would make out my accounts, and suppress the petition, I should be immediately paid; which I accordingly did, and the next day waited upon Capt. Mill, at the Edinburgh coffee house, when he told me he was ready to pay me if I would deliver up my instructions and papers to him, which through necessity I was obliged to do, and then received from Capt. Mill, a bill on Mess. Ross and Mill, for my balance, which bill they accepted and paid me.

And I do further certify, and declare, that when I drew up the aforementioned petition to the committee, I shewed it to Samuel Smith, Esq;[2] of the old Jewry, London, who perused it more than once; for the truth of which I appeal to that gentleman, and also declare that I am ready and willing to make oath on the Holy Evangelists to the truth of what is set forth in every part of this certificate.

[2] Samuel Smith had in a letter to the *Public Advertiser,* June 30, 1771, renounced his support of the London committee and its friends. The committee was James Johnson, James Mill, and Samuel Bean (*Treatise,* pp. 50-53). This committee had been the centre of the attack on the conduct of the trade. Here, while there were said to be but fifty active traders, there were 1425 registered freemen, in contrast to Liverpool's 88 freemen. Of this large number, 194 were said to have been admitted in a single day, to influence the committee election of 1771. Among the 274 admitted in the year 1771, twenty were members of the House of Commons, eighteen were directors of the East India Company, attorneys, physicians, stock jobbers, or tradesmen, not ten were African traders (*ibid.,* app. G, pp. 37-38). Another specific charge against the London group was that five men had agreed to combine their strength in such a way that three of the five would always constitute the committee (*ibid.,* pp. 43-46). There was pending at the time these charges were published a bill to "regulate the admission of freemen into the company of merchants trading to Africa and the election of committee men thereof". *Ibid.,* app. G, p. 35; *C. J.,* XXXIII. 630-776, *passim.*

261. Liverpool Vessels for Africa, 1771.[1]

When clear'd		Ships	Where bound	No. of Slaves
January	17	*Agnes*	Windward Coast	200
	19	*Nancy*	Gold Coast	300
	22	*Corsican Hero*	Do.	300
	24	*John*	Windward Coast	200
	25	*Violet*	Do.	300
February	6	*Lord Cassills*	Old Calabar	400
	9	*Industry*	Windward Coast	200
	15	*Friendship*	Gambia	200
		Lively	Do.	200
		Jelliwar	Do.	100
	28	*Lark*	Windward Coast	100
March	6	*Providence*	Bonny	350
		Two Brothers	Gambia	300
	7	*Juno*	Senegal	100
		Dove	Windward Coast	100
	9	*Warren*	Do.	150
	20	*Hare*	Benin	400
	21	*Sam*	Senegal	100
	26	*Peggy*	Windward Coast	250
		Benin	Benin	450
	28	*Hector*	Old Calabar	400
April	6	*Hawk*	Windward Coast	300
	9	*Ferret*	Windward Coast	250
	15	*May*	Old Calabar	200
	18	*Tom*	Bonny	450
	20	*Mary*	Sirralone	300
	26	*Polly*	New Calabar	350
	29	*Gregson*	Bonny	500
May	3	*Edgar*	Do.	400
		Elizabeth	New Calabar	350
	7	*King of Prussia*	Cammeroons	250
	13	*St. John*	Gambia	300
	15	*Betty*	Bonny	450
	16	*Whim*	Cammeroons	200
		John	Windward Coast	250
	22	*Essex*	Do.	200
	24	*Mercury*	Gold Coast	200
		Jenny	Windward Coast	100
June	1	*Dalrymple*	Old Calabar	400
	6	*Rumbold*	Bonny	450
	8	*Tom*	Windward Coast	250
	13	*Lancashire Witch*	Do.	300
	15	*Prince George*	Do.	200
	17	*Little Will*	Windward Coast	300
		Andromache	Old Calabar	200
	18	*Hazard*	Windward Coast	200
		Nancy	Bonny	350
	19	*Molly*	Windward Coast	200
	20	*Sportsman*	Old Calabar	400
	21	*Aston*	Gambia	300
	25	*Apollo*	Windward Coast	200
	29	*Jenny*	New Calabar	350
July	2	*Nanny*	Bonny	450
	4	*Ellis*	Bonny	500
		Charlotte	Gold Coast	100
		Juba	Old Calabar	400
		Plumper	Bonny	450

[261] [1] Enfield, *History of Liverpool*, p. 68.

[*Liverpool Vessels*—continued:]

When clear'd		Ships	Where bound	No. of Slaves
July	8	*Harriet*	Windward Coast	200
	9	*Corker*	Do.	300
	12	*Carrick*	Do.	100
		Ann	Bonny	350
	13	*Little Ben*	Windward Coast	100
	19	*Rose*	Do.	250
	23	*Jack*	Gold Coast	250
	24	*Nancy*	Bonny	400
	31	*Hannah*	Gold Coast	300
August	3	*Peggy*	Gold Coast	100
	7	*Sisters*	Do.	100
	13	*Society*	Do.	300
		Unity	Do.	300
	14	*Liberty*	Bonny	400
	15	*Lord North*	Do.	400
		Barbadoes Packet	Windward Coast	200
	16	*Mentor*	Gold Coast	300
		Townside	Windward Coast	200
	22	*Union*	Gold Coast	300
	23	*Captain*	Windward Coast	300
	26	*Bess*	Gold Coast	250
	27	*Pearle*	Windward Coast	200
	28	*Swift*	Old Calabar	200
	30	*President*	Do.	200
September	4	*Fox*	Cammeroons	200
	5	*Prince of Wales*	Bonny	600
		Patty	Windward Coast	250
		Renown	Do.	200
	17	*Nancy*	Do.	200
		Myrtle	Do.	300
	23	*Molly*	Gambia	300
	27	*Meredith*	Sirralone	250
		Portland	Windward Coast	250
	28	*Marcia*	Old Calabar	200
		John	Gold Coast	300
October	1	*William*	Windward Coast	150
	17	*Matty*	Do.	250
		Hannah	Angola	wood
	20	*Integrity*	Old Calabar	250
November	2	*Austin*	Bonny	350
	8	*Saville*	Windward Coast	250
		Camaranca	Do.	200
	20	*Dispatch*	Gold Coast	300
	21	*Ferret*	Windward Coast	150
	23	*Sally*	Do.	300
	25	*Lilly*	Do.	200
December	9	*Mars*	Do.	250
	9	*Bella*	Cammeroons	250
				Total 28,200[2]

[2] One estimate of the total number of negroes carried from Africa in 1771, in 195 vessels, gives (Add. MSS. 38416, f. 3):

"From Gum Coast	43 Ships carried	3310 Negroes	
the Windward Coast	56 Do	11960	"
Gold Coast	29 Do	7525	"
Bite of Benin	63 Do	23301	"
Ivory Coast	4 Do	1051	"
	195 Vessels	47147"	

262. Richard Brew (?) to a Liverpool Merchant.[1]

Gold Coast, 30th March, 1772.

. . . The times since the *Ingram* sailed are infinitely worse than when she lay here; for these three months, I will take upon me to say, there has not been three hundred slaves sold amongst all the shipping in this road of Annamaboe, and we have seldom had less than from twelve to eighteen sail of topsail vessels in it. They have at last got the price of the slaves up to eleven ounces for men, and nine ounces for women;[2] therefore, I would not have you, by any means, be concerned to Annamaboe for some time. There is no buying slaves now without you give two ounces of gold on each; to procure which, you must sell your goods 20 per cent. under prime cost, and you may think yourself happy to get it even at that rate. The black traders are now got to such a pass, they will not take the primest smoak taffty, as they call it, but will oblige you to give seven ackies of gold in its stead, and they will have gold also for any article that is not ready sale in the market; in short, the nature of the trade is so much altered, that a man who was here but two years ago would be at his wit's end to make a purchase.

The figures used by Pitman for this year give approximately the same result. To Liverpool he attributes 107 vessels and 29,250 negroes; to London, 58, and 8136 blacks; Bristol, 23, and 8810; Lancaster, 4, carrying 950 (*Development of the British West Indies*, p. 67). These figures, which are to be found in Edward Long's *History of Jamaica* (I. 492), in Bryan Edwards's *History of the West Indies* (II. 65), and in the *Treatise upon the Trade* (app. A, p. 1), and which reappear frequently in subsequent writing on the slave trade, make no allowance for American vessels, of which the *Treatise upon the Trade* (app. A, p. 2) states that there were at this time between 60 and 70.

[262] [1] *Treatise upon the Trade,* app. H, p. 122.

[2] The matter of price is frequently reverted to in the *Treatise.* Slaves from the Windward Coast were said to have doubled in price since 1756; those which could be purchased in 1763 for from 60 to 70 bars were in 1771 bringing 120 bars (*ibid.,* pp. 60-62). To the subject of price and profit Brew makes some contribution in a letter of Apr. 10, 1771: "I never can be brought to think that Mr. Mill, Mr. Bell, or any other gentlemen in the service, are so simple as to sell a prime Gold Coast man slave (as no other would be accepted) for a bill of 20 *l.* when there is a moral certainty, that such a slave would fetch 36 *l.* sterling in the West Indies; allowing then a man slave to fetch in the West Indies 36 *l.*

"From which deduct 10 per cent. commission	£ 3.	12.	0
Freight 5 *l.* mortality 1 *l.* 16 *s.*	6	16	0
Doctors' head money		1	
London bill	20		
	£30.	9.	0

"There appears to be a loss on every man slave of 5 *l.* 11. 0 and as women are said to be sold for only 16 *l.* in bills, and differ only 40 *s.* from the price of men in the West Indies, it will appear that those gentlemen will lose 7 *l.* 11 *s.* sterling on every woman; to this it will be objected that they are prohibited by the Committee instructions from shipping slaves on freight, and have no alternative but to sell them for goods or bills; which last method they tell you they are obliged to take, in order to support their credit and pay for the goods sent them out by their friends" (*ibid.,* app. H, p. 97). In 1776 the price was said to be 13 oz. and 11 oz., £32 2 *s.* Eg. MSS. 1162 A, f. 236.

Another great disadvantage every vessel must labour under, that comes here is, that Mr. Mill, governor of Cape Coast Castle, and Mr. Bell, governor of Annamaboe, are both determined to go home with the next annual store ship, and till then you may be assured, They will not only sell the shipping no slaves, but all the forts will be kept employed in purchasing slaves for them, and, I dare say, will carry off between them at least one thousand slaves: I therefore leave you to judge what prospect a ship can have, till those two gentlemen are gone; for slaves they must and will have in spite of Fate.

263. Liverpool Riot over Wages.[1]

[Liverpool, September 4, 1775.]

I have scarce time to inform you of the most dreadful thing that ever happened here, last Friday evening. The crew of the *Derby,* Captain Yates, for Africa, unrigged the vessel, owing to the owners only offering them twenty shillings per month, after they had promised them thirty shillings, a month ago: taking advantage of the great plenty of sailors; however, nine were apprehended and sent to goal; the same evening three thousand assembled, broke the goal open, and took their companions out; they have since paraded the docks, etc, stopping all vessels ready for sailing. On Monday they in a body waited on the magistrates, praying redress and support; they came to no terms, and were to meet next day, which they did, and the merchants agreed to give the wages they demanded: on this they dispersed, and spent the day in the greatest festivity. In the meantime 300 able bodied men were hired at 10 *s.* per day, to apprehend those who had been most forward in the riot. The sailors discovering this, again met at nine o'clock the same evening, unarmed, and went to the 'Change, where some straggler of their party unfortunately broke a pane; on this the new appointed constables fired upon them from the 'Change, (no Riot Act being read,)[2] and seven were killed and about forty wounded; and then a general attack was made with stones, etc. at the windows, when they dispersed: but the cries and groans of the wounded were dismal. The sailors, this morning, again assembled to upwards of 1000, all with red ribbons in their hats; they went to Paris;[3] the gunsmith, took near 300 musquets, half of which are burst, also powder, balls, etc. from other places, and about one o'clock assailed the 'Change with two large cannon, and their small arms. In this attack four persons were killed; they have since entirely destroyed the house, furniture,

[263] [1] *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser,* Sept. 4, 1775, printed in Richard Brooke, *Liverpool as it was during the last Quarter of the Eighteenth Century,* p. 330 n.

[2] Other accounts speak of the reading of the Riot Act.

[3] Note in Brooke, "Parr's."

etc. of Mr. Ratcliffe, a Guinea merchant, who was active against them, and they are at this moment battering Mr. James house, which is fortified.[4]

P. S. The soldiery who are sent for, are arrived, and are now in engagement with the rioters.[5]

264. The Trade of Loango.[1]

The principal trade of these people is that in slaves, whom they sell to the Europeans, that is to say, to the French, the English, and the Dutch, who transport them to their American Colonies. The slaves taken from Loango and other neighbouring kingdoms, pass for the blackest and most robust in Africa. They are taken in war by those who sell them. . . .

Those who have made captives sell them to merchants of that country, or bring them to the coasts, but they are not allowed themselves to sell them to the Europeans: they are obliged to address themselves to brokers, nominated by the minister of commerce, who treat with the captains of ships. These slaves are estimated according to their age, sex, and strength; they pay for them in European goods.

Though the different kingdoms of which we are speaking be not far distant from each other; the manner of valuing goods and turning slaves to account is not uniform among them. On the coasts of Malimba and Cabinda, that is to say, in the kingdoms of Kakongo and n'Goio, they reckon by goods; and in Loango by pieces; what

[4] Thomas Ratcliffe. Another account speaks of the destruction of the houses of two other Guinea merchants, Thomas Yates and John Simmons. The damage done to the property of Mr. James was estimated at £1000.

[5] For a complete account of this conflict over wages on slaving vessels see Brooke, pp. 328-347, and notes. That author has there printed such accounts of the riot as appeared in the London and Liverpool papers, and in the *Annual Register,* with references to other contemporary accounts. The struggle illustrates one of the effects on the trade brought about by the approach of the American Revolution:

"The inability of purchasing, and providing for, Negroes, which the present disputes had occasioned in our West-India Islands, together with the loss of the American market for slaves, and the impediments caused by the proclamations of council against the exportation of arms and ammunition, had, all together nearly extinguished our African trade. This loss was more particularly felt in the port of Liverpoole, which had possessed a much greater part of that commerce than any other in the kingdom. As the Guinea ships now arrived they were laid up, in an uncertainty of their future disposition, whilst their crews looked in vain for other employment. As other branches of commerce were also slackened in a great degree . . . the number of seamen out of employ in that town became very great, and according to some accounts amounted to about 3000." *Annual Register,* 1776, p. 44. The *Gentleman's Magazine,* XLV. 450, Sept., 1775, contains a brief account of the riot:

"About forty sail of Guinea ships are now laid up, and all that may arrive will be laid up also, for the embargo upon arms prevents any from sailing, even admitting there was encouragement for the sale of negroes in the West Indies, and the payment good." *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser,* Sept. 8, 1775.

[264] [1] Abbé Proyart, "History of Loango, Kakongo, and other Kingdoms in Africa", 1776, in John Pinkerton, *A General Collection of the best and most interesting Voyages* (London, 1814), XVI. 548-597.

they call goods, is a piece of cotton or Indian cloth ten or fourteen ells long. The negroes before striking a bargain go and mark off at the captain's store, which is on the sea side, the pieces of stuffs they choose to take; and he who has sold four slaves at fifteen goods a head, goes to receive sixty pieces of the stuffs marked off. In the kingdoms where they buy by goods it is customary to give for each slave what is called "the over and above", which commonly consists of three or four guns and as many swords; fifteen pots of brandy, fifteen pounds of gunpowder, and some dozens of knives. If these articles be not always given them, others are substituted as an equivalent.

At Loango they reckon by pieces, and every sort of goods is entered in a line of the account with the stuffs to form the piece; thus, when they say a slave costs thirty pieces, it does not mean he costs thirty pieces of stuffs, but thirty times the ideal value which they think fit to fix on, and call a piece; so that a single piece of stuff is sometimes estimated at two or three pieces, as sometimes several objects must form a single piece. This difference in the manner of reckoning is nothing at bottom, and the price of slaves is nearly the same in all the kingdoms bordering on Loango.

It is possible by inspecting the following account to estimate the real value of the piece, and to see what are the goods which commonly pass among the negroes in exchange for slaves.

I have paid at Ma-nboukou, for the slave Makviota, twenty-two years of age, whom he has sold me at thirty pieces,

An indienne of fourteen ells valued at two and a half pieces	2½
Two guineas (they are cotton cloths dyed deep blue) each valued at two and a half pieces	5
A chaffelat (white grape), and a bajutapeau (hog's cheek), fourteen ells each (they are cotton cloths) estimated at four pieces	4
A neganopeau of 14 ells and a great nicané of 9½ ells (other cotton cloths), estimated at three and a half pieces	3½
A piece of handkerchiefs of 9 ells, estimated at a piece and a half	1½
A rod (about an ell and a quarter of thick woollen stuff) estimated at a piece	1
A girdle of red cloth (an ell long by a foot broad) estimated at a piece	1
Two common guns, valued at two pieces	2
Two barrels of gunpowder (about 5 lbs. each) valued at two pieces	2
Two bags of leaden musket balls, (weight 3 lbs. each) valued at half a piece	0½
Two swords, valued at each a quarter of a piece	0½
Two dozens of common sheath knives, estimated at half a piece	0½
Two bars of iron (weight both together 20 lb.) valued at a piece	1
Five pots of Dutch ware, valued at half a piece	0½
Four barrels of brandy, each containing five pots, valued at four pieces	4
Ten strings of bugles (glass beads, of which chaplets are made) valued at half a piece	0½
Total	30 pieces.
I have paid moreover to the broker for his trouble the value of six pieces in guns, powder, swords, and brandy	6 pieces.
	36 pieces.

Besides the pieces determined on for each slave, the captain must also, ere the bargain be closed, make a present to the Mafouka and the brokers who have served him best, and whom he is very glad to attach to himself: these presents are made in coral, services of plate, carpets, and other moveables, more or less precious.

Slaves are at present much dearer than formerly, at least to the French; for they may be dear with respect to one nation and not to another; the French, English and Dutch alike make their exchanges with goods, but these goods differ; so that the dearth of slaves to one nation depends on the price which she herself puts on the goods she carries to the negroes, and this price, as it may be imagined, must vary by reason of the better or worse understanding which reigns among individuals engaged in the same commerce. It would be easy for them not to pay for slaves more than their just value, or even below it, if it were moreover allowable to exercise monopoly and be more unjust towards the barbarian and the stranger than to the citizen, but through want of good understanding among the captains the reverse always takes place; the slaves are bought as it were by auction, and at more than their value. A reasonable price however is sometimes fixed, which they agree not to exceed in their purchases; but even then, every one for himself, desiring to make a ready bargain, renders this convention illusory, by a tacit agreement with the brokers, to pay them in secret a higher price for him whom they have publicly bargained for, to save appearances. The matter at present has come to this pitch, that the negroes are themselves afraid lest the French should in the end make up their minds to renounce a commerce which becomes daily more and more expensive to them. An old Mafouka one day came to see a missionary respecting this subject, and imagining that the king of France was to be treated with in the same way as the king of Kakongo, and that a missionary could indiscriminately preside over commerce or announce the gospel; thou must, says he, "write to the king of France, and advise him, for his own advantage and ours, to establish thee here to see that the captains of ships do not buy any more of our slaves below the reasonable price, for we see very well, that after having bought them of us too dear they will finish by buying no more of us at all."

The function of the brokers is not limited to facilitating the slave trade; they are also charged with superintending the execution of the regulations established by the king or the Mafouka, the most important of which is, that there shall not be sold any slaves to the Europeans except those which have been taken in war or purchased from abroad. Every slave born in the kingdom is under the protection of the Mafouka, and may appeal against his master, should he be inclined to sell him to the Europeans, unless he have given him

that right through his own misconduct; for the law authorises a master to rid himself of a slave, who may have been guilty of bad faith, rebellion, or any other crime. The Mafouka of Kakongo, to prevent the violences and frauds which might be exercised in this trade, has issued prohibitions against the brokers from trafficking in slaves during the night time, or even from introducing them into the stores of the Europeans, under pretext of shewing them to the captains. They are equally forbidden to receive, without an express permission, advance or earnest for the price of the slaves who have not as yet been delivered up (pp. 584-587). . . .

265. Edmund Burke to Harry Garnet, 1777.[1]

. . . I shall only trouble you with one point more, which is to recommend to your very serious consideration the consequences which will probably attend any project for altering the present constitution of the African Company. The act upon which it stands was made by the most experienced men upon the most mature deliberation. It contains more checks and controls, and more effectual means to prevent abuses than attend any official Establishment at present known. No Establishment of that extent, in this, or in any Country, is maintained at so moderate a charge. It is not every man who is loud in complaint of grievance, that is equally zealous for redressing it; and nothing is more usual than for men to decry an establishment on account of some lesser Evils, in order to introduce Systems productive of much greater. At any rate, I trust you will have the foresight not to take any part in overturning the present mode of Administration until you are made to see dis-

[265] [1] Archives, Merchant Venturers of Bristol, closing portion of a holograph letter of Edmund Burke, M. P. for Bristol, to the Master of Merchants Hall, Bristol. From 1772 or 1773 until this time the organization of the trade was receiving much attention and there is a large amount of material on the form it should take as well as on the state of the forts on the African coast. In all this there is little which throws light on the trade itself (see House of Lords MSS., for each year; Eg. MSS. 1162 A; Add. MSS. 14034, ff. 245-273). The Board of Trade and the Privy Council had had under consideration, in 1774, an additional duty of 40 *s.* laid by Jamaica on slaves imported. On this the board had reported that the legislature had no power to lay a duty on commerce, but that it was unnecessary to disavow the act since it had but a year to run. The governor was to be instructed to allow no further increase of the duty. The Jamaica merchants in their hearing before the board testified that the duty on twenty-six cargoes had amounted to £15,000 (*Acts P. C. C.,* 1766-1783, pp. 407-408; Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce,* III. 574-575). In November, 1774, Jamaica laid a duty of £5 on every negro imported, the reason offered for the act being the excessive size of the importation. Burke at that time notified the master of the Merchant Venturers of this threat to the interests of Bristol traders, and the society petitioned against the measure. P. R. O., B. T. 6 : 2, B 31, 33, 34; Latimer, *Merchant Venturers,* p. 184.

tinctly what is proposed to be substituted in its place.[2] If this precaution had been used on other occasions many mischievous designs would have been nipped in the bud, and the impatience of present inconveniences, often slight and curable, would not be made the means of bringing upon men the heaviest and most lasting Evils.[3]

[2] The Bristol Merchant Venturers were following the London hearings on the trade and were supplied by the friends of the trade with copious information. On Apr. 16, 1777, Richard Camplin, secretary to the London committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa sent to Harry Garnet, for the information of the Bristol freemen of the African Company, copies of petitions, resolutions, and reports which were then under consideration by the Lords of Trade. Archives, Merchant Venturers, box V., African Trade.

[3] Parliament had been regularly granting £13,000 a year for the upkeep of the African establishments. On Jan. 29, 1777, the committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa petitioned for greater financial aid for the upkeep and repair of the West Coast forts (the parliamentary grants from 1750 to 1776 equalled £343,400). This petition was placed upon the table while the Board of Trade, at the request of the House of Commons, examined the state of the African trade. Its report was made on Apr. 30, 1777, and for a month a committee considered the subject (*C. J.*, XXXVI. 94, 456). On May 30 two resolutions were brought in by the committee and accepted by the House:

"Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That the Words following, in the Return from the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, namely, 'That a private Trade, directly tending to a Monopoly, hath been set up and established by the Governors and Chiefs of the Forts in Africa; and that this Private Trade, so injurious to the Interests of the Public, hath been carried on by them in Conjunction with Persons at Home, some one or more of whom have, at the same Time, been Members of the Committee above mentioned', do not relate to any of the Nine Members who constitute the present Committee of Merchants trading to Africa.

"Resolved, That (it appearing to this Committee, as well from the Return of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, as from the Evidence produced in Support thereof, that several Abuses are alledged to prevail in the Manner of carrying on the Trade of the Gold Coast and Whydah) it is the Opinion of this Committee, That the same may Deserve the Attention and future Consideration of Parliament".

A motion to request his Majesty to ask the Board of Trade for a plan for supporting the forts was superseded by a motion to adjourn. A summary of the evidence presented to the Board of Trade is to be found in Macpherson, *Annals,* III. 603-606. The complaints were: excessive increase in the price of slaves; development of a monopoly of trade in the hands of the company's servants; carrying of foreign manufactures to the coast instead of English goods; substitution of inferior slaves for those of the Gold Coast; neglect to keep the forts in repair. The company was also accused of delivering an insufficient number to the colonies: "During the last two years, the colonies did not receive 16,000 annually from all parts of Africa, even when any of those purchased there escaped being taken by the American privateers on their passage to the West Indies."

The profits of the trade were said to be absorbed between company officials and native traders. It was also charged that the African traders were not men of large property, and when deprived of the advantage of procuring articles on trust they were obliged to drop out of the business. John Roberts, "Cursory Observations on the Trade to Africa", Eg. MSS. 1162 A (also in print as a pamphlet, B. M.), ff. 222-225, p. 5.

The method of credit in the colonies was likewise a subject of complaint at this time. Planters gave their own bonds for five years instead of bills of exchange for twelve or eighteen months. The bills of exchange could be used to make payments, but now the British merchant had nothing but the planters' bonds, and "many of the African merchants have been obliged to stop payment leaving great sums owing to the merchants of London, and the manufacturers of Manchester and Birmingham for goods." Eg. MSS., 1162 A, f. 231.

266. Committee of the Company of Merchants to the Board of Trade.[1]

[April 15, 1777.]

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, The Memorial of the Committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa.

Sheweth, That the Number of Negroes exported from the Gold Coast of Africa, commencing with the Year 1758, according to the Return made to the Committee, has been as follows

1758	2203	1764	4520	1770	7203
1759	3819	5	2360	1	5770
1760	4241	6	2375	2	3725
1761	3483	7	4002	3	6820
1762	4087	8	5781	4	8156
1763	4145	9	5905	5	8108
6 Years	21,978	6 Years	24,903	6 Years	39,782[2]

Therefore it appears to the Committee the annual exportation has increased to almost double in the last six Years what it was in the first six Years, instead of Having Decreased as is asserted.

[266] [1] Archives, Merchant Venturers of Bristol, box V., African Trade, bundle S, no. 4.

[2] Latimer states that after the outbreak of the American Revolution the trade was virtually suspended (*Bristol, Eighteenth Century,* p. 416), but there was no hint of this in the reports from the coast in the spring of 1776. On Apr. 12 David Mill wrote from Cape Coast Castle: "The Trade has rather fallen off within these six weeks, attributed in a great measure to the Fantees being down to Leeward settling a dispute between the Accras and Akims, it is however likely to be equally as good as the last year; a good number of Slaves having already been shipp'd for the West India". John Dixon from Commenda, Thomas Trinder from James Fort, Accra, and Lionel Alson from Fort William, Whydah, all reported at this time that the trade was for the moment bad because of disputes among the natives; though Richard Miles reported from Tantumquerry that a greater number of slaves had been purchased there the preceding year than ever before, and that the present year promised to be as good (House of Lords MSS., 1776, Apr. 12-19). The reports of 1777 record poor trade at Appolonia, James Fort, Accra, Cape Coast Castle, and Fort William, Whydah. This is largely attributed to the troubles between the Ashantis and the Fantis (H. of L. MSS., 1777, Feb. 26-28). In 1778 Richard Miles wrote from Cape Coast that after a period of good trade it had fallen off because of an attempt to reduce the prices paid for negroes. This attempt the arrival of a French vessel had defeated. The trade from Accra was now hampered, not by trouble between Fantis and Ashantis but between Dutch and Danes (H. of L. MSS., 1778, Feb. 14-19). According to Macpherson (III. 617) 58 vessels were sent from England to Africa in 1777.

The information about the price of slaves during the early years of the Revolution is curiously conflicting. Clarkson (*Impolicy of the Slave Trade,* 1788, p. 25) stated that the price on the West Coast fell to £7, while in the colonies a slave would bring from £45 to £48. Yet in the island of Martinique negroes were said to be cheaper than in Africa (June 20, 1777, C. O. 5: 249, p. 86). John Roberts, in "Cursory Observations on the Trade to Africa", May 4, 1778, argued that the war against America had worked no great hardship to African traders, since their vessels, though often seized by privateers, were adequately insured, and the amounts paid for the negroes in Africa were so much smaller than in earlier years. Eg. MSS. 1162 A, ff. 222-224.

267. The Case of the *Zong*, 1783.[1]

The ship *Zong,* or *Zung,* Luke Collingwood master, sailed from the island of St. Thomas, on the coast of Africa, the 6th September, 1781, with four hundred and forty slaves (or four hundred and forty-two) and seventeen Whites on board, for Jamaica; and on the 27th November following she fell in with that island; but, instead of proceeding to some port, the master, either through ignorance or a sinister intention, ran the ship to leeward, alleging that he mistook Jamaica for Hispaniola.

Sickness and mortality had by this time taken place, which is almost constantly the case on board slave-ships, through the avarice of those most detestable traders, which induces them to crowd, or rather to pack, too many slaves together in the holds of their ships; so that on board the *Zong,* between the time of her leaving the coast of Africa and the 29th of November 1781, sixty slaves and upwards, and seven White people, died; and a great number of the remaining slaves, on the day last mentioned, were sick of some disorder or disorders, and likely to die, or not to live long.

These circumstances of sickness and mortality are necessary to be remarked, and also the consequences of them—*viz.* that the dead and dying slaves would have been a dead loss to the owners, and, in some proportion, a loss also to the persons employed by the owners, unless some pretence or expedient had been found to throw the loss upon the insurers, as in the case of Jetsam or Jetson—*i.e.* a plea of necessity to cast overboard some part of a cargo to save the rest. These circumstances, I say, are necessary to be remarked, because they point out the most probable inducement to this enormous wickedness.

The sickness and mortality on board the *Zong,* previous to the 29th November 1781 (the time when they began to throw the poor Negroes overboard alive), was not occasioned by the want of water; for it was proved that they did not discover till that very day, the

[267] [1] Prince Hoare, *Memoirs of Granville Sharp,* app. VIII., pp. xvii-xviii, "An Account of the Murder of One Hundred and Thirty-two Negro Slaves on Board the Ship *Zong,* or *Zung,* with some Remarks on the Arguments of an eminent Lawyer in Defence of that inhuman Transaction, enclosed in the Letter of the 2d July, 1783, to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty." The case (Gregson *et al. v.* Gilbert *et al.*) was heard in the Court of King's Bench, before Lord Chief Justice Mansfield and Justices Wills and Buller. The counsel for the owners were John Lee and Mr. Chambre, for the insurers, Messrs. Davenport, Pigot, and Heywood (*Substances of Debates on a Resolution for Abolishing the Slave Trade . . . 10th June, 1806,* p. 177). This account, sent to the Lords of the Admiralty by Granville Sharp, was accompanied by a letter in which he added further details, by a petition from the insurers of the *Zong,* plaintiffs, against Messrs. William, John, and James Gregson and others, Liverpool merchants and owners of the vessel, and by the minutes of court proceedings, May 22, 23, 1783 (*ibid.,* pp. 242-244). Much of the publicity which this case received was owing to Sharp's activity. A copy of his account to the Admiralty was also sent to the Duke of Portland and to the newspapers.

29th November (or the preceding day) that the stock of fresh water was reduced to two hundred gallons: yet the same day, or in the evening of it, "before any soul had been put to short allowance", and before there was any present or real want of water, "the master of the ship called together a few of the officers, and told them to the following effect:—that, if the slaves died a natural death, it would be the loss of the owners of the ship; but if they were thrown alive into the sea, it would be the loss of the underwriters":[2] and, to palliate the inhuman proposal, he the said Collingwood pretended, that "it would not be so cruel to throw the poor sick wretches (meaning such slaves) into the sea, as to suffer them to linger out a few days under the disorders with which they were afflicted, or expressed himself to the like effect." To which proposal the mate (whose name is Colonel James Kelsal) objected, it seems, at the first, and said "there was no present want of water to justify such a measure": But "the said Luke Collingwood prevailed upon the crew, or the rest of them, to listen to his said proposal; and the same evening, and two or three or some few following days, the said Luke Collingwood picked, or caused to be picked out, from the cargo of the same ship, one hundred and thirty-three slaves, all or most of whom were sick or weak, and not likely to live; and ordered the crew by turns to throw them into the sea; which most inhuman order was cruelly complied with." I am informed, by a memorandum from the deposition of Kelsal the chief mate (one of the murderers), that fifty-four persons were actually thrown overboard alive on the 29th of November; and that forty-two more were also thrown overboard on the 1st December. And on this very day, 1st December, 1781, before the stock of water was consumed, there fell a plentiful rain, which, by the confession of one of their own advocates, "continued a day or two, and enabled them to collect six casks of water, which was full allowance for eleven days, or for twenty-three days at half-allowance"; whereas the ship actually arrived at Jamaica in twenty-one days afterwards—*viz.* on the 22d December, 1781. They seem also to have had an opportunity of sending their boat for water no less than thirteen days sooner, *viz.* on the 9th December, when they "made the west end of Jamaica, distant two or three leagues only," as I am informed by a

[2] The affair came to the courts and thence to public knowledge through the refusal of the underwriters to pay the insurance. The owners brought suit for the slaves at 30 *l.* each, and were given a verdict in the Court of King's Bench, whereupon, the underwriters petitioned the Court of Exchequer for a review of the evidence. Lord Mansfield, in allowing a second trial on behalf of the underwriters, said: "The matter left to the jury, was, whether it was from necessity; for they had no doubt (though it shocks one very much) that the case of slaves was the same as if horses had been thrown overboard" (*Memoirs of Sharp,* p. 241). This made excellent material for the campaign for abolition which was inaugurated shortly after this, with Sharp as chairman of the committee which directed the work. See introduction, p. liv.

person who was on board: and yet, notwithstanding this proof of a possibility that they might perhaps obtain further supplies by rain, or that they might be able to hold out with their new-increased stock of water till they might chance to meet with some ship, or be able to send to some island for a further supply, they nevertheless cast twenty-six more human persons alive into the sea, even after the rain, whose hands were also fettered or bound; and which was done, it seems, in the sight of many other unhappy sufferers that were brought up upon deck for the same detestable purpose, whereby ten of these miserable human creatures were driven to the lamentable necessity of jumping overboard, to avoid the fettering or binding of their hands, and were likewise drowned. . . .[3]

268. Sale of Negroes, the *Bloom,* Robert Bostock, 1784.[1]

Sales of 307 slaves (103 men, 51 women, 99 boys, 54 girls), the lowest price being £21 for a woman and £40 each for man, a boy, and 2 girls, £9858 2 10

[3] Sharp goes on to relate that the lack of water was not the motive for this wholesale slaughter, since the vessel had at least two hundred gallons of fresh water and neither crew nor slaves had been put on short allowance. The remainder of the letter is an argument for bringing a charge of murder against the mate and any of the crew involved. The captain, Collingwood, was dead. Sharp quotes John Lee, advocate for the owners, as saying, "so far from the charge of murder lying against these people, there is not the least imputation—of cruelty I will not say, but—of impropriety." *Memoirs,* p. xx.

Two years later another insurance case brought forth an interesting decision from Lord Mansfield. The underwriters of a Bristol vessel were "not to pay any loss that may happen in boats during the voyage (mortality of negroes by natural death excepted); and not to pay for mortality by mutiny, unless the same amount to 10 *l.* per cent. to be computed upon the first cost of the ship, outfit and cargo, valuing negroes so lost as 35 *l.* per head". The negroes, 225 in number, mutinied twice. Fifty-five died on the Middle Passage. The underwriters paid for 19 who had been killed in the mutiny or had died of their wounds. The plaintiff contended that all 55 died as a result of the mutiny. He also contended that the negroes had sold for less in the West Indies because of the mutiny and that he should be recompensed for that loss also. Lord Mansfield dismissed this loss as outside the insurance. He also ruled that those negroes who died from jumping overboard or swallowing salt water had not died from injuries received in the mutiny and therefore the underwriters were not responsible. Mrs. Helen T. Catterall, *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro,* I. 19-20; see also p. 22 for other cases concerned with problems of insurance.

[268] [1] Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* p. 606. In 1777 there were 58 vessels sent from England to the African coast, 31 of which came from Liverpool; in 1778, there were 41, of which 26 came from Liverpool; in 1779, there were 28, of which 11 were Liverpool vessels (Clarkson, *Impolicy of the Slave Trade,* p. 125). After 1780 the trade revived and even exceeded in amount the traffic before 1777 (Africanus, *Remarks on the Slave Trade,* 1788, p. 84 n.). While the war lessened the trade to Africa and imperilled the cargoes carried to the West Indies, it opened another source of supply. Dutch and French slavers were not infrequently captured by the English and their cargoes disposed of in the West Indies. One such capture was made by the *Sally* in 1781, when 350 negroes were removed from a Dutch Guineaman. These were at the time reckoned at £50 each in Jamaica (Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* p. 564). Williams says (p. 566) that in 1783 eighty-five vessels with a capacity of 39,170 slaves sailed from Liverpool. The author of *A General and Descriptive History of Liverpool* (pp. 240-242) adds that one Liverpool house, designated by him as "T.I.B.", sent out seven slave vessels; twenty houses sent one vessel each. In 1784 five was the largest number despatched by a single firm ("B.D."); in 1785 the same house sent seven vessels to the coast. All evidence points to a rapid revival of the

Charges:			
To 6 slaves at the average £32 2 *s.* 2½ *d.* freight for Captain Bostock	£ 192	13	3
To 1 slave for James Oddie the second mate, sold by desire of Captain B.	30	0	0
To Captain Bostock's privilege on £9635 9 *s.* 7 *d.* at 2 per cent.	192	14	2
Ditto on extra privilege one average	32	2	2½
To Mr. Wm. Cockerill's one privilege	32	2	2½
To Capt. Bostock's coast commission on £9378 11 *s.* @ 4 per 104	360	14	3
To Factors' (Taylor and Kerr), Commission on do. 5%	465	1	8
To Mr. John McCulloch, surgeon, for head money on 300 slaves @ 1 currency[2] is £15 @ 82½ per cent.	8	4	4
To store rent, advertising, liquor, etc.	15	0	0
To sugar, rum, etc. shipped and cash advanced	918	4	8
" Drafts at 15 mos' sight	2401	14	2
" " 18 " "	2401	14	2
" " 21 " "	2401	14	2
" Factors' Commission on remittances, etc., 5%	406	3	7
			£9858 2 10[3]

269. Articles of Agreement of the *Sally*.[1]

July 22, 1785.

SHIP *SALLY'S* ARTICLES, BOUND FOR AFRICA.

Received from the Trustees for the Relief and Support of Sick and Disabled Seamen.

Articles of Agreement made, concluded, and agreed upon, the Twenty-second Day of July, in the Year of our Lord one thousand Seven hundred and Eighty-five, between the Officers, Mariners, Seamen, Landsmen, and Boys, whose Names or Marks are hereunto subscribed, and Seals put, belonging to the Ship or Vessel called the

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trade after the Revolution. In 1785 British slavers were disposing of cargoes in the Spanish island of Trinidad (*S. C. Gazette,* July 18, 1785), and Limerick, Ireland, was projecting an African Company which should send six vessels annually to Guinea and the West Indies. *Ibid.,* Apr. 18, 1785.

[2] Island currency.

[3] Thomas Foxcroft and Company were the owners of the *Bloom,* the shares being distributed as follows: Thomas Foxcroft 5/16, William Rice 2/16, A. Wharton 2/16, Felix Doran 2/16, James Welsh 2/16, Robert Bostock 2/16, and George Welch 1/16. The reference library of Liverpool contains a journal of the voyages of the *Bloom,* Robert Bostock, 1783-1788, with correspondence and accounts.

[269] [1] *Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council appointed for the Consideration of all Matters relating to Trade and Foreign Plantations; submitting to His Majesty's Consideration the Evidence and Information they have collected in Consequence of his Majesty's Order in Council, dated the 11th of February 1788, concerning the Present State of the Trade to Africa, and particularly the Trade in Slaves; and concerning the Effects and Consequences of this Trade, as well in Africa and the West Indies, as to the general Commerce of this Kingdom* (1789), pt. II. For comment on this report, see p. 593 n. Much of section II. of the report, prepared at the beginning of the parliamentary struggle for the abolition of the slave trade, deals with the agreements of seamen and the muster-rolls of slave vessels. These were secured by Thomas Clarkson, whose painstaking investigation of the muster-rolls of 88 vessels, in order to discover the effect of the trade

"Sally," whereof Alexander Robe is appointed to go Master, now lying within the Port of Bristol, of the First Part; the said Alexander Robe, of the Second Part; and James Cross, of the City of Bristol, Merchant, and Part Owner of the said Ship "Sally," for and on Behalf of himself and the other Owners of the said Ship, of the Third Part.

First, The said Officers, Seamen, Mariners, Landsmen, and Boys, in Consideration of One, Two, or Three Months Pay, now in Hand paid and advanced to them by the said James Cross, and set opposite to their respective Names, each and every of them do covenant, promise, and agree to oblige themselves, each for himself only, to and with the said James Cross, that each and every of them shall and will proceed in the said Ship, in the several Capacities and Stations set next opposite their several and respective Names, on the now intended Voyage from the said Port of Bristol to the Coast of Africa, from thence to some Port or Ports of Discharge of the said Vessel's Cargo in America, and from thence back again to the said Port of Bristol, or some other Port of Discharge in Great Britain, for the End of the Voyage.

Secondly, Each and every of them the said Officers, Mariners, Seamen, Landsmen, and Boys, do hereby severally and apart for themselves, and for their several and respective Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, covenant, promise, and agree to and with the said James Cross, his Executors and Administrators, that the said Officers, Mariners, Seamen, Landsmen, and Boys, and each and every of them, shall and will proceed in the said Ship *Sally,* and faithfully and truly perform and do their several Stations and Services during the whole Voyage as above, without any Manner of Denial, Mutiny, or Resistance whatsoever; and that each and every of them will honestly and faithfully perform the said Voyage, without any ways embezzling the Goods or Merchandize shipped on Board the said Ship, or any other the Stores thereof; and that each and every of them shall and will in all Things observe, perform, and obey the Orders, Commands, and Directions of the Master or Commander of the said Ship, for the Time being, without any Manner of Denial, Mutiny, or Resistance, whatsoever. And it is agreed by and between

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on the mariners engaged in it, demonstrated beyond cavil the excessive mortality rate in this branch of the mercantile service (*History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade,* I. 238-331, 341-351). Clarkson's results also yielded much incidental information, *e. g.,* a vessel to the Windward Coast of West Africa carried a larger crew than one to the Leeward Coast, because the Windward trade was carried on by boats manned from the vessel. Of this crew one-half was made up of experienced seamen; three-eighths of inexperienced; one-sixteenth of green men; one-sixteenth of apprentices and boys not yet indentured. A vessel of 150 tons carried about 30 men. The wages of the experienced seamen were 40 *s.* a month, those of the inexperienced 30 *s.*

the said Parties to these Presents, that in case the said Officers, Mariners, Seamen, Landsmen, and Boys, or any or either of them, do ship, or cause to be shipped, on Board the said Ship *Sally,* on his or their own Accounts, any Goods or Merchandizes, it shall and may be lawful for the Master or Commander of the said Ship to detain the same for the Use of the Owners of the said Ship; any Laws, Usage, or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

Thirdly, It is mutually agreed by and between the said James Cross, and the said Officers, Mariners, Seamen, Landsmen, and Boys, That the Wages, or Monthly Pay, to grow due to each and every of them, for their Services on Board the said Ship *Sally,* for this present Voyage, be paid, *viz.* One Half Part at the Port of Delivery of the said Vessel's Negroes in America, in the Currency there,[2] to wit, every Twenty Shillings of such Currency to be accounted equal, and upon a Par with Twenty Shillings Sterling Money of Great Britain; and in case such Port of Delivery of the said Negroes should happen to be at South Carolina, or any other Port of America, where the common Course of Exchange should happen to be Five hundred Pounds per Cent. that then such Half Wages as aforesaid, shall be paid according to the Currency of the Island of Barbadoes, computing every Twenty Shillings of such Currency equal, and upon a Par, with Twenty Shillings Sterling Money of Great Britain, and the remaining Part of such Wages, or Monthly Pay as aforesaid, shall be paid within Thirty Days after the said Ship's Arrival at her Port of Discharge in Great Britain, in Sterling Money. And in case of Mortality of either Captain, Officers, Mariners, Seamen, Landsmen, or Boys, or if any or either of them be discharged during the whole Voyage as above, the whole Wages then due to such Person deceased or discharged, shall be paid in the Currency of the Port of Delivery of the Negroes in America. And the said Wages, or Monthly Pay, shall not commence before the Departure of the said Ship from the said Port of Bristol; and that the Advance Money, now by them respectively received, be deducted and allowed to the said Alexander Robe, or unto the Owners of the said Ship, wheresoever the Payment be made.

Fourthly, That each and every of them the said Officers, Mariners, Seamen, Landsmen, and Boys, do further covenant and agree, each for himself only, That they are duly qualified and capable to per-

[2] On Mar. 5 and 15, 1788, Henry Wilkins wrote to Lord Hawkesbury that one of the great abuses of the trade was the payment of half the wage of the seamen in island currency rather than in sterling. The money thus received the seamen often lost through drink, illness, or robbery, before they returned to England. Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 51-53.

form their respective Duties and Qualities in the several Stations they are and shall be shipped in: And that they, and each of them, do further covenant, promise, and agree to and with the said James Cross, his Executors and Administrators, that if either of them shall, during the whole Voyage as above, quit the Service of the said Ship, by voluntarily going on Board any of his Majesty's Ships of War, or otherwise desert the Service of the said Ship, then, and in such Case, the whole of the Wages then due to any so quitting or voluntarily deserting as aforesaid, shall be forfeited to the said James Cross, his Executors and Administrators; any Law, Usage, or Custom, to the contrary notwithstanding. And it is further agreed by and between the said Parties to these Presents, That in case any or either of them the said Officers, Mariners, Seamen, Landsmen, or Boys, whose Names or Marks are hereunto subscribed, shall at any Time, during the whole Voyage as above, appear, by Judgment of the said Alexander Robe, Master of the said Ship *Sally,* or any Master for the Time being, and Two or more of the principal Officers belonging to the said Ship, to be incapable of acting agreeable to the Capacity in which they and each of them do ship themselves, which is set opposite their several and respective Names, then, and in such Case, they do agree to and make such Abatement in their Wages as the said Master, and Two or more of the principal Officers belonging to the said Ship, for the Time being, shall adjudge and determine any or either of them ought of Right to have and receive in Proportion to their respective Abilities and Understandings; which Sum, to be adjudged and allowed by such Master and Officers as aforesaid, they and each of them do agree to accept and take in full Consideration, Satisfaction, and Payment.

And Lastly, It is agreed and declared, by all the Parties to these Presents, That for the due Performance of these Articles, and every Clause herein contained, that all and every the Officers, Mariners, Seamen, Landsmen, and Boys, do hereby respectively bind themselves to the Owners of the said Ship *Sally* in the penal Sum of Fifty Pounds of lawful Money of Great Britain. In Witness whereof they have hereunto severally subscribed their Names or Marks, and affixed their Seals, the Day and Year first above written.

No.	Names.	Stations.	Wages per Month.	Money advanced.
1	Alexander Robe — (L. S.)	Master — —	5 — —	10 — —
2	James Steele — — (L. S.)	First Mate —	4 — —	8 — —
3	William Craggs — — (L. S.)	Second Mate —	3 — —	6 — —
4	Wm Francis — — (L. S.)	Surgeon — —	4 — —	8 — —
5	Edward Bullock — — (L. S.)	Third Mate —	2 — —	4 — —
6	Edward Mintor's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	Boatswain — —	2 15 —	5 10 —
7	Benjn Tedball's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	Carpenter — —	4 — —	8 — —
8	James Dally — — (L. S.)	Cooper — —	3 10 —	7 — —
9	Dennis Spellissy — — (L. S.)	Surgeon's Mate —	2 10 —	5 — —
10	George Reece's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	Steward — —	1 15 —	3 10 —
11	Thomas Hall's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	Gunner — —	1 15 —	3 10 —
12	Thomas Stockwell — (L. S.)	Cooper's Mate —	2 — —	4 — —
13	Charles Clark — — (L. S.)	Carpenter's Mate —	2 2 —	4 4 —
14	Mostough McCarthy — (L. S.)	Cook — —	2 — —	4 — —
15	James Holland — (L. S.)	Armourer — —	1 15 —	3 10 —
16	Arthur Harvey — (L. S.)	Seaman — —	1 10 —	3 — —
17	Francis Reed — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 10 —	3 — —
18	William Christie — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 10 —	3 — —
19	John Bickley's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 10 —	3 — —
20	William Windmill — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 10 —	3 — —
21	Ambrose Gingell's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 10 —	3 — —
22	Rowland Bynon — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 10 —	3 — —
23	Joseph Jackson — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 10 —	3 — —
24	James Nicholson — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 10 —	3 — —
25	Thomas Hawke's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 10 —	3 — —
26	John Grinny — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 10 —	3 — —
27	John Douglass — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 10 —	3 — —
28	Timothy Ryan — (L. S.)	Taylor — —	1 10 —	3 — —
29	Anthony Green's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	Ord'y Seaman —	1 5 —	2 10 —
30	Robert Flood — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 3 —	2 6 —
31	Michael Looby's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	Seaman Ordinary —	1 5 —	2 10 —
32	James Grove's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 5 —	2 10 —
33	William Bevan's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 1 —	2 2 —
34	Isaac Stephenson — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 — —	2 — —
35	William Poulston's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 5 —	2 10 —
36	James Hooper's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 1 —	2 2 —
37	Martin Jones's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 5 —	2 10 —
38	John Wray's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 — —	2 — —
39	Thomas James — (L. S.)	D° — —	— 15 —	1 10 —
40	Christopher Bennett's Mark ⋈ (L. S.)	D° — —	1 5 —	2 10 —
41	William Lovegrove — (L. S.)	D° — —	— 15 —	1 10 —
42	James Olive's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 — —	2 — —
43	William Brittain's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 — —	2 — —
44	Zackryer Mullineux — (L. S.)	Boy — —	1 — —	2 — —
45	Isaac Bowen — — (L. S.)	D° — —	1 — —	2 — —
46	William Miller's Mark ⋈ — (L. S.)	D° — —	— 15 —	1 10 —

Signed, sealed, and delivered by the above Forty-six Persons, in the Presence of me,

JOHN BARLOW.

270. GOLBÉRY'S TRAVELS IN AFRICA.[1]

I shall not give a description of the number of vessels, magazines, warehouses, and docks, which compose the mercantile establishment

[270] [1] *Travels in Africa, performed during the Years 1785, 1786, and 1787, in the Western Countries of that Continent,* etc., by Silv. Meinard Xavier Golbéry (London, 1802, trans. by Francis Blagdon). France, by the peace of 1783, had regained the Senegal, of which she had been deprived by the treaty of 1763. Golbéry, eager to restore and to extend French influence in Africa, went out in 1785 as aide to De Boufflers, governor of the Senegal. He visited twenty native tribes, and made himself familiar with English methods of trade during his three years of service.

of Liverpool at Sierra Leone; but I shall merely state, that nothing was forgotten that could render this factory as wholesome as it was commodious and agreeable, and that it might serve as a model of its kind. The person who was the chief or director of this establishment, held appointments which produced him a regular income of eight hundred guineas per year: he resided at Sierra Leone, but he made frequent voyages to the isles of Los Idolos,[2] and to the other parts dependent on his government. The society of Liverpool allowing two per cent. on every slave delivered healthy and well conditioned in the English colonies, and the other advantages that were attached to his place, were sufficient to ensure him in a few years a very respectable fortune.

He had under his orders a principal agent, who resided at the isle of Los Idolos, and received a salary of four hundred guineas per year, with a premium upon every head of slaves; the other principal persons employed also received very good appointments, and had a proportionate interest in the affairs of this society.

I have already said, that the English factories had almost always at their disposal a great number of boats and light vessels; that of Sierra Leone possessed, besides, a very fine vessel of eight hundred tons burthen, which generally remained at anchor at the mouth of the creek; it carried twenty-four guns, and was on the whole as well armed as a ship of war.

The most valuable merchandizes and the principal effects and ammunition, remained on board this vessel, where the chief of the factory slept every night: it also served as an infirmary, because experience had proved that the freshness of the sea air was beneficial to the sick.

The factory of Sierra Leone received every year at least ten vessels, that were dispatched from England with an ample supply of all kinds of provisions, and necessaries for the trade; and it constantly had merchandizes in its magazine, to the amount of nearly two millions. . . .

Proceedings of a Society from Havre with the Society of Liverpool, or Sierra Leone. We found, in the anchorage of the creek of Sierra Leone, five English vessels, and a French ship of three masts, commanded by Captain Rousseau, which had been dispatched to execute a treaty concluded in January 1785, between the Liverpool society and a society from Havre.

According to the conditions of this treaty, the factory of the creek of Sierra Leone was to deliver to captain Rousseau, in the course of

[2] Islands near the mouth of the Sierra Leone River. They were known in the American colonies as the islands of Delos. See this work, vol. III., index.

a year, three thousand slaves, chosen by him, of both sexes and all ages, at the rate of six hundred francs per head. The half of the price agreed upon was to be paid in cash on the day of delivery, and the other half in bills of exchange at ten months.

Captain Rousseau arrived in the river of Sierra Leone on the 25th of September 1785, and by the 1st of May following he had sent off two thousand slaves to our sugar colonies, in transport vessels provided for the purpose, and he expected ships for a thousand more, which were ready to be delivered.

Political Disadvantages of this Trade. This trade was inimical to the political principles of the commerce of a great state, because it took out of the country a sum of eighteen hundred thousand francs: besides this first disadvantage, we also experienced that of paying the English at the rate of six hundred francs per head, for slaves, which would have cost us only three hundred francs, if we had traded for them ourselves, either in the river Sierra Leone, or in the neighbouring roads; and the proof of this assertion will shortly appear.

Similar treaties were again concluded in 1787 and 1788, between the society of Sierra Leone and some houses at Nantes, but on condition of paying in ready money for the slaves, at the rate of thirty guineas per head. Thus were turned to the advantage of foreigners, those great commercial operations which prevented the disposal of our own goods, and paralysed our industry.

It cannot be denied that some compensation for these disadvantages was derived from the acquisition of a great number of slaves, who were then of advantage in the rich culture of our Antilles, and by the profits of the French societies, who had made these speculations, though they terminated in the course of a year. . . .

But by our carelessness, the commerce was entirely left in the hands of the English, and the operations of their factory at the creek of Sierra Leone, were increased during the year 1785 and the first months of 1786, to a sum upwards of eight millions. It will be seen, that the affairs of the English society established at the fort and isle of Bence, in the river Mitombo,[3] were likewise nearly as advantageous (pp. 238-243). . . .

The agents, merchants, and clerks of the society of Bence,[4] spread

[3] Also called the Sierra Leone River. The extent of the Liverpool trade with France here described is somewhat surprising. "Africanus" says in *Remarks on the Slave Trade,* written in 1788 (p. 19), that two-thirds of the slaves purchased on the Slave Coast by English traders were sold to the French and other foreigners.

[4] Golbéry may be referring here to the mercantile house which had its headquarters on Bence Island, though it is difficult to adapt all that he says to the establishment on that island. There were in the mouth of the Sierra Leone River several small islands, on one of which, Bance, Bence, or Bences, the Royal African Company erected a fort. This was abandoned by the company in 1728 and was not again occupied until 1744, when George Fryer restored it, fitted it for defense, and in 1748 sold it to

themselves over the upper countries along the course of the Mitombo, by which they procured nearly two thousand slaves per annum, as well as a quantity of ivory, and other valuable articles.

By means of the light boats and vessels that composed their little, though well organized maritime establishment, which was almost entirely manned by blacks, this factory kept up a very active trade on the coasts comprised between Cape Sierra Leone and Cape Palmas, from which they derived a considerable advantage. In 1785, and during the first five months of 1786, they delivered to the Danes more than three thousand blacks, besides which, they had sent to the English colonies nearly four thousand. The general operations of this factory produced a much larger sum than that of the affairs of the factory of the creek of Sierra Leone.

Proceedings of a Brig dispatched to Martinique on the Slave Trade. On arriving at the mouth of the river of Mitombo, we found at anchor a brig, commanded by a captain in the merchant-service, named Basteresse. He had accidentally put into the bay of Sierra Leone during the summer of 1785. It appeared that he had been dispatched by the planters of Martinique, and his vessel was prepared for receiving a hundred and fifty slaves. Captain Basteresse, who had the politeness to give me an account of his proceedings, declared, that till now he had no knowledge of these roads, nor of the river of Sierra Leone; but his intelligence and activity soon made him acquainted with the negro traders. With a cargo calculated for a trade of a hundred and fifty slaves, M. Basteresse procured three hundred. In 1785, he could only carry two hundred to Martinique, because the capacity of the little vessel that he then commanded, was not sufficient to carry a more considerable number: he was therefore compelled to leave a hundred slaves in the hands of the negro brokers, and it was to convey this second detachment, and to continue his proceedings, which had met with great success, that he had anchored in the bay of Sierra Leone, where he entered on the 25th of February 1786, in a larger and more convenient vessel, and with a more considerable quantity of merchandize.

On the 15th of May the hundred slaves purchased in the preceding year, and left in the hands of the negro brokers, had been delivered,

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Alexander Grant, Richard Oswald, and Company (*C. J.*, XXVI. 360). In the enumeration of property to be transferred from the Royal African Company to the Company of Merchants this island was included, whereupon the purchasers petitioned for recognition of their title or reimbursement for their expenditure. The title of Alexander Grant, Richard Oswald, and John Sargent was confirmed by act of Parliament (25 Geo. II. c. 40, sect. 3), and the company by treaties with native chiefs also obtained control of a number of neighboring islands. In 1785 this house sold its establishment to John and Alexander Anderson (Claude George, *British West Africa*, pp. 284-286; see also this work, vol. III., South Carolina). Golbéry may be describing the Andersons' property.

and were embarked on board his vessel: he had already procured fifty others, and he reckoned upon sailing in the month of July with two hundred slaves.

According to his journal, which he was willing to lay before me, his captives cost him only at the rate of two hundred and twenty francs in money per head; and his employers at Martinique derived from these two expeditions a profit of three hundred thousand francs. . . .

Operations of M. Ancel, a French Merchant, established in the Isle of Gambra in 1786.

The proceedings of M. Ancel, a French merchant, established in the year 1786 in the isle of Gambra, are an additional proof of the observations that I have just made.

A Frenchman named Hannibal, who had been brought by chance in a Danish ship into the river of Sierra Leone in 1772, formed the resolution of making an attempt to trade on his own account: in short, without assistance or protection, and by his industry alone, he succeeded in forming an establishment in the isle of Gambra, and of trading for thirty or forty slaves per year.

In 1780 M. Ancel, another Frenchman, also arrived at Sierra Leone, and entered into partnership with his countryman Hannibal. In 1781 Hannibal died, and left his establishment and commerce to M. Ancel, who, in 1785, and in the first months of 1786, had, as appeared by his journals, purchased one hundred and forty-two slaves, at the average price of two hundred francs per head (pp. 249-252).[5] . . .

This commerce was not quite so active during the war for the independence of America, but at the peace of 1783, it was resumed with insatiable ardor. Whole chains of captives arrived from all parts, at the market for the trade, and we were astonished to learn, that many of these caravans of slaves did not arrive at Galam in the Senegal, at Barraconda, in the Gambra, and at the factories of the rivers of Sherbroo, Gabon, Volte, Benin, and the river Zaira, before they had performed marches of sixty, seventy, and eighty

[5] Golbéry's summary of the slave trade, without the other commodities which he includes, is:

	Slaves		Value in francs
The English factory at Sierra Leone to British colonies	3200	}	7,440,000
To Capt. Rousseau	3000	}	
The English factory of Bence to the British colonies and to the Danes	7000		8,400,000
Capt. Basteresse	300		360,000
M. Ancel the French merchant of Gambia	142		170,400
	13,642		16,370,400

days; and by calculating the extent of these routes, it was evident that they must have come from the most central regions of Africa. We may therefore be convinced, that the interior of this Continent is not so desert a space as has long been imagined.

According to the results of the slave-trade on the coasts of Africa, from the year 1765 to 1785, the exportation of blacks, bought by the European factories along the coasts, was estimated at sixty thousand captives per annum, and in 1786 and 1787, the number exceeded seventy thousand head in each year.

There was reason to be astonished at such a prodigious increase in a commerce, the fall of which had been predicted by the Abbé Raynal, as well as at the abundance of a merchandize, of which he had likewise predicted, though, perhaps, too rashly, the approaching scarcity.

During my stay in Africa, I pursued with great application, the study of this part of the world; all the accounts that I collected, convinced me that the services of the slave-trade were far from being on the decline; and I ventured to assert in a notice relative to the Western part of Africa, which I presented to government in the year 1788, that this Continent was capable of supporting far more numerous exportations, without its population experiencing any sensible effect. In short, we saw the number of exported blacks increase, and by a report made on the slave trade in 1790, by the Privy Council of the king of England, and afterwards by the House of Commons, we learned that during the years 1787, 1788, and 1789, the Europeans had exported from Africa nearly eighty thousand negroes per annum (pp. 294-296).[6] . . .

271. Voyage of John Matthews to the River Sierra Leone.[1]

Sierra-Leone, February 15, 1787.

. . . When the adventurer arrives upon the coast with a suitable cargo—which for this place consists of European and Indian cotton and linen goods, silk handkerchiefs, taffities, coarse blue and red woollen cloths, scarlet cloth in grain, coarse and fine hats, worsted caps, guns, powder, shot, sabres, lead bars, iron bars, pewter

[6] Robert Norris estimated the total exportation at 74,200. B. T. 6 (Africa): 9, f. 137.

[271] [1] *A Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone, on the Coast of Africa, containing an Account of the Trade and Production of the Country . . . a Series of Letters,* by John Matthews, lieutenant in the Royal Navy; during his Residence in that Country in the Years 1785, 1786, and 1787 (London, 1791). The volume contains seven letters written from Sierra Leone and one from Liverpool. Matthews was one of those witnesses in the investigation of the committee of the Privy Council who received the thanks of the Liverpool council for his testimony (see *post,* no. 275). In that testimony, as in his published letters, he denied that native wars were instigated or crimes falsely charged in order to supply the British traders with slaves.

basons, copper kettles and pans, iron pots, hardware of various kinds, earthen and glass ware, hair and gilt leather trunks, beads of various kinds, silver and gold rings and ornaments, paper, coarse and fine check, and linen ruffled shirts and caps, British and foreign spirits and tobacco—he dispatches his boats properly equipped to the different rivers. On their arrival at the place of trade they immediately apply to the head man of the town, inform him of their business, and request his protection; desiring he will either be himself their landlord, or appoint a respectable person, who becomes security for the person and goods of the stranger, and also for the recovery of all money lent, provided it is done with his knowledge and approbation. This business finished, and proper presents made, (for nothing is done without) they proceed to trade either by lending their goods to the natives, who carry them up into the country, or by waiting till trade is brought to them. The former is the most expeditious way, when they fall into good hands; but the latter is always the safest.

When the country people come down themselves to trade with the whites, they are obliged to apply to the inhabitants of the villages where the factories are kept, to serve as brokers and interpreters.

When a slave is brought to be sold he is first carefully examined, to see that there is no blemish or defect in him; if approved, you then agree upon the price at so many bars, and give the dealer so many flints or stones to count with; the goods are then delivered to him piece by piece, for which he returns so many stones for each, agreeably to their denominated value; and they always take care to begin with those articles which they judge most essentially necessary.

Exclusive of this method of dealing directly with the natives, transient ships, or those who only come for a small number, generally barter with the white traders resident on the coast, or with the factories established there, who take their whole cargo at once, and deliver them slaves, camwood, ivory, etc. according to their agreement, in a certain time.

From the great number of slaves which are annually exported, and which, from this place and the parts adjacent, including Sherbro' and the Riomoonas,[2] amounts to about three thousand annually, one would be led to imagine the country would, in time, be depopulated; instead of which no diminution of their numbers is perceived; and, from every account we have been able to acquire from the natives themselves, who travel into the interior country, it is extraordinarily populous: but how such a number of slaves are procured, is a circumstance which I believe no European was ever fully acquainted with.

[2] Rio Nuñez.

The best information I have been able to collect is, that great numbers are prisoners taken in war, and are brought down, fifty or a hundred together, by the black slave merchants; that many are sold for witchcraft, and other real, or imputed, crimes; and are purchased in the country with European goods and salt; which is an article so highly valued, and so eagerly sought after, by the natives, that they will part with their wives and children, and every thing dear to them, to obtain it, when they have not slaves to dispose of; and it always makes a part of the merchandize for the purchase of slaves in the interior country; yet, notwithstanding salt is in such great demand, the natives of the sea-coast will not permit the import of it in European vessels, because it would interfere with the only article of their own manufacture, which they have for inland trade. . . . Death or slavery were, and still are, the punishments for almost every offence. And every prisoner taken in battle was either put to death or kept as a slave. The fate of prisoners was also in a great measure determined by the season of the year, and the occasion they had for their services. If they were taken after the harvest was over, they were seldom spared; but those who were captured before the commencement of the rice season, experienced a different fate, as they were reserved to cultivate the rice-ground; and sold, after the harvest, to those tribes bordering on the sea, who had no other means of acquiring slaves than by purchase; or were kept as labouring slaves, and for ever fixed to the spot. This was the ancient custom of the country, and the modern practice is nearly similar, as they seldom dispose of their new slaves till the rice is in the ground, or until it is cut. Hence, though the Europeans by the eagerness with which they push this trade may be censurable so far, as they may some times, by their competition with each other, excite the avarice of individuals to procure slaves, by means as repugnant to their own laws as any act of dishonesty is to ours; yet I believe we may safely conclude, that slavery can never be abolished in a country like Africa, consisting of a prodigious number of small independent states, perpetually at variance, and under no restraining form of government, where the people are of a vindictive and revengeful spirit, and where the laws make every man a slave who is convicted of the most trifling offence. During the late war in which England was engaged with France, when the ships did not visit the coast as usual, and there were no goods to purchase the slaves which were brought down, the black merchants suffered many of them to perish for want of food, and said they should not come down again till the ships arrived. When questioned what the inland people would do with their

slaves? they replied "cut their throats, as they used to do before white men came to their country" (pp. 142-149). . . .

LIVERPOOL, Feb. 20, 1788.

. . . A description of the method of procuring slaves in the part of Africa where I resided, I have, in some measure, anticipated in my former letters from Sierra-Leone, which were written at a time when I had no idea of a design to abolish that trade being formed, or I should have applied myself with greater industry to have acquired a more particular knowledge of the manners and customs of the natives of the interior countries; I shall however endeavour to combat such assertions as are made use of by the advocates for the abolition of this commerce, as my own knowledge and information may suggest. That slaves are often captives taken in war, is a position I readily accede to; but that those wars are undertaken merely for the purpose of procuring slaves is by no means the case; for it is necessary to observe, the king, or chief of a tribe, has not power to make war upon any other tribe without the consent and approbation of the principal people of his nation; and it can scarcely be conceived that such consent could be obtained to a measure that would draw down upon them the resentment of the neighbouring states. Neither is it (as is alledged) in any instance which has occurred to my observation or inquiries, by the instigation of the European traders; for, whenever the people on the sea-coast are at war, it puts an entire stop to trade; and I always found it to my interest, as well as my inclination, to reconcile their differences, and to preserve peace. . . .

In answer to the charge of kidnapping slaves, I can only say that I never heard of such a practice, nor do I know a word in their language expressive of such a custom ever having had existence. . . .

The nations which inhabit the interior parts of Africa, east of Sierra-Leone, profess the Mahometan religion; and, following the means prescribed by their prophet, are perpetually at war with the surrounding nations who refuse to embrace their religious doctrines (and I have before shewn the zeal with which the Mandingoes inculcate their faith).

The prisoners made in these religious wars furnish a great part of the slaves which are sold to the Europeans; and would, I have reason to believe, from the concurring testimony of many of the most intelligent natives, be put to death if they had not the means of disposing of them.

That death would be the fate of their prisoners, the example of the inhabitants of Madagascar, is sufficient proof; for since the

Portuguese have declined dealing with them they put all their prisoners to death. . . .

It is also given as a reason for the abolishing this traffic; that the distinctions of crimes are multiplied, and every transgression punished with slavery, in consequence of their intercourse with Europeans.

Upon this head I shall observe, that the crimes of murder, poison, witchcraft, adultery, and theft, are always considered as capital, and have been punished with either death or slavery from time immemorial.

That the punishment of death, for the commission of these crimes, is remitted by their becoming slaves, I believe, in many instances, to be the case; yet, surely no one would adduce this circumstance as a proof of its inhumanity (pp. 163-169). . . .

272. Thomas Clarkson's Efficiency of Regulation of the Slave Trade.[1]

Goree, *Oct. 17, 1787.* On making inquiries to day, relative to the history of a certain negro woman, I found that she came from the country about Cape Rouge, and that in the absence of her husband she had been stolen and forcibly dragged away. Her case was attended with this additional circumstance of cruelty, that she was torn from her children, who, being too young to undergo the fatigue of the journey, were left behind.

Oct. 19th 1787. Inquiring to day of a negroe lad, how he came into the situation of a slave, he informed me, that he had been stolen from his parents, in the interior country above Cape Rouge; that the inhabitants of the shore usually came up in bodies for this purpose, and that they unfortunately met with him, and brought him to

[272] [1] Thomas Clarkson, *Essay on the Efficiency of Regulation or Abolition* (1789). The excerpts are given their place by their own dates, not by the date of Clarkson's writing. In the preface to this essay Clarkson stated that he was writing because of the rumor which had reached him that the merchants of Liverpool were preparing a bill which should obviate every reasonable complaint against the slave trade. What these complaints were he thought should be explicitly pointed out. By an accumulation of evidence he attempted to demonstrate: (1) how large a part violence played in the acquisition of slaves, and (2) how great was the mortality of the Middle Passage. Of the scores of illustrations which he gave but a few are here printed. The first group he describes as "Taken from the Journal of the relator on this Subject". The conflict between the testimony collected by Clarkson and that of such witnesses as Lieutenant Matthews admirably illustrates not only the difficulty experienced during the controversy over abolition in getting at the truth as to the abuses of the trade but also the problems confronting the present-day student in attempting to discover what proportion of the negroes sold in the New World were enslaved solely for the purposes of the trade. Such testimony also illustrates the ease with which an observer sees that which he wishes to see. Many of the witnesses for the defense in the struggle over abolition were men who had been intimately connected with the trade, yet they reported that they knew of few abuses, while Clarkson's picture, built up from a mass of evidence, is one of unmitigated horror. In most cases prudence prevented Clarkson from naming his informant, and we know only in a general way that he took pains to obtain his material from men who had been witnesses of that which they related.

Goree, in company with others, whom they had taken in the same manner.

JOAL, *Nov. 5th 1787*. Since our arrival here, the king of Barbasin has twice sent out his military to attack his own villages in the night. They have been very unsuccessful, having taken but three children. They had no better fortune last night, having brought in but one girl.

I had two opportunities of seeing how slaves were procured in the River of Old Calabar. I resided with the king of New Town for four months, and he allowed me to go up the river with him to trade for slaves. I went with him twice within that time. In the first expedition, there was a fleet consisting of from ten to twelve canoes, which were properly manned and armed. With this fleet we set out to trade. In the day time we called at the villages as we passed, and purchased our slaves fairly; but in the night we made several excursions on the banks of the river. The canoes were usually left with an armed force: the rest, when landed, broke into the villages, and, rushing into the huts of the inhabitants, seized men, women, and children promiscuously. We obtained about fifty negroes in this manner, in our first expedition.

In our second, the same practices were in force; for we traded fairly by day, and became robbers in the night. We were more successful, in points of the number procured in the second, than in the first expedition. . . .

I was resident for seven months at a factory in Mossula Bay, in the kingdom of Angola. I know of no other way of making slaves there, than by robbery. Our factory was supplied by four traders, one of whom, with his party, was always out. These parties consisted usually of forty or fifty in number. They were always armed when they went out. They took no goods with them, but yet returned with slaves. Their time of staying out was sometimes a month, and sometimes less. It depended on circumstances, for if in a previous expedition they had brought off a few from the skirts of a town, they were obliged to go much farther for the remainder the next. For the negroes, when so attacked, immediately leave their habitations, and go farther inland. They are continually in a wandering, uncertain state, on account of these frequent depredations.

In the year 1787, I was lying at Cape Palmas. I was told by the natives there, that they intended to attack a village on the third night. I asked them if the inhabitants had done them any injury. They replied, no; but that there was a considerable number of fine stout young men belonging to it, who were good for trade. This was their only reason. On the same day, on the evening of which

their attack was to commence, I had occasion to go to another village, which was within about two miles from that which was marked for pillage, and lay in the same track. I slept at a trader's house that night. At about two in the morning he awakened me to see the fire. I jumped up instantly from a chest on which I lay, and saw the village in flames. The next day more than fifty young men were brought down, all of whom had been taken during the conflagration (pp. 4-6). . . . .

The misery, which the slaves endure in consequence of too close a stowage, is not easily to be described.[2] I have heard them frequently complaining of heat, and have seen them fainting, and almost dying for want of water. Their situation is worst in rainy weather. We do every thing for them in our power. In all the vessels in which I have sailed in the slave-trade, we never covered the gratings with a tarpawling, but made a tarpawling awning over the booms. Notwithstanding which, I have seen the slaves after a rain, panting for breath, and in such a situation, that the seamen have been obliged to get them immediately upon deck, fearing lest they would otherwise have fainted away, and died. In one of my voyages, which was particularly unhealthy, we have found eight or ten dead in a morning. In the —— we purchased 350 slaves, and buried 6; in a second voyage, in the same ship, we purchased 350, and buried 200; and in the —— we purchased about 370, and buried about 100. . . .

The slaves frequently complain of heat on a calm night, but much more so when it rains, as we are then obliged to spread a tarpawling over them; and notwithstanding that it is kept at a considerable height from the gratings by means of a ridge rope, and stretched out by means of nettles to give them every advantage in point of air, they are still in a miserable state. I have been in their rooms to see them on these occasions and have found them in a violent perspiration. I have wiped them with cloths myself, and have seen that others have wiped them also. I have no doubt but that in full slave-vessels their sufferings must be inconceivably great. In the —— we purchased about 700 slaves, and lost 250. In the ship —— we purchased about 300, out of which we buried about 17. In the sloop —— 25 were bought, and 2 buried. In the —— we bought 180, and lost about 25. In the —— 350 were purchased, and 25 were lost as before. In the —— about 500 were purchased, and 150 buried; and out of 250 bought in the —— 5 died (pp. 29-30).[3] . . .

[2] Clarkson has here passed to the second serious complaint against the slave trade, the mortality of the Middle Passage.

[3] One of Clarkson's accounts comes from a witness who had served on two French and two English Guineamen. In the first, from Bordeaux, 500 slaves were purchased, 200 were buried; in the second, from Brest, 20 were lost out of 400; in the third, from London, 50 out of 370; and in service on " an old man of war" he saw 1115 purchased and 845 buried (*Essay,* p. 31).

273. Petition of Liverpool to the House of Commons.[1]

February 14, 1788 [9 ?].

To the honourable the House of Commons, The humble petition of the Mayor etc.

Sheweth, That your petitioners as Trustees of the Corporate fund of the ancient and loyal town of Liverpool have always been ready not only to give every encouragement in their power to the commercial interests of that part of the Community more immediately under their care, but as much as possible to strengthen the reins of Government and to promote the public welfare.

That the trade of Liverpool having met with the countenance of this honourable House in many Acts of Parliament, which have been granted at different times during the present century, for the constructing of proper and convenient wet docks for shipping, and more especially for the African ships, which from their form require to be constantly afloat, your Petitioners have been emboldened to lay out considerable sums of money and to pledge their Corporate Seal for other sums to a very large amount for effectuating these goods and laudable purposes.

That your Petitioners have also been happy to see the great increase and different resources of trade which has flowed in upon their town by the numerous canals and other communications from the interior parts of this kingdom, in which many individuals, as well as public bodies of proprietors are materially interested.

And that from these causes, particularly the convenience of the docks, and some other local advantages, added to the enterprizing spirit of the people, which has enabled them to carry on the African Slave Trade with vigour, the town of Liverpool has arrived at a pitch of mercantile consequence which cannot but affect and improve the wealth and prosperity of the kingdom at large.

Your Petitioners therefore contemplate with real concern the attempts now making by the petitions lately preferred to your honourable House to obtain a total abolition of the African Slave trade, which has hitherto received the sanction of Parliament, and for a long series of years has constituted and still continues to form a very extensive branch of the commerce of Liverpool, and in effect gives strength and energy to the whole; but confiding in the wisdom and justice of the British Senate, Your Petitioners humbly pray to be heard by their Counsel against the abolition of this source of

[273] [1] Sir James Picton, *City of Liverpool: Municipal Archives and Records, from A.D. 1700 to the Passing of the Municipal Reform Act, 1835* (Liverpool, 1886), pp. 214-215. The petition here printed was presented to the Commons on May 20, 1789, along with many similar requests. *C. J.*, XLIV. 383.

wealth before the Honourable House shall proceed to determine upon a point which so essentially concerns the welfare of the town and port of Liverpool in particular, and the landed interest of the kingdom in general, and which in their judgment must also tend to the prejudice of the British manufacturers, must ruin the property of the English merchants in the West Indies, diminish the public revenue and impair the maritime strength of Great Britain.[2] . . .

274. William Walton to Lord Hawkesbury.[1]

Liverpool, Feb. 24, 1788.

[The Spaniards are studying the best method of conducting the slave trade. Five arrived in London three months ago from Cadiz, two natives of Havana, the others, planters in Santo Domingo],[2] these Gentlemen wishing to be concern'd in the Slave Trade from Cadiz, have been down at Manchester to look at the kinds of Goods and their Prices as usually sold to the English African Merchants, since that they have been at Liverpool to view the Town and Ships employ'd in the Slave Trade. I attended them in both places and found their enquiries to be as follows. With regard to the expence of the outfits, how many hands each Vessell carried out, Lists of the Cargoes necessary to purchase Slaves on different parts of the Coast of Africa, which Goods might be procur'd in Spain, which must be purchas'd in England, and which were East India Goods; whether the Slave Trade had been profitable to the Town of Liverpool at

[2] Gomer Williams characterizes this petition as "cunningly framed to propitiate the government, to implicate the Commons for having encouraged the corporation in its outlay on wet docks for the African ships, and to alarm the landed interests and the capitalists". *Liverpool Privateers,* pp. 609-610.

Clarkson had contended in the *Impolicy of the Slave Trade* (pp. 119-120) that it was a mistake to ascribe Liverpool's wealth to the slave trade. It ought instead to be attributed: (1) to her admission of strangers to her trade; (2) to the salt trade which flourished there; (3) to the great increase in the population of Lancashire; (4) to the flourishing manufactures of Manchester; (5) to the canals of the district. His opponents would certainly have responded that (3) and (4) were in large measure the result of the slave trade.

[274] [1] Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 29-30. Lord Hawkesbury, one of the committee of the Privy Council to whom the consideration of the slave trade was referred, was regarded by Liverpool interests as a bulwark of their cause (see *post,* no. 279, n. 1). His papers contain much material presented to him for use in opposing abolition. On Feb. 14, 1788, James Jones wrote to him: "The Returns made to this nation for negroes amount annually to Upwards of One million Eight Hundred thousand Pounds. I compute that full two-thirds of the Negroes purchased by the British Ships, go to the French, Spanish, and Dutch Settlements." Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 20-21.

[2] The implication here is that England is in danger of losing her Spanish market, which was regarded as unusually profitable, since the Spaniards paid in silver bullion. Contracts with the French were less remunerative, as they generally called for "Delivery upon the Coast of Africa, that their Ships may obtain the French Bounties by which means they not only deprive Us of the Freights but from their Knowledge and Superior Encouragement must in a little time become Masters of the Trade". Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 24-27.

large, whether the English manufacturers had been Gainers by supplying the Merchants with Goods, they likewise particularly enquir'd whether Captains and Doctors experienc'd in the Slave Trade might not be prevail'd upon by proper encouragement and great advantages given them, to go out to Cadiz and undertake the purchasing of the Cargo, Navigation of their Vessells and management of their Slaves whilst on board the Vessells. They told me that the Court of Spain purpos'd to have a Slave Trade of her own as well as to be carried on by her Merchants; under such Regulations as they might hereafter judge necessary, amongst the rest they had fix'd, No Vessell to carry Slaves between the Coast of Africa and their Settlements of a Less burthen than Two Hundred Tons. Every Vessell of 200 Tons burden must carry out a Captain, a Pilate, Two Doctors and Forty hands, if larger, hands in proportion to her size. The number of Slaves sent from the Coast of Africa to be regulated by the size of the Vessells, which they think will prevent Mortality amongst the whites as well as the Blacks. No Vessell to sail from old Spain to Africa for Slaves without first obtaining a License from the Court. To oblige her Merchants to purchase Spanish Wines, Brandies, Woollen Goods, Silk Goods, Cotton Goods, Arms, Fruits, East India Goods, etc. and in short every article that Spain can produce as well as bring to Spain from the East Indies in Spanish Vessells: and they were to be oblig'd to make these purchases even if the Commodities were dearer than what were procur'd by the African Merchants of other Nations, the Spanish Merchants to be compensated by the Privilege of their Slaves being admitted into and sold in the Spanish Ports free of Duties; whilst the Slaves brought by the Ships of other Nations were to have heavy Duties laid upon them; and that every encouragment was to be given in future to the manufacturing in old Spain, all Goods proper for the African Trade All East India Goods to pay 12½ per cent Duties which remain'd if for the Consumption of old Spain, but the whole Duties were to be return'd back if ship'd for the Slave Trade.

As these gentlemen applied to me in the way of Trade, and cou'd have no motive whatever but to come at the knowledge of a Trade which they are going to undertake, I can't help thinking that their information may be depended upon; I was the more particular in my Enquiries as the Slave Trade has been the general Topick amongst us in Manchester and Liverpool; they left with me Samples of Cotton of their own growing which are equally as good as rais'd by the French, they have propos'd to me to send all their Cotton by way of Cadiz to Liverpool, I am to sell it for them and send them such Goods in return as they may direct: the way they came at their

Intelligence was from the Administrador (Collector) of Cadiz, who sent for them repeatedly to consult with them on the best mode of carrying on the Slave Trade and the Administrador read to them the Letters which he had receiv'd on that Subject from the Spanish Minister of the Indies at Madrid.

There's a Spaniard now living in Liverpool who calls himself Harris but his real Name is Don Raymondo Hormaza, he was born at Bilboa, is an Ex jesuit, was sent from Spain when the Jesuits were expell'd [from] that Country, since which he has liv'd in Italy, Germany, Holland and Portugal; has resided about ten Years in Liverpool, but having had a Quarrell with the Catholic Bishop and Clergy with whom he's now at variance, he's suspended by the Bishop and does not officiate as a Clergyman but keeps a School for young Gentlemen. . . . about six weeks ago this Gentleman was sent for up to London where he remain'd about a Month, during which Time (as I am inform'd) he was very frequently with a Spanish Nobleman in high office, who has given him a Commission of some kind, which from inquiries made since his return appear to be in regard to the Slave Trade; I have employ'd a Person very intimate with him to get Intelligence as to the nature of his Commission but have not as yet succeeded.[3]

Have inclos'd your Lordship the Liverpool Paper in which my Letter of Feb. 4th is answer'd by the Chairman of the Manchester Committee, the great Mr. Walker himself with his usual warmth; if the Slave Trade is abolished the East India Trade will be the next attack'd.

N.B. As I believe that Mr. Harris is known to the Liverpool Delegates now in London, your Lordship (please not mention my Name) may know from them their opinion about him.[4]

275. Minutes of the Liverpool Council.[1]

1788, June 4. It having been reported to the Council that attempts have been lately made in Parliament to abolish the African Slave

[3] Harris was the author of a pamphlet highly regarded by the slave traders, *Scriptural Researches in the Licitness of the Slave Trade, showing its Conformity with the Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion delineated in the Sacred Writings of the Word of God* (1788). One of his opponents described him as a "clerk in a slave house in Bristol", implying that he was the tool of the slave trading interests.

[4] The next folios contain extracts copied from this letter; f. 34 is a list of undated and anonymous queries, among which is the following: "Does the contract with Baker and Dawson still exist, as the Philippines Company have obtained the contract to supply all South America with slaves?" An undated memorandum among the papers, apparently summarizing information received from James Jones, contained further information: "Mr. Dawson's Contract with the Spaniards is for 3000 Slaves certain and he may import as many as 7000 . . . Mr. Tarlet [Tarleton?] and Co. have a similar contract with the Spaniards for an equal Number, and that they purchase nearly 4/5ths of the Slaves that are sold at Bonny and New Calabar." Add. MSS. 38416, f. 216; see also *post*, no. 298, n. 7.

[275] [1] Picton, *Liverpool: Archives and Records*, pp. 215-216.

Trade, and Messrs. John Tarleton, Robert Norris,[2] James Penny, John Matthews and Archibald Dalzell having been deputed by the Committee of the Liverpool African Merchants to attend in London on this business, Ordered that the thanks of this Council be given to the above mentioned gentlemen for the important service rendered by them to the town of Liverpool on this occasion, and that the Mayor be requested to communicate the same to them.

Ordered that the freedom of this borough be granted to the above-named gentlemen for the very essential advantages derived to the trade of Liverpool from their evidence in support of the African Slave Trade and for the public spirit they have manifested on this occasion. . . .

Ordered that the Mayor be desired to communicate the thanks of this Council to the Reverend Raymond Harris for his late excellent publication on the subject of the Slave Trade; and that he be requested to accept the sum of One hundred Pounds as a mark of the high sense this Council entertains of the advantages resulting to the town and trade of Liverpool from the said publication, and that the Treasurer pay the said sum.[3]

Ordered that the Board of Trade[4] have power to defray the expenses attending the opposition to the measures now pursuing in Parliament relative to the Slave Trade.

276. Estimates of Profits under Regulated Trade.[1]

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Loss on Estimate at 1 Man per Ton	583	6	.....
Do. . . . . 3 Men to 2 Tons	201	.....	9
Profit on an Estimate at 2 Men per Ton	181	4	6
Do. . . . . 5 Men to 2 Tons	763	5	6
Amount of the Cargo for 150 Negroes	4415	7	6
Interest on Do.	220	12	6

[2] Clarkson's earliest visit to Liverpool to obtain first-hand material concerning the trade was made in 1787. At this time Robert Norris gave him much information and even submitted to him a plan for curtailing the traffic. He was subsequently greatly disappointed to find that Norris was one of the Liverpool witnesses defending the trade before the committee of the Privy Council (*History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade,* I. 378-383, 477-481, 535). The testimony of the men here named is to be found in the *Report of the . . . Committee of the Privy Council* (1789); see also Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 11 *et seq.,* for accounts of the agitation for abolition.

[3] The publication of Harris's *Scriptural Researches* brought forth a number of rejoinders, among which were James Ramsay's *Examination of the Rev. Mr. Harris' Scriptural Researches,* Henry Dannett's *A Particular Examination of Mr. Harris' Scriptural Researches on the Licitness of the Slave Trade,* and William Roscoe's *A Scriptural Refutation of a Pamphlet lately published by the Reverend Raymond Harris,* etc. See Jean Trepp, "The Liverpool Movement for Abolition", *Jour. Negro History,* XIII. 276.

[4] A local committee of the council. While the official opinion of Liverpool was strongly in favor of the trade, there was some expression of a contrary opinion. See Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 37-42; also Trepp, *op. cit.*

[276] [1] Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 107-109. Endorsed: "In Mr. Tarleton's June 9th 1788". When it became evident that no bill for the abolition of the slave trade was to be con-

Estimate of an African Voyage upon the principle of limiting the Number of Negroes to be carried in each Vessel to 2 per Ton.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
A Ship of 100 Tons first cost building, at £7	700	....	....			
Expence of Outfit including all her Furniture	700	....	....			
Extra Do fitting for the African Trade	350	....	....			
Amount of Cargo for 200 Negroes, including Insurance on the Ship and Cargo at £17. 17	3570	....	....			
Insurance on the Ship from the West Indies Valued at £1500—at 2½ per Ct.	37	17	6	5357	17	6
Deduct for the common average of Mortality 5 per Ct. makes 190 each Av'g £34 Stg.	.....	....	....	6460	....	....
Agents Commissions at 10 per Ct. on £6460	646	....	....			
Captain's Do..... 6 per Ct. on Do.	402	....	....			
Mates privelege 1 Slave on the Neat proceeds	30	12	....			
Surgeons Do.	30	12	....			
Surgeons head Money 1 *s.* per head on each Slave sold	9	10	....			
Ship's Disbursements in the West Indies	100	....	....			
Wages for 20 Men, Officers and Seamen included at 50/ per Month for 12 Mo's is	600	....	....			
Interest on the Amo't of Cargo and Outfit for 12 Mo's.	267	18	....	2086	12	....
Add Total Amo't of Ships Cargo and Outfit				5357	17	6
				7444	9	6
Gross Sales of 190 Negroes at £34	6460					
Value of the Ship on her Return 1/3d. less	1166	14	....			
	7626	14	....			
	7444	9	6			
Neat Profit on the Voyage	.....	....		181	4	6

sidered by the House of Commons in the session of 1788, Sir William Dolben, who had visited a slave ship lying in the Thames and had been appalled at the manner of carrying the negroes, introduced a bill intended to regulate the number carried by the tonnage of the carrier (Coupland, *Wilberforce,* p. 108). Samuel Green, secretary of the African Committee of Liverpool, wrote to Tarleton, the Liverpool delegate in London and a member of the Liverpool firm of Tarleton and Backhouse, that he was to be joined by Norris, Dalzell, and Matthews, and that they were to fight Dolben's sudden attack. Tarleton in a letter to Lord Hawkesbury May 25, 1788, wrote that he was opposed to the bill, though his house, under its terms, could engross the largest share of the trade (Add MSS. 38416, ff. 90-93). In preparation for the struggle over this measure the estimates which are here printed were prepared and sent by Tarleton to Lord Hawkesbury with a letter on the subject of the bill. After pointing out that though the bill concerned tonnage the debate had shifted to space between decks, Tarleton continued, "for the purpose of measuring which Mr. Parry has been dispatched to Liverpool by Mr. Pitt and Sir Charles Middleton, who do not appear disposed to give the credit which is due to Mr. Norris's Evidence at the bar of the House of Commons". He adds that too minute regulation would put an end to the part taken in the trade by small vessels. "They remain a shorter time upon an unhealthy Coast, the Passage is performed with more expedition, and they in fact arrive at their destination with less loss, and with healthier cargoes . . . a Vessel of 100 Tons which at the present rate of about five Negroes to 2 Tons, should produce to the Merchant by every Voyage a neat profit of £763. 5. 6, little more than 10 per Cent. upon the Capital employed; and a very moderate profit indeed when compared with the risks to which the African Adventurer is peculiarly

[continued on p. 581]

Estimate on the principle of limiting the Number of Slaves to One Ton to each Negro.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
First Cost of Ship and Furniture	1400	....	....			
Extra Outfit for 100 Negroes	250	....	....			
Amo't of Cargo for 100 Do at £17. 17	1785	....	....			
Insurance on the Ship from the West Indies valued at 1400 £ @ 2½ per Ct	35	....	....	3470	....	....
Deduct 5 per Ct. Mortality makes 95 sold at £34	.....	....	....	3230	....	....
Agents Commission on the gross Sale at 10 per Ct	323	....	....			
Captains Do. 6 per Ct	201	....	....			
Mates priveleges	30	12	....			
Surgeon's Do. and head money	35	7	....			
Ships Disbursements in the W. Indies	80	....	....			
Officers and Seamen's Wages for 12 Months	600	....	....			
Interest on the Amount of the Cargo etc	173	7	....	1443	6	....
Add Total Amo't of Ship Cargo and Outfit				3470	....	....
				4913	6	....
Gross Sale of 95 Negroes at £34	3230	....	....			
Value of the Ship on her Return	1100	....	....	4330	....	....
Loss on the Voyage	.....	....		583	6	....

Estimate of an African Voyage upon the principle it is and has been carried on vizt., at 5 Men for 2 Tons.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
A Ship of 100 Tons fitted for the African Trade Costs to Sea	1750	....	....			
Cargo for 250 Negroes at £17. 17. per head	4257	....	....			
Insurance on the Ship from the West Indies	37	17	6	6044	17	6
Deducting 5 per Ct. mortality makes 238 Sold at £34	.....	....	....	8092	....	....
Agents Comm'n on £8092 a 10 per Ct.	809	4	....			
Captains Do. 6 per Ct.	485	11	....			
Mates privelege	30	12	....			
Doctors Do. and head Money	42	10	....			
Ships Disbursements in the West Indies	120	....	....			
Wages for 20 Men, Officers and Seamen included at 50/ per Month for 12 Months	600	....	....			
Interest on the Amo't of Cargo and Outfit for 12 Mo's	362	14	....	2450	11	....
Add Total Amo't of Ships Cargo and Outfit	.....	....	....	6044	17	6
				8495	8	6
Gross Sales of 238 Negroes at £34	8092	....	....			
Value of the Ship on her Return 1/3d. less	1166	14	....			
	9258	14	....			
	8495	8	6			
Neat Profit on the Voyage				763	5	6

Under 100 Tons, 5 Slaves to every 2 Tons, 100 Tons to carry 250 Slaves, for every Ton between 100 and 110, 2 Slaves for each Ton, by which Rule

	110	Tons will carry	270 Slaves
	120		290 Do.
	130		310 Do.
	140		330 Do.
	150		350 Do.
	160		370 Do.
	170		390 Do.
	180		410 Do.
	190		430 Do.
	200		450 Do.
above	200	to 225 Tons	450 Do.
above	225	Tons.....2 Slaves for each Ton[2].....	

277. Petition of Liverpool to the House of Lords.[1]

1788, June 20. That your Petitioners are informed that a Bill has passed the Honourable House of Commons, and is now submitted to

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exposed: when it is considered that the very Cargo is often uncertain: that when the Market does not absolutely fail, the health of the Cargoe a point of equal moment to the inseperable interests of the Trader and of humanity is often hazarded by delay, that the middle Passage is subject to danger from insurrection, as well as sickness; finally and principally, that the whole expectation of the enterprise, the whole security of the Capital and return of the Commerce, are in a great degree, at the mercy of the Planter, to whom an unexampled credit is extended by the persons who are to be aggrieved by the depending Bill." At one negro to one ton, which was the allowance in the bill as then framed, the loss on a vessel of 100 tons would be £583 6 0. He suggests a bounty on tonnage and on the imports of slaves after the French practice. "The cause of Humanity would be ill served by an entire transfer of the African Trade to the French or Spaniards." June 9, 1788, Tarleton to Lord Hawkesbury, Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 103-106.

[2] In later folios (204-205) appears an estimate of the possible profits on a 200-ton vessel:

"200 ton ship carrying 2 slaves per ton		400
Profit at £5 per slave		£2000
Loss of 5 slaves in every 100 at £35		700
	Net profit	£1300
200 ton ship, 5 slaves to every 3 tons		333
Profit at £5 per slave		£1665
Loss of 5 slaves in every 100 at £35		583
	Net profit	1082
If two-fifths of the slaves are saved because of the regulation		233.18
	Profit	£1315.18"

"By the Accounts of Profit and Loss in this Trade that have been given in, it does not appear that they ever gain more than in the proportion of £2 or £3 per Slave, and their Profits appear in consequence of this to be very small, and such as would certainly not bear any Reduction . . . though single Ships may sometimes carry more than 2 Slaves per Ton, and that they generally clear out with a view of obtaining something more than this Proportion, yet, upon averaging many Accounts, that have been produced, of nine or Ten different Ships, it does not appear that they ever obtain, or carry, so many as 2 per Ton. Lord H[awkesbury] is on this Account very much inclined to doubt the truth of the Calculations of Profit and Loss that have been given in and to think that £5 per Slave is about the Profit they usually make, especially as he knows, that very considerable Fortunes have of late been made in this Trade." . . . Endorsed, "Calculations concerning the Slave Trade by L. H." Add. MSS. 38416, f. 206.

[277] [1] Picton, *Liverpool: Municipal Archives and Records,* pp. 216-217. The council also formulated petitions in April and July, 1789, and in 1792 and 1799. *Ibid.,* pp. 217-219.

your Lordships' consideration, imposing a variety of unnecessary and grievous restrictions upon the African Slave Trade.

That the trade has been legally and uninterruptedly carried on for centuries past by many of his Majesty's subjects with advantages to the country both important and extensive; but has lately been unjustly reprobated as impolitic and inhuman.

That a Resolution has been passed in another House of Parliament to institute a very strict inquiry into the nature of this trade, in the ensuing session; and your Petitioners therefore were little aware of any attempts being intended hastily and injudiciously to force upon the African merchant such a train of crude and indigested restrictions and alterations as those contained in the Bill now before your Lordships, which if passed into a law cannot fail of indirectly amounting to a direct abolition of the African trade.

That the importance of the subject to the revenues, navigation and commerce of the country, does as is very humbly conceived deserve a more serious and deliberate consideration than can possibly be bestowed on it in the present expiring session of Parliament, during which your Petitioners cannot fairly be expected to prepare themselves with such counsel and evidence to prove the allegations they have here set forth, as are suited to the dignity of your Lordship's proceedings, and consistent with their own interests, upon an occasion of so much consequence to them and to their posterity.

They therefore, relying upon your Lordships acknowledged wisdom and justice, do, on behalf of themselves and the freemen and traders of Liverpool whom they have the honour here to represent, humbly implore your Lordships that the Bill now complained of may not pass into a law, or that they may be heard by themselves or counsel against it.[2] . . .

278. An Act to regulate the Carrying of Slaves.[1]

An act to regulate, for a limited time, the shipping and carrying slaves in British vessels from the coast of Africa.

[2] Arguments of many sorts were used against the bill. Samuel Taylor on June 3, 1788, wrote to George Chalmers that should the bill pass, 2000 men, women, and children of Manchester would be thrown out of work. He himself was preparing to establish a house in Rouen in order to transfer his business there (Add. MSS. 38416, f. 101). Not only was the threat of loss of English business used against the bill, but the Bristol delegate was informed that Bristol had fitted out vessels with a capacity of 10,070 slaves, for Spanish and French markets, sometimes masking them under French names, in order to obtain the French bounty. Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 88-89.

[278] [1] 28 Geo. III. c. 54; Pickering, *Statutes at Large,* XXXVI. 543-550. The bill reached its second reading May 26. The Liverpool members spoke against regulation and gloomily predicted that the limitations imposed would ruin the trade, but the facts brought forward concerning the mortality incident to the Middle Passage were not to be gainsaid, and the bill passed by a vote of 56 to 5. In the House of Lords the opposition to the measure was stronger, and only Pitt's personal influence, exerted to the utmost, succeeded in obtaining its passage, on June 30, by a vote of 14 to 12 (Coupland, *Wilberforce,* pp. 110-111). The debate on the bill can be followed in *Parliamentary History,* XXVII. 573-599, 638-650.

Whereas it is expedient to regulate the shipping and carrying of slaves in British vessels from the coast of Africa; be it therefore enacted; and it is hereby enacted by the King's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That it shall not be lawful for any master, or other person taking or having the charge or command of any British ship or vessel whatever, which shall clear out from any port of this kingdom from and after the first day of August one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight, to have on board, at any one time, or to convey, carry, bring, or transport slaves from the coast of Africa to any parts beyond sea, in any such ship or vessel, in any greater number than in the proportion of five such slaves for every three tons of the burthen of such ship or vessel, over and above the said burthen of such ship or vessel, so far as the said ship or vessel shall not exceed two hundred and one tons; and moreover, of one such slave for every additional ton of such ship or vessel, over and above the said burthen of two hundred and one tons, or male slaves who shall exceed four feet four inches in height, in any greater number than in the proportion of one such male slave to every one ton of the burthen of such ship or vessel, so far as the said ship or vessel shall not exceed two hundred and one tons, and (moreover) of three such male slaves (who shall exceed the said height of four feet four inches) for every additional five tons of such ship or vessel, over and above the said burthen of two hundred and one tons;[2] and every such ship or vessel shall be deemed and taken to be of such tonnage or burthen as is described and set forth in the respective certificate of the registry of each and every such ship or vessel, granted in pursuance of an act made and passed in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of his present Majesty, (intituled, An act for the further increase and encouragement of shipping and navigation) and if any such master, or other person taking or having the charge or command of any such ship or vessel, shall act contrary hereto, such master, or other person as aforesaid, shall forfeit and pay the sum of thirty pounds of lawful money of Great Britain, for each and every such slave exceeding in number the proportions herein-before limited; one moiety whereof shall go to his Majesty, his heirs or successors, and the other moiety thereof shall go to any person or persons who shall first sue for the same.

[2] The allotment proposed during the committee consideration was, 5 men to every 3 tons in vessels of 150 tons burden, with 5 feet between decks and a cabin; 3 men to 2 tons in larger vessels with equal accommodations; and one man to a ton in other vessels. Bamber Gascoyne and Lord Penrhyn, the Liverpool members, asserted that anything less than two men to one ton would ruin the trade. *Parl. History,* XXVII. 589.

II. Provided always, That if there shall be, in any such ship or vessel, any more than two fifth parts of the slaves who shall be children, and who shall not exceed four feet four inches in height, then every five such children (over and above the aforesaid proportion of two fifths) shall be deemed and taken to be equal to four of the said slaves within the true intent and meaning of this act.

III. [On the arrival of the vessel in the West Indies, the master shall declare on oath the tonnage of his vessel and the number and height of his negroes.]

IV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall not be lawful for the master, or other person taking or having the charge or command of any such ship or vessel as aforesaid, which shall be cleared out from any port in Great Britain after the first day of August one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, to take or have on board such ship or vessel, or convey, carry, bring, or transport any slaves from the coast of Africa to any parts beyond sea, in any such ship or vessel as aforesaid unless such ship or vessel shall, at the time of her so clearing out, have been entered for such purpose at the custom-house of the port from whence she cleared out; and unless the surgeon of or belonging to such ship or vessel shall have given bond to his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, and shall have left the same in the hands of the collector or comptroller of the customs in the port from whence such ship or vessel shall depart for such voyage to the coast of Africa, in the penal sum of one hundred pounds, with condition, that such surgeon shall keep a regular and true journal, containing an account of the greatest number of slaves which shall have been, at any time during such voyage, on board such ship or vessel, from the time of the arrival of such ship or vessel on the coast of Africa as aforesaid, until her arrival at the port of her delivery, and of the deaths of any such slaves or crew of the said ship or vessel, and of the cause thereof, during the voyage, from the first departure of the said ship or vessel, to her arrival on the coast of Africa, during her stay on the said coast, and after her departure from thence to the said port of delivery, or during such time as such surgeon shall have been on board such ship; and that the said surgeon shall deliver such journal to the collector, or other officer as aforesaid, at the first British port where such ship or vessel shall arrive after leaving the coast of Africa, and shall make oath to the truth of such journal, to the best of his knowledge and belief, before such collector or other officer as aforesaid, who is hereby authorised and required to administer the said oath; and such collector, or other officer as aforesaid, shall deliver to such master, or other person as aforesaid, and to such surgeon re-

spectively, copies of the oath of such master, or other person as aforesaid, and also of the said journal, which copies shall severally be attested (as true copies) by such collector or other officer as aforesaid, under his hand and seal, and duplicates of the said copies, attested in like manner, shall be transmitted by the said collector, or other chief officer, to the commissioners of his Majesty's customs in London; and if such master or surgeon shall act contrary hereto, such master or surgeon shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds; one moiety whereof shall go to his Majesty, his heirs or successors, and the other moiety thereof shall go to any person or persons who shall sue for the same.

V. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the several provisions contained in this act shall extend and be in force, with respect to such British ships as aforesaid as shall have sailed before the first day of August one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, from any port of Great Britain, and shall on the coast of Africa take on board and convey any slaves to any parts beyond sea, in all cases where a printed copy thereof shall be delivered to the commander or principal officer of any such ship, before such ship shall have taken in a greater number of slaves than in the proportions herein-before limited.

VI. Provided always, That if any such British ship as aforesaid shall have on board a greater number of the said slaves, of any description, than in such proportions as aforesaid, at the time the copy of this act is delivered to such commander or principal officer, or other person having charge of the same as aforesaid, it shall not be lawful for such commander or principal officer as aforesaid, or any other person having charge of the same, to receive on board any more of the said description of slaves than shall have been on board at the time of the said copy of this act being delivered, or of any other description of slaves, so as to exceed in the whole the proportions herein-before prescribed, reckoning five children who shall not exceed four feet four inches in height as equal to four grown slaves, as aforesaid, and if any such master, or other person as aforesaid, shall act contrary hereto, he shall forfeit and pay the sum of thirty pounds of lawful money of Great Britain, for every such slave so taken on board; and one moiety of the said forfeiture shall go to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, and the other moiety to any person or persons who shall first sue for the same.

VII. [The admiralty to appoint persons to deliver copies of this act to commanders who have sailed before Aug. 1, and to muster the slaves on board such vessels and to deliver a list of such ships to the collectors of customs in the British West Indies.]

VIII. [Any person hindering the process of ascertaining the number of negroes in any vessel to be fined £100.]

IX. [A vessel may take on board any number of negroes from a vessel in distress.]

X. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in every such ship or vessel the upper as well as lower cabin, and the space between decks, shall be allotted and properly prepared for the reception of the said slaves; and that after any such ship or vessel shall have taken two thirds of her complement of slaves on board, in the proportions herein-before directed, no goods, wares, or merchandize, shall ever be stowed or put in any such cabin or place in which any such slaves shall be.

XI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the first day of August one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, it shall not be lawful for any person to become a master, or to take or have the command or charge of any such ship or vessel at the time she shall clear out from any port of Great Britain, for purchasing and carrying slaves from the coast of Africa, unless such master, or person taking or having the charge or command of any such ship or vessel, shall have already served in such capacity during one voyage, or shall have served as chief mate or surgeon during the whole of two voyages, or either as chief or other mate, during three voyages, in purchasing and carrying slaves from the coast of Africa; under pain that such master, or person taking or having charge or command of any such ship or vessel, and also the owner or owners, who shall hire or employ such person, shall, for every such offence respectively, forfeit and pay the sum of fifty pounds.

XII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the first day of August one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, it shall not be lawful for any owner or owners of any such ship or vessel to insure any cargo of slaves, or any part thereof, on board the same, against any loss or damage, save and except the perils of the sea, piracy, insurrection, or capture by the King's enemies, barratry of the master and crew, and destruction by fire; and that all and every policy of insurance, hereafter made contrary to this act, shall be, and the same is hereby declared to be null and void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.[3]

XIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no such ship or vessel shall be allowed to clear out, unless it shall

[3] On July 5, 1788, Norris, Matthews, and Dalzell wrote to Hawkesbury: "What is called Barratry of the Master or Mariners is not provided for in the said clause . . . [We] submit to your Lordship whether it would not fully answer your Lordship's purpose to except insuring against mortality, instead of enumerating the disasters against which it shall be lawful to insure." Add. MSS. 38416, f. 143.

appear to the collector or other principal officer of the customs at the port, that there is one surgeon at least engaged to proceed on board such ship or vessel; and unless such surgeon shall have produced, to such collector or other principal officer of the customs, a certificate of his having passed his examination at surgeons hall.

XIV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if it shall be made appear, to the satisfaction of the collector, or other principal officer of the port where such ship or vessel shall be discharged, that there shall not have died more than in the proportion of two slaves in the hundred, from the time of the arrival of such ship or vessel on the coast of Africa, to the time of her arrival at her port of discharge in any of the islands in the West Indies, belonging to or under the dominion of his Majesty, in such case, the collector or other principal officer as aforesaid shall, and he is hereby authorised and required to make out certificates, specifying the number of slaves that appear to have been taken on board the said ship or vessel, and the number that have died within the period abovementioned; one of which certificates shall be delivered to the master, and the other to the surgeon of such ship or vessel; and on production of such certificates, the commissioners of his Majesty's customs in England and Scotland respectively shall, and they are hereby authorised and required to direct the sum of one hundred pounds to be paid to the master, and the sum of fifty pounds to be paid to the surgeon of such ship or vessel, out of any money that shall be in the hands of the receiver general of the customs of England and Scotland respectively; or if it shall be made appear to the collector, or other principal officer as aforesaid, that there shall not have died more than in the proportion of three slaves in the hundred, from the time of the arrival of such ship or vessel on the coast of Africa, to the time of her arrival at her port of discharge in any of the said West India islands, in such case the collector or other principal officer as aforesaid shall, and he is hereby authorised and required to make out like certificates, and to deliver one to the master, and the other to the surgeon of such ship or vessel; and the commissioners of the customs in England and Scotland respectively shall, and they are hereby authorised and required, on production of such certificates, to direct the sum of fifty pounds to be paid to the master, and the sum of twenty five pounds to be paid to the surgeon of such ship or vessel.

XV. And whereas cases may occur in which it may be just and warrantable that compensation should be made to individuals who may sustain losses in consequence of this act; be it further enacted, That Brook Watson, esquire, Samuel Beachcroft esquire, and Wil-

liam Roe esquire, shall be, and they are hereby appointed commissioners for the purpose of enquiring into any losses which may be sustained, in consequence of this act, by any merchants or owners of any ships or vessels engaged in the African trade, who shall make application to the said commissioners before the first day of September next ensuing; and that all persons making such application shall, as soon as they are enabled so to do, lay before the said commissioners full statements of the grounds of their respective claims, specifying the particulars of all the expences, net proceeds, profits or losses attending the voyage or adventure, in respect of which such application shall be made, together with all such circumstances as shall appear to the said commissioners necessary for their information, in order to ascertain the losses of the persons so applying; and the said commissioners shall have the power to examine upon oath, touching the matters of the said claims, all persons whom the said commissioners shall think fit; and all persons are hereby directed and required punctually to attend the said commissioners at such time and place as they shall appoint; and the said commissioners, as soon as they shall have completed the examination of the several claims laid before them, shall determine the amount of the losses which *bona fide* have been sustained by any of the said claimants in consequence of this act, and which the said claimants shall not have been able to avoid, and shall report, as soon as conveniently may be, to both houses of parliament, what compensation shall appear to the said commissioners to be reasonable to be made to such claimants: and the said commissioners, before they proceed to take any step in pursuance of this act, shall take an oath before the master of the rolls for the time being, or one of his Majesty's justices of the court of King's bench, or common pleas, or one of the barons of the exchequer, which they or either of them are hereby authorised and required to administer, in the form following; that is to say,

I, *A.B.* do swear, That, according to the best of my skill and knowledge, I will faithfully and impartially execute the several powers and trusts vested in me by virtue of an act, intituled, An act to regulate, for a limited time, the shipping and carrying slaves in British vessels from the coast of Africa.[4] . . .

XVII. [In case of vacancies among the commissioners during a recess of Parliament, the place is to be filled by the king.] . . .

XX. And be it further enacted, That this act shall continue in force till the first day of August one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, and no longer, except for the purpose of trying or

[4] Art. XVI. provides for the necessary payment of a staff to administer this act; arts. XVIII. and XIX. outline court procedure and the punishment for perjury.

suing any person in consequence of any offence or offences committed in breach or violation of this act.[5]

279. James Jones to Lord Hawkesbury.[1]

[July 26, 1788.]

The Vessells to this part[2] are small, from 100 to 200 Tons, and notwithstanding they are a long while (four to Nine Months) making their Purchases yet they are in general Healthy, the People there are hardy, their Country high and healthy and their Food (Rice and Millett) also contributes to it, The Trade to this part is Advantageous to the Manufactories of this Kingdom. At Bonny and New Callabar it will take off a Quarter and a fifth, the Trade there will suffer more than at any other part, the Dutys paid there being very high much more than at any other part of the Coast, and on every Ship alike without distinction as to size. The chief of the Ships to these Parts are from 200 to 250 Tons except those that have Contracts they are all larger, purchases are made much quicker there than at any other place. The Natives there are not so hardy, the Country being low and swampy, their Food, Vegetables, principally Yams, and a little Fish which makes some of them weakly, and more liable to disorders, under which their Constitutions will not bear them up: but by degrees, as they are used to a different and more Nutritious Food they get hardy, and when purchased Young

[5] This act, with some modification, was continued in 1789. During the years in which abolition of the trade was under discussion many measures were proposed as possible substitutes for complete abolition. Among these was the following:

"6th. All Ships in the Negroe Trade shall report their Ships and Cargo to the Collector of the Port and to the Protector of Negroes and one of his Inspectors who shall jointly Examine or cause to be diligently Examined the State of the Ship and the Negroes, and on proof of Contravention of this Act or Cruelty or other Malversation shall jointly have Power in a Summary manner to fine a Captain according to the offence in a Sum not exceeding ——, an Appeal reserved over to the Supreme Court of Justice in the Island.

"7. That there shall be no Sale of Negroes except in the presence of an Inspector and no Sale by Scramble as it is called, shall be permitted; and the name, State and description of the Negroes shall be taken and registered; and if it be found that any Slave shall have in the same or any other Ship at the same time entered, a wife or Husband, or Brother or Sister or Child, the persons so related shall not be sold separately at that or any other future Sale." Add. MSS. 33124, f. 16.

[279] [1] Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 154-155. On June 20, 1788, the council of Liverpool "Ordered that the Freedom of this borough be presented to the Right Hon. Charles Lord Hawkesbury in consideration of the important advantages resulting to the nation at large from his Lordship's great attention to its commercial interests, and more particularly in gratitude for the essential services rendered to the town of Liverpool by his Lordship's late exertion in Parliament in support of the African Slave Trade and that the Mayor be requested to communicate the same by letter to Lord Hawkesbury" (Picton, *Archives and Records,* p. 191). When in May, 1796, Lord Hawkesbury was created Earl of Liverpool, the corporation invited him to quarter the arms of Liverpool with his own. Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* p. 611.

[2] This may have been the Grain Coast. On June 27 Jones had written to Lord Hawkesbury opposing the restriction, one of his arguments being that vessels of from 170 to 250 tons burden were best adapted to the trade but would be driven from it if the bill under consideration were passed. Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 130-131.

make very usefull Servants; more Females are had there and better than on any other part of the Coast: they are in general small, more than one third Females and a great many Boys and Girls. I consider the Trade there most Advantageous to this Country both as to Our Manufacturies and the Number had from thence. Ships of about 200 Tons Accomodated rather more than two Slaves to a Ton very well and without Crowding them, and from experience I have found the Trade carried on by this rule as Successful as any; and to restrict them under that Number, Ships nine times in ten would not get Money. The mere Expence of Transporting them, in Ships of this Burthen and with that Number, is as near Nine Pounds each as can be, I confine Myself to the Expences of Outfitt and weare and tare of the Ship only, Insurance ther[e]on, the Captains Commissions, Officers Priviledges, and Wages to the Crew, Dutys and presents paid for the Ship to the King etc. These Expenses cannot be reduced, altho the Number of Slaves are lessened nearly one Quarter, therefore on a Ship of 200 Tons, the loss by the restriction must be about £900 . . . and the Merchants expected profitt considering he is on an Average two Years out of his Money, should not be estimated at less than Six Pounds for each, which is about £600 more; thus do these restrictions make a difference of about £1400 or £1500 on Vessells of this discription, a difference too great I fear not to ruin the Trade, and I really do not think the Negroes will be more healthy or that there will be less Mortality in proportion to the Number. It is a very uncertain and precarious Trade, and if there is not a probable prospect of considerable Profit no Man of Property who hath any Knowledge of it would embark or continue in it. I think it unnecessary to say much of the Trade to the Gold Coast, as the Number purchased there to go to the Brittish Islands are not great in proportion to the other parts, the Restrictions will affect it rather less than on the Windward Coast, but will be the Cause of fewer of those Slaves going to Our Islands than ever, they are a hardy Robust people, not often Sickly, Altho they are from 6 to 10 Months Slaving. As to Old Callabar and the Camaroons, I have allways declined sending to those two Rivers, as they are Sickly, and the Slaves inferior to any other, very Weakly and liable to great Mortality. . . . The Regulations should be as near to the Practice and Usage of the Trade as possible, particularly as it was drooping, from the powerful Competition of Our Rivals, who were incouraged by Bountys from their Government, equal to the Expences of Transporting the Slaves; and those incouragements were tempting to the Merchants of this Kingdom to embark their Capitals out of it, with those Rivals, and thereby discovering to them Our manner

of Conducting the Trade, (which is much superior to theirs) and the best Marts for carrying it on. It was not 'till within these few Years the French had any footing at Bonny and New Callabar, and was ocasiond from these temptations. The Bill pass'd it's true, has continuance only one Year, but considering the period it takes date from, it has effect on two Years, as there are particular Seasons, in which to do well near two thirds of the Ships should be fitted out. It is so unfavorable that it has already determined some Men of Property to retire from it; and it appears to Me, that many others who have been long in it will do the same. I am of Opinion but few Ships will be sent whilst this Act is in force, Unless Administration should grant some relief in the restrictions. Connections are formed and forming in France, and other Measures taking, that will prove very Injurious to the Trade of this Country, and particularly to any Ships that may be intended to Supply our Islands. The retrospective Clause extending this Bill to Attach on Ships on the Coast makes a very unfavorable impression on every One, and allmost all are fearfull of continuing the Trade, not knowing what may follow; it is consider'd so unprecedented a Circumstance. Notwithstanding Compensation is intended, I fear very fatal consequences may be occasioned by this Clause which did not Occur to Me 'till lately. these Ships were fitted out at a great expence had regular assorted Cargoes, all of them large quantities of Gunpowder; many from 200 to 300 Barrels each; and large quantities of Brittish Spirits and Rum; many of them will be obligd to bring back a fifth to quarter of their Cargoes, and of Course a great deal of Powder; the rooms made for that Article are allways Cieled and well secured to prevent Accidents, and these rooms when the purchase is completed are allways used for stowing the Slaves dry provisions, there being no other part in the Ship proper for that purpose, and to which the Cooks, and other persons, must have constant access with Lights, an Accident by a Spark of Fire when there are a Number of Slaves on Board, may happen; the Spirits must be kept in the hold where the water is stowed, and of course open to the Crew, the Danger from thence, is very Alarming. The Cotton and Linnen Cloth from the nature of their packages, must Unavoidably, be rotten, from the heat and Steam of the Hold, when the Slaves are on Board; as it must be stowed on the top of the Water Casks, this must be the Case with all the other Goods, so that the loss from Damage on all that is returned must be much greater than was at first imagined. in justice therefore to the Merchant, all the Goods, the Ships are oblig'd to bring home should be Sold for the Account of Government and He should be paid for the Number of Slaves those Goods would have

purchased, at the Average price the Cargoe sells for in the West Indies, after making the proper Allowance for expected Mortality; indeed I do not think it would be fit, or prudent to risque it another Voyage, on any Terms. This Trade is certainly of great Value in itself (and it is evident our Rivals think so by the encouragement they give it) as well as of the Utmost Importance to another great Branch of our Commerce. By the inclosed list of Ships Surveyd by Capt Parry at Liverpool; and my own that are Sailed and on the Coast the difference the restrictions make will Appear, and from your Lordships knowledge of Commerce, you will judge whether the Trade can be Continued under this Act with prospect of Advantage.[3]

280. The Plan of the *Brookes*.[1]

[See opposite page.]

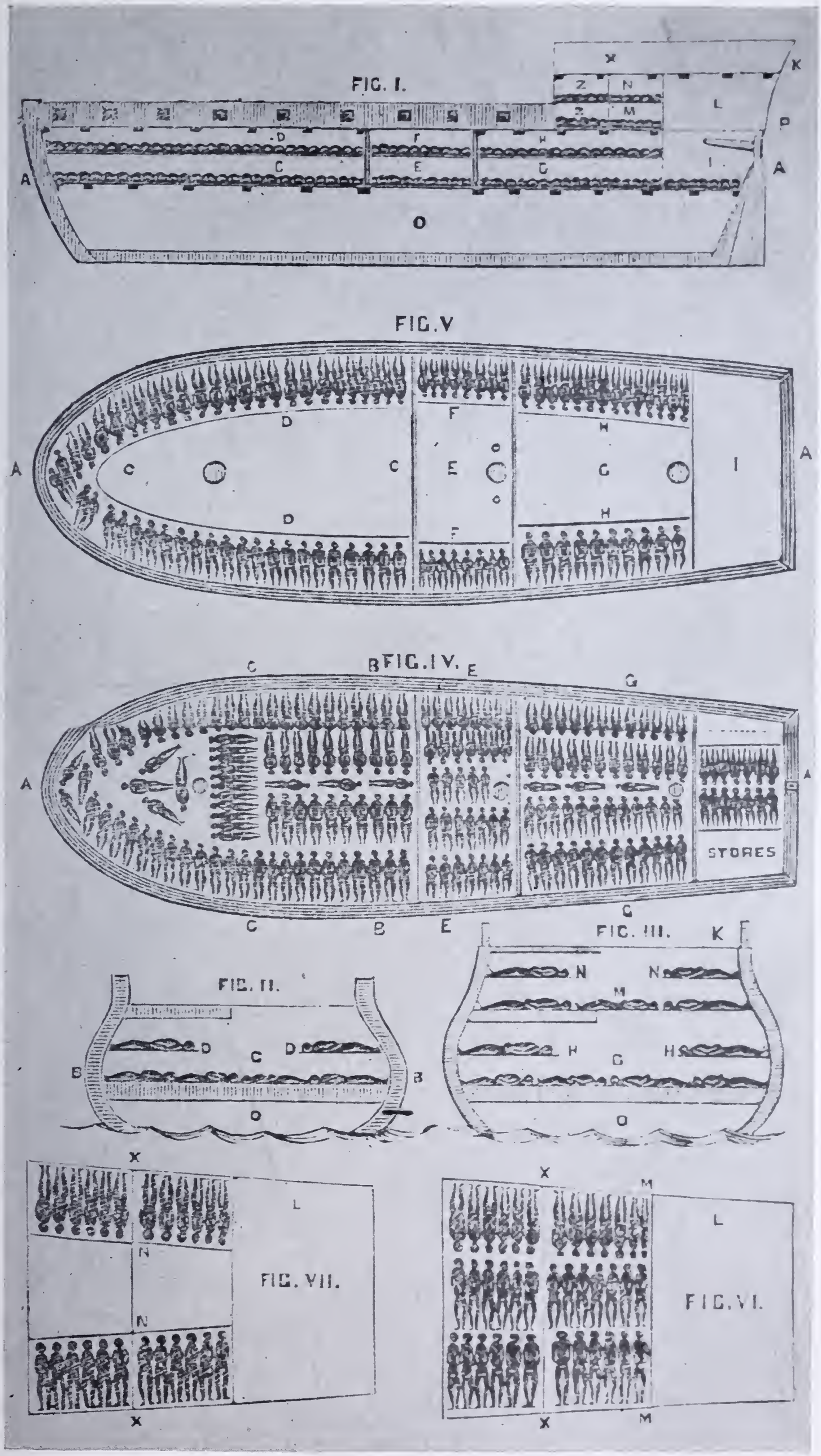
[3] Mr. Jones's own recommendation had been that five females be reckoned as four males, and three boys or girls as equal to two grown persons. Add. MSS. 38416, f. 216.

[280] [1] During the discussion of the possible regulation of slave vessels, Captain Perry visited Liverpool and examined eighteen vessels, nine of which belonged to James Jones (see *ante,* no. 279). His report on their measurements is to be found in Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 208-212. The dimensions of the *Brookes,* one of the vessels examined, were: "Length of the lower deck, gratings and bulkheads included, at A A, 100 feet, breadth of beam on lower deck inside, B B, 25 feet 4 inches, depth of Hold, O O O, from ceiling to ceiling, 10 feet, height between decks, from deck to deck, 5 feet 8 inches, length of the men's room, C C, on the lower deck, 46 feet, breadth of the men's room, C C, on the lower deck, 25 feet 4 inches, length of the platforms, D D, in the men's room, 46 feet, breadth of the platforms in the men's room on each side, 6 feet, length of the boy's room, E E, 13 feet 9 inches, breadth of the boy's room, 25 feet, breadth of platforms, F F, in boy's room, 6 feet, length of women's room, G G, 28 feet 6 inches, breadth of women's room, 23 feet 6 inches, length of platforms, H H, in women's room, 28 feet 6 inches, breadth of platforms in women's room, 6 feet, length of the gun-room, I I, on the lower deck, 10 feet 6 inches, breadth of the gun-room on the lower deck, 12 feet, length of the quarter-deck, K K, 33 feet 6 inches, breadth of the quarter-deck, 19 feet 6 inches, length of the cabin, L L, 14 feet, height of the cabin, 6 feet 2 inches, length of the half-deck, M M, 16 feet 6 inches, height of the half-deck, 6 feet 2 inches, length of the platforms, N N, on the half-deck, 16 feet, 6 inches, breadth of the platforms on the half-deck, 6 feet, upper deck, P P.

"Let it now be supposed that the above are the real dimensions of the ship *Brookes,* and further, that every man slave is to be allowed six feet by one foot four inches for room, every woman five feet ten by one foot four, every boy five feet by one foot two, and every girl four feet six by one foot, it will follow that the annexed plan of a slave vessel will be precisely the representation of the ship *Brookes,* and of the exact number of persons neither more nor less, that could be stowed in the different rooms of it upon these data. These, if counted, (* deducting the women stowed in Z, of figures VI and VII,) will be found to amount to *four hundred and fifty-one.* Now, if it be considered that the ship *Brookes* is of three hundred and twenty tons, and that she is allowed to carry by act of Parliament *four hundred and fifty-four persons,* it is evident that if three more could be wedged among the number represented in the plan, this plan would contain precisely the number which the act directs.

"* By the late act of Parliament the space Z, which is half of the half-deck, M Z, is appropriated to the seamen."

For an account of Captain Perry's results see Clarkson, *Abolition of the Slave Trade,* II. 90-92. Extensive use was made of this diagram in carrying forward the work for abolition. Clarkson took it to Paris with him, where Mirabeau had a small model made from it, which he placed in his dining-room; copies of it were sent to Philadelphia, where 3700 were circulated. It was published in the *Museum* (V. 429-430, May, 1789), with extracts from a descriptive pamphlet published by an abolition society of Plymouth. Here the statement is made that the *Brookes* on one of her voyages carried 609 slaves, double the number shown in this diagram. This was said to have been accomplished by inserting additional shelves between decks.



THE PLAN OF THE *BROOKES*

281. From the Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, 1789.[1]

Testimony of Captain Heatley. . . . When a Ship arrives in the River Gambia she comes to an Anchor at Gillofree Port, in the Kingdom of Barra, opposite James Fort on James's Island, Nine or Ten Leagues from the Entrance. You send your Boat on Shore to acquaint the Alkaide or Mayor of the Town of your Arrival; he in common returns with the Boat, and receives from you Anchorage-money, Ten Gallons of Liquor for the King, Value 30 *s.* and Two Iron Bars for himself, Value 7 *s.* and perhaps Presents, a few Bottles of Wine, Beer, Cyder, etc. He immediately dispatches Messengers with the Liquor as above to the King, informing that such Vessel is arrived, and only waits to pay his Customs, intending to proceed up the River. The King consults his Councillors for a proper Day to receive the same, and sends Word to the Alcaide accordingly. After a Detention of Four, Five, Six, and Seven Days, he sends his People to receive his Custom, 140 Bars in Merchandize, Amount Sterling on an Average £16. An English Ship seldom or ever meets with Trade here; the French (who have their King's Residence at Albreda, a Town in the Kingdom of Barra, about 17 Miles West of Gillofree) engross most or all of the Trade of the lower Parts of this River. At Gillofree the Ship is supplied with First and Second Linguists, Two Messengers, Six Butlers or more.

Wages	First Linguist	10 Bars	per Month,	Value	20 *s.*	1 Bar per Slave, Commission.
	Second Linguist	8 Ditto	ditto	ditto	16 *s.*	no Commission
	Messengers	4 Ditto	ditto	ditto	8 *s.*	
	Butlers	3 Ditto	ditto	ditto	6 *s.*	

and all are found in Provision.

The First Linguist's Employment is in the Ship; he interprets between the Broker (who in general sells the Slaves for the Owner) and the Factor, Trader, or Master of the Ship. The Second Linguist is employed as the First, with an Officer of the Ship, either in the Tender, Long Boat, or Factory on Shore. Messengers are employed looking for Trade on Shore, Slaves, Ivory, Gold, Wax, Provisions,

[281] [1] *Report of the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council* (1789), pt. I. The committee of the Privy Council, to which numerous references have already been made, obtained the information for its voluminous report by means of seventy questions put to the witnesses that appeared before it (Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 13-18). Among these witnesses were the committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa, captains who had taken part in the trade, surgeons, and naval officers (see Coupland, *Wilberforce*, pp. 116-118). The mass of testimony thus gathered was presented under five headings: (1) the civilization of Africa and the manner in which slaves were made; (2) the manner of carrying slaves to the West Indies; (3) the treatment of slaves on the plantations; (4) the extent of the trade and of the black population, slave and free, of the West Indies; (5) the slave trade and slavery as practised by other nations. Captain Heatley had been in the traffic between 1763 and 1773, during which time he had made several voyages to South Carolina.

etc.; also for carrying Letters to and from Vessels, Factories, etc. Butlers are employed to row in Boats, cut Wood, water the Ship, etc. and are hired purposely to preserve the Health of your Ship's Crew; with such People on Board, you have no Occasion to expose your White People to the Sun on Board, nor to the Damps on Shore, by cutting Wood and Fetching Water.

Thus provided at Gillofree, we proceed up the River, and after a Passage of Six, Seven, or Eight Days, arrive at Yanamaroo, in the Kingdom of Yancy, 90 or 100 Leagues from the Entrance of the River, paying Anchorage Five Gallons of Liquor and One Iron Bar. We send Messengers to the principal People Twenty or Thirty Miles round, acquainting of the Arrival of the Ship, and soliciting their Assistance for Dispatch. Our Tender or Long-Boat is dispatched up the River to the different Ports of Trade, with a regular Assortment of Merchandise. It is at this Port that Ships from Europe in general begin and finish their Trade.

We in common begin with single Trade, that is, One, Two, or Three Slaves, bought from One Broker, called by the Natives a Slattee; Coffil Trade (but from what Language the Word Coffil is derived Capt. Heatley is at a Loss), is called by the Natives *Seton,* and may be better understood in Europe as a Caravan, or large Bodies of Slaves, from 200 to 300, marched down from the interior Parts of the Country.

The Broker or Slattee is the Person who collects the Slaves together in the interior Parts of the Country; he perhaps gives a small Premium to the Slave Owners, and engages to convey them and their Slaves down to the Banks of the River, clear of all Incumbrance; that is, he discharges all Duties, Fees etc. he is subject to in passing through the different Kingdoms. He finds them Provision on their Journey down; on their Return, they are to find themselves Provision; but he is bound by Engagements to return with them, and keep them free from every Demand as above: For the Performance of his Engagements, he receives a Custom or Brokerage on each Slave from the European Trader, which is (or more properly was originally) deducted out of the Price of the Slave. The Price varies according to the Scarcity and Demand for them.

		Bars.	
From the Year 1783 to 1787, though it often varies;	To the Owner of a Slave	80	
	Customs and Brokerage	20	
		100	Value 10 *l.* Sterling
the same in the Course of Six or Twelve Months;	To the Owner of a Slave	160	
	Custom or Brokerage	70	
		230	Value 23 *l.* Sterling.

The Slave Trade of Gambia has declined much these 15 or 20 Years past. In the Year 1771, 2500 Slaves may have been exported; in 1775, 2000; but from the Year 1778 to 1788, he knows of no Instance where more than 900 or 1200 have been exported in Twelve Months. The Gambia may produce about 30 Tons of Bees Wax, and 8 to 10 Tons of Ivory. Gold is of such Value about the Sea Coast, we cannot purchase it to bring to Europe with any Prospect of Advantage, the Quantity very small that comes to European Traders Hands. Ivory is purchased from 5 *l.* to 7 *l.* 10 *s.* Sterling per 112 lb. according to Quantity. Bees Wax is purchased from 30 *s.* per 112 lb. to 80.

We are now entering on Trade. The Linguist brings the Broker on Board, or to your Factory, who gives Notice that he has a Slave to sell, enquires the Price you mean to give the Master of the Slave, and the Custom he is to have; this is very seldom settled until he has visited all the Ships and Factories at the Port. When he finds he has no better Offer, he brings the Slave Owner on Board, who examines the Quantity of your Merchandize, fixes upon the principal Articles of the Assortment, and sends for the Slave; the Surgeon examines the Slave; if approved of, we immediately pay the Owner from 10 *l.* to 20 *l.* Value in Merchandize, stopping One Bar Duty for the King, Prince, etc. The Man that collects the Duty is called by the Natives Tabob Manson, in English, the White Man's King, and to whom the European Traders pay Half a Bar, or One Shilling, for every Slave they purchase. The Slave Owner having received his Goods as agreed on, he calls for *Courit a Curt,* (which signifies, in the English Language, loosing the Slaves from their Rope), and is done by presenting him Trading Knives, Half a Bar of Tobacco, Paper, etc.; without this, his Deed of Delivery is not perfect; with it, he finally concludes his Part of the Bargain, and carries his Merchandize on Shore. The Slave, if a Man, is put in Irons on the Main Deck; if a Boy, he is put on the Main Deck loose; if a Woman or Girl, they are placed (without Irons) on the Quarter Deck.

The Broker or Slattee now receives his Custom or Brokerage for the One Slave bought, which finishes the Purchase of a single Slave. The Coffil Trade differs very little from the single, having the same Ceremony, shewing the Goods, fixing the Price to the Owner, and the Custom to the Broker or Slattee. Price and principal Articles once fixed upon, it seldom varies, purchasing 30, 40, or 50 Slaves of a Day. When the Coffil is finished, we pay the Slattee all his Brokerage Dues, the King his Duty Bars, and Tabob Manson his Dues; And it is in the foregoing Mode, and no other, that the European Trader can obtain a Cargo of Slaves in the River Gambia.

Testimony of Mr. Archibald Dalzell.[2] Mr. Dalzell laid before the Committee the following Account of the Expences attending the Purchase of a Cargo of Slaves at Whydah, *viz.*

To the King of Dahomey for Permission to trade:

For a Ship	14½ Slaves	3	The King gives in Return
A Snow or Brig	7	2	Boys of 7 or 8 Years.
A Sloop	3½	1	

These Slaves are valued at about 5 Oz. or £10 each, as follows:

6 Ankers of Spirits	20 Cabess Cowries	40 Silesias.
4½ Barrels of Gunpowder	25 Guns	10 Pieces of Cloth.
40 Bars of Iron	6 Brass or 12 Iron Blunderbusses.	
Other Goods in Proportion.		

Say Expences for a Ship:

	Oz.	*Ac.*
To the King 14½ Slaves, at 5 Oz. each	72	8
For the Factory House 2 Slaves	10	
Canoe and Canoe Men's Hire	35	

After paying the Customs, which ought to be done as soon as possible, for the Traders dare not receive Goods till the King has got his Dues, the Viceroy gives the following Servants, *viz.*

	Oz.	*Ac.*
One Conductor, whose Office is to take Care of Goods coming from, and Slaves going to the Beach, and ought to be answerable for Deficiency; he is paid Two Galinas Cowries, equal to One Shilling, every Time he takes Charge of any Thing going or coming; and a Flask of Brandy every Sunday. His Pay may be valued at	7	8
Two Brokers or Interpreters, at Two Tokies per Day (3 *d.*) each, and at the End of the Trade, One Anker of Brandy, and One Piece of Cloth each; all which may amount to	5	0
Two Boys for Servants, at Two Tokies and a Piece of Cloth between them	3	0
One Door Keeper, and a Boy to serve at the Tent at the same	3	0
To a Messenger for carrying the News of the Ship's Arrival, and the Captain's Compliments to the King, Ten Galinas and One Flask of Brandy	0	3
To the Gong Gong Beater, for announcing the Opening of Trade, Ten Galinas and One Flask	0	3
To the Trunk Keeper, who takes Care of the Slaves while on Shore, a Bottle every Sunday, and a Cloth at the End of the Trade: This may amount to about	1	0
To the Captain of the Water-side, at the Ship's Departure, One Piece of Cloth and One Anker of Brandy	1	8
To Six Water Rollers, at Two Tokies per Day each, besides which they have Two Tokies for each Cask they roll, and at the End of the Purchase Two Pieces of Cloth and One Anker of Brandy. The whole may be about	10	0
One Woman to bring Water, and One Washerwoman, at Two Tokies per Day each, and a Cloth at the end of the Trade. The Washerwoman has Six Tokies to buy Soap each Time she washes. Their Pay may amount to	5	0
To the Viceroy, who goes with his People to receive the Captain and conduct him to the Fort, One Anker and Two Flasks Brandy	1	2

[2] Dalzell, the author of *The History of Dahomey* (London, 1793), had been a surgeon on the coast in 1763, and later, governor of the fort at Whydah. In another section of the report is his testimony that from 10,000 to 12,000 slaves are annually exported from Dahomey, 700 or 800 of which are taken by the English, 3000 by the Portuguese, and the remainder by the French.

To the said Viceroy for his particular Customs:

	Oz.	Ac.
One Point d'Espagne Hat, One Piece of Silk, One Cask Flour, and One Cask of Beef or Pork; valued at	7	0
The customary Allowance for making a Tent on the Beach, one Anker of Brandy and One Ounce Cowries	2	0
Porters are paid at the Rate of Three Tokies per Load, unless very heavy, in which Case they have more in Proportion, as Ten Galinas for a Puncheon of Liquor or a Chest of Pipes. The whole of their Pay may be about	20	0
Equal to 368 £. Sterling. Total Ounces	184	0

40 Cowries
5 Tokies
20 Galinas
4 Cabess

make

1 Tokie
1 Galina
1 Cabess
1 Ounce Trade, or 40 *s.* Sterling.

Testimony of James Penny.[3] . . . At Bonny Slaves are purchased of the King, who is the principal Trader, and of other Traders; at New Calabar, of the before-mentioned Amachree, and of other Traders. These Traders go up into the Country to purchase Slaves. They go up the Rivers to the Distance of about Eighty Miles from Bonny, and the same from New Calabar, in large Canoes with Two or Three principal Persons, and about Forty Men in each. The Canoes go in a Body all together to defend themselves if attacked. At the Head of these Two Rivers there is a Mart for Trade, where the Black Traders purchase these Slaves of other Black Traders, who bring them from the interior Country. Mr. Penny being asked, if he had ever observed that these Slaves had Marks of any fresh Wounds? replied, Not often; but he has sometimes observed such Marks.[4]

[3] Penny, one of the witnesses from Liverpool, had made eleven voyages to Africa. He testified that 14,000 slaves were annually exported from the region of Bonny and Calabar. Of these, 3000 were purchased by the French, the remainder by the English. From the Congo and Angola district the annual exportation he thought to be from 13,000 to 14,000, and from the Windward Coast, 25,000; of the latter, the English exported two-thirds. See Add. MSS. 18272, pp. 21-23.

[4] Two of the hotly contested points at issue between the advocates of the slave trade and its opponents were, whether the natives made war for the purpose of obtaining slaves for the European market, and whether a wholesale kidnapping of free negroes went on. In William Fox's *Summary of the Evidence produced before a Committee of the House of Commons* (1792), prepared to show the unfairness of previous abridgments, the testimony of John Barnes, governor of Senegambia, and of an officer of the African corps, was cited to prove that no wars were made for the purpose of gaining slaves, and that kidnapping was impossible. The so-called wars were instead the collection of delinquent taxes. The evidence of Governor Weuves, Captains Ganby, Heatley, Penny, Norris, and Dalzell, Lieutenant Matthews, Governor Miles, and Admiral Edwards was adduced to prove this, and also the further point that the tardy tax-payers would be murdered if the Europeans did not buy them. In the same way, according to Fox's *Summary,* arrest had unfortunately come to be called kidnapping. To prove that there was no ill treatment of the negroes in the West Indies, the summarizer cited the testimony of Lord Rodney, Admiral Sir Peter Parker, Admiral Barrington, Sir Joshua Rowley, Admirals Hotham, Arbuthnot, and Edwards, as well as that of lesser members of the Navy, governors of the islands, and members of the legislative bodies. *Summary,* pp. 6-8, 10-13.

The Slaves are purchased with the Manufactures of this Country, India Goods, Spirits, Brass Pans, Arms, etc. etc. and with a Sort of Copper Wreath or Bandage, which are called Manilles, and are considered as the Money of that Country. The People hoard them in great Quantities against Times of Distress. They always carry the Goods up the Country, and a few of the Manilles.

Testimony of Mr. William James[5] . . . The Black Traders of Bonny and Calabar, who are very expert at reckoning and talking the different Languages of their own Country and those of the Europeans, come down about once a Fortnight with Slaves; Thursday or Friday is generally their Trading Day. Twenty or Thirty Canoes, sometimes more and sometimes less, come down at a Time. In each Canoe may be Twenty or Thirty Slaves. The Arms of some of them are tied behind their Backs with Twigs, Canes, Grass Rope, or other Ligaments of the Country; and if they happen to be stronger than common, they are pinioned above the Knee also. In this Situation they are thrown into the Bottom of the Canoe, where they lie in great Pain, and often almost covered with Water. On their landing, they are taken to the Traders Houses, where they are oiled, fed, and made up for Sale.

When they have been sufficiently prepared, the Captain and Doctor generally go together to examine them, and to make their Purchases there. No sickly Slave is ever purchased; at least in the Three Voyages which Mr. James made it was never done. When the Bargain is made they are brought away. This is generally in the Close of the Evening. Forty or Fifty of them are brought away at a Time; sometimes in the Canoes of the Traders, and at other Times in the Ships Boats. They appear to be very dejected when brought on board. The Men are put into Irons, in which Situation they remain during the whole of the Middle Passage, unless when they are sick; but not the Boys and Women.[6]

[5] James, a Bristol captain, had made three voyages to the coast, in 1764, 1766, and 1768.

[6] To any student of the nature of the slave trade or of the abolition movement the entire report of the committee of the Privy Council is of the greatest interest. It furnished much of the material for the speeches on the trade delivered in the House of Commons, and was abridged or summarized by both sides to the controversy. Among the most interesting of the witnesses were Robert Norris, a Liverpool trader already mentioned; James Arnold, who had been a surgeon in the Bristol trade; and John Newton. Norris, who had carried slaves to Carolina, attempted an estimate of the numbers carried from different places on the coast, annually: Gambia 700, Isles de Los 1500, from Sierra Leone to Cape Mount 2000, from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas 3000, from Cape Palmas to Cape Appolonia 1000, the Gold Coast 10,000, from Quittah to Popo 1000, Whydah 4500, Porta Nova and Bidagry 3500, Lagos and Benin 3500, Bonny and New Calabar 14,500, Old Calabar and the Kamaruns 7000, Gabon and Cape Lopez 500, Loango, Malimba, and Cabenda 13,500, Mayumba, Ambris, and Missoula 1000, Loando St. Pauls, and Benguella 7000—a total of 74,200. Of these he believed that the English purchased 38,000, the French 20,000, the Dutch 4000, the Danes 2000, the Portuguese 10,000. The Americans

282. Observations on the Slave Trade.[1]

[1789.]

On the Mode of procuring Slaves: I. *War.* Among the various sources, from whence the Europeans are supplied with slaves on the coast of Africa, I shall first reckon that of War.

The Wars which the inhabitants of the interior parts of the country, beyond Senegal, Gambia, and Sierra Leona, carry on with each other, are chiefly of a predatory nature, and owe their origin to the yearly number of slaves, which the Mandingoes, or the inland traders suppose will be wanted by the vessels that will arrive on the coast. Indeed these predatory incursions depend so much on the demand for slaves, that if in any one year there be a greater concourse of European ships than usual, it is observed that a much greater number of captives from the interior parts of the country is brought to market the next.

The unhappy captives, many of whom are people of distinction, such as princes, priests, and persons high in office, are conducted by the Mandingoes in droves of twenty, thirty, and forty, chained together, either to Fort St. Joseph on the river Senegal, or Niger, in the country of Gallam, or to places near the river Gambia. But when the trade with the French on the river Senegal happens to be stopped, (which was the case in 1787) they bring all their captives to the mouth of the Gambia, Sierra Leona, and other places down the coast. These Mandingoes perform the whole journey, except at certain seasons of the year, when they are met by the traders belonging to the coast, who receive the slaves from them, and give them the usual articles of merchandize in exchange.

What I have hitherto said, was taken from the best accounts I could collect both from the black and white traders, during my residence upon the coast. It is proper, however, that I should state something on this head, that has come within my own knowledge.

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were said to purchase "a few". James Arnold, whose acquaintance Clarkson had made in his first visit to Bristol (*Abolition of the Slave Trade,* I. 270-275, 280-281), gave a long account of the voyages of the *Ruby* and the *Little Pearl,* slavers on which he had served as surgeon's mate and surgeon. John Newton was at this time rector of St. Mary Woolnoth. See *ante,* no. 224, n. 2.

[282] [1] C. B. Wadström, *Observations on the Slave Trade and a Description of some Part of the Coast of Guinea during a Voyage made in 1787 and 1788 in Company with Dr. A. Spaarman and Captain Arrehensius* (1789). At the time when Clarkson was casting about for the most telling witnesses that he could present to the committee of the Privy Council he learned that the Swedish scientists Wadström and Spaarman were in London on their journey home after an expedition to Africa. He seized upon them as witnesses whose evidence would be entirely uncolored by material interests, and induced the committee to hear them. Wadström's pamphlet is, in part at least, an expansion of his testimony. Dr. Spaarman's testimony was quoted by Wilberforce in his speech of May 12, 1789.

The Moors, who inhabit the countries on the north of the River Senegal, are particularly infamous for their predatory Wars. They cross the river, and attacking the negroes, bring many of them off. There are not a few who subsist by means of these unprovoked excursions. The French, to encourage them in it, make annual presents to the Moorish kings. These are given them under certain conditions, first, that their subjects shall not carry any of their gum to the English at Portendic; and, secondly, that they shall be ready on all occasions, to furnish slaves. To enable them to fulfil this last article, they never fail to supply them with ammunition, guns, and other instruments of War.

To confirm what I have now said, I shall put down the following example:

The king of Almammy had, in the year 1787, very much to his honour, enacted a law, that no slave whatever should be marched through his territories. At this time several French vessels lay at anchor in the Senegal, waiting for slaves. The route of the black traders in consequence of this edict of the king, was stopped, and the slaves carried to other parts. The French, unable on this account to complete their cargoes, remonstrated with the king. He was, however, very unpropitious to their representations, for he returned the presents which had been sent him by the Senegal company, of which I myself was a witness; declaring, at the same time, that all the riches of that company should not divert him from his design. In this situation of affairs, the French were obliged to have recourse to their old friends, the Moors. These, who had before shewn themselves so ready on such occasions, were no less ready and active on this. They set off in parties to surprise the unoffending negroes, and to carry among them all the calamities of War. Many unfortunate prisoners were sent, and for some time continued to be sent in. I was once curious enough to wish to see some of those that had just arrived. I applied to the Director of the company, who conducted me to the slave-prisons. I there saw the unfortunate captives, chained two and two together, by the foot. The mangled bodies of several of them, whose wounds were still bleeding, exhibited a most shocking spectacle; and their situation may be much easier conceived than described. The Director of the company, however, used his best endeavours to console them (pp. 1-5). . . .

II. *Pillage.* A second source, from whence the Europeans are supplied with slaves on the coast of Africa, is Pillage, which is of two kinds; publick and private. It is publick, when practised by the direction of the kings, private when practised by individuals. I must also make a further distinction, namely, as it is practised by the

blacks and the whites. This last I call Robbery, which will be the subject of the next article.

The publick Pillage is, of all others, the most plentiful source, from which the slave trade derives its continuance and support. The kings of Africa (I mean in that part of the country which I have visited) incited by the merchandize shewn them, which consists principally of strong liquors, give orders to their military to attack their own villages in the night (p. 7). . . .

I come now to the private Pillage. This is practised by individuals, who, tempted by the merchandize brought by the Europeans, lie in wait for one another. For this purpose they beset the roads, and other places, so that a travelling negro can hardly ever escape them. To enumerate the many instances of this private depredation that happen, would be an endless task. I shall therefore select but one, which, on account of the circumstances that followed, may strike the reader as singular.

A Moor had seized a free negro, and, having secured him, he brought him to Senegal, and sold him to the company. A few days afterwards this moor was taken by some negroes in the same manner, and brought to be sold in his turn. The company seldom buy moors: but as they were obliged, in consequence of their privileges, to supply the colony of Cayenne with a certain number of slaves, and as several ships then in the road, in consequence of the king of Almammy's edict, as before related, could not complete their cargoes, they made the less scruple to buy him on this occasion. Chance so directed, that the moor, after he had been purchased, was carried on board the same ship, in which the negro lay. They no sooner met, than a quarrel took place between them, which occasioned, for some days, a great tumult in the vessel. Such rencounters frequently happen in the slave-ships, and the uproars occasioned by them, are seldom or never quieted, till some mischief has been done.

III. *Of Robbery.* I have been hitherto describing the Pillage, as it is either publick or private. I have also considered it as practised by the blacks upon one another. I come now to speak of it, as it is practised upon these by the whites; and this I call Robbery. . . .

When I was at Goree, in the year 1787, accounts came down by some French merchantmen from the Gambia of the following particulars.

The captain of an English ship, which had been some time in that river, had enticed several of the natives on board, and, finding a favourable opportunity, sailed away with them. His vessel however was, by the direction of Providence, driven back to the coast from whence it had set sail, and was obliged to cast anchor on the very

spot where this act of treachery had been committed. At this time two other English vessels were lying in the same river. The natives, ever since the transaction, had determined to retaliate. They happened, at this juncture, to be prepared. They accordingly boarded the three vessels, and, having made themselves masters of them, they killed most of their crews. The few who escaped to tell the tale, were obliged to take refuge in a neighbouring French factory. Thus did the innocent suffer the same punishment as the guilty; for it did not appear that the crews of the other two vessels had been at all concerned in this villainous measure (pp. 16-17, 19-20).[3] . . .

283. Petitions to the House of Commons.[1]

May 12, 1789.

A Petition of the West India Planters, West India Merchants, and others residing within the City of Bristol, and its Vicinity, who have adventured their Property on West India Securities, either on Mortgage, Bond, Annuity, or otherwise, and of the Sugar Refiners in the said City of Bristol, was also presented to the House, and read; Setting forth, that the Petitioners learn with serious Alarm that, on the proposed Investigation in the Committee of the House of Commons of the Petitions against the Slave Trade, a Motion will be made for its entire Abolition, on which Trade, the Petitioners conceive, the Welfare and Prosperity, if not the actual Existence, of the West India Islands depend: That it has been found by recent Enquiries, conducted with the greatest Exactness, that the African and West India Trade constitute at least Three-fifths of the Commerce of the Port of Bristol, and that, if upon such Motion a Bill should pass into a Law, the Decline of the Trade of the City of Bristol must in-

[3] Sect. II. recounts the tricks used by the whites in trading with the negroes, by means of which short measure is allotted to them, and inferior goods substituted for that which they expect to receive. Chap. II. of this section relates some of the cruelties of the Middle Passage.

[283] [1] *C. J.*, XLIV. 353-354. The report of the committee of the Privy Council had come to the House in April. On May 12, 1789, Wilberforce brought the subject of the slave trade to the front by a long and moving speech, in which he summed up the findings of the committee and ended by presenting twelve resolutions which set forth the evils of the traffic. Both sides to the controversy had been preparing for the struggle during the year that had elapsed since Pitt made his preliminary motion in the House, and the opponents of abolition were ready with petitions on the very day that Wilberforce presented his resolutions. In addition to the one here printed came others from the mayor, burgesses, and commonalty of Bristol, the master warden and commonalty of the Merchant Venturers of Bristol, and the African merchants and traders of Bristol. The first of these maintained that the West India commerce and the manufactures dependent on it were responsible for the greatest part of the opulence of Bristol, and begged that only those measures required by the interests of humanity be imposed on the trade. The petition of the Merchant Venturers pointed out that planters, merchants, and creditors, in the event of abolition, would have a claim for compensation which would increase the burdens of the state at the same time that its resources were diminished. *Ibid.*, pp. 352-353; earlier petitions are to be found on pp. 97-98.

evitably follow, as the African Trade and the great West India Commerce, connected therewith and dependent thereon, form so considerable a Part of it, and this to the very great Loss of the Petitioners, and to the Ruin of Thousands of Individuals who are maintained thereby, but who are not sensible of the impending Danger; and that the Petitioners, many of them from their own Experience, and all of them from the Reports of judicious People conversant with the West Indies, on whose Representations they can rely, are fully convinced that the Cultivation of the West India Colonies cannot be carried on to any Degree of Advantage, should that Trade be abolished by which they have hitherto been supplied with Negro Labourers from Africa, by the Subjects of this Country; and that, as the West India Islands are the great Market for the British Herrings, that Fishery, which has ever been considered as the Nursery of our Seamen, and the Source of Wealth and Employment to Numbers of the Subjects of this Kingdom, must be materially affected by any Diminution of the Consumption in those Islands; and the Petitioners beg Leave to represent the Hardships to which the intended Measure will expose the British Planter, in putting him on a worse Footing than the Subjects of our great Rivals in Trade and Colonization, the French, Spaniards, Dutch and Danes, especially the Two former, who have unbounded Tracts of rich Land, which yield Tropical Productions with little Labour and Skill: To these natural Advantages must be added the very great Encouragement which the Spanish Government in particular gives at this Moment to its own Subjects, and the Invitation which it holds out to Strangers: On the other Hand, the major Part of the British Adventurers have to contend with a sterile Soil and unseasonable Situations, requiring the utmost Industry and Skill to make them in any Degree productive, so that without a Continuance of the African Slave Trade, and the fostering Helps of the Mother Country, so far from being able to meet Foreign Colonies at any European Market, they will scarcely be in a State to supply even this Country, where they have now an exclusive Right of Trade for some of their Products; and that the Petitioners consider the Abolition of the Slave Trade as putting an absolute and immediate Stop to all Improvements or Attempts of new Settlements in the British Colonies; that even the major Part of the old settled Estates must decline Daily in their Produce, under the Effects of such a Measure; so that many will inevitably sink under Losses and Disappointments which they have it not in their Power to prevent, and the Merchant, Annuitant, Mortgagee, and other Creditors, instead of contributing largely, as at present, to the Burthens of the State, must look up to the Public for Relief; and that, having

the increasing Rivalship of other Nations to contend with, they presume to say, they should rather be considered as entitled to Public Help and Countenance, than be put under Restraints which must terminate in their Ruin, and ultimately prove fatal to the Commercial Interests of this Country; and that on the Cession of the Island of Saint Vincent's, Dominica, and Tobago, to the Crown of Great Britain, the Lands were sold at Public Auction, under the Direction of Commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament, and the Money arising therefrom paid into the Treasury; that, relying upon the Faith of Government, some of the Petitioners purchased the said Lands at a great Expence, upon the express or implied Terms of cultivating and improving them by Negro Slaves, and the Purchasers have since expended very large Sums in clearing those Lands, and erecting Buildings and Works for the Manufacture of Sugars, but which will be useless and lost to the Adventurers, unless the African Trade is continued, whereby only they can procure Labourers to work the same; and that others of the Petitioners, being Merchants and Mortgagees of West India Estates, under the Sanction and Authority of different Acts of Parliament (and particularly that of the Fourteenth Year of the Reign of His present Majesty, passed for the Purpose of encouraging the Settlement of the British Colonies and Plantations, and to induce People in Great Britain to lend Money on the Security of Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, Slaves, Cattle, and other Things) have been induced to advance very considerable Sums on the Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Slaves, Cattle, and other Things, forming what is generally styled a Sugar Plantation, many of which Plantations being still in their Infancy, never can be brought to Perfection, or the Proprietors be enabled to repay the Sums so advanced by the Petitioners, without further Supplies of new Negroes from Africa, to enable them to complete the Settlement of those Plantations, and, should this Supply be withheld, the very large Sums so lent by the Petitioners, as Merchants and Mortgagees, under the Sanction and Authority of Parliament, will, in a great Number of Instances, be wholly lost, and, in those where it is not, the Security will be rendered extremely hazardous, and the Time of Repayment (if ever) will be so remote, that it may be almost as injurious to the Petitioners as if they had suffered a total Loss; and that the Trade of Sugar Refining has, for many Years, been a very considerable Branch of Manufacture in the City of Bristol, and the Buildings, Utensils, and Dead Stock, employed therein to a very great Amount, are not convertible to any other Purpose, and any Check to the ample Supply of this Article, which is become in various Shapes a Necessary of Life, would not

only be ruinous in the Extreme to the Petitioners engaged in the Manufacture, but the Mischief would extend most widely, throwing many Hundreds of Common Labouring People, brought up to this Business, wholly out of Employment, and of course reducing them to the Necessity of emigrating to Foreign Countries, or becoming with their Families burthensome to their own; and that the Petitioners do not presume to deny that some Regulations may have been necessary in the Manner of carrying on the African Slave Trade; they are willing to believe that those already adopted have been serviceable, not only to the Adventurers themselves, but to the Cause of Humanity; they may still, as the Petitioners think, be followed up by others, equally advantageous to the Interests of both: It is with peculiar Satisfaction the Petitioners observe, that the principal Colonial Legislatures have anticipated the Wishes of the House, in passing such Laws for the internal Government of their Negro Slaves as they conceived to be consonant to their Situations, and fully to meet the Expectations of the People of this Country; and, the Petitioners doubt not the other Islands will soon follow this laudable Example, and the Petitioners trust, that the House will not hastily establish a System by which the most valuable Dependencies of the British Empire may be hazarded, and that in an Experiment only by no Means, in the Petitioners Opinion, likely to serve those it is intended to relieve: And therefore praying, That the Bill about to be brought in, for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, may not pass into a Law, and that the Petitioners may be heard, by their Counsel, against the same Bill, but, should it be adopted, they hope the House will see the Necessity of suspending its Operation to some remote and distant Periods, previous to which a System may be devised that may, without Violence or the Operation of the intended Bill, produce the desired Effect; but if, on the other Hand, the Bill should pass, and it is deemed expedient, by the House, that its Operation should be immediate, the Petitioners look up to the Justice of the British Legislature for a suitable Compensation for the Losses they must inevitably sustain, and they trust that Commissioners will be authorized to enquire into the Amount, and provision made for their immediate Relief.

A Petition of the principal Manufacturers, Ship Builders, Ship Holders, and Traders, of the City of Bristol, was also presented to the House, and read; Setting forth, . . . that the Petitioners have large Capitals, expensive Works, Docks, Ships, Buildings, and Warehouses, together with a great Number of People, employed in their several Trades and Manufactures, and their chief Support and Dependance for carrying on their different Occupations, are the

Trade to Africa, and the Exports and Imports to and from the West India Islands, which have been found, by recent and very accurate Enquiries, to constitute full Three-fifths of the Trade of the Port of Bristol, both with respect to the Tonnage of the Shipping, and the Capitals employed; and that whatever Regulations lessen either of these Branches of Commerce, will tend, in a great Degree, to annihilate the Trade of Bristol, and materially injure the neighbouring Country Towns, whose Manufactures are principally supported by the Exports from the said City; and that the Abolition of the Slave Trade, with the Effects it will necessarily have on the Trade and Credit of the West India Islands, will deprive the Port of Bristol of so great a Share of its present Commerce, Shipping and Advantages, that the other general Branches of its Trade will necessarily sink with it, and altogether will be attended with such ruinous Consequences to the Petitioners, and the People employed under them, that it will involve Thousands in the utmost Difficulty and Distress, who, with their Families, ought not to be the last Objects of Regard to those who are actuated by Motives of true Humanity; and that, since the Restrictions lately laid on the Trade to Africa by the British Legislature, no less than Forty Sail of Vessels have been fitted out for that Coast in the States of New England; and that the Trade is also carrying on to a considerable Extent by the Ships and Manufactures of France, with the Capitals and on Account of Merchants residing in Great Britain, to the Emolument of the French, the Injury of this Country, and in Proof that, whatever may be the Restrictions in these Kingdoms, the Slave Trade cannot be abolished: And therefore praying, That the said Motion, for the total Abolition of the Slave Trade, may not pass into a Law, but that such Regulations may, after mature Consideration, be adopted, as will not be destructive of the greater Part of the Trade of the Petitioners, and of the Wealth, the Shipping, and the Manufactures, of the City of Bristol.

A Petition of the Merchants, Adventurers, and Traders, of the City of Bristol, to the Islands of Newfoundland, was likewise presented to the House, and read; Setting forth, That the Petitioners are much alarmed at a Motion, they hear is intended to be made in the House, for the total Abolition of the Slave Trade, and are thereby induced to represent, that, among the many other Injuries this Kingdom would sustain therefrom, that most valuable Branch of Commerce and great Nursery of Seamen, the Fishery of Newfoundland, would be most materially affected, as the Annual Export of dry Fish from thence to the West India Islands is very considerable, and, if stopped, would prove fatal to the said Fishery: And

therefore praying, That the House will not suffer any Bill to be brought in for the total Abolition of the Slave Trade, but only for such Regulations as the House shall deem right.

A Petition of Charles Spooner,[2] Agent for the Island of Saint Christopher, in Behalf of the Proprietors of Lands and Negroes in the said Island, was also presented to the House, and read; Setting forth, That the Petitioner. . . . begs Leave to represent, that a considerable Part of the Lands in the Island of Saint Christopher having been ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht, the House of Commons, on the 21st of June, 1717, came to the following Resolution, "Resolved, That the Lands in the Island of Saint Christopher, yielded by France to Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht, should be sold to the best Advantage, and the Produce of the same should be applied to the Use of the Public:" and, in Consequence of the said Resolution, his then Majesty, George the First, on the 4th of June, 1726, caused a Commission to be issued to certain Persons therein-named, to contract and agree with any of his Subjects for the absolute Purchase of that Part of the said Island, formerly belonging to the French, which Commission was afterwards confirmed by King George the Second, on the 1st Day of May, in the Fifth Year of his Reign; and, under the said Commission, Lands in the said Island were sold for a considerable Sum of Money to sundry Persons, under whom the Petitioner's Constituents claim, and the Money arising from the Sales was actually applied to the Use of the Public; and that the Value of the Lands purchased did then, and still does, depend on the Cultivation of them by Means of Negro Labourers, insomuch that any Measure which tends to deprive the Planter of a necessary Supply of Negroes for that Purpose, must necessarily sink and depreciate the Value of his Lands; and that it was then, and still continues to be, the universal Practice of all the Nations of Europe who have Colonies in the West Indies, to employ Negroes only in the Cultivation of their Lands, founded on the Experience of a great Length of Time, that Europeans must soon sink under the Inclemency of the Climate, and the Petitioner conceives, that, in this Practice, the British Subject has been supported and encouraged by the Sanction of many Royal Charters, Royal Proclamations, and Acts of Parliament, which have passed, from Time to Time, for above a Century, for promoting and extending the Trade to Africa, with a View chiefly to supplying the Sugar Colonies with a sufficient Importation of Slaves at reasonable Rates, under the Faith of which the Petitioner's Constituents were

[2] *C. J.*, XLIV. 355-356. Charles Spooner, who had appeared as a witness for the trade, also presented a petition on behalf of the island of Grenada and the Grenadines. On the same day (May 12, 1789) a petition was presented from the council and assembly of Nevis, which argued that the necessary supply of negroes could not be kept up by the West India birth-rate. *Ibid.*, pp. 355, 356-358.

originally induced to purchase the said Lands, and have since proceeded in the Settlement of them, being fully convinced, in their own Minds, that the Parent State would never impede or check them in their Cultivation by prohibiting the Importation of Negroes from Africa, and have, in Consequence, erected very extensive Works, and invested a great Capital in the Purchase of Negroes for carrying on the Manufacture of Sugar and Rum, insomuch that the said Island, which at the Time of the said Sales was of little Value, is now become, in Proportion to its Size and Extent, as valuable a Sugar Colony as any belonging to great Britain, but, should the Planters in future be prevented from receiving the necessary Supplies of Negroes, the Petitioner's Constituents are firmly persuaded that the Cultivation must languish, and with it the Value of their Property must decline, and, in Process of Time, be totally destroyed: Under the foregoing Considerations, the Petitioner submits to the House, whether it is consistent with that Degree of substantial Justice and good Faith, which has ever distinguished the Conduct of the British Government, that they, who have been induced to become Purchasers under the Sanction of a Royal Commission, founded on a Parliamentary Resolution, and under a justifiable Confidence that Parliament would not break through an established System, to which it had, for a Length of Time, given its Sanction and Support, should now be deprived of the Means of cultivating those Lands for which they have paid a valuable Consideration to the Public, and whether that System ought to be abandoned, under which the Sugar Colonies in general, and the said Island in particular, have thriven and prospered, to the great Emolument of the Mother Country, in order to substitute in its Stead a speculative untried Experiment, which, should it fail in the Ends proposed, must be attended with Consequences ruinous to them, and injurious to the Nation; but if however the House shall, notwithstanding, in Conjunction with the other Branches of the Legislature, see Cause to abolish the said Trade, and shall consent to hazard all the Consequences to the Commerce, Navigation, Revenue, and Manufactures of this Kingdom, as well as to the private Property of the Subject, the Petitioner begs Leave to represent that it is essential to the Justice of such a Measure, that those, whose whole Fortunes are to be exposed to Risques which fill them with the most alarming Apprehension, and who, on a very uncertain Theory, in a Matter of private Property, are to be deprived of the Liberty of judging for themselves, contrary to a fixed Principle of the Law of the Land, should receive a previous Consideration, and consequently that the Petitioner's Constituents will be deemed by the House to have a fair and equitable Right to receive a just Compensa-

tion from the State: And therefore praying, That he may be indulged with a sufficient Time to be heard, by his Counsel, in Behalf of his Constituents, and to produce such Evidence, and give such Reasons, at the Bar of the House, as he shall think necessary in Support of the Allegations in this his Petition.[3]

May 20, 1789.[4]

A Petition of the Manufacturers of Goods, calculated for the Trade to Africa, in the Town and Neighbourhood of Birmingham, was presented to the House, and read: Setting forth, That the Petitioners observe, by the Votes, a Resolution of the House to take into Consideration the Circumstances of the African Slave Trade, complained of in certain Petitions presented to the House for an Abolition of the said Trade; and that a very considerable Part of the various Manufactures in which the Petitioners are engaged, are adapted to and disposed of for the African Trade, and are not saleable at any other Market; and that several Thousands are employed in, and maintained by, such Manufactures, and, the Petitioners are fully persuaded, should the said Trade be abolished, the Petitioners will be injured in their Fortunes and Property, to a very alarming Extent, and many Thousands, who depend on them for Employment and Subsistence, be brought into Poverty and Distress: And therefore praying the House to take the Premises into their most serious Consideration, and to adopt such Measures for the Preservation of the said Trade as to the House shall seem expedient.

A Petition of the Merchants, Ship Owners, Manufacturers, Tradesmen, and others, directly concerned or otherwise interested in the African Slave Trade, from the Port of London, was also presented to the House, and read; Setting forth, That the Slave Trade to Africa is of very great Importance to the Commerce, Navigation, and Manufactures of this Country, and to the Revenues of the same, and any Law for the Abolition thereof would be attended with infinite Injury, not only to Individuals, but to the Nation at large, and would tend greatly to the Aggrandizement of the French, Spaniards, Dutch, Portuguese, Danes, and others, who are giving every Encouragement for the Promotion and Improvement of that Branch of Commerce; and that many of the Petitioners not only employ the whole of their own Capital, but have adventured very considerable Sums upon their Credit in carrying on the Slave Trade, encouraged

[3] The council and assembly of Antigua instructed their agent to ask for recompense for the value of their property in case a "mistaken tenderness for the negro" caused Parliament to pass legislation which would ruin the Sugar Islands. *No Abolition* (1789), pp. 32-33.

[4] *C. J.*, XLIV. 380-383. The planters of the British Sugar Colonies also petitioned to be heard by themselves or by counsel against the bill. *Ibid.*, p. 380.

thereto by the several Acts in Force for that express Purpose, but more especially that of the Twenty-third of King George the Second, for extending and improving the Trade to Africa;[5] and that many other of the Petitioners, though not immediate Adventurers to Africa, are Individually interested in the Welfare of that Trade, the principal Part of their Manufactures, and other Commodities, being solely calculated for the African Market, and such as would suit no other, and others of the Petitioners are employed in the Equipment of Shipping for the said Trade, and in making and manufacturing Materials for the same, whereby they in a great Measure derive a Maintenance for themselves and Families: That the Petitioners, justly alarmed at a Bill proposed to be brought into Parliament to abolish the Slave Trade, beg Leave to represent to the House the fatal Consequences which must inevitably attend such a Measure—1st, to the Nation at large, by lopping off a very large Portion of its Commerce, its Navigation, and its Revenues, and transferring the same to other Countries—2dly, to the Merchants immediately adventuring to Africa, whose Fortunes are embarked therein, under the repeated Sanction and Encouragement of the Legislature, and whose Shipping (which, from their peculiar Construction and Equipment, are very expensive) will in a great Measure be rendered useless, being almost wholly unfit for any other Trade; and, 3dly, in the Ruin of many Thousands, who now live almost wholly by the Commerce, and various other branches of Employment, which the African Trade gives Rise to: And therefore praying the House to take the Premises into Consideration, to allow them to be heard, by themselves or Counsel, against any Bill that may be brought into Parliament for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and to grant them such Relief as to the House shall seem meet.

A Petition of the Manufacturers of and Dealers in Iron, Copper, Brass, and Lead in the Borough of Liverpool,[6] for themselves and others, was also presented to the House, and read; Setting forth, That the Petitioners, and their immediate Dependants, form a large Body, all of whom in their various Branches of Manufacture are so connected with the building of and supplying the Outset and Cargoes of the many Ships employed in the African Trade from the said Port, that they may be justly considered as relying upon that Trade only for their Success and Support; and that, in this precarious Situation, the Petitioners, with the utmost Anxiety and Concern, have received Information that the total Abolition of the African Slave

[5] 23 Geo. II. c. 31, 1750; see *ante,* no. 217.

[6] The planters, merchants, mortgagees, annuitants, and others, creditors of the Sugar Colonies resident in Liverpool, and the merchants trading to Africa and resident in Liverpool, also petitioned to be heard against abolition. *C. J.,* XLIV. 381.

Trade will shortly become a Matter of Consideration in the House, and should a Measure so impolitic be unhappily adopted, as the Abolition of a Commerce which has been for some Centuries carried on, not only without Interruption, but under the immediate Protection of the Legislature, and encouraged by various Bounties and Annual pecuniary Grants, many of the Petitioners, and Thousands of industrious honest Artificers, will thereby be reduced to a most distressing Situation, perhaps be sent forth solitary Wanderers into the World, to seek Employment in Foreign Climes: And therefore praying, That they may be heard, by themselves or Counsel, against the Abolition of the African Slave Trade.

A Petition of the Sailmakers of Liverpool, was also presented to the House, and read; Setting forth, That the Petitioners form a useful and necessary Body of Men in the fitting out and supporting the Naval Power of Britain, and their principal Dependance in the Port of Liverpool is upon the Outset and Repairs of the Shipping employed in the African Trade, which, when that Trade meets with Encouragement and Success, amounts annually to One hundred Sail, or upwards; and that Petitioners are greatly alarmed upon being informed that the House will shortly take the Slave Trade under their Consideration, with the avowed Intention of totally abolishing that important Branch of Commerce, and the chief Support of the Petitioners Occupation in particular; and that, should so fatal a Measure as the Abolition of that Trade be unhappily adopted, the Petitioners, with their Dependants and dearest Connections, will be reduced to great and unavoidable Distress, if some adequate Compensation be not provided by Parliament: And therefore praying to be heard, by themselves or Counsel, against the Abolition of the African Slave Trade, or that such Relief may be granted them by the House as they shall think proper and needful.[7]

A Petition of the Bakers in Liverpool, was also presented to the House, and read; Setting forth, That the Petitioners, who compose a very numerous Body in the said Borough, depend chiefly for Employment upon the great Number of Ships fitted out in that Port to supply the West India Islands with Negro Slaves from the Coast of Africa, and, from the great Number of People, Whites and Blacks, to be fed on board each of those Ships during a long Voyage, that Commerce is rendered the Petitioners principal Dependance, and to

[7] This was accompanied by petitions from the joiners of Liverpool, the shipwrights, the ropemakers, the coopers, the gunmakers, the blockmakers, and the mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, and common council of that city. In all, twelve petitions from Liverpool interests were presented on May 20, along with one from the Manchester manufacturers of African goods, two from the creditors of the Sugar Islands, and one from the agent from Antigua (*ibid.*, pp. 381-384). For an account of the further progress of the abolition movement see *ante*, pp. lvii-lxii.

deprive them of that Source would take from the Petitioners the Means of providing for themselves and Families, and reduce them to the utmost Distress; and that the Petitioners are therefore much alarmed and deeply concerned to find, that the African Slave Trade will shortly be taken into Consideration by the House, with the avowed Intention of totally abolishing that important Branch of Commerce, which for Centuries past has been established, protected, and encouraged by the Legislature, and, should so fatal a Measure as the Abolition of the said Trade be unhappily adopted, Numbers amongst the Petitioners will be reduced to great and unavoidable Distress, if some adequate Compensation be not provided by Parliament: And therefore praying to be heard, by themselves or Counsel, against the Abolition of the African Slave Trade, or that such Relief may be granted them by the House as shall be judged proper and needful.

284. Accounts of John Johnston.[1]

Slave Trade at Quashies Town in August, 1789.

			Oz.	*Ac.*	*Oz.*	*Ac.*
Aug.	*18.*	No. 1 a Prime Man Slave for				
		4 Dane Guns	1	8		
		2 Half Barrells powder	2			
		2 fine Chintss	1	4		
		2 Patna Do	1			
		4 Bajudepants	2	8		
		2 Necanees	1			
		6 Romauls	2	4		
		3 Hlf Cottons		12		
		3 Two Blues		12		
		1 Half Taffaty		10		
		4 Lead Barrs		2		
		2 Small Brass panns		2	13	14
	19th	No. 2 A Man Slave for				
		4 Dane Guns 2½ Barrells powder	4			
		2 fine Chintz	1	4		
		2 Patna Do.	1			
		2 Nicanees	1			
		6 Romauls	2	4		
		2 Half Cottons		8		
		3 Two Blues		12		
		4 Bajudepants	2	8		
		1 Half Taffaty		10		
		2 Brass panns		2	14	
		Carried forward			27	14

[284] [1] From a "Manuscript Account Book kept by one John Johnston, while on a Slave Trading Expedition in Africa in 1792, 84 pages, 1792". This neat account book, owned by Mr. George Plimpton and printed in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society (n. s.), vol. 39, pp. 379-465, contains, in addition to the accounts of 1792, records of earlier trading on the West Coast, perhaps copied into this book for the sake of comparison. But a few pages are here printed, to provide some means of comparing the prices of slaves at this time with the prices paid by the *Judith* in 1727 (see *ante,* no. 168). Quashies Town was not far from Dixcove.

[*Slave Trade at Quashies*—continued]

		Oz.	*Ac.*	*Oz.*	*Ac.*
	Brought forward			27	14
August 21st	No. 3 a Stout Man for *Vizt*				
	5 Half Barrells powder	5			
	6 Guns	2	4		
	2 Bajudepants	1	4		
	2 Necanees	1			
	2 Green Ells	1			
	2 Romauls		12		
	1 Two Blue and 1 Half Cotton		8		
	1 Patch 3 Kegs Tallow		14		
	3 lbs Pewter Basons[2]		2	12	12
				40	10

Abstract for 300 Slaves or upwards for the Annamaboe Trade in 1790 and 1791 vizt.[3]

No.		
51	300	Hlf Says
48	100	Green Ells
49	100	Yellow Do
4	350	Bonny Blue or Tape Check Romauls ½ of them Red Borderd
6	300	Broad Blue Do.
12	200	Abang Do.
13	200	Abaphotaes
14	200	Plod [plaid] Do.
14	200	fine mixd or Caspie Romauls
15	300	Turkey Red Handkerchiefs 12 in a peice
16	300	India Red Danes or Cotton Pullicats
23d	600	fine Col'd Chints 12 yds.
22	300	Patna chints 12 yds. of the Pattern of the long bonny Chints's
44	300	Deep Blue Ground chints Patches
25	300	Madder Ground Chints
31	300	Blue Alijard Do.
30	50	Striped Taffatys Deep Shaded
29	100	Plain Red Do
36	50	Cuttanees plain and flowered
35	100	Red Silk Pullicats
39	50	Blue Bandannoes in Single spots
40	300	Sustracundies Blue Borderd
84	60	Neganepants
28	150	Red and Blue Bajudepants
45	150	Alijard Chillows
47	1000	Silesias 200 of them Brown
32	100	Yards Scarlet 25 yds. Blue Cloth
43	50	Hoo hoos
89	250	Tapseals Necanees or any other cheap 8 ak. pieces
86	50	Sastracundie Romauls
87	300	Kegs Powder 40 lbs each
81	200	Do. Do. 33⅓
80	100	Do. Do. 16 ⅔
75	2000	Real Dane Guns
90	50	Short English Dane Guns
78	300	Iron Barrs
77	2000	Lead Barrs
65	1200	Brass panns, 19 to 22 Inch
68	1800	lbs Pewter Basons assorted

[2] Johnston records 1 oz., 12½ ackies as "dashes" given to slave traders, most of whom were Warsaws. His expenses for landing his goods at Quashies Town were 4 oz. 6½ ackies. *Ibid.*, pp. 461-462.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 439-440.

[*Abstract for 300 Slaves*—continued]

79	300	Kegs Tallow
83	600	Single Cases Gin
76	5	Hhds Tobacco
64	10	Gross Pipes

Assortment paid Mr. Sachse of Cormantyne

for 6 men Slaves at 12 oz			72	Sterlg
6 Women Do. at 10 oz			60	Coast
12		Oz	132	
			Oz.	*Ak.*
24	Brankar Chints		12	
24	Red Dane Romauls		12	
3	Taffatys 3 Cuttanees		6	
4	Pollicats		4	
12	Sastracundies		7	8
40	Silesias		5	
24	Hlf Cottons		6	
12	Half Sayes		7	8
12	Chilloes		7	8
12	Neganepants		7	8
12	Tapseals		6	
72	lbs Pewter Basons		4	8
12	Bajutepants		7	8
48	Brass Panns		3	
24	Iron Barrs		3	
12	half Barrels Powder		12	
24	Kegs Tallow		4	8
12	Guinea Stuffs		1	8
49	Romauls in Sort		15	
		oz	132	

Inferior Assortments we paid oz. 13 for Men and oz. 11 for women But to have an Equal Number of Each

Slave Trade at Padeora in the "Swallow", 1791.[4]

Date	No. Slave	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total no.		*Oz*	*Ak*	*Oz*	*Ak*
Mar. 9	1	1					Quaqua By 1 Man for *vizt.*				
							" 2 Guns ½ Bar'l Powder 1 anker Gin	2.	12		
							" 1 Case Gin. 1 chillow 2 Hoohoos 3 Romls.	3.	4		
							" 1 Patna Chints. 1 Bajudept. ⅓ d pullicats	1.	12		
							" ½ Cuttanee 1 Jamedarry 1 R. D. Roml	1.	12		
							1 Sestracundee. 4 Siliceas. 4 Lead and 2 I. Bars	1.	8	11.	
	2	1					Quaqua By 1 Man for *Vizt.*				
							" 2 D Guns ½ B Powder 1 Anker Gin	2.	12		
							" 1 Bajudepant 1 chillow	1.	4		
							" 5 Romauls 1 Sestracundie	2.	8		
							" ½ Cuttanee ⅓ pullicat 1 Patna chints	1.	12		
							" 5 Silicias 4 l. Barrs. 400 flints	1.			
							" 1 R. D. Roml. 1 Jamedarry 1 Alijar	1.	12	11	
	3		1				Caboseer By 1 Woman for *Vizt.*				
							½ B. Powder 4 Danes Guns	2.	8		
							1 Case Gin 1 chillow	1.	2		
							½ Stript Taffaty 5 B. B. Romauls	2.	8		
							1 Col'd chints 1 Sestracundie	1.	6		
							½ Cuttanee 1 Red Dane Romaul	1.	4		
							1 Iron Barr 200 Gunflints		4	9	
	13	4		1			Caboseer By 1 Boy for *vizt.*	4	3½		
							4 Dane Guns. 3 B. b. Romauls	2.	10		
							1 Blue chintz. 2 Patna chints	1.	12		
							½ B Powder 2 Iron Barrs	1.	4		
							4 Lead Bars 4 Silicas		10		
							1 Chillow ½ Case Gin	1.	2		
							½ Taffaty		10	8	
										39	
	10	2	1	1		4					

Price of a man Slave at Popoe in 1791/92.

	Oz.	*Ak.*
2 Hlf Barrels Powder 4 Guns	4	
1 Ankor Rum 3 Casses Gin	1	12
1 Hlf Say 1 Bajudepant	1	4
1 Chintz 1 Chilloe	1	4
1 Sastracundi 1 Dane Romaul	1	2
1 Hoo'hoo 1 Jamedarry	1	
2 Sorted Rom'ls ½ Cuttanee	1	12
Traders dash included	12	2
A Woman Slave including Dash	10	

[4] The *Swallow* traded at Prampram and Whydah as well as at Padeora. The majority of the slave cargo was taken on at Fort William, Whydah. For further details see *Proceedings*, pp. 389-434.

285. Ordinance of the King of Denmark relative to the Slave Trade.[1]

Palace of Christiansborg, March 16, 1792.

We, Christian the VIIth, by the Grace of God King of Denmark and Norway, etc., make known by these Presents, that, considering the Circumstances which occur in the Slave-Trade, on the Coast of Guinea, and in the Transportation of the Negroes from thence to our West-India Islands, and impressed with the Idea that it would, in every Respect, be beneficial and profitable, if the Importation of new Negroes, from the Coast of Guinea, could be avoided, and our West-India Islands, in Process of Time, cultivated by Negroes, born and bred in the Islands, accustomed, from their Youth, to the Manner of Labour, the Climate, and the Disposition of their Masters: We, in Consequence, have made serious Enquiries how far and when it might be possible to accomplish the Abolition of the said Trade: From the Result of these Enquiries, we are convinced that it is possible, and will be advantageous to our West-India Islands, to desist from the farther Purchase of new Negroes, when once the Plantations are stocked with a sufficient Number for Propagation, and the Cultivation of the Lands; when pecuniary Assistance can be given to those who want to purchase Negroes for their Estates, and if proper Encouragement were to be given to Marriage amongst the Negroes, and due Attention paid to their Instruction and Morals.

In order, therefore, to withdraw our West-India Possessions from the State of Dependence, under which they have hitherto been and now are, with Respect to the Importation of Negroes, and to make the Importation of Negroes unnecessary in future, we declare our most gracious Will on this Subject and order as follows:

I. From the Commencement of the Year 1803, we forbid any of our Subjects to carry on the Slave-Trade, from the Coast of Africa or any other Place, except in our West-India Islands; so that, after that Period, no Negro Men or Women, either from that Coast or other foreign Places, will be allowed to be purchased by or for our Subjects, or to be transported in our Subjects Ships; neither must they be brought to our West-India Islands for Sale; and every Transaction, contrary to this Prohibition, shall, after that Period, be deemed unlawful.

II. In the mean Time, from the present until the End of the Year 1802, it is permitted to all foreign Nations, without Exception and

[285] [1] *Slavery Pamphlets,* vol. I., no. 8. Sir William Young, in his speech of Apr. 19, 1791, had named Denmark among the countries endeavoring to extend their slave trade, giving as his authority evidence presented to the House by Captain Frazer and Mr. James Baillie. *Speech of Sir William Young* (1791), pp. 17-18.

under all Flags, to import Negro Men and Women from the Coast to our West-India Islands.

III. For every healthy and stout Negro Man or Woman, which, during that Period, is thus imported to our West-India Islands, we permit the following Quantities of raw Sugar to be exported from our Islands to foreign Places, either in our own or foreign Ships, within a Year after the Importation of such Negroes; *viz.* for every full-grown Negro Man or Woman, 2,000 lb. Weight may be exported, and for every half-grown Negro, the Half of that Quantity, or 1,000 lb. Weight, without any Difference with regard to Sex; but Nothing is allowed for the Importation of Children.

IV. The Duty which is fixed by the Ordinances of the 9th of April, 1764, and 12th of May, 1777, (which Ordinances in every other Respect, that regards the Slave-Trade, are hereby repealed,) on the Importation of Slaves, we most graciously take off, with regard to the Negro-Women which may be hereafter imported; but, on the other Hand, we impose a Duty of ½ per Cent. more than what is already stipulated on the Sugars, which shall be exported to foreign Places, for the Purchase of such Negro Men or Women as are imported.

V. It is moreover our Will, in order to establish an exact Proportion among the different Sexes, that, from the beginning of 1795 and after, the Negro Women and Girls, who work in the Field and are not House-Negroes, shall pay no Poll-Tax; but, on the contrary, from the above-mentioned Period, a double Poll-Tax shall be exacted for every Negro-Man.

VI. From the present Period, we forbid, in the strongest Manner, all Exportation of Negro Men or Women from our West-India Islands, they alone being excepted from this Prohibition, who are expelled by Law; or, such as our Governor-General and Council in the West Indies may upon very extraordinary Occasions think proper, according to Circumstances, to permit to depart.

Wherefore this our Royal Will being made known, we order all and every one to conform to it.

Given at our Palace of Christiansborg, in our Royal Place of Residence, Copenhagen, the 16th of March, 1792.

286. An Essay on African Colonization.[1]

To the farther credit of that nation [Portuguese] it ought to be noted, that they carry on the slave-trade from the countries just

[286] [1] C. B. Wadström, *An Essay on Colonization, particularly applied to the Western Coast of Africa, with some Free Thoughts on Cultivation and Commerce* (1794). This work embodies further results of Wadström's African travels. In the sections immediately preceding those here printed he describes the missionary work of the Portuguese in Congo and Angola; he is here discussing the Portuguese trade from East Africa.

mentioned, with as much humanity as it is possible to unite with such a traffic. Great numbers of slaves who come from the remote inland countries, are shipped from Congo, Angola, etc. None, however, who belong to these last countries, are sent as slaves to the Brazils, except black convicts; and even these, before they are put on board, are catechised and receive baptism, a rite which has been found to console their minds under their unhappy circumstances. The Portuguese slave-ships are never over crowded, and the sailors are chiefly blacks, called Negros Ladinos, who speak their language, and whose business it is to comfort and attend the poor people on the voyage. The consequences are, that they have little or no occasion for fetters, so constantly used in the other European slave-ships, and that they perform their voyage from Angola, etc. to Brazil with very little mortality (pt. I., pp. 125-126). . . .[2]

287. Report of the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company.[1]

345. The slave-trade is decreasing very much at Sierra Leona, the price of slaves having risen to 25 or £30 ster. each; and not above 1000 are now annually exported from this river. They are chiefly brought down through a chain of factories, but not through the company's ground, and a great many are children. The kings and chiefs trade in slaves; but the principal traders are the French and English factors. It is customary to credit the black factors who either travel themselves, or deal with other factors still farther up, with European goods (chiefly gun-powder and spirits) and, if they fail in bringing the stipulated slaves, they are made slaves themselves; or, if they do not return in a certain time, any one of their families are taken. King Naimbanna's son [2] mentions this as a prevailing custom. The

[2] "The Portuguese, however, do not appear entirely to exclude other nations from a participation in some parts of the trade of the eastern parts of Africa. For, when I was at Havre de Grace in 1787, some slave-merchants in that city were sending a few ships to Mosambique for slaves. They told me, that, although, in the long, cold and stormy voyage round the Cape of Good Hope, many more of the slaves died, than even in the passage from the coast of Guinea to the West Indies; yet that their cheapness at Mosambique fully compensated for their increased mortality. So cooly do merchants talk of sacrificing the lives of mankind, at the shrine of the 'Mammon of unrighteousness!!'" Note in Wadström, pt. I., p. 126.

[287] [1] A large portion of pt. II. of Wadström's *Essay* (1795), taken from the Report of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, Feb. 26, 1795, is devoted to showing the injuries inflicted on the struggling colony by the slave trader. For this purpose the author quotes the testimony of many witnesses as to violence in the taking of slaves. The wording of the report published in *Substance of the Report of the Court of Directors* (1795, pp. 96 ff.) differs slightly from that in Wadström's *Essay,* from which the following selections are taken.

[2] King Naimbanna's son, after eighteen months in England, was recalled to Africa by the death of his father. He was taken ill on the voyage and died but a few hours after landing in Africa. To the Sierra Leone Company this was a great loss, since he and his father were staunch friends of the company (Viscountess Knutsford, *Life and*

sudden, vindictive temper of the natives seems also to promote this traffic. If a domestic slave is impertinent, he is sold. The children of such are occasionally sold also. But, with rich traders, this is not common: for domestic slaves are distinct from those for trade, doing little, and being much indulged. King Naimbanna has 120 of these, who give him half their earnings, and are much attached to him. It is a point of honour never to forgive injuries; so that families will seize one another for slaves, as opportunity offers, for many generations. This practice, however, though partly owing to revenge, may be chiefly ascribed to the want of efficient government. The offences, real or imputed, which are punished with slavery, are chiefly adultery and witchcraft. . . .

347. That kidnapping prevails at Sierra Leona, the directors have received undeniable proofs; and, if they had not, several circumstances clearly imply that the practice is not uncommon. The inhabitants, to a great distance up the country, all go armed with guns and large knives. The very women are armed with knives. When King Naimbanna's son has gone up to Scaffus, he dared not go to rest, unless in a secure place, lest he should be surprised in his sleep. The people in the little towns on the river, leave the wood growing close to the houses, for refuge, in case of attack, as they told Mr. Falconbridge,[3] who has seen the ruins of two towns, which, among others, were broken up by Cleveland, a great mulatto slave-trader who was educated at Liverpool.[4] . . .

351. King Naimbanna, in his letter to Mr. Sharp, after mentioning "the horrid depredations committed here by all the countries that come here to trade", says, "There are three distant relations of mine now in the West Indies, carried away by one Capt. Cox, captain of a Danish ship. Their names are Corpro, Banna and Mor-

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Letters of Zachary Macaulay, pp. 36-38; *Substance of Report of the Directors,* pp. 213-221; for American dealings with King Naimbanna see L. V. Briggs, *History and Genealogy of the Cabot Family,* I. 391). Wadström, in his *Essay on Colonization* (p. 94), says that "owing to the desire of the Africans to have their children educated in Europe, there were generally from fifty to seventy of these children in Liverpool, besides those who came to London and Bristol".

[3] Alexander Falconbridge, author of *An Account of the Slave Trade on the Coast of Africa* (London, 1788), a surgeon in the trade, had made four voyages to the West Coast. He was one of the witnesses before the committee of the Privy Council (Clarkson, *Abolition of the Slave Trade,* I. 366, 380). In his testimony before the committee he told of buying 380 slaves at Bonny on one voyage; 420 on another. These negroes, purchased from black traders who had brought them from the interior, were unable to understand each other. From Angola he had once purchased 150, all but one of whom had been brought from the interior. Kidnapping he believed common on the part of the black traders who gathered up these slaves. In 1789 he (Falconbridge) went to Sierra Leone to re-establish the settlement, scattered by a native attack. Knutsford, *Macaulay,* pp. 19-20.

[4] Cleveland's factory was located on the Banana Islands. His activities are frequently mentioned in the letters of Macaulay.

bour. These were taken out of my river Sierra Leona. I know not how to get them back. I never hurt or deprived any person of their right or property, or withheld from them what is their due. So I only let you know of these lads, that there will be an account taken of them, one day or another."

352. King Naimbanna's son relates, that a cousin of his father's, named Jack Rodney, was asked to pilot a slave-ship down from Bance island. He begged to be put on shore at Robanna; but the captain refused, saying he would land him at the river's mouth, instead of which, he carried him to Jamaica. As he spoke good English, he obtained several interviews with the governor of that island, and was recovered by a ship which brought a letter concerning him from Sierra Leona (pt. II., pp. 13-17). . . .

475. Another proof of the danger, with which the slave-trade threatens any neighbouring colony, is afforded by the annexed relation.[5]

Some time before the establishment of the present Company, a British slave-factor, then in S. Leona river, but lately removed, seized five of the first colonists, on the ground of his having been wronged by one of their body, somewhere at a distance on the coast, where he was navigating a vessel belonging to this slave-factor, who said the country law warranted this mode of redress. But he afterwards was induced to release three of them, thinking the other two, on consideration, afforded that recompence for his loss which was proper, on the principles of African justice. These two men, it was admitted, had no connection with the defaulter, nor any means of catching him (for he had run from the ship, when she was some hundred miles from the colony) and whose only crime was that they had formerly lived in the same town with him. Yet they were kept in chains, by this British slave-trader, and then sold to a slave-captain, who was on the point of sailing; when a Mahometan chief, who happened to come from the interior country, took compassion on them, advanced about £50 ster. for their redemption, and sent them home. The same chief having lately sent a favourite free boy, with a message to a factor to whom he was in debt, the boy was seized by way of payment. The chief, half distracted, came to S. Leona, and endeavoured to trace the child from factory to factory. At length he called at Freetown, mentioned his present poverty, and the affliction which had brought him to the coast, and modestly asked for the £50 which he had formerly paid for the redemption of the two freemen of Granville town. The governor and council very carefully investigated the case, and found the main facts were pre-

[5] Wadström has taken the following paragraph from *Substance of the Report,* pp. 144-148.

cisely as has been stated. The £50 was repaid to the chief, by the Company, in consequence of this investigation (pp. 90-91). . . .

488. To the following incident, it is necessary to premise, that the legislatures of the Northern States of America have prohibited the slave-trade, in certain cases, under heavy penalties.[6]

An American ship arriving in S. Leona river, the supercargo, who seems to have known little of the Company's principles, went hastily to the governor and council and offered them his cargo, for a cargo of slaves, saying he would take no other articles, and hoped they would soon favour him with the slaves he wanted. A counsellor asked him how the American laws stood, respecting this trade. He said that, where he came from, it was prohibited, under forfeiture of the ship and £1000 penalty on the captain.[7] "But, added he, no body will inform." Indeed Sir, replied the counsellor, I myself shall inform, if none else will. I hope, Sir, you will not do so unfriendly a thing. I would rather prevent evil than punish it, (said the counsellor) and I warn you, that if you carry a single slave from this coast, you shall find an information lodged against you in America. The supercargo then said, he was not in earnest, and that he really abhorred the slave-trade.

489. This ship quitted the river, immediately, to the obvious prejudice of the slave-factories there. The Directors have received from S. Leona, a list of all the American ships, which have transgressed the laws of that country, and are taking measures for conveying to the several legislatures, whose authority hath been insulted, sufficient evidence of the circumstances tending to the conviction and punishment of the offenders (pp. 101-102).[8] . . .

508. The declension of the slave-trade near S. Leona, appears to have been very great. The governor and council suppose that not above 1/5 of the usual number of slaves are now carried off the adjacent coast. The French slave-factory, and an individual British slave-factor, have removed from S. Leona river. The slave-factory in the Isle de Los, is on the point of being given up; and that on Bance Island, the only one remaining either in or near S. Leona river, is thought to apply more than formerly to the collection of produce, and has begun a cotton plantation, worked by natives, and which the Company's institution appears to have suggested. A slave-factor, of the name of Wilkinson, declared that he would quit the trade, and transfer his property (amounting to about £2000) to Freetown, of-

[6] This paragraph has also been taken from *Substance of the Report,* p. 166.

[7] See Knutsford, *Macaulay,* p. 52. This is doubtless a reference to the Massachusetts law, since Macaulay calls this a Boston vessel. Donnan, "The New England Slave Trade after the Revolution", *New England Quar.,* III. 253.

[8] See this work, vol. III., for a portion of this list.

fering to conform to the laws, if permitted to settle there. But he is since dead. . . .

784. . . . In April, 1781, I was informed, that a young African was going to be conveyed on board a vessel bound for Sierra Leona. Curiosity induced me to inquire in what capacity he was to be sent there; as the grand question, respecting the abolition of the Slave-trade, had then become a merited object of universal investigation, particularly in this Island. I soon discovered that the master of this poor negro had no other intention in conveying him out of the country, than to dispose of him afterwards with the greater facility, for the West India market, in order to reinstate his expences with profit. On closer enquiry, I found that this youth, whose name was Peter Panah, was really a son of the present Peter, King of Mesurado, who had himself been educated at Liverpool, by the slave-traders. I discovered farther, that he had been basely kidnapped from his father, conveyed to a Mr. Hammer at Sierra Leona, by an English slave-vessel (Capt. Fraser) and sold there to a Capt. Cambeby, who carried him to the W. Indies, where he met with other slaves from his own country, who immediately recognized him to be their king's son. This fact was moreover proved by the mark he bore on his breast, which is inscribed on all the king's children, to distinguish them from others.

785. One Johnson, a mulatto dealer at Grenada, being acquainted with this circumstance, conceived that such a deed committed against the King of Mesurado, in the person of one of his children, could not but injure the commerce carried on by the English in that country. Making this therefore his plea, he combined it with his own interest, and supposed that if he brought this young prince to England, it might turn out greatly to his advantage, provided the public could be interested in his redemption. But this mere mercantile speculation failing, Johnson resolved to return with him to the West-Indies, to sell him there for the 60 *l.* he had paid for him. Some papers, which I received from Johnson himself, clearly prove these facts: but as his return directly to the W. Indies was likely to be expensive, he was cunning enough to obtain permission of Mr. Sharp,[9] under pretence of establishing himself at the new colony, to get a free passage for himself and his negro to S. Leona, whence his passage to the West Indies was easy.

786. The compassion I felt for the situation of this unfortunate youth, and the prospect, by restoring him to his father, of furthering my favourite plan of civilizing Africa, the most effectual means for abolishing the Slave-trade, made me the less hesitate to rescue him

[9] Granville Sharp.

from his base shackles: I therefore redeemed him: this was done in presence of the Rev. Mr. Ramsay, Mr. T. Clarkson, and Mr. R. Phillips, on the 6th of May, 1788, for 20 *l.* ster. I then placed him at Mr. Dempster's academy, at Mitcham in Surry, to be instructed in the first rudiments of Christianity, into which he was regularly baptized on the 25th Dec. 1788. At this school he likewise had such education as his faculties were capable of receiving. He indeed proved obedient and pliable, but he was not gifted by nature with any extraordinary parts. He made, however, a tolerable proficiency in reading and writing, and shewed a great desire for agriculture. Though pretty much accustomed to European manners, he seemed to retain an unconquerable propensity to return to his former habits of simplicity, in his native country, where he knew he would find a mode of life more suitable to his taste.

787. Mr. G. Sharp promised to use his endeavours to procure him a free passage to his own country, but various incidents retarded and prevented this gentleman's kind intentions, till he was taken ill, at Mr. Dempster's school, by sleeping one evening on the damp grass. This indisposition soon ended in a galloping consumption, which baffled the powers of medicine, and he died, in Oct. 1790, in my own house, aged, as near as I could guess, about 18 or 20 (app., pp. 269-270). . . .

288. Policy on Slaves, 1794.[1]

In the Name of God, Amen. *Fermin de Tastet Esq. and Co.* as well in *their* own Name, as for and in the Name and Names of all and every other Person or Persons to whom the same doth, may, or shall appertain, in Part or in All, doth make Assurance, and cause *themselves* and them, and every of them to be Insured, lost or not lost, at and from *Liverpool to the Coast of Africa, during her stay of trade there and at and from thence to her port or ports of discharge in the Island of Cuba,* Upon any Kind of Goods and Merchandizes, and also upon the Body, Tackle, Apparel, Ordnance, Munition, Artillery, Boat, and other Furniture, of and in the good Ship or Vessel called the *Guipuzcoa* whereof is Master, under God, for this present Voyage, *P. La Croix Du Fresne* or whosoever else shall go for Master in the said Ship, or by whatsoever other Name or Names the same Ship, or the Master thereof, is or shall be named or called; beginning the Adventure upon the said Goods and Merchandizes from the Loading thereof aboard the said Ship, *at Liverpool and Africa* upon the said

[288] [1] Charles Wright and C. Ernest Fayle, *A History of Lloyd's* (1928), facsimile opposite p. 148. The words in italics are written in, the remainder is a printed form. In the margin: "S. G. Printed according to the Form revised and confirmed at New Lloyd's, on the 12th of January, 1779. Free from particular average by insurrection under 5 per Cent, trading in boats 10 per Cent."

Ship, etc. *at and from Liverpool and Africa,* and so shall continue and endure, during her Abode there, upon the said Ship, etc. And further, until the said Ship, with all her Ordnance, Tackle, Apparel, etc. and Goods and Merchandizes whatsoever shall be arrived at *Africa* and her *port or ports of discharge* upon the said Ship, etc. until she hath moor'd at Anchor Twenty-four Hours in good Safety; and upon the Goods and Merchandizes, until the same he there discharged and safely landed. And it shall be lawful for the said Ship, etc. in this Voyage, to proceed and sail to and touch and stay at any Ports or Places whatsoever, Without Prejudice to this Insurance. The said Ship, etc. Goods and Merchandizes, etc. for so much as concerns the Assureds, by Agreement between the Assureds and Assurers in this Policy are and shall be valued at

In case of capture, a declaration of her being carried into port to be deem[ed] a sufficient document to recover the loss

Touching the Adventures and Perils which we the Assurers are contented to bear, and do take upon us in this Voyage; they are of the Seas, Men of War, Fire, Enemies, Pirates, Rovers, Thieves, Jettizons, Letters of Mart and Counter Mart, Surprizals, Takings at Sea, Arrests, Restraints and Detainments of all Kings, Princes and People, of what Nation, Condition or Quality soever: Barretry of the Master and Mariners, and of all other Perils, Losses and Misfortunes, that have or shall come to the Hurt, Detriment or Damage of the said Goods and Merchandizes and Ship, etc. or any Part thereof. And in Case of any Loss, or Misfortune, it shall be lawful to the Assureds, their Factors, servants and Assigns, to sue, labour and travel for, in and about the Defence, Safeguard and Recovery of the said Goods and Merchandizes and Ship, etc. or any Part thereof, without Prejudice to this Insurance; to the Charges whereof we the Assurers will contribute each one according to the Rate and Quantity of his Sum herein Assured. And it is agreed by us the Insurers, that this Writing or Policy of Assurance shall be of as much Force and Effect as the Surest Writing or Policy of Assurance heretofore made in Lombard-street, or in the Royal-Exchange, or elsewhere in London. And so we the Assurers are contented, and do hereby promise and bind ourselves, each one for his own Part, our Heirs, Executors, and Goods, to the Assureds, their Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, for the true Performance of the Premises, confessing ourselves paid the Consideration due unto us for this Assurance by the Assured at and after the Rate of *Twenty Guineas per Cent.*

In Witness whereof we the Assurers have subscribed our Names and sums Assured in London. . . . *The Slaves valued at £45 each.*[2]

[2] The shares taken by the assurers are for £200 each. The names have been crossed out in the facsimile.

289. Account of the Liverpool Slave Trade, 1795.[1]

Summary of the aggregate number of ships employed in the Guinea trade, particularized in the following tables, together with the number of slaves imported in each of the following years, and the amount of each.

Years.	Slave Ships.	Number of Slaves.	Sterling Value.
1783	85	39,170	£ 1,958,500
1784	59	25,320	1,266,000
1785	73	29,490	1,474,500
1786	87	31,690	1,584,500
1787	72	25,520	1,276,000
1788	71	23,200	1,160,000
1789	62	17,631	881,550
1790	89	27,362	1,368,100
1791	101	31,111	1,555,550
1792	133	38,920	1,946,000
1793	46	14,323	716,150
	878	303,737	£15,186,850

. . . The prices of slaves about the year 1730 was £35 per head; in 1750 about £45; and they have been sold at £100 currency at Jamaica.

On these gross sales, the following charges and deductions according to the usual rate of factorage must be made, in order to discover the nett amount returned to the port of Liverpool during the above periods: of these several cargoes a factor's commission is five per cent. on the sales, and five per cent. on the returns, in addition to which ten per cent. will be deducted for contingencies, hence fifteen

[289] [1] "Circumstantial Account of the True Causes of the Liverpool African Slave Trade, by an Eye Witness, Liverpool, 1797", *Liverpool and Slavery: an Historical Account of the Liverpool-African Slave Trade. Was it the Cause of the Prosperity of the Town?* Compiled by a Genuine "Dicky Sam" (Liverpool, 1884), ch. XIII., pp. 100-117. This is taken from *A General and Descriptive History of the Ancient and Present State of the Town of Liverpool* (1798), reviewed in the *Gentleman's Magazine,* LXVIII. 325-326. The early pages of the account, here omitted, attribute Liverpool's success and Bristol's decline in the trade to Liverpool's attention to smuggling negroes into the Spanish markets, while Bristol was content to supply the British plantations. For the pursuit of the contraband trade Liverpool settled factors in Jamaica, who were presently able to sell negroes to the Jamaica planters for four or five pounds per head less than the Bristol and London prices. So rapidly did this process of underselling advance Liverpool's trade at the expense of her competitors that by 1764 Bristol had but 32 vessels in the African trade to Liverpool's 74. Liverpool's commercial beginnings can be attributed to the demand for her Manchester cottons, which early in the eighteenth century monopolized the West India market, and were purchased in large quantities by the Spanish merchants engaged in contraband trade. About 1730 she began selling slaves as well as cottons to the Spanish smugglers, by this means accumulating a reserve which enabled her to give better terms to English planters than could either Bristol or London (*The Stranger in Liverpool,* 1829, pp. 46-48). This explanation fails to emphasize the less liberal terms of the Liverpool owners.

per cent. is taken on the gross sales, which will amount to £2,278,072 sterling, which being deducted from £15,186,850, the gross sales, makes the nett proceeds of the whole amount to £12,908,823 [£12,908,778] sterling.

On remittance of these nett proceeds, the factor draws his commission of five per cent. on the real amount remitted, which commission is here £614,707, thereby making the sum remitted £12,-294,116: it therefore appears by this calculation, which is too clearly affianced to truth to admit equivocation or doubt, that from the year 1783 to 1793, there has been remitted to the town of Liverpool from the African trade only £12,294,116 sterling, being on the eleven years' average, One Million, one hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred forty-seven pounds per annum.[2]

The nett proceeds arising from the several account sales during the above period being shewn, endeavours will be made to discover the nett gains which must have arisen thereon, and consequently accrued to the adventurers. The nature of a Guinea cargo is known to be such, that it may not be advancing too much to say, that it is impossible even for the merchant to determine the profits thereon, until the return of the vessel with the account sales. In every other species of traffic some general prescription is discovered to guide opinion, but the African commerce holds forward one constant train of uncertainty, the time of slaving is precarious, the length of the middle passage uncertain, a vessel may be in part, or wholly cut off, mortalities may be great, and various other incidents may arise impossible to be foreseen; an attempt, therefore, to determine the gains of an African cargo can only be supported by probable calculation, which is submitted to the opinion of the reader, in the following observations, *viz.*:

An African voyage is generally completed in nine months, but to remove every imputation of an arbitrary conclusion on a subject of this importance, it shall be allowed twelve months, which will make the charter amount to £103,488 sterling, which, show their burthen to have been greatly increased, added to £864,895, will make the first cost of the slaves £968,383 sterling.

The following conclusions on the present state of the trade of Liverpool may be justly allowed by every impartial reader.

The next expenditure is the provision and maintenance of the slaves, on the middle passage, which consisting principally of plantain, bananas, ochro, yams, potatoes, and other ground provision, together with rice, bread, wheat, etc., is so exceedingly moderate, that ten shillings sterling for each slave will be acknowledged a very ample

[2] Williams (*Liverpool Privateers,* pp. 596-599) uses this account as the basis of his analysis of the profits of the trade.

allowance, from which arises the following Statement, of the gains per cent. on an African export.

The nett proceeds on thirty-one thousand six hundred and ninety slaves, are		£1,282,690
Gross amount of goods exported	£864,895	
Freight of 31,690 slaves, etc.	103,488	
Maintenance of 31,690 slaves at ten shillings each	15,845	
		984,228
Gains on the whole		£ 298,462

This general statement makes the gains upwards of thirty per cent., and if an analysis is made of the above aggregate sums, it will discover,

The nett return, or proceeds of one slave to be				£40	9	6¾
The prime cost on the Coast of one slave	£27	5	10			
The freight of one slave	3	5	3¾			
The maintenance of one slave	0	10	0	31	1	1¾
				£ 9	8	5

This also makes a gain of upwards of thirty per cent., or £9 8 *s.* 5 *d.* on the sale of each slave; and determines the prime cost on the Coast to be £27 5 *s.* 10 *d.* as before mentioned.

This calculation will be allowed by all judges of the African trade to be sufficiently near the truth to justify a conclusion that, in the year 1786, the town of Liverpool returned a nett profit of £298,462 sterling, and that during eleven years the gains on 303,737 slaves, returned in the summary as sold from 1783 to 1793, both inclusive, was £2,361,455 6 *s.* 1 *d.*, or on an average, Two hundred and fourteen thousand six hundred and seventy-seven pounds fifteen shillings and one penny per annum.[3]

This great annual return of wealth may be said to pervade the whole town, increasing the fortunes of the principal adventurers, and contributing to the support of the majority of the inhabitants; almost every man in Liverpool is a merchant, and he who cannot send a bale, will send a bandbox, it will therefore create little astonishment, that the attractive African meteor has from time to time so dazzled their ideas, that almost every order of people is interested in a Guinea cargo;[4] it is to this influenza that so many small ships are seen in

[3] Williams corrects this. The result found by multiplying the author's profit on one slave by the total number of slaves is £2,861,455 13 *s.* 1 *d.*, and the yearly average is £260,132 6 *s.* 8 *d.* *Ibid,* p. 598.

[4] "It is well known that many of the small vessels that import about an hundred slaves, are fitted out by attornies, drapers, ropers, grocers, tallow chandlers, barbers, taylors, etc., some have one-eighth, some a fifteenth [sixteenth], and some a thirty-second." *A General and Descriptive History of Liverpool,* p. 229.

the annexed lists, whose initials do not appear successive, whereas a regular routine of the established African houses is discovered, which yearly and successively hold the main substance of this advantageous trade, in proof whereof an extract is made from the eleven following tables of those established firms that annually import one thousand slaves and upwards, whereby the proportion will be discovered which they hold to that of all the rest of the adventurers.

A List of the houses that have annually imported upwards of one thousand slaves, the number of ships employed, and slaves by them imported from 1783 to 1793, both inclusive, whereby the proportion is seen which they have held to all the vessels that annually sailed from the port of Liverpool during that period.

Years	Houses	Ships	Houses	Ships	Slaves
In 1783 there were	42	and 85	of which 13	employed 47	and imported 26,820
1784	33	59	10	28	13,590
1785	37	73	9	36	18,020
1786	37	87	13	53	21,520
1787	27	72	8	39	17,130
1788	28	71	8	35	13,606
1789	29	62	6	32	10,752
1790	30	89	10	58	19,089
1791	38	101	10	56	19,027
1792	33	133	14	94	29,905
1793	25	46	6	24	7,325
	359	878	107	502	196,784

It will appear from this extract, when comparison is made to the summary before given, that during eleven years the trade has been supported on the average by ten houses, for although in that time three hundred and fifty-nine houses have been engaged in Guinea ships to the amount of eight hundred and seventy-eight, yet ten houses are discovered on the average to have sent out five hundred and two of the number so employed, which is not only more than one half the shipping, but demonstrates that the said shipping must have been of large burthen, by reason the number of slaves imported was nearly four-sixths of the whole number imported during the eleven years before mentioned.

The African trade of Liverpool is therefore clearly affianced to about ten capital houses, who by making regular and annual returns from that commerce, may be supposed to considerably increase their fortunes; but the remainder by reason of their various subdivisions can contribute little to the increase of a fortune, although the returns may sometimes timely arise to prop a tottering credit: the ship G. W. imports one hundred slaves, which by the preceding calcula-

tion would yield a profit of £942 1 *s.* 8 *d.*, when this is subdivided it is discovered that an eighth is £117 15 *s.* 2 *d.*, a sixteenth £58 17 *s.* 7 *d.*, and a thirty-second £29 8 *s.* 10 *d.*[5] these retailers of blackamoor's teeth may, perhaps, be benefitted from these returns once in two or three years, but such is not the case with the regular African houses, many of which we discover to be uniformly progressive in every table, the advantages of those whose firms are limited to three or four persons are proportionally benefitted; we see the initial B.D. imports two thousand eight hundred and fifty slaves in five ships, which produce a nett gain of £26,849, if this profit is in four shares it will produce to each of the interested parties £6,712 sterling.[6]

It may be advanced, that this return is not regular and successive; it is admitted, that a return cannot be made annually on the same ship with certainty, because in some instances an African voyage may exceed twelve months, but these instances are very few; those capital houses where the vessels appear in the annexed tables, to have been annual and regular, must be allowed to have yearly regular returns, uniform successive annual adventures producing successive annual remittances; this fact the more clearly appears from the modern method of treating and remitting a Guinea cargo: no sooner is an account sales closed than the nett proceeds are remitted by bills, which bills are accepted by what is now termed Guarantee, and instantly circulated on a faith in the acceptor, and endorser only; these bills are notwithstanding established on a credit extensive as they appear precarious, three years is their present average run, which it is said is intended to be still increased one year more. This proceeding, while it benefits the factor and guarantee, appears to place the receiver in a very equivocal situation, when we consider the state of public credit, and the instability which commerce lately experienced in houses of the first eminence and reputation in the kingdom: these bills are numerous in the town of Liverpool, and in general circulation on a discount, therefore answer the purpose of receiver in the first instance, being taken in payment on the faith of acceptor and indorser without hesitation or diffidence.[7]

[5] The initials refer to a list not here preserved; the division, to the fact that it was a very common practice to own one-sixteenth, or even one-thirty-second of a slave ship.

[6] For further figures on profit see *post,* no. 290.

[7] "The factor in the first place avails himself of secure remittance to the guarantee, either by real cash or good bills, for slaves sold to the foreign settlements. The usual custom of the planters giving bond, on the purchasing of slaves for the island plantations, gives him in the next place a douceur of six per cent, until payment is made by produce: which by reason of the long acceptance of the first bill, he is enabled to remit in proper time, to secure his guarantee in the payment, and during the convenient revolution of three years, the produce timely arrives to discharge the remainder. This modern refinement on traffic creates a running availment of six per cent to the factor for three years on every cargo, exclusive of his usual commission; gives an agreeable annual

The progress and increase of the African trade may be nearly conceived in the following statement.

Years.	Ships.	Tons.		Tons.
In 1730 there were	15 burthen	1,111		
1751	53	5,334	increased	4,223
1772	89	9,124		3,790
1792	136	24,544		15,420

From 1730 to 1792 the African ships have increased one hundred and twenty-one, and in the year 1792, the tonnage is almost five times greater than in the year 1751, which opposed to the difference of the number of ships employed, will shew their burthen to have been greatly increased.

The following conclusions on the present state of the trade of Liverpool may be justly allowed by every impartial reader.

First. That one-fourth of the ships belonging to the port of Liverpool are employed in the African trade.

Second. That it has five-eighths of the African trade of Great Britain.

Third. That it has three-sevenths of the African trade of all Europe.

Such is nearly the state of the general commerce of Liverpool 1795.

douceur to the guarantee on this side of the water, and secures the merchant a timely payment of his outfit at the common discount, or in other words enables him to borrow money at 5 per cent, on the joint security of himself and acceptor." *General and Descriptive History of Liverpool,* p. 229.

290. Profits on Six Voyages, 1784-1805.[1]

Year	Ships	Captain	Cost of Outfit			Cost of Cargo			Destination	No. of Slaves	Net Profits			Average profit per Slave			Owners
			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
1784	*Bloom*	Robt. Bostock								307	8123	7	2	26	9	2	Thos. Foxcroft, 5/16, Wm. Rice 2/16, A. Wharton 2/16, Felix Doran 2/16, Jas. Welch 2/16, Robert Bostock 2/16, Geo. Welch 1/16.
1798	*Lottery*	John Whittle	2307	10	0	8326	14	11	Barbados	453	12,091	16	1	26	13	10	Thos. Leyland and Co.
1802	*Lottery*	Chas. Kneal							Jamaica	305	19,021	12	0½	62	7	4	Thos. Leyland ½ R. Bullin ¼ Thos. Molyneux ¼
1803	*Enterprize*	Caesar Lawson	8148	18	8	8896	3	9½	Cuba	392	24,430	8	11	62	6	6	Thos. Leyland ½ R. Bullin ¼ Thos. Molyneux ¼
1																	
1805	*Fortune*	Chas. Watt	4124	18	9	7267	18	7	Nassau	343	9487	10	3	27	13	2	Thos. Leyland ⅔ Wm. Brown ⅓
	Louisa									326	19,133	10	5	58	13	10	Thos. Leyland ½ R. Bullin ¼ Thos. Molyneux ¼

[290] [1] Gomer Williams follows an examination of the account of the profits on the Liverpool traffic, contained in no. 289, by this statement of the profits on six voyages (pp. 599-607). Recent work on the papers of the vessels here named, to be found in the Reference Library relating to Liverpool, Liverpool, England, has shown that the net profits here mentioned are by no means profits, since the costs of the expeditions have not been subtracted from the gross returns. From the income of the *Lottery* on her second voyage costs amounting to £7982 2 *s.* 6½ *d.* should be subtracted, reducing the profit to £11039 9 *s.* 6 *d.* and the average profit to £36 3 *s.* 10 *d.* For the *Enterprize* the £24430 reported by Williams should be diminished by £957, paid to the *Enterprize* for salvaging the *John,* and £17045 2 *s.* 6 *d.*, costs. This leaves a profit of £6428 6 *s.* 5 *d.* and an average of £16 7 *s.* 11 *d.* On the voyage of the *Fortune* the profit was £1878 2 *s.* 9 *d.*, the average £5 9 *s.* 6 *d.* These low returns are accounted for by the fact that the slaves were poor and commanded a slow sale. The profit of the *Louisa* was £8551 3 *s.* 10 *d.* The figures for the *Bloom* cannot be corrected. S. Dumbell, "Profits of the Guinea Trade", *Economic History,* II. 254-257.

291. Ships clearing for Africa 1795-1804.[1]

Comparative Statement of Ships cleared out from the Ports of London, Liverpool, and Bristol, to the Coast of Africa, for ten years, from 1795 to 1804 inclusive.

London			Bristol		Liverpool		Total		Each ship M'dium Slaves
Year	Ships	Slaves Allowed	Ships	Slaves Allowed	Ships	Slaves Allowed	Ships	Slaves Allowed	
1795	14	5,149	6	2,402	59	17,647	79	25,198	317
1796	8	2,593	1	393	94	29,425	103	32,411	315
1797	12	4,225	2	801	90	29,958	104	34,984	336
1798	8	2,650	3	1,433	149	53,051	160	57,104	356
1799	17	5,582	5	2,529	134	47,517	156	55,628	356
1800	10	2,231	3	717	120	31,844	133	34,722	261
1801	23	6,347	2	586	122	30,913	147	37,846	259
1802	30	9,011	3	704	122	31,371	155	41,086	266
1803	15	3,616	1	355	83	29,954	99	24,925	253
1804	18	5,001	3	798	126	31,090	147	36,899	244
10 years		46,405		10,718		323,770		380,893	

292. Travels of Mungo Park.[1]

On my arrival at Kamalia, I was conducted to the house of a Bushreen named Karfa Taura, the brother of him to whose hospitality I was indebted at Kinyeto. He was collecting a coffle of slaves, with a view to sell them to the Europeans on the Gambia, as soon as the rains should be over. I found him sitting in his baloon, surrounded by several Slatees, who proposed to join the coffle. He was reading to them from an Arabic book, and inquired with a smile if I understood it. Being answered in the negative, he desired one of the Slatees to fetch the little curious book, which had been brought from the west country. On opening this small volume, I was surprised and delighted, to find it our *Book of Common Prayer* (p. 187). . . .

As I was one day conversing with the slaves which this Slatee[2]

[291] [1] Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* p. 680.

[292] [1] *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa: performed under the Direction and Patronage of the African Association, in the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797,* by Mungo Park, Surgeon (New York, 1813). A selection from the *Travels* of Mungo Park, probably one of the best known of African explorers, is here printed because of his account of the journey of a slave coffle across Africa to the West Coast. Park had arrived at the mouth of the Gambia River on June 21, 1795. Until Dec. 2 he remained at the home of one Dr. Laidley, some distance up the river, then set off into the interior. On Sept. 16, 1796, he arrived at Kamalia, which is northeast of the headwaters of the Gambia. The rainy season was not over and the rivers were still so high that Karfa did not set out for three months after Park's arrival, a fortunate circumstance, since Park was at the time too ill to travel.

[2] This trader, called by Park a "Sera Woolli Slatee", had arrived early in December, with five slaves.

had brought, one of them begged me to give him some victuals. I told him I was a stranger, and had none to give. He replied, "I gave *you* victuals when you was hungry. Have you forgot the man who brought you milk at Karrankalla? But," added he with a sigh, "the irons were not then upon my legs!" I immediately recollected him, and begged some ground-nuts from Karfa to give him, as a return for his former kindness. He told me that he had been taken away by the Bambarrans the day after the battle of Joka, and sent to Sego, where he had been purchased by his present master, who was carrying him down to Kajaaga. Three more of these slaves were from Kaarta, and one from Wassela, all of them prisoners of war. They stopped four days at Kamalia, and were then taken to Bala, where they remained until the river Kokoro was fordable, and the grass burnt.

In the beginning of December, Karfa proposed to complete his purchase of slaves, and for this purpose collected all the debts which were owing to him in his own country, and on the 19th, being accompanied by three Slatees, he departed for Kancaba, a large town on the banks of the Niger, and a great slave market. Most of the slaves who are sold at Kancaba come from Bambarra, for Mansong, to avoid the expence and danger of keeping all his prisoners at Sego, commonly sends them in small parties, to be sold at the different trading towns, and as Kancaba is much resorted to by merchants, it is always supplied with slaves, which are sent thither up the Niger in canoes (pp. 189-190). . . .

But these restrictions on the power of the master [3] extend not to the case of prisoners taken in war, nor to that of slaves purchased with money. All these unfortunate beings are considered as strangers and foreigners, who have no right to the protection of the law, and may be treated with severity, or sold to a stranger, according to the pleasure of their owners. There are, indeed, regular markets, where slaves of this description are bought and sold, and the value of a slave, in the eye of an African purchaser, increases in proportion to his distance from his native kingdom; for when slaves are only a few days' journey from the place of their nativity, they frequently effect their escape, but when one or more kingdoms intervene, escape being more difficult, they are more readily reconciled to their situation. On this account, the unhappy slave is frequently transferred from one dealer to another, until he has lost all hopes of returning to his native kingdom. The slaves which are purchased by the Europeans on the coasts, are chiefly of this description; a few of them are col-

[3] The particular restriction to which Park has reference is that forbidding a master to sell one of his domestic slaves.

lected in the petty wars, hereafter to be described, which take place near the coast; but by far the greater number are brought down in large caravans from the inland countries, of which many are unknown, even by name, to the Europeans. . . .

When a free man is taken prisoner, his friends will sometimes ransom him by giving two slaves in exchange; but when a slave is taken, he has no hopes of such redemption. To these disadvantages it is to be added, that the Slatees, who purchase slaves in the interior countries, and carry them down to the coast for sale, constantly prefer such as have been in that condition of life from their infancy, well knowing that these have been accustomed to hunger and fatigue, and are better able to sustain the hardships of a long and painful journey than free men; and on their reaching the coast, if no opportunity offers of selling them to advantage, they can easily be made to maintain themselves by their labour; neither are they so apt to attempt making their escape, as those who have once tasted the blessings of freedom.

Slaves of the second description [those born free] generally become such by one or other of the following causes; first, Captivity; second, Famine; third, Insolvency; fourth, Crimes (pp. 211-212).[4] . . .

On the 24th of January [1797] Karfa returned to Kamalia with a number of people, and thirteen prime slaves which he had purchased. . . .

The slaves which Karfa had brought with him were all of them prisoners of war; they had been taken by the Bambarran army in the kingdoms of Wassela and Kaarta, and carried to Sego, where some of them had remained three years in irons. From Sego they were sent, in company with a number of other captives, up the Niger, in two large canoes, and offered for sale at Yamina, Bammakoo, and Kancaba; at which places the greater number of the captives were bartered for gold dust, and the remainder sent forward to Kankaree.

Eleven of them confessed to me that they had been slaves from their infancy; but the other two refused to give any account of their former condition. They were all very inquisitive; but they viewed me at first with looks of horror, and repeatedly asked if my countrymen were cannibals. They were very desirous to know what became of the slaves after they had crossed the salt water. I told them that they were employed in cultivating the land; but they would not believe me; and one of them putting his hand upon the ground, said with great simplicity, "have you really got such ground as this to set your feet upon?" A deeply rooted idea, that the whites pur-

[4] An exposition of each of these sources of slaves follows.

chase Negroes for the purpose of devouring them, or of selling them to others that they may be devoured hereafter, naturally makes the slaves contemplate a journey towards the coast with great terror; insomuch, that the Slatees are forced to keep them constantly in irons, and watch them very closely, to prevent their escape. They are commonly secured by putting the right leg of one and the left of another into the same pair of fetters. By supporting the fetters with a string they can walk, though very slowly. Every four slaves are likewise fastened together by the necks, with a strong rope of twisted thongs, and in the night, an additional pair of fetters is put on their hands, and sometimes a light iron chain passed round their necks.

Such of them as evince marks of discontent are secured in a different manner. A thick billet of wood is cut, about three feet long, and a smooth notch being made upon one side of it, the ankle of the slave is bolted to the smooth part by means of a strong iron staple, one prong of which passes on each side of the ankle. All these fetters and bolts are made from native iron; in the present case they were put on by the blacksmith, as soon as the slaves arrived from Kancaba, and were not taken off until the morning on which the coffle departed for Gambia.

In other respects, the treatment of the slaves during their stay at Kamalia, was far from being harsh or cruel. They were led out in their fetters every morning to the shade of the tamarind tree, where they were encouraged to play at games of hazard, and sing diverting songs to keep up their spirits; for though some of them sustained the hardships of their situation with amazing fortitude, the greater part were very much dejected, and would sit all day in a sort of sullen melancholy, with their eyes fixed upon the ground. In the evening their irons were examined, and their hand fetters put on; after which they were conducted into two large huts, where they were guarded during the night by Karfa's domestic slaves. . . .

As all the Slatees and slaves belonging to the coffle were now assembled, either at Kamalia, or at some of the neighbouring villages, it might have been expected that we should have set out immediately for Gambia; but though the day of our departure was frequently fixed, it was always found expedient to change it. Some of the people had not prepared their dry provisions; others had gone to visit their relations, or collect some trifling debts, and last of all, it was necessary to consult whether the day would be a lucky one. On account of one of these or other such causes, our departure was put off, day after day, until the month of February was far advanced, after

which, all the Slatees agreed to remain in their present quarters, until the fast moon was over (pp. 231-233). . . .

April 19th. The long wished-for day of our departure was at length arrived, and the Slatees having taken the irons from their slaves, assembled with them at the door of Karfa's house, where the bundles were all tied up, and every one had his load assigned him. The coffle on its departure from Kamalia, consisted of twenty-seven slaves for sale, the property of Karfa and four other Slatees; but we were afterwards joined by five at Maraboo and three at Bala; making in all thirty-five slaves. The free men were fourteen in number, but most of them had one or two wives, and some domestic slaves, and the schoolmaster, who was now upon his return for Worakoo, the place of his nativity, took with him eight of his scholars; so that the number of free people and domestic slaves amounted to thirty-eight, and the whole amount of the coffle was seventy-three. Among the free men were six Jillakeas (singing men) whose musical talents were frequently exerted, either to divert our fatigue, or obtain us a welcome from strangers. When we departed from Kamalia, we were followed for about half a mile, by most of the inhabitants of the town, some of them crying, and others shaking hands with their relations, who were now about to leave them; and when we had gained a piece of rising ground from which we had a view of Kamalia, all the people belonging to the coffle were ordered to sit down in one place, with their faces towards the west, and the towns-people were desired to sit down in another place, with their faces towards Kamalia. In this situation, the schoolmaster with two of the principal Slatees, having taken their places between the two parties, pronounced a long and solemn prayer; after which they walked three times round the coffle, making an impression in the ground with the ends of their spears, and muttering something by way of charm. When this ceremony was ended, all the people belonging to the coffle sprang up, and without taking a formal farewell of their friends set forward. As many of the slaves had remained for years in irons, the sudden exertion of walking quick, with heavy loads upon their heads, occasioned spasmodic contractions of their legs, and we had not proceeded above a mile, before it was found necessary to take two of them from the rope, and allow them to walk more slowly until we reached Maraboo, a walled village, where some people were waiting to join the coffle. Here we stopt about two hours, to allow the strangers time to pack up their provisions, and then continued our route to Bala, which town we reached about four in the afternoon (pp. 235-236). . . .

As this was the first town beyond the limits of Manding, greater etiquette than usual was observed. Every person was ordered to keep in his proper station, and we marched towards the town in a sort of procession, nearly as follows. In front, five or six singing men, all of them belonging to the coffle; these were followed by the other free people; then came the slaves fastened in the usual way by a rope round their necks, four of them to a rope, and a man with a spear between each four; after them came the domestic slaves, and in the rear the women of free condition, wives of the Slatees, etc. In this manner we proceeded, until we came within a hundred yards of the gate; when the singing men began a loud song, well calculated to flatter the vanity of the inhabitants, by extolling their known hospitality to strangers, and their particular friendship for the Mandingoes. When we entered the town we proceeded to the Bentang, where the people gathered round us to hear our *dentegi* (history). This was related publicly by two of the singing men; they enumerated every little circumstance which had happened to the coffle, beginning with the events of the present day, and relating everything in a backward series, until they reached Kamalia. When this history was ended, the master of the town gave them a small present, and all the people of the coffle, both free and enslaved, were invited by some person or other, and accommodated with lodging and provisions for the night. . . .

As soon as we had crossed the river [Wonda] Karfa gave orders, that all the people of the coffle should in future keep close together, and travel in their proper station; the guides and young men were accordingly placed in the van, the women and slaves in the centre, and the free men in the rear. In this order we travelled with uncommon expedition (pp. 237-239). . . .

In the afternoon [Apr. 28] we passed several villages, at none of which could we procure a lodging; and in the twilight we received information, that two hundred Jallonkas had assembled near a town called Melo, with a view to plunder the coffle. This induced us to alter our course, and we travelled with great secrecy until midnight, when we approached a town called Koba. Before we entered the town, the names of all the people belonging to the coffle were called over, and a free man and three slaves were found to be missing. Every person immediately concluded that the slaves had murdered the free man, and made their escape. It was therefore agreed, that six people should go back as far as the last village, and endeavour to find his body, or collect some information concerning the slaves. In the mean time the coffle was ordered to lie concealed in a cotton field, near a large nitta tree, and nobody to speak, except in a

whisper. It was towards morning before the six men returned, having heard nothing of the man or the slaves. As none of us had tasted victuals for the last twenty-four hours, it was agreed that we should go into Koba, and endeavour to procure some provisions. We accordingly entered the town before it was quite day, and Karfa purchased from the chief man, for three strings of beads, a considerable quantity of ground nuts, which we roasted and eat for breakfast; we were afterwards provided with huts, and rested here for the day.

About eleven o'clock, to our great joy and surprise, the free man and slaves who had departed from the coffle the preceding night, entered the town. One of the slaves, it seems, had hurt his foot, and the night being very dark, they soon lost sight of the coffle. The free man, as soon as he found himself alone with the slaves, was aware of his own danger, and insisted on putting them in irons. The slaves were at first rather unwilling to submit, but when he threatened to stab them one by one with his spear, they made no further resistance, and he remained with them among the bushes until morning, when he let them out of irons, and came to the town in hopes of hearing which route the coffle had taken. The information that we received concerning the Jallonkas, who intended to rob the coffle, was this day confirmed, and we were forced to remain here until the afternoon of the 30th, when Karfa hired a number of people to protect us, and we proceeded to a village called Tinkingtang. Departing from this village on the day following, we crossed a high ridge of mountains to the west of the Black river, and travelled over a rough stony country until sunset, when we arrived at Lingicotta, a small village in the district of Woradoo. Here we shook out the last handful of meal from our dry provision bags, this being the second day since we crossed the Black river, that we had travelled from morning until night, without tasting one morsel of food (pp. 245-246). . . .

May 13th. In the morning, as we were preparing to depart, a coffle of slaves belonging to some Serawoolli traders, crossed the river, and agreed to proceed with us to Baniserile, the capital of Dentila; a very long day's journey from this place. We accordingly set out together, and travelled with great expedition through the woods until noon, when one of the Serawoolli slaves dropt a load from his head, for which he was smartly whipped. The load was replaced; but he had not proceeded above a mile before he let it fall a second time, for which he received the same punishment. After this he travelled in great pain until about two o'clock, when we stopt to breathe a little by a pool of water, the day being remarkably

hot. The poor slave was now so completely exhausted, that his master was obliged to release him from the rope, for he lay motionless on the ground. A Serawoolli therefore undertook to remain with him, and endeavour to bring him to the town during the cool of the night; in the meanwhile we continued our route, and after a very hard day's travel, arrived at Baniserile late in the evening. . . .

About eight o'clock the same evening, the Serawoolli, who had been left in the woods to take care of the fatigued slave, returned and told us that he was dead; the general opinion, however, was, that he himself had killed him, or left him to perish on the road; for the Serawoollis are said to be infinitely more cruel in their treatment of slaves than the Mandingoes. We remained at Baniserile two days, in order to purchase native iron, shea-butter, and some other articles for sale on the Gambia; and here, the Slatee who had invited me to his house, and who possessed three slaves, part of the coffle, having obtained information that the price on the coast was very low, determined to separate from us and remain with his slaves where he was, until an opportunity should offer of disposing of them to advantage (pp. 250-251). . . .

Departing from Kirwani, on the morning of the 20th we entered the Tenda Wilderness of two days' journey. The woods were very thick, and the country shelved towards the south-west. About ten o'clock we met a coffle of twenty-six people, and seven loaded asses, returning from Gambia. Most of the men were armed with muskets, and had broad belts of scarlet cloth over their shoulders, and European hats upon their heads. They informed us that there was very little demand for slaves on the coast, as no vessel had arrived for some months past. On hearing this, the Serawoollies who had travelled with us from Faleme river, separated themselves and their slaves from the coffle. They had not, they said, the means of maintaining their slaves in Gambia until a vessel should arrive, and were unwilling to sell them to disadvantage; they therefore departed to the northward for Kajaaga. We continued our route through the Wilderness, and travelled all day through a rugged country, covered with extensive thickets of bamboo (pp. 252-253). . . .

Here [Koba Tenda] one of the slaves belonging to the coffle, who had travelled with great difficulty for the last three days, was found unable to proceed any farther; his master, a singing man, proposed therefore to exchange him for a young slave girl, belonging to one of the towns-people. The poor girl was ignorant of her fate until the bundles were all tied up in the morning, and the coffle ready to depart, when, coming with some other young women to see the coffle set out,

her master took her by the hand and delivered her to the singing man. Never was a face of serenity more suddenly changed into one of the deepest distress; the terror she manifested on having the load put upon her head, and the rope fastened round her neck, and the sorrow with which she bade adieu to her companions, were truly affecting (p. 255). . . .

Being now [June 2, 1797] arrived within a short distance of Pisania, from whence my journey originally commenced, and learning that my friend Karfa was not likely to meet with an immediate opportunity of selling his slaves on the Gambia, it occurred to me to suggest to him, that he would find it for his interest to leave them at Jindey until a market should offer. Karfa agreed with me in this opinion, and hired, from the chief man of the town, huts for their accommodation, and a piece of land on which to employ them, in raising corn and other provisions for their maintenance. With regard to himself, he declared that he would not quit me until my departure from Africa. We set out accordingly, Karfa, myself, and one of the Foulahs belonging to the coffle, early on the morning of the 9th; but although I was now approaching the end of my tedious and toilsome journey, and expected in another day to meet with countrymen and friends, I could not part for the last time with my unfortunate fellow-travellers, doomed as I knew most of them to be to a life of captivity and slavery in a foreign land, without great emotion. During a wearisome peregrination of more than five hundred British miles, exposed to the burning rays of a tropical sun, these poor slaves, amidst their own infinitely greater sufferings would commiserate mine, and frequently, of their own accord, bring water to quench my thirst, and at night collect branches and leaves to prepare me a bed in the Wilderness. We parted with reciprocal expressions of regret and benediction. My good wishes and prayers were all I could bestow upon them, and it afforded me some consolation to be told, that they were sensible I had no more to give (pp. 256-257). . . .[5]

On the 15th [June], the ship *Charles-town,* an American vessel, commanded by Mr Charles Harris, entered the river. She came for slaves, intending to touch at Goree to fill up, and to proceed from thence to South-Carolina. As the European merchants on the Gambia had at this time a great many slaves on hand, they agreed with the captain to purchase the whole of his cargo, consisting chiefly of rum and tobacco, and deliver him slaves to the amount in the course of two days. This afforded me such an opportunity of re-

[5] Park had agreed to pay Karfa the value of one prime slave for his food and conduct to the Gambia. This he doubled however, and also added a gift for the schoolmaster.

turning, as I thought was not to be neglected. I therefore immediately engaged my passage in this vessel for America, and having taken leave of Dr. Laidley, to whose kindness I was so largely indebted, and my other friends on the river, I embarked at Kaye on the 17th day of June.

Our passage down the river was tedious and fatiguing, and the weather was so hot, moist, and unhealthy, that before our arrival at Goree, four of the seamen, the surgeon, and three of the slaves, had died of fevers. At Goree we were detained, for want of provisions, until the beginning of October.

The number of slaves received on board this vessel, both on the Gambia, and at Goree, was one hundred and thirty, of whom about twenty-five had been, I suppose, of free condition in Africa, as most of those, being Bushreens, could write a little Arabic. Nine of them had become captives in the religious war between Abdulkader and Damel, mentioned in the latter part of the preceding chapter. Two of the others had seen me as I passed through Bondou, and many of them had heard of me in the interior countries. My conversation with them, in their native language, gave them great comfort, and as the surgeon was dead, I consented to act in a medical capacity in his room for the remainder of the voyage. They had in truth need of every consolation in my power to bestow; not that I observed any wanton acts of cruelty practised either by the master, or the seamen, towards them; but the mode of confining and securing Negroes in the American slave ships, owing chiefly to the weakness of their crews,[6] being abundantly more rigid and severe than in British vessels employed in the same traffic, made these poor creatures to suffer greatly, and a general sickness prevailed amongst them. Besides the three who died on the Gambia, and six or eight while we remained at Goree, eleven perished at sea, and many of the survivors were reduced to a very weak and emaciated condition.

In the midst of these distresses, the vessel, after having been three weeks at sea, became so extremely leaky, as to require constant exertion at the pumps. It was found necessary, therefore, to take some of the ablest of the Negro men out of irons, and employ them at this labour, in which they were often worked beyond their strength. This produced a complication of miseries not easily to be described. We were, however, relieved much sooner than I expected, for the leak continuing to gain upon us, notwithstanding our utmost exertions to clear the vessel, the seamen insisted on bearing away for the West Indies, as affording the only chance of saving our lives. Accordingly,

[6] The American vessels in the trade frequently carried not more than a third as many men as made up a British crew.

after some objections on the part of the master, we directed our course for Antigua, and fortunately made that island in about thirty-five days after our departure from Goree. Yet even at this juncture we narrowly escaped destruction, for on approaching the north-west side of the island, we struck on Diamond Rock, and got into St. John's harbour with great difficulty. The vessel was afterwards condemned as unfit for sea, and the slaves, as I have heard, were ordered to be sold for the benefit of the owners (pp. 260-261). . . .[7]

293. Liverpool Vessels for Africa, 1798.[1]

List of Guineamen belonging to the Port of Liverpool which sailed for Africa, from the 5th of January, 1798, to the 5th of January, 1799, with owners' and commanders' names, and the complement of slaves allowed to each:

Ship	Captain	Destination	Owner	No. of Slaves	Sailed
Fair Penitent	John Gardner	Win'd Coast	S. McDowall and Co.	261	Jan. 8
Union	Robert Dowie	Gabon	J. Rackham and Co.	162	
Mercury	John Mill	Win'd Coast	Wm. Begg and Co.	370	9
Pilgrim	Robert Pince	Do.	R. Leigh and Co.	425	18
Mary	P. Henshall	Angola	J. Rackham and Co.	285	Feb. 2
Favourite	H. Bennet	Bonny	Neilson and Heathcote	666	
Kitty	George Walker	Old Calebar	J. and H. Clarke and Co.	505	
Lord Stanley	W. Murdock	Do.	Do.	394	
James	John Miller	New Calebar	W. Dickson and Sons	337	
Thomas	G. Farquhar	Angola	Neilson and Heathcote	442	
Penelope	Luke Mann	Bonny	W. Thompson and Co.	389	
Prince	John Kendall	Angola	J. Smith and Co.	435	
Parr	D. Christian	Bonny	Thos. Parr and Co.	700	5
Fame	Thomas Brade	New Calebar	A. Joseph and Mozely	250	18
Abigail	W. Williams	Angola	J. Tarleton, junr.	302	
Amelia Eleanor	Edward Duncan	Angola	W. Brettargh and Co.	440	Feb. 18
Triton	John Corran	Do.	W. Corran and Co.	448	28
Anne	John Muir	Cameroons	W. Begg and Co.	300	
John	N. Ireland	Do.	Tarleton and Backhouse	265	Mar. 1
Britannia	John Walker	Angola	Do.	238	
Unity	E. Lovelace	Do.	Jos. Greaves and Co.	100	11
Cecilia	James Blake	Do.	W. Thompson and Co.	285	12
Crescent	Thomas Huson	Do.	Do.	389	
King George	S. Hensley	Do.	J. Bolton and Co.	550	20
Betsy	Edward Mossen	Do.	John Bolton	317	
Lune	James Taylor	Do.	Geo. Case and Co.	317	25
Sally and Rebecca	Thomas Harold	Gold Coast	W. Begg and Co.	360	
George	Alex. Hackney	Lagos	F. Ingram and Co.	275	
Resource	Edward Clarke	Angola	Tarleton and Rigg	370	Apr. 2
Joshua	Edward Mentor	New Calebar	S. Lythgoe and Co.	243	
Telegraph	J. Maginnis	Angola	T. and Wm. Earle	140	Apr. 10
Enterprize	John Heron	Do.	J. Leyland and Co.	363	
Adriana	William Hewett	Do.	T. and Wm. Earle	424	
Louisa	William Brown	Do.	T. Leyland and Co.	465	
Fanny	John Adams	Gold Coast	Neilson, Heathcote and Co.	441	12
Margaret	E. Richardson	Angola	Jas. Penny and Co.	225	22
Indian	R. Pearson	Do.	John Shaw and Co.	344	

[7] Park obtained passage from the Leeward Islands Nov. 24, and reached England Dec. 22, after an absence of two years and seven months.

[293] [1] Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* App. XIII., pp. 681-685.

[*List of Guineamen*—continued:]

Ship	Captain	Destination	Owner	No. of Slaves	Sailed
Betsy	D. Hayward	Win'd Coast	R. Leigh and Co.	317	Apr. 22
Elliot	J. Parkinson	Angola	J. and H. Clarke and Co.	505	May 2
Augustus	John Smith	Bonny	Titherington and Co.	363	
Friendly Cedar	Wm. Williams	Do.	Do.	245	
Swallow	Robert White	Angola	R. Abram and Co.	341	4
Edward	James Davies	New Calebar	Taylor, Clare and Co.	270	5
Rosamond	John Foulkes	Angola	Jas. Penny and Co.	323	14
Plumper	J. Corbett	Do.	C. Angus and Co.	143	
Maria	Robert Martin	Win'd Coast	M. Cullen and Co.	230	21
Africa	J. M. Smerdon	Angola	S. McDowall and Co.	146	
Don	H. Hamilton	Do.	Robert Johnson	118	
Mersey	Thos. Molyneux	Do.	Do.	346	
Henry	Matth. Cusack	Gabon	S. McDowall and Co.	165	
Molly	John Tobin	Angola	Geo. Case and Co.	436	27
Adventure	O. Pritchard	Do.	R. Buddicomb and Co.	280	
Sundett	W. Maxwell	Do.	W. Harper and Co.	312	
Diana	J. Ainsworth	Bonny	Moses Benson and Co.	409	
Britannia	Jos. Carshore	Old Calebar	T. and E. L. Hodgson and Co.	340	31
Mary	Thomas Flint	New Calabar	Hardman and Wright	280	
Diana	Robert Hume	Angola	J. and J. Parr and Co.	387	June 8
Annan	Andr. Davidson	Do.	Neilson, Heathcote and Co.	250	
Martha	Thomas Taylor	Angola	R. Fisher and Co.	384	June 8
Iris	John Spencer	Do.	Do.	420	
Polly	J. Ainsworth	Do.	C. Fairclough	296	
Erl of L'pool	Geo. Bernard	Bonny	T. Leyland and Co.	353	10
Amacree	R. Kendall	Do.	W. Harper and Co.	363	
Lottery	John Whittle	Do.	Thos. Leyland	462	
Fly	John Jones	Angola	John Shaw and Co.	615	25
Kingsmill	Thos. Mullion	Bonny	Mullion, Lenox and Co.	650	July 4
Friendship	Miles Booth	Angola	C. Angus and Co.	120	
Agreeable	James Seddon	Bonny	T. Hinde and Co.	300	
Nancy	Thomas Kerkley	Angola	Do.	500	
Arth'r Howe	Henry Booth	Do.	Geo. Case and Co.	314	
Bonwick	Benj. Cuite	Bonny	Flesher, Kelshaw and Co.	330	
Eagle	Michael Mills	Angola	Tarleton and Backhouse	300	July 5
Aurora	James Bowie	Do.	T. Parr and Co.	287	
James	W. Engledeu	New Calebar	W. Dickson and Sons	327	20
Maria	Thos. Phillips	Angola	P. Fairweather and Co.	120	24
Lightning	W. Quarrier	Do.	Tarleton and Rigg	390	
Jane and Sarah	B. Armstrong	Gold Coast	J. and E. L. Hodgson	287	
Annabelle	Thomas Cubben	Gold Coast	J. and E. L. Hodgson	350	July 24
Tarleton	R. Shimmins	Bonny	Tarleton and Rigg	394	30
Christopher	J. Watson	Gold Coast	J. Bolton and Co.	390	
Nelly Anne	John Young	Gabon	W. Lenox and Co.	400	
Will	Hugh Crow	Angola	J. and J. Aspinall and Co.	420	
Ariel	John Guin	Do.	Jonathan Ratcliffe	153	Aug. 7
Windsor Castle	Thomas Jones	Old Calebar	Geo. Case and Co.	450	10
Enterprize	John Bovin	Angola	Do.	355	15
Active	D. Hayward	Old Calebar	Do.	434	
Catherine	W. Kewley	Bonny	France, Pool, and Co.	339	
Bridget	Jos. Threllfall	Do.	Tarleton and Rigg	360	20
Fisher	Thos. Payne	New Calebar	J. Ward and Co.	339	22
Catherine	John Morrison	Bonny	J. Tarleton, junr.	277	
J'hn and S'rah	Thomas Brade	New Calebar	A. Joseph, Mozley and Co.	305	Sep. 7
London	Thomas Briscoe	Bonny	Do.	398	8
Charlotte	William Crow	Do.	Bailey, Taylor and Co.	344	

[*List of Guineamen*—continued:]

Ship	Captain	Destination	Owner	No. of Slaves	Sailed
Dart	William Neale	Angola	John Bolton	384	8
Kitty	James Backhope	Bonny	John Smith and Co.	444	
Forbes	John Pince	Do.	Bailey, Taylor and Co.	368	
Sarah	Thomas Rives	Do.	W. Dickson and Sons	520	
Budd	Robert Tyror	Do.	J. Tarleton, junr.	281	
Hamilton	Rd. Durack	Win'd Coast	Robert Johnson	195	
Hannah	James Good	Angola	R. Abram and Co.	325	
Grace	D. McElkeran	Gold Coast	W. Begg and Co.	215	Sep. 9
Mary	Andr. Erskine	Angola	B. Thomas and Co.	293	14
Bess	Caesar Lawson	Win'd Coast	Henderson, Sellar and Co.	208	
Eolus	John L. Neale	Bonny	Staniforth, Sons and Co.	355	20
Betsy and Susan	John Curry	Whydah	P. W. Brancker and Co.	296	
Mona	P. Mawdsley	Angola	J. Penny and Co.	293	Oct. 1
Fanny	James Irvin	Do.	John Shaw	380	4
Princess Augusta	Thomas Oliver	Do.	Jas. Penny and Co.	365	
King Pepple	James Phillips	Bonny	Neilson and Heathcote	476	Oct. 5
Ann	Thomas Lee	Do.	Timperon, Litt and Co.	358	6
Friendship	Robt. Catterall	Angola	Bell, Gibb and Blake	337	21
George	Richard Kellsall	Gold Coast	Jos. Ward and Co.	271	
Alexander	Wm. Cockrall	Angola	T. Sherington and Co.	517	23
Goodrich	H. Kennedy	Do.	J. and H. Clarke and Co.	210	29
Herriot	William Lace	Do.	Do.	313	
Trelawney[2]	James Lake	Do.	T. Parr and Co.	467	
Neptune	James Williams	Old Calebar	Do.	350	
Otter	Alex. Grierson	Angola	W. Molyneux	417	
Beaver	William Murray	Do.	Do.	396	
Blanch	Rd. Andows	Benin	J. Gibbons and Co.	230	Oct. 29
Gascoyne	Jenkin Evans	Angola	Thomas Parr	444	
Perseverance	John Lawson	Benin	J. Gibbons and Co.	526	
Hannah	Andrew Arnold	Angola	Thomas Clare	523	
Bolton	J. Boardman	Bonny	John Bolton	432	Nov. 12
Elizabeth	E. Neale	Do.	Do.	461	
Jack Park	John Little	Do.	J. and J. Aspinall and Co.	416	13
Mary	James Herd	Do.	W. Forbes and Co.	419	20
May	P. Callum	Do.	Do.	364	
Blanchard	Geo. Cormack	Do.	W. Thompson and Co.	419	
Sarah	R. Jones	Win'd Coast	T. and E. L. Hodgson	459	
Princess Amelia	J. Levingston	Bonny	J. Deare and Co.	464	21
Bird	J. Flint	Do.	Bailey, Taylor and Co.	368	
Tonyn	James Towers	Angola	Do.	326	
Harlequin	J. Topping	Do.	T. and W. Earle	275	22
Mary Ann	R. Taylor	New Calebar	Neilson, Heathcote and Co.	329	23
Expedition	W. Murdoch	Do.	J. and H. Clarke and Co.	354	Dec. 6
Hector	W. Stringer	Bonny	Thomas Clare	591	9
Fanny	Thos. Croaker	Gold Coast	Tarleton and Backhouse	300	11
Favourite	N. Evans	Angola	Jas. Penny and Co.	275	13
Penny	H. Kesack	Angola	Jas. Penny and Co.	360	Dec. 13
L'd Duncan	John Hudson	Benin	S. McDowall and Co.	242	
Cecilia	John Roach	Angola	Thompson and Co.	285	19
Mary	John Askeu	New Calebar	Pole and Gardner	200	21
Hind	Thomas Nuttal	Angola	Mullion, Lenox and Co.	355	
Adventure	Thomas Warren	Do.	Hardman, Wright and Co.	307	
Mercury	John Mills	Win'd Coast	W. Begg and Co.	376	24
Sarah	John Nerl	Angola	J. Ward and Co.	316	31
Ellis	James Soutar	Win'd Coast	T. and E. L. Hodgson	437	Jan. 2
L'pool Hero	Alex. Hackney	Gold Coast	F. Ingram and Co.	370	4
King George	Jas. Meckleghon	Do.	Do.	360	5

[2] This is probably the vessel on board of which an insurrection took place Aug. 2, 1799. See H. T. Catterall, *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro*, I. 25.

[*List of Guineamen*—continued:]

Place of Trade	No. of Ships	No. of Slaves
Angola	69	23,303
Bonny	34	14,078
Gold Coast	11	3,587
Windward Coast	10	3,278
New Calebar	10	2,977
Old Calebar	6	2,473
Benin	3	998
Gabon	3	727
Cameroons	2	565
Whydah	1	296
Lagos	1	275
Total	150	52,557 [3]

[3] The complement of seamen required by law for this number of slaves was 5255.

294. Liverpool Vessels for Africa, 1799.[1]

Ship	Captain	Destination	Owner	No. of Tons	No. of Slaves	Sailed
Eliza	George Dodson	Angola	Thomas Clare and Co.	252	366	Jan.
Chance	James Burr	"	John Shaw and Co.	280	414	" 27
Lord Stanley	William Murdock	"	J. and H. Clarke and Co.	259	393	Feb. 5
Penelope	William Farquhar	"	Thompson and Clough	255	389	
Kitty	Richard Rogers	"	John Gibbons and Co.	168	280	Lost
Dartmouth	Charles Hardin	Windward Coast	Thomas Barlow and Co.	80	Wood, etc.	Mar. 4
Brooks	M. Joynson	Bonny	Neilson and Heathcote	319	453	Driven on shore.
Ann Philippa	Andrew McCormick	Angola	" "	148	247	Feb. 20
Lord Duncan	William Kinley	"	Jonas Bold and Co.	101	168	Mar. 7
Lord Nelson	H. Stephens	"	"	237	371	"
William	Richard Hart	"	Thomas Marshall and Co.	451	585	Feb. 20
Benjamin	John Harris	Windward Coast	Henderson and Seller	130	Wood	Mar. 4
Elizabeth	Thomas Knowles	Angola	Thomas Barton and Co.	231	365	" "
Mary	P. Hinshall	"	Robert Ward and Co.	171	285	" "
Amazon	William Graham	Old Calabar	Michael Callin and Co.	446	580	" 10
Anna Bella	Will Gardner	"	"	54	Tender	" "
Shortland	John Hurd	Angola	Robert Johnson	181	302	" 17
Henry	James Frodsham	"	William Forbes and Co.	140	233	May 5
Gudgion	Edward Muster	Cape Mount	John Bolton	240	374	Mar. 17
Friendly Ceder	John Gun	Angola	Telhirington and Smith	147	245	Mar. 30
Nimble	James Blake	"	Bell, Gibb, and Blake	231	365	Apr. 4
Favourite	Richard Bennett	"	Ne[i]lson and Heathcote	531	665	Mar. 10
Margaret	E. Richardson	"	James Penney and Company	135	225	Apr. 6
John	James Hinsley	"	John Bolton	268	402	" "
King George	Ralph Shimmions	"	"	416	550	" 5
Unicorn	Richard Jones	Wind Coast	T. and W. Earle and Co.	163	271	" 4
Goodrich	Josep Purs	Gambia	William Brockbank	91	151	" 6
Julia	Rubin Wright	Bonny	Bailey, Taylor, and Co.	306	436	" 7
Swift	Will Williams	Congou	John Tarleton, junr.	263	397	" 19
Abigail	John Bradley	"	" "	180	300	" "
John	Will Boyle	Gold Coast	Thomas Hurds and Co.	292	426	" 27
Enterprize	Ladrick Carlile	"	John Shaw	222	386	" "
Despatch	John Quay	"		109	181	" "
Kitty	Robert Pence	Bonney	J. and H. Clarke and Co.	366	500	May 5

Thomas	John Clare	"	Richard Ward and Co.	322	436	May 17
Rebbecca	John Lenghton	Annamaboe	Samuel McDowall and Co.	140	233	" 12
Backhouse	John Harvey	"	Tarleton and Backhouse	168	280	" 5
Susannah	Thomas Houghton	Bassa	John Ward and Co.	172	286	" 20
Carolina	Will Turdlay	Bonny	J. and H. Clarke and Co.	290	426	" 14
Enterprize	John Heron	Angola	Thomas Leyland and Co.	229	363	" 13
Defence	Moses Joynson	Bonny	Nelson and Heathcote	297	401	" 11
Martha	Thomas Taylor	New Calabar	Ralph Fisher and Company	250	384	" 29
Edward	David Dignan	"	Clare and Company	153	255	" 29
Crescent	John Tucker	Angola	W. Thompson and Co.	255	389	" 17
Tuton	James Bannon	"	R. Leigh and Co.	340	474	" 28
St. Geo's Packet	Henry Tynan	"	J. Gibbons and Co.	72	120	" "
Union	Thomas Oiles	Camaroons	Backhouse and Chalmers	97	161	June 2
Prince John	James Hasler	Bassa	John and James Parr and Co.	123	205	May 28
Diana	John Sellars	"	" "	252	386	" "
Britannia	James Owell	Wind Coast	T. and E. L. Hod[g]son and Co.	209	343	June 2
Amphitute [*trite?*]	James Cosmacher	Bonny	R. Johnson and Co.	236	470	" 16
Nanny	John Hod[g]son	"	J. and J. Aspinall and Co.	311	445	" 2
Earl of Liverpool	Charles Watt	Angola	Thomas Leyland and Co.	219	353	" 2
Holly	Tomas Tobin	Bonny	George Case and Co.	302	436	" "
Rodney	Robert Dowie	Gaboon	Begg, Shand, and Co.	144	240	" "
Good Hope	Bryna McDonna	Old Calabar	Michael Cullin and Co.	157	261	" "
Neptune	Robert Fisher	Gaboon	Ebent Slippery and Co.	239	373	" 9
Dutator	Edward Lovelace	Angola	Samuel Went, junr.	275	409	" 10
Maria	Robert Martin	Windward Coast	M. Cullin and Co.	227	361	" 12
Benwick	T. Welloughby	New Calabar	Flischer and Co.	198	330	" 16
Mentor	Gilbert Curry	Bonny	Abraham Jonph and Co.	517	651	" 24
Diana	John Ainsworth	"	Moses Benson and Co.	275	409	July 17
Mersey	John Alderman	Bonny	Robert Johnson and Co.	212	346	July 17
Louisa	William Brown	"	Thomas Leyland and Co.	331	465	"
Bess	William Jenkins	Windward Coast	Henderson and Sefter [Sellar]	128	213	"
Iris	George Cannon	Angola	Ralph Fisher and Co.	285	419	" 3
F. Chas. Hamilton	Thomas Huson	"	William Thompson and Co.	319	450	June 16
Lottery	Robert Leathom	Bonny	Thomas Leyland and Co.	326	460	July 17
Saiter	John Sowerby	"	Samuel Jonph and Co.	506	640	" 4
Mary	Thomas Cannon	Angola	William Dickson and Co.	300	434	" 22
Augustus	Robert Carran	Bonny	Tilhesington and Co.	229	363	" "
Annan [?]	Mathew Sitson	New Calabar	Nelson and Heathcote	196	327	" 21
Fanny	Andrew Davidson	Angola	" "	318	432	" 29

[*Liverpool Vessels for Africa*—continued:]

Ship	Captain	Destination	Owner	No. of Tons	No. of Slaves	Sailed
Amphitute	George Adams	Gold Coast	William Forbes and Co.	194	323	" 21
Anne	Edward Masson	Causacoo	Begg, Shand and Co.	180	300	" 28
Stag	James Davies	Gold Coast	Thomas Haghan and Co.	170	233	" 22
Will	Hugh Crow	Bonny	Thomas Barton	225	359	" 25
Adnana	William Heartt	"	T. and W. Earle and Co.	289	423	" 28
Harlequin	John Maginnis	"	" "	165	275	" "
Kingsmile	Thomas Mullion	"	Mullion and Lenox	516	65	" 27
Aeasto	Richard Pearson	Angola	John Shaw	267	401	Aug. 1
Good Ontail	Hugh Rowland	"	Monkhouse and Co.	82	136	" 11
Hannah	James Good	"	R. Abram and Co.	195	325	" "
Amacue	William Maxwell	"	William Harper	229	363	" 1
G. Wentworth	Caesar Lawson	Bonny	William Harper and Co.	191	318	July 28
Ocean	Richard Martin	"	" "	207	341	Aug. 2
Huntington	Thomas Phillips	Old Calabar	Amas Dale and Co.	212	246	" 26
Young William	James Curshaw	Bonny	John Tobin and Co.	455	589	July 31
Chatian leayo	John Tiddy	Windward	Angus Dale and Co.	132	220	Aug. 26
Royal Edward	Thomas Bushel	Bonny	T. and E. L. Hodson	367	501	Sept. 4
Anna Bella	Thomas Calbin	Windward	" "	212	346	Aug. 26
Elizabeth	John Main	Old Calabar	Begg, Shaw and Co.	457	591	" "
Duke of Clarence	George Walker	Bonny	J. and H. Clarke and Co.	726	860	Sept. 5
Minirvea	H. W. Peek	New Calabar	Angus Dale and Co.	255	389	Aug. 8
Rosalind	Bery Caite	Bonny	Edward Chambry and Co.	218	352	July 20
Hughes	James Bailiff	Gold Coast	Francis Ingram and Co.	209	343	Aug. 26
Kate	Robert White	Angola	Ralph Abram and Co.	241	275	Aug. 30
Angola	William Williams	"	Thomas Chambey	180	300	" 14
Lucy	David Langhan	New Calabar	Bing, Flesher and Co.	216	350	" 7
Thomas	John Adams	Anamaboe	Nelson and Heathcote	307	441	" 8
Pilgrim	Hugh Cowell	Gold Coast	Roga Leigh	291	425	" 2
Hinde	John Knuber	Anamaboe	Alex Hughes and Co.	264	398	" 11
India	Alexander Nicholson	Angola	John Shaw and Co.	210	344	" 26
Hamilton	Robert Barrett	Cha[Cape] Mount	Rt. Johnson	117	195	Sept. 4
Sundet	John Walker	Angola	Will. Harper and Co.	199	331	Aug. 2
Endeavour	James Dickson	Gold Coast	Roga Leigh	Tinder		
Resource	Edward Clarke	Angola	Tarleton and Regg	236	370	Aug. 11
Rosamond	John Foulks	"	Jas. Perney [Penny] and Co.	194	323	" 23
George	Richard Kilsall	Cape Mount	Jos. Ward and Co.	163	272	" 14

King Pipple	James Phillips	Bonny	Nelson and Heathcote	342	476	Sept. 4
Active	Daniel Hayward	Old Calabar	Geo. Case and Co.	300	434	Aug. 8
Young William	Alexander Steel	"	Begg, Shand and Co.	98	163	" 26
Lord Thurlow	John Jones	New Calabar	J. and H. Clarke and Co.	222	356	returned
London	William Lightfoot	Bonny	A. Joseph and Moyley and Co.	264	398	Aug. 8
John Ball	John Parkinson	"	Bailey, Taylor and Co.	480	614	Sept. 5
Forbes	Cunliffe P. Raine	"	" "	234	368	" "
Charlotte	William Crow	"	Bailey, Thomas and Co.	210	344	Sept. 5
Pilgrim	John White	Whydah	Rd. Woodward	280	420	Aug. 2
Jane	Owen Pritchard	Windward	Rd. Buddieom [Buddicom]	55	91	" 27
Emerald	John Eccles		Jas. Murphy and Co.	281	Wood, etc.	
Astree	Nathanial Ireland	Casnasonis	Mich. Cullin and Co.	244	250	Oct. 11
Sarah	John Bulsford	Bonny	Jas. and Will. Dickson and Co.	386	470	" "
Ellis	James Souter	Windward	T. and E. Hodson	303	273	Feb. 15
Alexander	Joshua Sulfell	Bonny	Suhirengton and Co.	327	323	Oct. 29
Aspinall	Henry Slensudy	"	J. and H. Clarke	187	207	Nov. 17
Ocean	George Jonlack	Gold Coast	Begg, Shand and Co.	35	Tinder	Oct. 26
Harriette	C. McCassock	Sura [Sierra] Lion	Sam. J. McDonald	188	Wood, etc.	Nov. 28
James	William M. Boulde	Bonny	Jas. and Will. Dickson and Co.	181	199	Dec. 7
Vanguard	John Whittle	Bonny	Jas. and Will. Dickson and Co.	353	299	" 7
Princess Amelia	M. Livingston	"	Jas. Dean and Co.	330	297	" 26
Young Ralph	T. L. Royle	Bunby	R. Fisher and Co.	145	176	" "
Two Sisters	John Sinclair	Windward	Begg, Shand and Co.	133	167	" "
Union	Thomas Millett	Anamaboe	T. and E. L. Hodson	447	388	" "
Baron Monla Cambert	William Thomas	Windward	" "	331	319	" "
La Fralesnite	Thomas Rockcliff	New Calabar	Mullion Rowlinson	162	192	" "
Dartmouth	Charles Harden	Windward	M. Fleginson and Co.	80	wood, etc.	" "

[294] [1] *Liverpool and Slavery*, pp. 120-129.

295. Bill of Lading of the *Byam,* 1803.[1]

Shipped by the grace of God in good order and well-conditioned, by Irving and Fraser, in and upon the good snow called the *Byam,* whereof is master under God for this present voyage George Martin, and now riding at anchor in the Rispongo [Rio Pongo], and by God's grace bound for the West Indies; to say two hundred and eight slaves, being marked and numbered as in the margin; and are to be delivered in the like good order and well conditioned at the aforesaid port of West Indies, the danger of the sea, mortality and insurrection only excepted; unto order or their assigns. Freight for the slaves paid, vessel belonging to the owners, with primage and average accustomed. In witness whereof the master and purser of the said ship hath affirmed to three bills of lading, all of this tenor and date; one of which bills being accomplished, the other two to stand void; and so God send the good ship to her desired port in safety.

Amen. Dated in Kissing, 14th May, 1803.

Geo. Martin.

Men	97
Women	39
Boys	44
Girls	25
	205
Died	3
Shipped	208[2]

296. Thomas Leyland and Company to Captain Caesar Lawson.[1]

Liverpool, 18 July 1803.

Cap. Caesar Lawson,

Sir, Our ship *Enterprize,* to the command of which you are appointed, being now ready for sea, you are immediately to proceed in

[295] [1] J. A. Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool* (1875), I. 194-195, from the Binns Collection, Liverpool Reference Library.

[2] This memorandum stands in the margin.

[296] [1] Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* pp. 601-603. The account book from which Williams took this letter of instructions begins with the following items concerning the *Enterprize:*

"Ship *Enterprize,* 1st Voyage. Sailed from Liverpool, 20 July, 1803.

August 26th detained the Spanish Brig *St. Augustin,* Capt. Josef Anto. de Ytuno, in Lat. 22, 47 North, Long. 26, 14 West; bound from Malaga to Vera Cruz, which vessel arrived at Hoylake on the 25th October.

September 10th Recaptured the *John* of Liverpool in Lat. 4, 20 North, Long. 11, 10 West with 261 Slaves on board, and on the 2nd November she arrived at Dominica.

September 23rd the *Enterprise* arrived at Bonny, and sailed from thence on the

December 6th the *St. Augustin* sailed from Liverpool.

9th January 1804 the *Enterprise* arrived at the Havanna and sold there 392 Negroes.

her, and make the best of your way to Bonny on the Coast of Africa. You will receive herewith an invoice of the Cargo on board her which you are to Barter at Bonny for prime Negroes,[2] Ivory, and Palm Oil. By Law this vessel is allowed to carry 400 Negroes, and we request that they may all be males, if possible to get them, at any rate buy as few females as in your power, because we look to a Spanish market for the disposal of your cargo, where Females are a very tedious sale. In the choice of the Negroes be very particular, select those that are well formed and strong; and do not buy any above 24 years of Age, as it may happen that you will have to go to Jamaica, where you know any exceeding that age would be liable to a Duty of £10 per head. While the slaves are on board the Ship allow them every indulgence Consistent with your own Safety, and do not suffer any of your officers or Crew to abuse or insult them in any respect. Perhaps you may be able to procure some Palm Oil on reasonable terms, which is likely to bear a great price here, we therefore wish you to purchase as much as you can with any spare cargo you may have. We have taken out Letters of Marque against the French and Batavian Republic, and if you are so fortunate as to fall in with and capture any of their vessels Send the Same direct to this Port, under the care of an active Prize Master, and a sufficient number of men out of your ship; and also put a Copy of the Commission on board her, but do not molest any neutral ship, as it would involve us in expensive Lawsuit and subject us to heavy Damages. A considerable part of our property under your care will not be insured, and we earnestly desire you will keep a particular look out to avoid the Enemy's Cruisers, which are numerous and you may hourly expect to be attacked by some of them. We request you will Keep strict and regular discipline on board the ship; do not suffer Drunkenness among any of your Officers or Crew, for it is sure to be attended with some misfortune, such as Insurrection, Mutiny and Fire. Allow to the ship's Company their regular portion of Provisions etc. and take every care of such as may get sick. You must keep the ship very clean and see that no part of her Stores

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On the 28 March she sailed from the Havannah and arrived at Liverpool 26 April 1805."

For cost of outfit, cargo, and profits of this voyage see *ante,* no. 290. The cargo, 194 men, 32 "men-boys", 66 boys, 42 women, 36 "women-girls", and 42 girls, all Eboes, was delivered to Messrs. Joaquin Perez de Urria at Havana, in January, 1804. Nineteen slaves died; one sick girl could not be sold. Williams, p. 604.

[2] The price of a negro man at Bonny in 1801 was: 1 piece of chintz (18 yds.), 1 piece of baft (18 yds.), 1 piece of chelloe (18 yds.), 1 piece of bandanoe (seven handkerchiefs), 1 piece of niccanee (14 yds.), 1 piece of cushtae [?] (14 yds.), 1 piece of photae (14 yds.), 3 pieces of romalls (45 handkerchiefs), 1 large brass pan, two muskets, 25 kegs of powder, 100 flints, 2 bags of shot, 20 knives, 4 iron pots, 4 hats, 4 caps, 4 cutlasses, 6 bunches of beads, and 14 gals. of brandy, the whole costing about £25. Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* p. 680.

and Materials are embezzled, neglected, or idly wasted. As soon as you have finished your trade and laid in a sufficient quantity of Yams, wood, water, and every other necessary for the Middle Passage, proceed with a press of sail for Barbadoes, and on your arrival there call on Messrs. Barton Higginson and Co. with whom you will find Letters from us by which you are to be govern'd in prosecuting the remainder of the voyage. Do not fail to write to us by every opportunity and always inclose a copy of your preceding Letter.

You are to receive from the House in the West Indies, who may sell your cargo, your Coast Commission of £2 in £102 on the Gross Sales, and when this Sum with your Chief Mates Privilege and your Surgeon's Privilege, Gratuity and head money are deducted, you are then to draw your Commission of £4 in £104 on the remaining amount. Your Chief Mate, Mr. James Cowill, is to receive two Slaves on an average with the Cargo, less the Island and any other duty that may be due or payable thereon at the place where you may sell your Cargo; and your Surgeon, Mr. Gilb't Sinclair, is to receive two Slaves on an average with the Cargo less the Duty beforementioned, and one Shilling S'tg head money on each slave sold. And in consideration of the aforementioned Emoluments, neither you nor your Crew, nor any of them, are directly or indirectly to carry on any private Trade on your or their accounts under a forfeiture to us of the whole of your Commissions arising on this voyage. In case of your Death, your Chief Mate, Mr. Cowill, is to succeed to the Command of the ship, and diligently follow these and all our further orders. Any Prize that you may capture, direct the Prize Master to hoist a white flag at the fore and one at the main top Gallant Mast-heads, on his approach to this Port, which will be answered by a signal at the light House.

We hope you will have a happy and prosperous voyage, and remain

P.S.—Shoud you capture any vessel from the Eastward of Cape of Good Hope, Send her to Falmouth and there wait for our orders. In case of your Capturing a Guineaman with Slaves on board, Send her to the address of Messrs. Bogle, Jopp and Co. of Kingston, Jamaica.

I acknowledge to have received from Messrs. Thomas Leyland and Co. the Orders of which the aforegoing is a true Copy, and I engage to execute them as well as all their further orders, the Dangers of the Seas only excepted, as witness my hand this 18 July 1803.

CAESAR LAWSON.

297. An Act for regulating the Slave Trade.[1]

An Act to prohibit for Two Years after the Conclusion of the Present Session of Parliament, any Ships to clear out from any Port of Great Britain, for the Coast of Africa, for the purpose of taking on board Negroes, unless such Ships shall have been previously employed in the African Trade, or contracted for, for that Purpose.

Whereas it is expedient that Ships, not hitherto employed in carrying Slaves from the Coast of Africa or contracted for to be employed in such Trade, should not be permitted to be cleared out from Great Britain for such Purpose; May it therefore please Your Majesty that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled and by the Authority of the same, That, from and after the First Day of August One thousand eight hundred and six, no Ship or Vessel shall be permitted to clear out from any Port in Great Britain for the Coast of Africa, for the Purpose of shipping or carrying Slaves from the Coast of Africa, unless such Ship or Vessel shall have been, before the said First Day of August, employed in the said Trade by the same Owner or Owners, or shall have been contracted for before the Tenth day of June One thousand eight hundred and six, for the Purpose of being employed in the said Trade; and the proper Officers of Customs clearing out any Ship or Vessel after the said First Day of August from any Port in Great Britain, for the Purpose of shipping and carrying Slaves from Africa, shall certify that such Ship or Vessel had been so employed or contracted for, and such Certificate shall be annexed to the Clearance.

II. And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the Collector or Comptroller of any Port from which any Ship or Vessel shall be about to clear out for such Trade, to require Proof on the Oath of the Master, or some one or more of the Owners of such Ship or Vessel (which Oath such Collector and Comptroller is hereby empowered to administer) that such Ship or Vessel has, before the said Day, been employed in the said trade by the same Owner or Owners, or shall have been contracted for before the Tenth day of June One thousand eight hundred and six.

III. And be it further enacted, That no Ship or Vessel shall be deemed or allowed by any Collector or Comptroller to have been contracted for as aforesaid, unless the Owner or Owners of the said

[297] [1] 46 Geo. III. c. 119. The prospect of the speedy passage of a bill abolishing the slave trade threatened an increase in the traffic during the months which should intervene before its prohibition. To prevent this, Wilberforce, after a conference with Fox, pushed this bill through Parliament in the last weeks of the session of 1806. Coupland, p. 333.

Ship or Vessel shall, on or before the said First Day of August, have made Proof on Oath, to the Satisfaction of Commissioners to be named by the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, and which Commissioners the said Lords Commisioners of His Majesty's Treasury are hereby authorized and required to appoint (and which Oath the said Commissioners are hereby empowered to administer) that such Ship or Vessel was actually and *bona fide* before the said Tenth Day of June contracted for, for the Purpose of carrying Slaves from the Coast of Africa, and unless a Certificate of such Proof having been made under the Hands and Seals of the said Commissioners, shall be produced to the said Collector or Comptroller.

IV. And be it further enacted, That the Owners of every Ship or Vessel not being so cleared out, and having such Certificate of Clearance as aforesaid, in which any Slave shall be shipped or carried from the Coast of Africa, contrary to the Provisions of this Act, shall forfeit for every Slave so carried the Sum of Fifty Pounds, to be recovered as any like Penalty may be recovered under any Acts of Parliament or Laws for the Regulation of the African Slave Trade.

V. And Whereas since the First Day of January One thousand eight hundred and six, some Vessels employed in the said Trade may either have been captured by the Enemy, or condemned as unfit for the Voyage: And Whereas in some Cases Contracts for Vessels in the Place of those so captured or condemned may not have been made before the Tenth Day of June One thousand eight hundred and six: And Whereas Persons engaged in the African Trade, and having Goods remaining on the Coast, or Debts due them from thence, which, up to the present Time, they have considered as good and recoverable, may be unable to recover their said Property, for want of Vessels to transport it: Be it therefore enacted, That it shall be lawful for the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, upon sufficient Proof of the said Premises, made to them on Oath before the First Day of August One thousand eight hundred and six, to grant Licence to such Persons to contract for and employ such Ship or Ships as they shall make appear to be necessary for securing or bringing away the said Debts or Effects, either by the Purchase of Slaves or otherwise, so as that the Ship or Ships so to be contracted for, under such Licence, shall in no Case exceed in Tonnage the Ships captured or condemned, in the Place of which they shall be applied for, and shall be liable to all the Regulations by Law established respecting the carrying of Slaves from Africa.

VI. And be it further enacted, That if any Person, upon any such Examination on Oath, shall wilfully and corruptly give false

Evidence, or shall wilfully and corruptly swear any Matter or Thing which shall be false or untrue, every such Person so offending, and being thereof duly convicted, shall be and is hereby declared to be subject and liable to such Pains and Penalties, as by Law now in being Persons convicted of wilful and corrupt Perjury are subject and liable to.

VII. And be it further enacted, That this Act shall be and continue in force for the Term of Two Years, and no longer, from and after the Conclusion of the present Session of Parliament.

298. The Company of Merchants trading to Africa, 1807.[1]

A List of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa (established by an Act of 23 of George II., Cap. 31, entitled an Act for extending and improving the trade to Africa, 1750, for the port of Liverpool) in 1807.

John Bridge Aspinall,
James Aspinall,
William Aspinall,[2]
David Backhouse,
John Backhouse, Wavertree,
John Barnes, London,[3]
Ralph Benson,
Robert Bent, London,
Patrick Black,
Jonas Bold,
John Bolton,
P. W. Brancker,[4]
Thomas Brancker,
Joseph Brookes,
John Brown,
George Brown, Wales,
James Carruthers,
George Case,
Henry Clarke, Belmont, Cheshire
Thomas Clarke,[5]

[298] [1] *Liverpool and Slavery,* pp. 118-119. "Copied from the printed list belonging to George V. Taunton, Esq. from the papers of the late John Backhouse, Esq., Wavertree, 19th September, 1847. James Horner Hill." It will be remembered that the Company of Merchants trading to Africa existed for nearly fifteen years after the abolition of the slave trade. These men, prominent in this trade as long as it continued, were also the merchants who carried the African investments through the difficult transition period during which other commodities were substituted for slaves.

[2] The Aspinalls were the owners for whom Capt. Hugh Crow sailed. See Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* pp. 637, 649.

[3] John Barnes was a member of a Liverpool committee which in 1792 requested the Duke of Clarence to present an anti-abolition petition to the House of Lords. He was also one of the delegates sent to London to oppose the abolition bill. Picton, *Liverpool: Archives and Records,* p. 217.

[4] Peter Whitfield Brancker, mayor of Liverpool in 1801, also one of the committee to request the offices of the Duke of Clarence in opposing the abolition of the slave trade, was sent to London as a Liverpool delegate to oppose an abolition bill. In 1798 he was presented by the Liverpool council with plate valued at 100 guineas (Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* pp. 613, 614, 617). The gratitude of Liverpool was also expressed to the Duke of Clarence, who had steadfastly opposed all bills for the abolition of the trade. The *Liverpool Guide,* published in 1799, was dedicated "To his royal highness the Duke of Clarence; whose unremitted efforts have been so generously exerted in the preservation of the commercial rights and interests of the British Empire, and in which those of his Majesty's loyal and flourishing town of Liverpool are so much involved, this trifle is humbly inscribed by the author".

[5] Thomas Clarke was the owner of the *Thomas,* the scene of a disastrous insurrection of 375 slaves, in 1797. Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* pp. 592-593; Brooke, *Liverpool during the last Quarter of the Eighteenth Century,* pp. 236-237.

[*List of Company of Merchants*—continued]

Samuel Clough,
Edgar Corrie,[6]
William Crosbie,
James Thompson Cukit,
John Dawson,[7]
Edward Dickson,
James Dickson,
William Dickson,
Thomas Earle,
William Earle,
William Forbes,
James Gregson,[8]
James Gildart,
Thomas Golightly,
John Greenwood,
William Harding,
William Harper,
B. A. Heywood,
Thomas Hinde,
Thomas Hodgson,
John Hodgson,
H. Blundell Hollinshead,
Francis Ingram, Wakefield,[9]
John Chambres Jones, Wales,
Peter Kennion, London,
John Langton, Kirkham,
Robert Leigh,
George Lewis,
William Neilson,
Thomas Parke, Highfield,
Thomas John Parke,
Thomas Parr,[10]
Thomas Parr, Junr.,
James Penny,
Jonathan Ratcliffe,
William Rigg,
John Sanders,
Christopher Shaw,
John Shaw,
Bryan Smith,
George Spencer, London
Samuel Staniforth,
Thomas Tarleton,
John Tarleton,[11]
Thomas Moss Tate,
William Thompson
James Watkinson,
Richard Willis,
William Watson,
Richard Wilding,
William Woodville, Havanna,
Richard Woodward.

[6] Among Lord Hawkesbury's correspondents in 1788 and 1789 was Edgar Corrie, of Liverpool, who wrote a long letter in favor of abolition, in which he named as competent to give information Richard Watt of Liverpool, formerly a Jamaica factor, Richard Wilding of Llanrayder, and Thomas Hodgson, jr., of Liverpool, who had been African agents of Mr. Barber. Add. MSS. 38416, f. 35.

[7] John Dawson was a Liverpool contractor with the Spaniards, to whom reference has already been made (*ante,* no. 274, n. 4). In 1792 and 1793 Dawson's vessels were buying rum in New England for the African coast. In 1794 his brig *Abby* was seized in America for improper registration (*Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, XLIV. 668-683). Capt. Hugh Crow made his first voyage to Africa in one of the vessels belonging to Dawson, who in 1796 stated that he had eighteen vessels in the slave trade (Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* pp. 616, 628). He is probably the Dawson referred to as the owner of a vessel bound to Demarara in 1795. Catterall, *Judicial Cases concerning Slavery,* I. 26.

[8] James Gregson, it will be remembered, was one of the owners of the *Zong*. See *ante,* no. 267.

[9] In July, 1777, a group of Liverpool merchants met to draw up a plan for the better regulation of the African trade. At the meeting were Bold, Carruthers, T. Hodgson, Heywood, Greenwood, and Brown of the men here named. This group created a permanent committee on which William Crosbie (mayor), Joseph Brooks, George Case, James Carruthers, Francis Ingram, Thomas Hodgson, Benjamin Heywood, and William Crosbie, jr., served, all of them members of the Company of Merchants in 1807.

[10] Owner of the *Lovely Lass,* Capt. William Lace, 1797.

[11] Members of the Tarleton family were active in the Liverpool slave trade and in opposition to its abolition throughout the entire period of the contest. Banastre Tarleton, afterwards known as General Tarleton, was a persistent speaker in the debates

299. Petition to the House of Commons, 1807.[1]

A Petition of John Anderson and Alexander Anderson, of Philpot Lane, London, merchants, proprietors of Bance Island, in the river Sierra Leone, on the windward coast of Africa, was also presented to the house, and read; setting forth, "that by an act, made in the 25th year of his late majesty, intituled, an act for the application of a sum of money therein mentioned, granted to his majesty, making compensation and satisfaction to the Royal African Company of England"; "that whereas it appears, that a certain island, situate in the river Sierra Leone, on the said coast of Africa, called Bance Island, with a fort and buildings thereon, having been formerly in the possession of the said Royal African Company, was, in the year 1728, deserted by the said company and their agents; and the said fort has been some time in the possession of Alexander Grant, John Sargent, and Richard Oswald, of London, Merchants, who have disbursed a considerable sum in the preservation and improvements of the said island and fort, for which it is just and reasonable they should have a recompence: Be it therefore enacted, that the said Alexander Grant, John Sargent, and Richard Oswald, shall be at liberty, notwithstanding the present act, to continue in the quiet possession of the said island, fort, and buildings thereon, and that the same shall henceforth continue and be absolutely vested in them, their heirs and assigns"; and that upon the faith and right granted, and the protection afforded to them by the said act, the said Alexander Grant, John Sargent and Richard Oswald, established large factories upon the said island, called Bance Island, with many dependent factories in the neighbourhood, and laid out and invested a very great capital therein; and that the petitioners afterwards purchased the right and interest of the persons entitled to the said island, with the slaves and other property thereon, and are now the sole proprietors thereof; and that in the year 1794, by an invasion of American and French subjects, the property of the petitioners, in the said island alone, to the amount of 20,000 *l.* sterling and upwards, was destroyed, and the petitioners have since replaced, and laid out, the amount of such property so destroyed; and that the petitioners have,

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on the abolition in the House of Commons; Clayton and John were members of the house Tarleton and Company, Liverpool shipowners. Clayton was mayor of Liverpool at the time the council rendered reward for the services of Robert Norris, James Penny, and Samuel Green; John was a Liverpool delegate sent to London, to oppose the abolition movement. Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* pp. 611, 613.

[299] [1] *Parl. Debates,* VIII. 836-838. During the progress through the House of Commons of the bill for the abolition of the slave trade the petition here printed was presented, along with one from Joseph Marryat, agent for Trinidad, and others from Edmund Lyon, agent for Jamaica, the merchants of Glasgow interested in Trinidad, and the planters, merchants, mortgagees, annuitants, and others interested in the British West India colonies. *Ibid.,* pp. 829-835.

at great risque and labour, and at an immense expence, established a great trade at the said island, called Bance Island; and that the Petitioners did so upon the assurance and belief that, by the said act, the property of the said island was as perfectly vested in, and secured to them, as any other species of property which the subject of these realms possess under the sanction and protection of the law; and that the petitioners apprehend the bill now depending in parliament, to put an end to the slave trade, will render their property on Bance Island of no value, and likewise prevent their being able to collect the debts due to them, as the people on the coast of Africa have no other means of making payment but by slaves; and therefore praying, that the said act may not pass into a law, and that they may be heard by counsel, and they hope their prayer will not seem unreasonable, considering they hold the property under an act of parliament, in which is acknowledged the justice of recompence to the proprietors, for the money disbursed in the preservation and improvement of the said island.[2]

300. John Kizell to Governor Thomas Ludlam.[1]

April 6, 1807.

Sir, I before sent you word that I met Tucker,[2] with canoes full of goods, going to Kittam to get slaves. He went, but did not get the slaves so soon as he had agreed. He took goods to the value of ten slaves from Captain Slocum, and to the value of twenty slaves from Belbey (two white slave dealers): they came for the slaves while he was in the Kittam. They sent after him; he would not come

[2] The petitions were placed upon the table until the second reading of the bill, the petitioners to be heard by counsel if they so desired. The representatives of various interests were given a hearing on Feb. 20. *Ibid.,* pp. 838, 940-943.

[300] [1] *Sixth Report of the African Institution,* pp. 148-149. John Kizell was, according to his own story, the son of a chief of a country inland from the Sherbro River. He was captured while visiting an uncle, in a village which was attacked on the night of his arrival. In spite of his father's efforts to redeem him, he was taken to the Gallinas, put on board an English slaver, and carried to Charleston not long before the Revolution. When Clinton captured Charleston Kizell joined the British army, and after the war he was sent to Nova Scotia. About 1792 he returned to Sherbro. From this time until the end of his life he rendered frequent assistance to the British governors of Sierra Leone. In 1810 the governor sent him to deal with chiefs on the Sherbro River. Extracts from his letters are printed in the *Sixth Report of the African Institution,* pp. 113-153. Thomas Ludlam succeeded Zachary Macaulay as governor of Sierra Leone in 1798. He was the last of the governors under the Sierra Leone Company, as well as the first under the crown. Difficulties with slave traders helped to defeat the purposes of the company from its inception and continued to harass the governors after the transfer of the colony to the crown. Reference has already been made to the parliamentary attempt to remove them from this portion of the African coast (p. xl).

[2] In another letter Kizell speaks of the Tuckers as the greatest slave traders on the River Sherbro (*Sixth Report,* p. 116). Several years later he named the white slave dealers of the Sherbro region: Mr. Crundell, Mr. Mason, and two or three more in the Gallinas, William Peel in Bullam, Mr. Goss in the Plantaines, Mr. Gudgeon in the Sherbro, J. N. Dolz ("a Spanish creole from the Havannah") at Sherbro. Apr. 5, 1811. *Sixth Report,* p. 153.

to them: they sent him word if he did not come and pay them they would pay themselves. Now think what he did to get slaves to pay them. He has ten wives; he sent for a greegreeman, who told him his wives were kept by other men. In order to prove the guilt of his wives, he got some oil and put it in a pot, and set it on the fire. He knew the poor women could not put their hands into it without being burnt. He nevertheless called them, and said, They were the cause of his not being able to get slaves. They asked, How? He said they were kept by other men. They said, It was not truth. He answered, "Do you say no? then put your hands in the burning oil: if you are not guilty, it will not burn you: if you are, it will." The women knew, that whether they were guilty or not, it would burn them, and therefore would not put their hands in it. He said, "I see it is true; you all must tell me the men's names." He separated out three, who, he pretended, were not guilty. He then went to the rest, and said, They must inform against someone. They knew he did not want old men, and they, to please him, mentioned the most likely young men they could think of. He then sent word to his younger brother to come to him, as he had now got slaves to pay his debt. They then sent people to catch the persons who had been accused. He afterwards sent to a town and caught eighteen.

301. An Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.[1]

Whereas the Two Houses of Parliament did, by their Resolutions of the Tenth and Twenty-fourth Days of June One thousand eight hundred and six, severally resolve, upon certain Grounds therein mentioned, that they would, with all practicable Expedition, take effectual Measures for the Abolition of the African Slave Trade, in such Manner, and at such Period as might be deemed adviseable: And Whereas it is fit upon all and each of the Grounds mentioned in the said Resolutions, that the same should be forthwith abolished and prohibited, and declared to be unlawful; be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That from and after the First Day of May One thousand eight hundred and seven, the African Slave Trade, and all and all manner of dealing and trading in the Purchase, Sale, Barter, or Transfer of Slaves, or of Persons intended to be sold, transferred, used, or dealt with as Slaves, practised and carried on, in, at, to or

[301] [1] 47 Geo. III. c. 36, sess. 1, Mar. 25, 1807, *Statutes at Large*, III. 73-77.

from any Part of the Coast or Countries of Africa, shall be, and the same is hereby utterly abolished, prohibited, and declared to be unlawful; and also that all and all manner of dealing, either by way of Purchase, Sale, Barter, or Transfer, or by means of any other Contract or Agreement whatever, relating to any Slaves, or to any Persons intended to be used or dealt with as Slaves, for the Purpose of such Slaves or Persons being removed and transported either immediately or by Transhipment at Sea or otherwise, directly or indirectly from Africa, or from any Island, Country, Territory, or Place whatever, in the West Indies, or in any other Part of America, not being in the Dominion, Possession, or Occupation of His Majesty, to any other Island, Country, Territory or Place whatever, is hereby in like Manner utterly abolished, prohibited, and declared to be unlawful; and if any of His Majesty's Subjects, or any Person or Persons resident within this United Kingdom, or any of the Islands, Colonies, Dominions, or Territories thereto belonging, or in His Majesty's Occupation or Possession, shall from and after the Day aforesaid, by him or themselves, or by his or their Factors or Agents or otherwise howsoever, deal or trade in, purchase, sell, barter, or transfer, or contract or agree for the dealing or trading in, purchasing, selling, bartering, or transferring of any Slave or Slaves, or any Person or Persons intended to be sold, transferred, used, or dealt with as a Slave or Slaves contrary to the Prohibitions of this Act, he or they so offending shall forfeit and pay for every such Offence the Sum of One hundred Pounds of lawful Money of Great Britain for each and every Slave so purchased, sold, bartered, or transferred, or contracted or agreed for as aforesaid, the One Moiety thereof to the Use of His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, and the other Moiety to the Use of any Person who shall inform, sue, and prosecute for the same.

II. And be it further enacted, That from and after the said First Day of May One thousand eight hundred and seven, it shall be unlawful for any of His Majesty's Subjects, or any Person or Persons resident within this United Kingdom, or any of the Islands, Colonies, Dominions or Territories thereto belonging, or in His Majesty's Possession or Occupation, to fit out, man, or navigate, or to procure to be fitted out, manned, or navigated, or to be concerned in the fitting out, manning, or navigating, or in the procuring to be fitted out, manned, or navigated, any Ship or vessel for the Purpose of assisting in, or being employed in the carrying on of the African Slave Trade, or in any other the Dealing, Trading, or Concerns hereby prohibited and declared to be unlawful, and every Ship or Vessel which shall, from and after the Day aforesaid, be

fitted out, manned, navigated, used, or employed by any such Subject or Subjects, Person or Persons, or on his or their Account, or by his or their Assistance or Procurement for any of the Purposes aforesaid, and by this Act prohibited, together with all her Boats, Guns, Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, shall become forfeited, and may and shall be seized and prosecuted as herein-after is mentioned and provided.

III. And be it further enacted, That from and after the said First Day of May One thousand eight hundred and seven, it shall be unlawful for any of His Majesty's Subjects, or any Person or Persons resident in this United Kingdom, or in any of the Colonies, Territories or Dominions thereunto belonging, or in His Majesty's Possession or Occupation, to carry away or remove, or knowingly and wilfully to procure, aid, or assist in the carrying away or removing, as Slaves, or for the Purpose of being sold, transferred, used, or dealt with as Slaves, any of the Subjects or Inhabitants of Africa, or of any Island, Country, Territory, or Place in the West Indies, or any other Part of America, whatsoever, not being in the Dominion, Possession, or Occupation of His Majesty, either immediately or by Transhipment at Sea or otherwise, directly or indirectly from Africa, or from any such Island, Country, Territory, or Place as aforesaid, to any other Island, Country, Territory, or Place whatever, and that it shall also be unlawful for any of His Majesty's Subjects, or any Person or Persons resident in this United Kingdom, or in any of the Colonies, Territories, or Dominions thereunto belonging, or in His Majesty's Possession or Occupation, knowingly and wilfully to receive, detain, or confine on board, or to be aiding, assisting, or concerned in the receiving, detaining, or confining on board of any Ship or Vessel whatever, any such Subject or Inhabitant as aforesaid, for the purpose of his or her being so carried away or removed as aforesaid, or of his or her being sold, transferred, used, or dealt with as a Slave, in any Place or Country whatever; and if any Subject or Inhabitant, Subjects or Inhabitants of Africa, or of any Island, Country, Territory, or Place in the West Indies or America, not being in the Dominion, Possession or Occupation of His Majesty, shall from and after the Day aforesaid, be so unlawfully carried away or removed, detained, confined, transhipped, or received on board of any Ship or Vessel belonging in the Whole or in Part to, or employed by any Subject of His Majesty, or Person residing in His Majesty's Dominions or Colonies, or any Territory belonging to or in the Occupation of His Majesty, for any of the unlawful Purposes aforesaid, contrary to the Force and Effect, true Intent and Meaning of the Prohibitions in this Act contained, every such Ship

or Vessel in which any such Person or Persons shall be so unlawfully carried away or removed, detained, confined, transhipped, or received on board for any of the said unlawful Purposes, together with all her Boats, Guns, Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, shall be forfeited, and all Property or pretended Property in any Slaves or Natives of Africa so unlawfully carried away or removed, detained, confined, transhipped or received on board, shall also be forfeited, and the same respectively shall and may be seized and prosecuted as herein-after is mentioned and provided; and every Subject of His Majesty, or Person resident within this United Kingdom, or any of the Islands, Colonies, Dominions, or Territories thereto belonging, or in His Majesty's Possession or Occupation, who shall, as Owner, Part Owner, Freighter or Shipper, Factor or Agent, Captain, Mate, Supercargo, or Surgeon, so unlawfully carry away, or remove, detain, confine, tranship, or receive on board, for any of the unlawful Purposes aforesaid, any such Subject or Inhabitant of Africa, or of any Island, Country, Territory, or Place, not being in the Dominion, Possession, or Occupation of His Majesty, shall forfeit and pay for each and every Slave or Person so unlawfully carried away, removed, detained, confined, transhipped, or received on board, the Sum of One hundred Pounds of lawful Money of Great Britain, One Moiety thereof to the Use of His Majesty, and the other Moiety to the Use of any Person who shall inform, sue, and prosecute for the same.

IV. And be it further enacted, That if any Subject or Inhabitant, Subjects or Inhabitants of Africa, or of any Island, Country, Territory, or Place, not being in the Dominion, Possession, or Occupation of His Majesty, who shall, at any Time from and after the Day aforesaid, have been unlawfully carried away or removed from Africa, or from any Island, Country, Territory, or Place in the West Indies or America, not being in the Dominion, Possession, or Occupation of His Majesty, contrary to any of the Prohibitions or Provisions in this Act contained, shall be imported or brought into any Island, Colony, Plantation, or Territory, in the Dominion, Possession, or Occupation of His Majesty, and there sold or disposed of as a Slave or Slaves, or placed, detained, or kept in a State of Slavery, such Subject or Inhabitant, Subjects or Inhabitants, so unlawfully carried away, or removed and imported, shall and may be seized and prosecuted as forfeited to His Majesty, by such Person or Persons, in such Courts, and in such Manner and Form, as any Goods or Merchandize unlawfully imported into the same Island, Colony, Plantation, or Territory, may now be seized and prosecuted therein by virtue of any Act or Acts of Parliament now in force for regulating the Navigation and Trade of His Majesty's Colonies and

Plantations and shall and may, after his or their Condemnation, be disposed of in Manner herein-after mentioned and provided.

V. And be it further enacted, That from and after the said First Day of May One thousand eight hundred and seven, all Insurances whatsoever to be effected upon or in respect to any of the trading, dealing, carrying, removing, transhipping, or other Transactions by this Act prohibited, shall be also prohibited and declared to be unlawful; and if any of His Majesty's Subjects, or any Person or Persons resident within this United Kingdom, or within any of the Islands, Colonies, Dominions, or Territories thereunto belonging, or in His Majesty's Possession or Occupation, shall knowingly and wilfully subscribe, effect, or make, or cause or procure to be subscribed, effected, or made, any such unlawful Insurances or Insurance, he or they shall forfeit and pay for every such Offence the Sum of One hundred Pounds for every such Insurance, and also Treble the Amount paid or agreed to be paid as the Premium of any such Insurance, the One Moiety thereof to the Use of His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, and the other Moiety to the Use of any Person who shall inform, sue, and prosecute for the same.

VI. Provided always, That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be deemed or construed to extend, to prohibit or render unlawful the dealing or trading in the Purchase, Sale, Barter, or Transfer, or the carrying away or removing for the Purpose of being sold, transferred, used, or dealt with as Slaves, or the detaining or confining for the Purpose of being so carried away or removed, of any Slaves which shall be exported, carried, or removed from Africa, in any Ship or Vessel which, on or before the said First Day of May One thousand eight hundred and seven, shall have been lawfully cleared out from Great Britain according to the Law now in force for regulating the carrying of Slaves from Africa, or to prohibit or render unlawful the manning or navigating any such Ship or Vessel, or to make void any Insurance thereon, so as the Slaves to be carried therein shall be finally landed in the West Indies on or before the First Day of March One thousand eight hundred and eight, unless prevented by Capture, the Loss of the Vessel, by the Appearance of an Enemy upon the Coast, or other unavoidable Necessity, the Proof whereof shall lie upon the Party charged; any Thing herein-before contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

VII. And Whereas it may happen, That during the present or future Wars, Ships or Vessels may be seized or detained as Prize, on board whereof Slaves or Natives of Africa, carried and detained as Slaves, being the Property of His Majesty's Enemies, or otherwise liable to Condemnation as Prize of War, may be taken or found,

and it is necessary to direct in what Manner such Slaves or Natives of Africa shall be hereafter treated and disposed of: And Whereas it is also necessary to direct and provide for the Treatment and Disposal of any Slaves or Natives of Africa carried, removed, treated or dealt with as Slaves, who shall be unlawfully carried away or removed contrary to the Prohibitions aforesaid, or any of them, and shall be afterwards found on board any Ship or Vessel liable to Seizure under this Act, or any other Act of Parliament made for restraining or prohibiting the African Slave Trade, or shall be elsewhere lawfully seized as forfeited under this or any other such Act of Parliament as aforesaid; and it is expedient to encourage the Captors, Seizors and Prosecutors thereof; Be it therefore further enacted, That all Slaves and all Natives of Africa, treated, dealt with, carried, kept or detained as Slaves, which shall at any Time from and after the said First Day of May next be seized or taken as Prize of War, or liable to Forfeiture, under this or any other Act of Parliament made for restraining or prohibiting the African Slave Trade, shall and may, for the Purposes only of Seizure, Prosecution, and Condemnation as Prize or as Forfeitures, be considered, treated, taken, and adjudged as Slaves and Property, in the same Manner as Negro Slaves have been heretofore considered, treated, taken, and adjudged, when seized as Prize of War, or as forfeited for any Offence against the Laws of Trade and Navigation respectively; but the same shall be condemned as Prize of War, or as forfeited to the sole Use of His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, for the Purpose only of divesting and barring all other Property, Right, Title, or Interest whatever, which before existed, or might afterwards be set up or claimed in or to such Slaves or Natives of Africa so seized, prosecuted and condemned; and the same nevertheless shall in no case be liable to be sold, disposed of, treated or dealt with as Slaves, by or on the Part of His Majesty, His Heirs or Successors, or by or on the Part of any Person or Persons claiming or to claim from, by or under His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, or under or by force of any such Sentence of Condemnation: Provided always, that it shall be lawful for His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, and such Officers, Civil or Military, as shall, by any general or special Order of the King in Council, be from Time to Time appointed and empowered to receive, protect, and provide for such Natives of Africa as shall be so condemned, either to enter and enlist the same, or any of them, into His Majesty's Land or Sea Service as Soldiers, Seamen or Marines, or to bind the same, or any of them, whether of full Age or not, as Apprentices, for any Term not exceeding Fourteen Years, to such Person or Persons, in such Place or Places, and upon such Terms and

Conditions, and subject to such Regulations, as to His Majesty shall seem meet, and as shall by any general or special Order of His Majesty in Council be in that Behalf directed and appointed; and any Indenture of Apprenticeship duly made and executed, by any Person or Persons to be for that Purpose appointed by any such Order in Council, for any Term not exceeding Fourteen Years, shall be of the same Force and Effect as if the Party thereby bound as an Apprentice had himself or herself, when of full Age upon good Consideration, duly executed the same; and every such Native of Africa who shall be so enlisted or entered as aforesaid into any of His Majesty's Land or Sea Forces as a Soldier, Seaman, or Marine, shall be considered, treated, and dealt with in all Respects as if he had voluntarily so enlisted or entered himself.

VIII. Provided also, and be it further enacted, That where any Slaves or Natives of Africa, taken as Prize of War by any of His Majesty's Ships of War, or Privateers duly commissioned, shall be finally condemned as such to His Majesty's Use as aforesaid, there shall be paid to the Captors thereof by the Treasurer of His Majesty's Navy, in like Manner as the Bounty called Head Money is now paid by virtue of an Act of Parliament, made in the Forty-fifth Year of His Majesty's Reign, intituled, An Act for the Encouragement of Seamen, and for the better and more effectually manning His Majesty's Navy during the present War, such Bounty as His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, shall have directed by any Order in Council, so as the same shall not exceed the Sum of Forty Pounds lawful Money of Great Britain for every Man, or Thirty Pounds of like Money for every Woman, or Ten Pounds of like Money for every Child or Person not above Fourteen Years old, that shall be so taken and condemned, and shall be delivered over in good Health to the proper Officer or Officers, Civil or Military, so appointed as aforesaid to receive, protect, and provide for the same; which Bounties shall be divided amongst the Officers, Seamen, Marines, and Soldiers on board His Majesty's Ships of War, or hired armed Ships, in Manner, Form, and Proportion, as by His Majesty's Proclamation for granting the Distribution of Prizes already issued, or to be issued for that Purpose is or shall be directed and appointed, and amongst the Owners, Officers, and Seamen of any private Ship or Vessel of War, in such Manner and Proportion as, by an Agreement in Writing that they shall have entered into for that Purpose, shall be directed.

IX. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That in order to entitle the Captors to receive the said Bounty Money, the Numbers of Men, Women, and Children, so taken, condemned, and delivered

over, shall be proved to the Commissioners of His Majesty's Navy, by producing, instead of the Oaths and Certificates prescribed by the said Act as to Head Money, a Copy, duly certified, of the Sentence or Decree of Condemnation whereby the Numbers of Men, Women, and Children, so taken and condemned, shall appear to have been distinctly proved; and also, by producing a Certificate under the Hand of the said Officer or Officers, Military or Civil, so appointed as aforesaid, and to whom the same shall have been delivered, acknowledging that he or they hath or have received the same, to be disposed of according to His Majesty's Instructions and Regulations as aforesaid.

X. Provided also, and be it further enacted, That in any Cases in which Doubts shall arise whether the Party or Parties claiming such Bounty Money is or are entitled thereto, the same shall be summarily determined by the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, or by the Judge of any Court of Admiralty in which the Prize shall have been adjudged, subject nevertheless to an Appeal to the Lords Commissioners of Appeals in Prize Causes.

XI. Provided also, and be it further enacted, That on the Condemnation to the Use of His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, in Manner aforesaid, of any Slaves or Natives of Africa, seized and prosecuted as forfeited for any Offence against this Act, or any other Act of Parliament made for restraining or prohibiting the African Slave Trade (except in the Case of Seizures made at Sea by the Commanders or Officers of His Majesty's Ships or Vessels of War) there shall be paid to and to the Use of the Person who shall have sued, informed, and prosecuted the same to Condemnation, the Sums of Thirteen Pounds lawful Money aforesaid for every Man, of Ten Pounds like Money for every Woman, and of Three Pounds like Money for every Child or Person under the Age of Fourteen Years, that shall be so condemned and delivered over in good Health to the said Civil or Military Officer so to be appointed to receive, protect, and provide for the same, and also the like Sums to and to the Use of the Governor or Commander in Chief of any Colony or Plantation wherein such Seizure shall have been made; but in Cases of any such Seizures made at Sea by the Commanders or Officers of His Majesty's Ships or Vessels of War, for Forfeiture under this Act, or any other Act of Parliament made for restraining or prohibiting the African Slave Trade, there shall be paid to the Commander or Officer who shall so seize, inform, and prosecute, for every Man so condemned and delivered over, the Sum of Twenty Pounds like Money, for every Woman the Sum of Fifteen Pounds like Money, and for every Child or Person under the Age of Four-

teen Years the Sum of Five Pounds like Money, subject nevertheless to such Distribution of the said Bounties or Rewards for the said Seizures made at Sea as His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, shall think fit to order and direct by any Order in Council made for that Purpose; for all which Payments so to be made as Bounties or Rewards upon Seizures and Prosecutions for Offences against this Act, or any other Act of Parliament made for restraining or abolishing the African Slave Trade, the Officer or Officers, Civil or Military, so to be appointed as aforesaid to receive, protect, and provide for such Slaves or Natives of Africa so to be condemned and delivered over, shall, after the Condemnation and Receipt thereof as aforesaid, grant Certificates in favour of the Governor and Party seizing, informing, and prosecuting as aforesaid respectively, or the latter alone (as the Case may be) addressed to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury; who, upon the Production to them of any such Certificate, and of an authentic Copy, duly certified, of the Sentence of Condemnation of the said Slaves or Africans to His Majesty's Use as aforesaid, and also of a Receipt under the Hand of such Officer or Officers so appointed as aforesaid, specifying that such Slaves or Africans have by him or them been received in good Health as aforesaid, shall direct Payment to be made from and out of the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain of the Amount of the Monies specified in such Certificate, to the lawful Holders of the same, or the Persons entitled to the Benefit thereof respectively.

XII. And be it further enacted, That if any Person shall wilfully and fraudulently forge or counterfeit any such Certificate, Copy of Sentence of Condemnation, or Receipt as aforesaid, or any Part thereof, or shall knowingly and wilfully utter or publish the same, knowing it to be forged or counterfeited, with Intent to defraud His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, or any other Person or Persons whatever, the Party so offending shall, on Conviction, suffer Death as in Cases of Felony, without Benefit of Clergy.

XIII. And be it further enacted, That the several Pecuniary Penalties or Forfeitures imposed and inflicted by this Act, shall and may be sued for, prosecuted, and recovered in any Court of Record in Great Britain, or in any Court of Record or Vice Admiralty in any Part of His Majesty's Dominions wherein the Offence was committed, or where the Offender may be found after the Commission of such Offence; and that in all Cases of Seizure of any Ships, Vessels, Slaves or pretended Slaves, Goods or Effects, for any Forfeiture under this Act, the same shall and may respectively be sued for, prosecuted and recovered in any Court of Record in Great Britain, or in any Court

of Record or Vice Admiralty in any Part of His Majesty's Dominions in or nearest to which such Seizures may be made, or to which such Ships or Vessels, Slaves or pretended Slaves, Goods or Effects (if seized at Sea or without the Limits of any British Jurisdiction) may most conveniently be carried for Trial; and all the said Penalties and Forfeitures, whether pecuniary or specific (unless where it is expressly otherwise provided for by this Act) shall go and belong to such Person and Persons in such Shares and Proportions, and shall and may be sued for and prosecuted, tried, recovered, distributed, and applied in such and the like Manner and by the same Ways and Means, and subject to the same Rules and Directions, as any Penalties or Forfeitures incurred in Great Britain, and in the British Colonies or Plantations in America respectively, by force of any Act of Parliament relating to the Trade and Revenues of the said British Colonies or Plantations in America, now go and belong to, and may now be sued for, prosecuted, tried, recovered, distributed and applied respectively in Great Britain or in the said Colonies or Plantations respectively, under and by virtue of a certain Act of Parliament made in the Fourth Year of His present Majesty, intituled, An Act for granting certain Duties in the British Colonies and Plantations in America; for continuing, amending, and making perpetual an Act passed in the Sixth Year of the Reign of his late Majesty, King George the Second, intituled, an Act for the better securing and encouraging the Trade of His Majesty's Sugar Colonies in America; for applying the Produce of such Duties to arise by virtue of the said Act towards defraying the Expences of defending, protecting, and securing the said Colonies and Plantations; for explaining an Act made in the Twenty-fifth Year of the Reign of King Charles the Second, intituled, An Act for the Encouragement of the Greenland and Eastland Trades, and for the better securing the Plantation Trade, and for altering and disallowing several Drawbacks on Exports from this Kingdom, and more effectually preventing the clandestine Conveyance of Goods to and from the said Colonies and Plantations, and improving and securing the Trade between the same and Great Britain.

XIV. And be it further enacted, That all Ships and Vessels, Slaves or Natives of Africa, carried, conveyed, or dealt with as Slaves, and all other Goods and Effects that shall or may become forfeited for any Offence committed against this Act, shall and may be seized by any Officer of His Majesty's Customs or Excise, or by the Commanders or Officers of any of His Majesty's Ships or Vessels of War, who, in making and prosecuting any such Seizures, shall have the Benefit of all the Provisions made by the said Act of the Fourth

Year of His present Majesty, or any other Act of Parliament made for the Protection of Officers seizing and prosecuting for any Offence against the said Act or any other Act of Parliament relating to the Trade and Revenues of the British Colonies or Plantations in America.

XV. And be it further enacted, That all Offences committed against this Act may be inquired of, tried, determined, and dealt with as Misdemeanors, as if the same had been respectively committed within the Body of the County of Middlesex.

XVI. Provided also, and be it further enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for His Majesty in Council from Time to Time to make such Orders and Regulations for the future Disposal and Support of such Negroes as shall have been bound Apprentices under this Act, after the Term of their Apprenticeship shall have expired, as to His Majesty shall seem meet, and as may prevent such Negroes from becoming at any time chargeable upon the Island in which they shall have been so bound Apprentices as aforesaid.

XVII. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That none of the Provisions of any Act as to enlisting for any limited Period of Service, or as to any Rules or Regulations for the granting any Pensions or Allowances to any Soldiers discharged after certain Periods of Service, shall extend, or be deemed or construed in any Manner to extend, to any Negroes so enlisting and serving in any of His Majesty's Forces.

XVIII. And be it further enacted, That if any Action or Suit shall be commenced either in Great Britain or elsewhere, against any Person or Persons for any Thing done in pursuance of this Act, the Defendant or Defendants in such Action or Suit may plead the General Issue, and give this Act and the Special Matter in Evidence at any Trial to be had thereupon, and that the same was done in pursuance and by the Authority of this Act; and if it shall appear so to have been done, the Jury shall find for the Defendant or Defendants; and if the Plaintiff shall be nonsuited or discontinue his Action after the Defendant or Defendants shall have appeared, or if Judgement shall be given upon any Verdict or Demurrer against the Plaintiff, the Defendant or Defendants shall recover Treble Costs and have the like Remedy for the same, as Defendants have in other Cases by Law.

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DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF THE SLAVE TRADE TO AMERICA

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PREFACE

The present volume, as was suggested in the preface to this series, presents material relating to the traffic which originated in or brought slaves to the Continental Colonies. Read in the light of the information contained in the earlier volumes, it should, in spite of its narrow range, depict the American trade as part of a larger commerce the significance of which extended far beyond the bounds of the thirteen colonies. The same methods of supply were used, the same orders issued, for traffic to the Caribbean markets and to the markets of the north, and many of the documents here printed throw light not only on the commercial relations between the West Indies and the Northern colonies but also on the slave supply of the island plantations. This however is incidental to the main purpose of the volume, which, it is to be remembered, is to illustrate the trade which pertained to those colonies subsequently a part of the United States. Even with such limitation, to present the history of the trade of the colonies *in extenso* was impossible. Yet to print a few illustrative documents for each colony did not seem a particularly useful service. Economic sources do not lend themselves to concise treatment. Diplomatic history can often be illuminated by a single protocol. The history of a long series of negotiations may be summed up in one decisive document but to the student of economic history an event assumes importance because of its recurrence. The small thing which happens over and over again becomes significant by reason of its repetition. To present this recurrence by means of original material requires large space. A few colonies have therefore been treated in detail, the others in briefer fashion. Even this plan did not make it possible to present the American material in a single volume, as was originally intended. The present work deals with the traffic of New England and the Middle Colonies, and leaves to a fourth volume the documents relating to the Southern Colonies.

No liberties have been taken with the texts except such as seemed necessary in order to make them intelligible. In this attempt many of the accounts have been reduced to more orderly form than that of the original manuscripts but the student will still find some puzzling discrepancies which may result from mistaken transcriptions or from inaccuracies on the part of early accountants. The usage as to capitalization, punctuation, and abbreviations follows that of earlier volumes.

Without the generous aid of such institutions as the library of Harvard University, the Library of Congress, the historical societies

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of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, and Newport, and the Essex Institute the work could never have been completed and for their courtesy the editor wishes to express her warmest appreciation. Among many individuals who have helped to bring the volumes into existence the assistance of Miss Cornelia M. Pierce and of Miss Jean Trepp deserve special recognition.

ELIZABETH DONNAN

October 6, 1932.

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DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF THE SLAVE TRADE TO AMERICA

THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES

INTRODUCTION

The story of the slave trade of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, the two New England colonies of importance in this traffic, is set forth in such detail in the pages which follow that little need be said here. The significance of their connection with this traffic lies not in the amount of their importation, which, though probably larger than is generally realized, was insignificant as compared with that of the Southern colonies, but in the economic importance of their slave-carrying business and to a lesser degree of their commerce in rum, on which in its later years the slave trade rested. Massachusetts took a hand in the commerce in negroes at a surprisingly early date and continued to deal in them throughout the period covered by these volumes. Rhode Island, entering the trade somewhat later, soon commanded a larger share of it. While much has been written on this New England commerce, many obvious questions concerning it remain unanswered. Some of these may never be answered; others find partial solution in the material here printed.

Though other New England colonies are less important than are the two mentioned, the minor rôles of New Hampshire and Connecticut deserve recognition. The record of New Hampshire's slave trade here printed begins with Governor Dudley's reply to the enquiry of the Board of Trade sent out in 1708: "There are in New Hampshire negro servants to the number of 70. And about 20 of them in nine years past have been brought in."[1] We also know that later in the century a number of vessels cleared from Portsmouth for Africa: Samuel Moore made a Guinea voyage in 1728 and in 1731; Captain Dickinson in 1732; Captain John Major, in a Portsmouth schooner, was murdered on the coast of Guinea in 1732. Whether these vessels were owned in Boston or represented an actual New Hampshire investment cannot be determined with certainty.[2]

For Connecticut, likewise, the annals of the trade are brief. Negroes were to be found in New Haven as early as 1664 but there is

[1] *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial,* 1708-1709, p. 111.

[2] *Boston Gazette,* Nov. 25, 1728; *Weekly Rehearsal,* Dec. 6, 1731, May 22, 29, 1732; *Boston News Letter,* Sept. 7, 1732. In 1758 a Captain Lamphear arrived in Portsmouth, directly from the Gambia River, but the record contains no statement of his cargo. *Ibid.,* Aug. 3, 1758.

no information as to their source. On July 15, 1680, Governor William Leete reported to the Lords of the Privy Council:

> And for Blacks, there comes sometimes 3 or 4 in a year from Barbadoes; and they are sold usually at the rate of 22 *li.* a peice, sometimes more and sometimes less, according as men can agree with the masters of vessells, or merchants that bring them hither.[3]

The next official statement on the subject is that made by the governor at the time the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations collected material for the report of 1709:

> Your Lordships' letter of April 15, 1708, came not to our hand till December 22, in obedience to which wee have made strickt enquiry what number of negroes have been imported June 1698-December 1707, and find that their hath not been one vessell either of the Royall Affrican Company's or of separate traders, that hath imported any negroes hither in that space of time, nor any since or before, that wee can heare of. Their are but few negroes in this Government and those wee are supplied with from the neighbouring provinces for the most part, except that sometimes half a dozen in a year may be imported from the West Indies. As to the half yearly accounts of negroes imported from December 25, 1707, their is now a year from that time run out and none imported, nor any like to be in vessells from this Colony, their being none employed in that trade.[4]

Similar report was made by Deputy Governor Saltonstall for the period from 1708 to July, 1710.[5]

There follows a period for which we have no information. Some time between 1710 and the middle of the century a small number of vessels entered the trade. Captain Williams arrived in Connecticut in 1752, from the African coast;[6] in 1763 the mate of an African vessel arrived in Hartford;[7] Captain Joseph Miller, in a New London sloop, died on the African coast in 1764. The same year Captain Faggot, commander of a New London brig belonging to Messrs. Forsey of New London, lost his life in a slave uprising at Goree.[8] W. C. Fowler wrote of three Middletown sea captains engaged in the slave trade—D. Walker, Captain Gleason, and Captain Easton. These masters were believed to have brought full cargoes to Connecticut which, when that market was overstocked, were carried to New Hampshire and Vermont. Captain Easton may have been the Captain Eaton referred to as on the coast in 1763 with a Captain Waterman, also of Connecticut.[9]

[3] *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut* (1859), III. 298.
[4] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1708-1709, p. 209.
[5] *Ibid.,* 1710-1711, p. 123.
[6] *Boston Post Boy,* Aug. 31, 1752.
[7] *Massachusetts Gazette and News Letter,* July 7, 1763.
[8] *Ibid.,* Sept. 20, 1764, *Extraordinary,* Aug. 16, 1764.
[9] *Historical Status of the Negro in Connecticut,* p. 16; *Newport Mercury,* July 25, 1763. Captain Easton of New London was reported on the African coast in 1765. *Boston News Letter,* July 4, 1765.

That there was importation of negroes into Connecticut is clear from the legislation of 1769, which forbade further importation into that colony, "whereas the increase of slaves is injurious to the poor and inconvenient." [10]

In the renewal of the carrying trade after the Revolution Connecticut took some part though probably a small one. The abolitionists of Rhode Island, led by Samuel Hopkins and Moses Brown, were obliged to extend their activities to Connecticut and New Hampshire in order to prevent Rhode Island slavers from clearing from those states after the prohibition of the trade by Rhode Island. In Connecticut their allies, Levi Hart and Jonathan Edwards, were the prime movers in obtaining the law of 1788 prohibiting the trade, and the amendment of 1789 which strengthened the original act. At least one Connecticut prosecution, that of Mather *vs.* White, was brought under this law.[11] In 1791, three years after the trade was prohibited to Connecticut residents, Captain William Wignall of New London was killed in a negro uprising in Africa.[12]

[10] *Hist. Status of the Negro,* pp. 17-18. Connecticut also shared in the traffic through her distilleries, the product of which helped to purchase African slaves. *Fitch Papers* (*Collections* of the Connecticut Historical Society, vol. XVIII.), II. 277-278.

[11] Samuel Hopkins, *Works,* I. 123-124, 158; Rhode Island Historical Society, Moses Brown Papers, VI. 49, VIII. 34.

[12] *Salem Gazette,* Sept. 13, 1791.

1. Extract from John Winthrop's *Journal*, 1638.[1]

26 [February]. Mr. Peirce, in the Salem ship, the *Desire,* returned from the West Indies after seven months. He had been at Providence,[2] and brought some cotton, and tobacco, and negroes, etc., from thence, and salt from Tertugos. Dry fish and strong liquors are the only commodities for those parts. He met there two men-of-war, set forth by the lords, etc., of Providence with letters of mart, who had taken divers prizes from the Spaniard, and many negroes.[3]

2. Body of Liberties, 1641.[1]

It is Ordered by this Court and the Authority thereof; That there shall never be any Bond-slavery, Villenage or Captivity amongst us, unless it be lawful Captives taken in just Wars, [and such strangers] as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us, and such shall have the Liberties and Christian usage which the Law of God established in Israel concerning such persons doth morally require; Provided this exempts none from servitude who shall be judged thereto by Authority.

3. Agreement between Robert Shopton, Miles Casson, and James Smyth, 1644.[1]

Imprimis that wee shall to rights sayle to the Cape Devird[2] to be better informed of the sequall part of our voyage, and there at our

[1] [1] John Winthrop, *Journal, History of New England, 1630-1649* (ed. J. K. Hosmer, *Original Narratives* series), I. 260.

[2] The *Desire* was a Marblehead vessel of 100 or 120 tons, in which Capt. William Pierce had in 1637 carried Indian captives to Providence Island in the Caribbean, returning with the cargo here described. In 1638 when Josselyn, on his first visit to New England, lodged with Samuel Maverick he found him possessed of at least three negroes, whom he may have purchased from Captain Pierce (Winthrop, *Journal,* I. 187, 331; John Josselyn, *Account of Two Voyages to New England,* Boston, 1865, p. 26). For an account of the early trade of Massachusetts Bay in captive Indians see G. H. Moore, *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts,* pp. 1-7, 30-48.

[3] For want of any other explanation it has been assumed that an item of March, 1639, concerning Richard Davenport, who was allowed "for charge disbursed for the slaves which when they have earned it he is to repay back againe," related to a part of the cargo of the *Desire.* The amount was £3 8 *s.* *Massachusetts Colonial Records,* I. 253.

[2] [1] The *Laws of Massachusetts of 1672* (facsimile, ed. Whitmore, 1884) omitted the bracketed words. For a discussion of this act and the legal status of slavery under it see Moore, *Notes on Slavery,* pp. 12-18, and Emory Washburn, "Slavery as it once prevailed in Massachusetts," in *Lectures before the Lowell Institute* (1869), pp. 191-225. To Moore this law gave to Massachusetts precedence over all other colonies in the sanctioning of perpetual bondage; to Washburn it proved that slavery was abhorrent to the colonists.

[3] [1] Massachusetts Archives, LX. 290.

[2] Cape Verde.

arrivall to call a consultation, and to agree with an unanimos consent, what shalbe best convenient, for the good of our voyages, and to what port or ports shall be agreed upon for either ship or ships of the three ships the *Blossome* Admirall, *Seaflower* vice Admirall, and *Rainebowe* rere Admirall, and that if either of these three said ships shall come to any casualty, that the rest consotiated shall assist each other to the utmost of their power in all extremities, or convenances whether by casualties by sea, or force of enemy, or if in case any of the said Companies of the said ships shall be taken by any enemy the other consotiated shall indeavor to the utmost of their power to redeeme them, and furthermore whatsoever negars, or goods, gold, or silver, or other quallity or vallew shalbe equally divided tunn for tunn, and man for man, in each severall ship, in the Country of Ginny, and if in case wee all make a voyage, then to keepe Company together, as in former consortship according to the articles thereof, untill we come to the Barbadoes in the west Indes, and that either of the said ships shall give a just account to each other of all goods of what nature soever to each other, and that whatsoever ships, goods, pinnises of what nature soever, from lawfull authority shall be taken shall be equally distributed according to the former proportion mentioned, and for the better performances hereof wee bind our-selves joyntly and severally each to other, in the summe of two thousand pounds starling English monys to performe, and give a just accompt each to other of all goods, or marchandize so taken, and that also every Commander shall diligently observe all such orders, as shalbe expressed and constituted, by our aforesaid Counsell dureing the time of our consortship the which we have with an unanimos consent bound our selves unto, by the aforesaid assumpsit, and not to depart consortship without due notice each to other giveing a seasonable time each to other to acquaint our selves in any enterprize, wherein wee shall ingage our selves, and that the full intent of this our consortship is to perticipate according to the forementioned proportion of what benefit soever shall be taken of each other of our comitions being all as one man dureing the time of our consortship in witnes hereof wee have set to our hands and seales irrevokable untill lawefull notice of our departure according to our former engagem'ts, and what troubles shall accrue by taking neagers, or by our Commichons, or any suites of Lawe about them each severall parties here bound shall give account of what was taking, and be ready to assist each other herein to all seuts of Lawe whatsoever or disbursments, being this present 13th of February 1644.[3]

[3] The signatures are Henry Don, William Faullion, Thomas Keyser, Robert Shopton, Miles Causon, James Smith, "each his seale against his name."

4. Extracts from John Winthrop's *Journal*, 1645.[1]

[April 13, 1645.]

One of our ships, which went to the Canaries with pipestaves in the beginning of November last, returned now, and brought wine, and sugar, and salt, and some tobacco, which she had at Barbadoes, in exchange for Africoes, which she carried from the Isle of Maio.[2] . . .

[July (?), 1645.]

The said Mr. James Smith[3] with his mate Keyser were bound to Guinea to trade for negroes. But when they arrived there they met some Londoners, with whom they consorted, and the Londoners having been formerly injured by the natives (or at least pretending the same,) they invited them aboard one of their ships upon the Lord's day, and such as came they kept prisoners, then they landed men, and a murderer,[4] and assaulted one of their towns and killed many of the people, but the country coming down, they were forced to retire without any booty, divers of their men being wounded with the negroes' arrows, and one killed. . . .

For the matter of the negroes, whereof two were brought home in the ship, and near one hundred slain by the confession of some of the mariners, the magistrates took order to have these two set at liberty, and to be sent home; but for the slaughter committed, they were in great doubt what to do in it, seeing it was in another country, and the Londoners pretended a just revenge. So they called the elders; and desired their advice.

5. Petition of Richard Saltonstall, 1645.[1]

To the Honoured General Court,

The oath I took this yeare att my enterance upon the place of assistante was to this effect: That I would truly endeavour the advancement of the gospell and the good of the people of this plantation (to the best of my skill,) dispencing justice equally and impartially (according to the laws of God and this land) in all cases wherein I act by virtue of my place. I conceive myselfe called by virtue of my place to act (according to this oath) in the case concerning the Negers taken by captain Smith and Mr. Keser; wherein it is apparent that Mr. Keser upon a sabboth day gave chace to certaine Negers; and upon the same day tooke divers of them; and

[4] [1] Winthrop, *Journal,* II. 227, 252, 253.
[2] One of the Cape Verde Islands.
[3] Smith "was a member of the church of Boston." *Ibid.,* p. 251.
[4] A small cannon.
[5] [1] John Winthrop, *History of New England* (ed. Savage, 1826), II. 379-380.

at another time killed others; and burned one of their townes. Omitting several misdemeinours which accompanied these acts above-mentioned, I conceive the acts themselves to bee directly contrary to these following laws (all which are capitall by the word of God; and 2 of them by the lawes of this jurisdiction.)

The act (or acts) of murder (whether by force or fraude) are expressly contrary both to the law of God, and the law of this country.

The act of stealing Negers, or of taking them by force, (whether it be considered as theft, or robbery) is (as I conceive) expressly contrary, both to the law of God, and the law of this country.

The act of chaceing the Negers (as aforesayde) upon the sabboth day (beeing a servile worke and such as cannot be considered under any other heade) is expressly capitall by the law of God.

These acts and outrages beeing committed where there was noe civill government which might call them to accompt, and the persons by whome they were committed beeing of our jurisdiction, I conceive this court to bee the Ministers of God in this case; and therfore my humble request is that the severall offenders may be imprisoned by the order of this court, and brought unto their deserved censure in convenient time; and this I humbly crave, that soe the sinn they have committed may be upon their owne heads, and not upon ourselves (as otherwise it will).[2]

6. Records of the House of Deputies of Massachusetts Bay, 1645.[1]

[October 7, 1645.]

Upon a peticion of Rich: Saltonstall, Esquier, for justice to be donne on Capt Smith and Mr Keysar for their injurious dealing wth the negroes at Gynnye, the peticion was graunted; and ordered, That Capt Smith and Mr Keisar be laid hold on and committed to give answer in convenient time thereabouts. . . .

A Letter to Mr. Wms. of Piscataqua.[2]

Boston, the 14th 8 mo, 1645.

Mr. Wms: The Courte, understanding that the negroes wch Capt Smyth Smith [*sic*] brought were fraudulently and injuriously taken and brought from Gynny, by Capt Smiths confession, and the rest of the company, doth resolve to send them backe, and therefore doe desire that the negro wch you had of Capt

[2] To this is added: "The house of deputs thinke meete that this peticon shall be graunted, and desire our honnored magists. concurrance heerein. Edward Rawson."

[6] [1] *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England* (1854), III. 46, 49.

[2] The letter to Williams is also found in the *Records,* II. 136, dated Oct. 1, 1645, and in Mass. Arch., LX. 291.

Smyth be forthwth sent hither, that he maybe sent home wthout delay. If you have ought to alleadge why you should not retourne him, to be disposed of by the Courte, itt willbe expected you should forthwith make it appeare, either by yourselfe or yo'r agent, but not to make any excuse or delay. . . .

7. Emanuel Downing to John Winthrop, 1645.[1]

To his evere-honored brother John Winthrop Esqr. at Boston.

Sir, . . . If upon a Just warre [with the Narragansetts] the Lord should deliver them into our hands, wee might easily have men woemen and children enough to exchange for Moores, which wilbe more gaynefull pilladge for us then wee conceive, for I doe not see how wee can thrive untill wee get into a stock of slaves sufficient to doe all our buisiness, for our children's children will hardly see this great Continent filled with people, soe that our servants will still desire freedome to plant for them-selves, and not stay but for verie great wages. And I suppose you know verie well how wee shall mayneteyne 20 Moores cheaper than one Englishe servant.

The ships that shall bring Moores may come home laden with salt which may beare most of the chardge, if not all of it. . . .

8. Records of the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, 1646.[1]

[November 4, 1646.]

The Genrall Corte, conceiving themselves bound by the first oportunity to bear witnes against the haynos and crying sinn of man stealing, as also to proscribe such timely redresse for what is past, and such a law for the future as may sufficiently deterr all othrs belonging to us to have to do in such vile and most odious courses, justly abhored of all good and just men, do order, that the negro interpreter, wth othrs unlawfully taken, be, by the first oportunity, (at the charge of the country for present,) sent to his native country of Ginny, and a letter wth him of the indignation of the Corte there-

[7] [1] *Winthrop Papers* (Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections,* fourth ser., VI.), II. 64-65. Emanuel Downing, husband of Winthrop's sister Lucy and father of the more famous Sir George Downing, had come to New England in 1638. From that year until 1643 he was a member of the General Court. In 1644 and at least part of 1645 he was in London; in 1646 he was again in Salem.

[8] [1] *Records of Mass. Bay,* II. 168, 176. Though Massachusetts protests against the slave trade began at an early date it is hardly possible to ascribe them to this episode, as do some writers. The burden of the objection to the importation of 1646 was not against the trade but against the violence by which the slaves had been acquired. Had they been purchased upon the coast it is quite possible that no questions would have been asked.

abouts, and justice hereof, desireing o'r honored Govrnr would please to put this order in execution.[2] . . .

The Secretary, Mr. Auditor Genr, Capt. Atherton, and Mr Sparhauk are appointed a committee to examine witnesses and draw up the case about Capt. Smith and Mr. Kezar kiling, stealing, and wronging of the negers, etc.

9. Voyage of the *Fortune*, 1649.[1]

This is to certify all whom it may concerne that the Shipp called the *Fortune* whereof Thomas Willoughby is master together with her Cargo, belongeth to John Parrish of Charlestowne in New England merch't and is now bound for the coast of Ginney, thence to Barbados and so for New England. In testimony of the truth whereof the merch'ts under written have hereunto sett theire hands this 6 (10) 1649.[2]

10. Aaron Williams to ———, 1650.[1]

Boston, this 4th Jan. 1649 [1650].

Loveing friends and gent., Capt Henry Gay and Mr. Richard Spanswick: haveing recd. a letter of credit from you unto New England for the getting out of yo'r vessell for Guiney, and at my arrivall here Major Generall Gibons have accepted it, per wch power

[2] The same order is found in volume III. of the *Records* (p. 84) with the addition, "By both howses." The troubles of this voyage furnished further matter for consideration by the General Court. When the *Rainbow* arrived at Barbados, the mate, Keyser, seized it and brought it home, leaving the master to return as best he could. Smith demanded recompence both for the loss on the goods which he might have sold in Barbados and for the expense he incurred in making his way from Barbados to Boston. The General Court after hearing the case decided, Oct. 18, 1645, that Keyser must pay damages for all the cargo but the negroes: "For the negroes, they being none of his but stolne, wee thinke meete to allow nothing." *Ibid.,* III. 13, 46, 49, 58, II. 115, 129; Mass. Arch., LX. 144; Winthrop, *Journal,* II. 252-253.

[9] [1] *Aspinwall Notarial Records,* p. 411. Though it may not be possible to prove that Parrish (or Parris) had negroes as his object in sending a vessel to Guinea, it seems a reasonable assumption. He had been trading with the Dutch, who were carrying negroes to the West Indies, and his business relations with them may well have suggested to him the possible profit to be obtained by disposing of negroes in Barbados.

[2] This item bears the signatures of Robert Sedgwick, Nicholas Davison, Francis Norton, and William Aspinwall, "Nott Publ." Not long before this Henry Parkes, master and owner of the ship *Begining* of Boston, 40 tons, hired half of it to William Withington, of Rhode Island, for a voyage from Rhode Island to Barbados and Guinea, then back to Barbados, Antigua, and Boston. *Ibid.,* p. 220.

[10] [1] *Aspinwall Notarial Records,* p. 287. The item which precedes this is a list of charges against a vessel, the accounts of John Parris, Richard Spanwick, Capt. Henry Gay, and Capt. Aaron Williams, Drs. The credits allowed are 265 lbs. elephants' teeth and 21 oz. gold. This suggests a Guinea voyage (possibly that of the *Fortune*) which had not carried negroes. The inclusion of these items in a collection relating to the slave trade may be questioned, but two references in later letters show that Parris's ventures even if not primarily for slaves sometimes carried a few and it has been thought justifiable to print these as illustrating New England's early connection with the African coast. Gibbons, Williams, Spanwick, and Gay were apparently concerned in a number of joint ventures. *Ibid.,* pp. 294, 309, 311.

I have formerly charged three Bills Exc: of two hund'd pounds uppon you wch I hope you have made good paym't and now at the Ballancing of o'r Accounts wth the Major there comes to yo'r partes to pay for yo'r halfe the summe of seventy pounds ten shillings and fyve pence, for wch somme have charged three Bills of Exc: uppon you, wch I hope you will make good paym't:

11. Accounts of the *Fortune*, 1650.[1]

April 12, 1650.

Whereas there are divers differences depending betweene John Peters M'r of the shippe *Fortune* and John Parris merch't about the sd Shipp and Iron bought by the sd Parris of the sd Peters we the sd John Peters and John Parris by o'r free and mutuall consent have referred all differences betweene us from the begining of the world unto this present sixteenth day of May one thousand six hund'd and fifty unto Major Generall Gibons as umpire, Nicholas Davison and Geo. Lad Arbitrators indiff[er]ently chosen betweene us to determine and finally to conclude the same and do per these presents bind o'r selves each to other in the penall summe of one thousand pounds sterl. to stand to theire award and finall determination.[2] . . .

We whose names are here under written being Arbitrators chosen by John Peters and John Parris as in the writeing above expressed to conclude of the differences betweene them, have heard both theire Allegations and seriously weighed the same doe hereby finally determine and award the same as followeth:[3] . . .

We award that John Parris shall give unto the sd John Peters at the arrivall of the sd shipp *Fortune* from Guiney to the Island of Barbados one Negro boy cleare of all Charges, being lawfully demanded per the sd Peters or his assignes.[4] . . .

In the name of God Amen. This Charter partie of a freightment made betweene John Parris Merch't of New England of th[e]one partie, and John Peters of the same place aforesd on th[e] other partie, Witnesseth that the sd John Peters being Owner of the good shipp called the *Fortune* of New England burthen one hundredd and twenty Tunns or thereabouts now rideing at Anchor in Charls River in New England aforesaid hath granted and letten to freight

[11] [1] *Aspinwall Notarial Records*, pp. 290-292.

[2] The agreement is signed by John Peters and John Parris.

[3] No. 1 concerns the price of iron purchased from Peters by Parris; no. 2 pronounces a charter party drawn in Barbados superseded by the New England document which follows; no. 3 relates to the accounts of Parris and Peters.

[4] The signatures read: "Edward Gibons, Nicholas Davison, Georg Lad Acknowledged by John Peterson the 12th of the 4th mo. 1650. before me Increase Nowell. Also I attested a Copie."

unto the sd John Parris all the aforesd shipp wth all her appurtenances what soever, to say masts yardes sailes anchors Cables uptackles ground tackles together wth foure Gunns and all other necesaries thereto belonging fitting for her intended voyage wch is in manner and forme following that is to say, so soone as wind and wether shall permitt the sd Ship *Fortune* to saile per Gods grace for the coast of Guiney or any other lawfull port or place where the sd John Parris shall send her, And the sd John Peters doth covenant and agree that the sd shipp *Fortune* shall continue in the sd John Parris his service eight months at the least or sixteene months at the most, and further the sd John Peters doth covenant and agree to and wth the sd John Parris that in case the sd ship *Fortune* happen to want in the interim of the voyage any appurtenances whatsoever, that he the sd John Parris is to furnish the sd shipp wth all, And he the sd John Peters doth covenant and agree to and wth the sd John Parris to allow him for what he shall so disburst, together wth so much provision for his money wch shalbe laid out, as two men indifferently chosen between them shall judge of. And the sd John Parris doth Covenant and agree to and wth the sd John Peters to victuall the sd shipp *Fortune* and to find and allowe a competent Company of men to saile her and to pay all such wages as shall grow due to the men wth in the terme of the sd voyage. And further the sd John Parris doth Coven't and agree for himselfe and his Assignes to pay unto the sd John Peters or his Assignes the summe of thirty pound sterl. per month after her arrivall at Barbados or any of the Leeward Ilands wth in fourty dayes after her discharge in goods of the Country according to the price Current, as also to allow and give unto the sd John Peters sufficient security for what freight shall then grow due, before any goods be taken out of the aforesd ship. In witnes whereof the parties above named have to this Charter-partie put to theire hands and seales the 10th day of Decemb. Ano. 1649 *Annoq. Rx.*[5]

12. Voyage of the *Gift of God*, 1650.[1]

[May 16, 1650.]

In the name of God Ame[n] This present writeing of Charter-party indented made concluded and agreed uppon this sixteenth of

[5] "Sealed and d'd in the presence of us, Robt Long, John Van hoegaerden, John Richbell, the marke of the sd John (+) Peters and a seale. Acknowledged the 12th of the 4th mo. 1650 before me Increase Nowell. I also attested a Copie." Dutch names not infrequently appear in the papers dealing with Parris's affairs, lending further plausibility to the supposition that he was selling slaves in Barbados.

[12] [1] *Aspinwall Notarial Records,* pp. 300-301. Other references to the voyage of the *Gift of God* appear on page 340, but nothing which throws further light on her African trading.

July Ano D'ni 1650 betweene John Parris Merch't of N E: of the one party, and John Thompson of Lime house in the count of Middlesex mariner of the other party, Witnesseth that the sd John Comand'r of the good ship called the *gift of God* of London, burthen one hund'd and twenty tonns or thereabouts now rideing at Anchor in Pascataqs river in N. E. aforesd hath granted and letten to freight unto the sd John Parris all the aforesd Shepp wth all her appertenances whatsoever, to say masts yards sailes anchors cables uptackles ground tackles boats thereto belonging, together wth ten p'cs of ordinances and all other necessaries thereto belonging fitting for her intended voyage, wth eighteene seamen, wch is in manner and forme following, that is to say the shippe the *Guift of God* shall saile per Gods grace from hence to the Barbados at or before the last day of August next ensueing the Date hereof, and there to take aboard such a Cargazoone of goods fitting for a voyage for Guiney if in case the sd Jo: Parris can there procure it, and from thence wth as much convenient speed as may be shall take her Course for Cape de Vird and so from thence to Cape Lopuz and to stay so long and unlade such goods and merchandizes as is or shalbe appointed by the sd John Parris or his Assignes: and also to lade such goods and merchandizes as the sd Parris or his Assignes shall lade aboard the sd shipp, and the sd Jo: Parris doth Coven't and grant per these presents that he his factors Deputies or Assignes or some of them shall and will well and truly pay or cause to be pd unto the sd Jo. Thompson the summe of ninety and fyve pounds sterl. per month for eight months certaine or twelve months uncertaine in goods of the Barbados according to the price there currant, wthin one month after the sd shipps arrivall there, and it is also covenanted and agreed per and betweene the sd parties to these presents that at the sd shipps arrivall at Barbados shall enter then into pay: Provided shee bee then ready to saile on her intended voyage wch is in manner and forme aforesd, and the sd John Thompson doth covenant promise and grant that the sd shipp shalbe stanch and strong, as also well and sufficiently victualled tackled and apparelled wth eighteene seamen as aforesd wth theire wages and all other necessaries at the sd J: Thompsons costs and charges, wch is needfull and necessary in such a shipp and such a voyage. It is also convenanted and agreed by and betweene the sd parties that the sd John Thompson is to have one quarter pt of the sd shipp and cargo pro Rato, and it is likewise covenanted that the aforesd men shalbe ready at all due times wth the boates of the sd shipp to serve the sd J. Parris his factors or Assignes to and from land dureing the sd voyage and also to discharge and Relade the sd shipp as opportunity shall serve.

And it is also agreed by and betweene the sd parties to these presents that the sd M'r or any of his men shall not receive aboard any goods or merchandizes from any man wth out first giveing notice to the sd John Parris his factors or Assignes to have one of theire consents, neither shall any of the seamen of the sd shipp trade for any Negro or Negroes whatsoever. And the sd J: Parris doth further Coven't to and wth the sd Jo: Thompson to buy the whole Cargo fitting for the intended Negro voyage if in case it may be procured in the barbados as also God sending the good shipp to her port in Guiney, the sd Thompson is to have foure Negroes frieght free, provided he there buy them wth his owne goods. And it is further agreed by and betweene the sd parties to these p[rese]nts, that in case the sd Cargo cannot be procured in the Barbados then the sd shipp being readie, to proceed on some other lawfull designe untill a Cargo can be procured and to have her freight as aforesd. It is farther enacted and agreed that whereas it is afore expressed, No seaman shall take aboard, any goods merchandizes aboard the sd shipp, Wee do now agree they shall take aboard as much goods as shall amount to the summe of two hundd pounds sterl. to vend uppon the Coast, provided they buy no Negroes. In witnes whereof we the parties abovesd have hereto sett o'r hands and seales binding o'r selvs each to othar for the true performance of all and singular the Coven'td articles and agreements in the penall summe of two thousand pounds sterl the day and yeare first above written.[2]

13. Deposition of Coowlons Lunerus, 1653.[1]

Coowlons Lunerus Aged fifty two yeeres or thereabouts saith that the vessell wherein Capt Harding left Morris and Company were and Came into this Countrye did not only Come into the berbadoes with its former Company to victuall but was permitted to trade there for negrooes which the secretary of the berbadoes Informed him and desired him the said Lunerus to sell to the master or merchant of the said vessell for [*torn*] for him at eighty pounds starl. a yeere and that he traded with and bought of the Inhabitants of berbadoes for the spaniards both wearing clothes, Linnen, and tobacco, and negrooes which they had not Reseaved aboard: further

[2] "John Parris and a seale, John Thompson and a seale. Sealed and d'd in the p'nce of us, Robert Sedgwick, John Allen Acknowledged the 16th of the 5th month 1650 by Mr John Parris and Mr. John Thompson before mee Increase Nowell. I also attested a Copie the 18 (5) 1650."

[13] [1] Suffolk Court Files, Boston Court House, no. 294. This fragment, almost illegible, and divorced from all explanatory material, is here printed among Massachusetts material solely because Edward Rawson's signature, which is attached, makes it clear that the deposition was taken in Boston. Why it was taken one can only surmise.

he saith that the Pilot doctor and carpenter were Hamburgers and that some of the states of England shipps had given out they had Resolved to take the said Vessell. deposed before the magis'te 10th March 53

14. Governor Leverett to the Lord Privy Seal, 1675.[1]

Boston, September 6, 1675.

Acknowledges receipt of the King's commands subcribed by his Lordship and 16 of the Privy Council, dated 2nd December 1674, by the hand of Thomas Deane, agent to the Royal African Company, on 21st June 1675. Is ready to afford him due assistance according to the King's command and as their service may call for, which he thinks, will not be in haste. For 40 years there has not been any attempt on that navigation by any of our Massachusetts adventurers, only some from England or some Barbadoes merchants that have sent upon that voyage, and taken this way to repair their vessels.[2]

15. Governor Bradstreet to the Committee of Trade and Plantations, 1680.[1]

Boston, May 18, 1680.

There hath been no Company of blacks or Slaves brought into the Country since the beginning of this plantation, for the space of Fifty yeares, onely one small Vessell about two yeares since after twenty months' voyage to Madagasca[r] brought hither betwixt Forty and fifty Negro's most women and Children Sold here for ten 15£ and 20£

[14] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1675-1676, p. 274. Endorsed: "Recd. at Com'tee, 4 Feb., 1675-1676." John Leverett was governor of Massachusetts Bay 1673-1678. The Lord Privy Seal was the Earl of Anglesey.

[2] The "navigation" to which reference is here made is that to Africa. Though Governor Leverett could not support the letter of his statement that no such voyage had taken place for forty years (Joseph B. Felt records the death of an inhabitant of Salem on the Guinea coast in 1663, *Annals of Salem,* II. 235), he is quite right in thinking that New England mariners offered no competition to the Royal African Company. The number of negroes in Massachusetts was increasing, but most of the increase came from the West Indies. Not long before this, one small importation had gained considerable attention. Nicholas Leech and William Hobby came to Boston, some time before 1670, bringing with them three negro women, one negro man, and one Indian woman, purchased at St. Christopher about 1665. In 1670 Robert Granby sued them for the price of these negroes and for 16,000 lbs. of sugar. The inclusion of the sugar leaves doubt as to how much of the £600 sued for should be considered as the value of the negroes. Suffolk Court Files, no. 1016.

[15] [1] Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections,* third ser., VIII. 337. Endorsed: "From the Governor of The Massachusetts with Answers to Inquiries. Recd. the 28 June 1680." On Oct. 12, 1676, Edward Randolph, in his "Answer to several heads of inquiry concerning the present state of New England," wrote: "not above 200 slaves and these brought in their own ships from Guinea and Madagascar. . . . There are some ships lately sent to Guinea, Madagascar, etc." (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1675-1676, pp. 465-466; Randolph's "Answer" is printed in *Hutchinson Papers* (Prince Society, 1865), II. 219, 232. For a discussion of the negro trade with Madagascar see this work, I. 93-95, and *post,* nos. 343-345, 348, 349.

apeice, which stood the merchants in neer 40£ [?] apeice one with another: Now and then, two or three Negro's are brought hither from Barbados and other of his Majesties plantations, and sold here for about twenty pounds apeice, So that there may bee within our Government about one hundred or one hundred and twenty. . . .

16. Petition of John Winslow, 1680.[1]

10 June 1680.

To the Honorable the Governor [and] Council sitting in Boston

The Petition of John Winslow Humbly prayeth your Hon'rs Favour in granting him liberty to bring up his Negros to Boston which were by yo'r Honors ordered to be sent down unto the Islands they having been cleere from the small pox more then two months, since which they have had their health, and as they lye yonder are at a very great charge, damage and hinderance to your petitioner in the Sale of them; the case whereof hee humbly prayeth.

17. Sir Henry Morgan to Lord Sunderland, 1680.[1]

Port Royal, November 12, 1680.

. . . There lately arrived here a ketch empty, with only two men on board. Their statement on oath is that they were bound from New England to Guinea, where they loaded with negroes, elephants' teeth, and dust gold, and sailed for Nevis. On their way they called at an island called St. Martin's under the French Government, to wood and water, and were first invited into the harbour with much friendship, but afterwards suddenly seized and the ship unloaded. The master and his mate stayed there to obtain redress, but consented that these two men should adventure by stealth to this island, and when I have ascertained the whole story of the master, I shall transmit it to your Lordship. . . .

18. John Saffin and others to William Welstead, 1681.[1]

Boston, the 12th of June 1681.

Mr. Wm. Welstead, Wee did the last yeare send out Wm. Warren M'r of the ship *Elizabeth* for Guinea and at his returne ordered him to put in to Swansy for intelligence from us how to proceed farther

[16] [1] Mass. Arch., LXI. 212.

[17] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1677-1680, p. 630. The earlier part of the letter relates to trade with the Spaniards. Morgan reported this to the Earl of Carlisle on Jan. 8, saying that he had the depositions of the two men. British Museum, Sloane MSS. 2724, p. 199.

[18] [1] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* XXXI. 75-76 (January, 1877). A note states that this document was copied from the Jeffries Manuscripts, "by permission of Mr. Walter Lloyd Jeffries of Boston."

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and heareing that the people of Roade Island Understand thereof and all give out there intentions to Ceise her, do give you this as our ordor and request that you take the first opportunity to proceed for sayd Island and when you have there dispached yr buisiness (in which be expeditious) go from thence and stand to and agayne at the entrance of that harbour, keepeing a good looke out to discover all ships that may be bound in there and if possible speake wth them and if it so happen as that you meett wth sayd Warren give him the letter here inclosed and cause him to returne wth you to Nantasket (where of before you come in there take in such negroes etc. as he hath of o'rs, and come up in the night wth them giveing us notice thereof wth what privacy you can, and we shall take care for there Landing,[2] what we have farther to ad is to keepe your men Ignorant of your designe and Improve your time what you can in fishing or w't elce may be helpfull to defray our charges, but not prejudiciall to our mayne designe in meeting wth Warren wch is the needfull at present.[3]

[2] There can be little question but that Boston at this time provided some market for negroes. A French refugee who visited the city in 1687, to gather information looking toward a settlement of fellow refugees, wrote: "You may also own Negroes and Negresses; there is not a House in Boston, however small may be its Means, that has not one or two. There are those that have five or six, and all make a good Living. . . . Negroes cost from twenty to forty Pistoles, according as they are skilful or robust; there is no Danger that they will leave you. . . . for the Moment one is missing from the Town, you have only to notify the Savages, who provided you promise them Something, and describe the Man to them, he is right soon found. But it happens rarely that they quit you, for they would know not where to go, there being few trodden Roads, and those which are trodden lead to English Towns or Villages, which, on your writing, will immediately send back your Men. There are Ship-Captains who might take them off; but that is open Larceny and would be rigorously punished." N. B. Shurtleff, *Topographical and Historical Description of Boston* (1871), I. 48.

[3] The signatures are John Saffin, John Usher "for himself and Edward Shippen," James Wetcomb, and Andrew Belcher. Of these John Saffin was a successful Boston merchant, Boston deputy to the General Court, and Speaker of the colonial House of Representatives. Between 1654 and 1658 he had lived in Virginia (Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Transactions,* I. 85-86 n.). Of Andrew Belcher, father of the more famous Jonathan, the *Boston News Letter* wrote at the time of his death (Nov. 4, 1717): "On Thursday Night, last, Died the Honourable Andrew Belcher, Esq.; One of His Majesty's Council for this Province, and a very great Merchant, in the 71st Year of his Age: He has left a considerable Estate; and that which is much better A Good Name: having Obtained and Preserved to the last, the Character of a Religious, Prudent, Honest Man, both in his many Publick Offices, and in his Private Affairs and Business, which for many Years Exceeded any one Man in the Province."

19. Vessels from Boston for Africa, 1698-1707.[1]

A List of Vessells Cleared att the Port of Boston In New England For Affrica, Betwee the 25th of June 1698, to the 25th of Decemb'r 1707

Date	Mastr's Name	Vessell's Name	Value of Cargo	Duty Recd.
1699, Sept. 13th	Thomas Winsor	*Friendship* Brig'e.	£306 New Eng. Money[2]	£30 12 *s*
1700, Augt. 19th	Ditto	Ditto	The former Cargo of the said Value being taken the Duty allowed for itt. As Certified upon Oath. This as it appears upon the Custom house books in the Port above said as Attested this 3d of Octob'r 1708.	

20. The Selling of Joseph, 1700.[1]

Boston, June 12, 1700.

Obj. 3. The Africans have Wars one with another: Our Ships bring lawful Captives taken in those Wars.

Answ. For ought is known, their Wars are much such as were between Jacob's Sons and their Brother Joseph. If they be between

[19] [1] Public Record Office, C. O. 5: 865, no. 8 i; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1708-1709, p. 111. Read Jan. 3, 1709 (*Journal of Board of Trade,* 1704-1709, p. 572). Until the passage of the act of 1698 (this work, I. 421-429) colonial merchants who ventured into the African trade did so as interlopers violating the privileges of the Royal African Company. After the passage of that act they were allowed to trade on payment of the ten per cent. duty demanded of all separate traders.

[2] £227 sterling. The list is signed, "John Jekyll Coll't and Survey'r."

[20] [1] Samuel Sewall, "The Selling of Joseph: a Memorial," Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings,* VII. 161-165 (1863-1864), and *Collections,* fifth ser., VI. 16-20 n. A short extract from Sewall's well-known pamphlet is sufficient to set forth his argument. The episode which called it forth is described at length by Abner C. Goodell in "John Saffin and his Slave Adam" (Col. Soc. Mass., *Transactions,* I. 84-112). Sewall writes in his Diary June 19, 1700: "Having been long and much dissatisfied with the Trade of fetching Negros from Guinea; at last I had a strong Inclination to Write something about it; but it wore off. At last reading Bayne, Ephes. about servants, who mentions Blackamoors; I began to be uneasy that I had so long neglected doing any thing. When I was thus thinking, in came Bro'r Belknap to shew me a Petition he intended to present to the Genl. Court for the freeing a Negro and his wife, who were unjustly held in Bondage. And there is a Motion by a Boston Committee to get a Law that all Importers of Negros shall pay 40 *s* per head, to discourage the bringing of them. And Mr. C. Mather resolves to publish a sheet to exhort Masters to labour their Conversion. Which makes me hope that I was call'd of God to Write this Apology for them; Let his Blessing accompany the same." ("Sewall Papers," Mass. Hist. Soc., *Colls.,* fifth ser., VI. 16). Sewall's reading was Paul Baynes's *Commentary on the First Chapter of the Ephesians* (1618, Col. Soc. Mass., *Transactions,* I. 85 n.). In the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society is a broadside, "The Selling of Joseph, a Memorial," Colophon: "Boston of the Massachusetts, Printed by Bartholomew Green and John Allen, June 24th, 1700." Articulate criticism of the trade in negroes may be said to have begun in Massachusetts with the publication of this pamphlet, which brought to Sewall support of which he later wrote: "Amidst the Frowns and hard Words I have met with for this undertaking, it is no small refreshment to me, that I have the Learned, Reverend, and Aged Mr. Higginson for my Abettor. By the interposition of this Brest-work, I hope to carry on and manage this enterprise with Safety and Success" (Apr. 13, 1706, Sewall to the Rev. John Higginson, *Letter-Book of Samuel Sewall,* I. 326, Mass. Hist. Soc., *Colls.,* sixth ser., I.). Sewall's special reference here is to his return to the subject of the pamphlet written six years earlier. See *post,* no. 23 n.

Town and Town; Provincial, or National: Every War is upon one side Unjust. An Unlawful War can't make lawful Captives. And by Receiving, we are in danger to promote, and partake in their Barbarous Cruelties. I am sure, if some Gentlemen should go down to the Brewsters to take the Air, and Fish: And a stronger party from Hull should Surprise them, and Sell them for Slaves to a Ship outward bound: they would think themselves unjustly dealt with; both by Sellers and Buyers. And yet 'tis to be feared, we have no other kind of Title to our Nigers. Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do you even so to them: for this is the Law and the Prophets Matt. 7. 12.

21. Saffin's "Brief and Candid Answer," 1700.[1]

Obj. 3. The Africans have Wars one with another; our Ships bring lawful Captives taken in those Wars.

To which our Author answers Conjecturally and Doubtfully, for ought we know, that which may or may not be; which is insignificant and proves nothing. He also compares the Negroes Wars, one Nation with another, with the Wars between Joseph and his Brethern. But where doth he read of any such War? We read indeed of a Domestick Quarrel they had with him, they envyed and hated Joseph; but by what is Recorded, he was meerly passive and meek as a Lamb. This Gentleman farther adds, That there is not any War but is unjust on one side, etc. Be it so, what doth that signify: We read of lawful Captives taken in the Wars and lawful to be Bought and Sold without contracting the guilt of the Agressors; for which we have the example of Abraham before quoted; but if we must stay while both parties Warring are in the right, there would be no lawful Captives at all to be Brought; which seems to be rediculous to imagine, and contrary to the tenour of Scripture, and all Humane Histories on that subject.

[21] [1] John Saffin, "A Brief and Candid Answer to a late Printed Sheet, Entituled, *The Selling of Joseph*;" Moore, *Notes on Slavery,* app., p. 254. The appendix to the "Answer," which defends Saffin's conduct toward his slave, Moore does not print but it may be found in Col. Soc. Mass., *Trans.,* I. 103 ff. Saffin's story is also to be read in the documents in the *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay,* vol. VIII., App., vol. III., pp. 266-271.

22. Notices of Sales, 1704-1705.

Boston, June 1, 1704.[1]

Two Negro men and one Negro Woman and Child; to be Sold by Mr. John Colmon, Merchant; to be seen at Col. Charles Hobbey, Esq. his House in Boston.

Boston, New England The 6th October, 1705.[2]

This Day by me The subscriber was Exposed to publick Sale by the Candle[3] at Mr. Skinners, The Swan Taverne, A Negro Boy named Jack, Alias Emannuel who was a slaive Taken from the Portuguese by the Pirate Sen'r Quares and his crew in the Brigt. *Anna* and brought into this port among other things, And by order of the Govemt. here the said Slave was Exposed to Sale after some Days Notification at the Coffee House and other Publick Places in writing, and was Sett up at 19 G's[4] the highest bidder appearing at the Sd Sale was Henry Shaw who had him fairly for Twenty pound this money at Eight Shillings per ounce, Troy.

23. Massachusetts Broadside, 1704.[1]

Sewall, Samuel.

The Athenian Oracle, The Second Edition, Printed at London. 1704. Vol. I. P. 545-548. Quest. Whether Trading for Negros *i. e.* carrying them out of their own Country into perpetual Slavery, be in it self Unlawful, and especially contrary to the great Law of Christianity? Boston of the Massachusetts, December 5, 1705. Printed by Bartholomew Green, and are to be Sold by Samuel Phillips at the Brick Shop above the Town-House

[22] [1] *News Letter,* June 1, 12, 19, 1704. Sir Charles Hobby had married Colman's sister Judith (Justin Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston,* 1881, II. 542 n.). The advertisements of negroes for sale in Boston offer some slight clue to the numbers imported into Massachusetts and to the identity of the importers. An effort has been made to eliminate those notices which relate to the sale of negroes already resident in the colony, but it is obvious that this cannot always be done with certainty and in cases of doubt the editor has included doubtful items.

[2] *Newport Historical Magazine,* III. 263 (April, 1883). This is signed "Shannon, Vendue Master."

[3] *I. e.,* sale by auction. Bids were received while the candle burned an inch.

[4] Guineas.

[23] [1] *Broadsides, Ballads, etc., printed in Massachusetts, 1639-1800* (Mass. Hist. Soc., *Colls.,* vol. 75), p. 41, n. 88. A copy of the broadside is in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and in that of the Library of Congress. "Capt. Sewall sent the following question over to the Athenian Society," MS. note on the broadside. In the letter to the Rev. John Higginson already cited (no. 20, n. 1) Sewall wrote: "It is now near Six years agoe since I printed a Sheet in defence of Liberty. The next year after, Mr. Saffin sent forth a printed Answer: I forbore troubling the Province with any Reply, untill I saw a very severe Act passing against Indians and Negros, and then I Reprinted that Question, as I found it stated and answered in the Athenian Oracle; which I knew nothing of before last Autumn was twelve-moneths, when I accidently cast my Eye upon it." *Letter-Book of Sewall,* I. 326.

24. Act for the Better Preventing of a Spurious and Mixt Issue, 1705.[1]

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,

[Sect. 6.] That from and after the first day of May in the year one thousand seven hundred and six, every master of ship or vessel, merchant or other person, importing or bringing into this province any negro or negro's, male or female, of what age soever, shall enter their number, names and sex in the impost office; and the master shall insert the same in the manifest of his lading, and shall pay to the commissioner and receiver of the impost four pounds per head for every such negro, male or female; and as well the master, as the ship or vessel wherein they are brought, shall be security for payment of the said duty, and both or either of them shall stand charged, in the law, therefore to the commissioner, who may deny to grant a clearing for such ship or vessel until payment be made, or may recover the same of the master, (at the commissioner's election), by action of debt, bill, plaint or information, in any of her majestys' courts of record within this province.

[Sect. 7. A master failing to make entry shall forfeit £8 for each negro imported.]

[Sect. 8.] And if any negro, imported as aforesaid, for whom the duty is paid, shall be again exported within the space of twelve months, and be bona fide sold in any other plantation, upon due certificate thereof produced, under the hand and seal of the collector or naval officer, in such other plantation, the importer here shall be allowed to draw back the whole duty of four pounds by him paid, and order shall be given accordingly. And the like advantage of the drawback shall be allowed to the purchaser of any negro sold within this province, in case such negro happen to dye within the space of six weeks next after importation, or bringing into this province.[2]

[24] [1] *Acts and Resolves of Mass. Bay,* I. 578-579 (1692-1714). The selectmen of Boston, on May 26, 1701, voted that their representatives are desired "To promote the Encouragement the bringing of white serv'ts, and to put a Period to negros being Slaves" ("Selectmen's Records, 1701-1715," *Report of the Record Commissioners,* 1884, p. 5). In 1709 an "Act to Encourage the Importation of White Servants" placed a duty on Indian slaves, as is here done upon negro importations, while it bestowed a bounty of 40 *s.* per head on the importation of white male servants. After 1712 the importation of Indian slaves was forbidden. *Acts and Resolves,* I. 634, 698.

[2] The underlying purpose or purposes of this act can be conjectural only. There may have been advocates of it whose repugnance to the slave trade led them to hope to abolish it by means of a duty; some may have desired to protect the incoming white population from slave labor, though at this period that does not seem a reasonable explanation; some may have desired, as the title suggests, to protect the colony from racial intermixture. No one can assert with confidence that this law checked or did not check the importation of negroes. It assuredly did not prevent it.

25. Notices of Sales, 1706-1707.[1]

June 10, 1706.

Three Negro Men Slaves, and three Negro Women, to be Sold; Inquire of John Campbell Postmaster, and know further.

February 17, 1707.

Any Person or Persons that has a Negro Man Slave or Slaves to Sell, or to be Transported to Virginia [2] for a Market, may repair to John Campbell Post-master of Boston, where they may know further; Those to be Transported shall have their Passage free for their Labour thither.

26. The Importation of Negroes into Massachusetts, 1706.[1]

By last Years Bill of Mortality for the Town of Boston in Numb 100 *News Letter,*[2] we are furnished with a List of 44 Negroes dead last year, which being computed one with another at 30 *l.* per Head,[3] amounts to the Sum of One Thousand three hundred and Twenty Pounds, of which we would make this Remark: That the Importing of Negroes into this or the Neighbouring Provinces is not so beneficial either to the Crown or Country, as White Servants would be.

For Negroes do not carry Arms to defend the Country as Whites do:

Negroes are generaly Eye-Servants, great Thieves, much addicted to stealing, Lying, and Purloining.

They do not People our Country as Whites would do whereby we should be strengthened against an Enemy.

[25] [1] *News Letter.* Notices similar to the first one appeared on Aug. 26 and Sept. 9. Writers eager to prove the unpopularity of the slave trade in Massachusetts have instanced the anonymity of such advertisements as these as showing the unwillingness of the vendor to make his name public. The use of the name of the postmaster or some other well-known official was equally common in the advertisements of houses or furniture and signified only that the advertiser, having no place of business, wished to provide a place generally accessible where the public might apply for information.

[2] The sale of New England negroes in Virginia was probably not uncommon, though the evidence for it is scant. Philip A. Bruce cites an instance in 1678: "Know all men by these presents that I John Endicott, Cooper, of Boston in New England, have sold unto Richard Medlicott, a Spanish Mulatto, by name Antonio, I having full power to sell for his life time, but at the request of William Taylor, I do sell him but for ten years from the day that he shall disembark for Virginia, the ten years to begin, and at the expiration of the said ten years, the said Mulatto to be a free man to go wheresoever he pleases. I do acknowledge to have received full satisfaction of Medlicott." *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century,* II. 81; *William and Mary College Quarterly,* VI. 117.

[26] [1] *News Letter,* June 10, 1706.

[2] *News Letter,* Mar. 18, 1706.

[3] The valuation placed upon negroes for tax purposes at this time was: "Each male negro above fourteen years of age, at twenty pounds value; each female negro of fourteen years of age and upwards, at fifteen pounds value: except said trustees, by reason of their age or infirmity, shall see just cause to make any abatement of said value, which they are hereby allowed." *Acts and Resolves,* I. 615.

By Encouraging the importing of White Men Servants, allowing somewhat to the importer, most Husbandmen in the Country might be furnished with Servants for 8, 9, or 10 *l.* a Head, who are not able to Launch out 40 or 50 *l.* for a Negro the now common Price.

A Man then might buy a White Man Servant we suppose for 10 *l.* to Serve 4 years, and Boys for the same price to Serve 6, 8 or 10 years: If a White Servant die, the Loss exceeds not 10 *l.* but if a Negro dies 'tis a very great Loss to the Husbandman. Three years Interest of the price of the Negro, will near upon if not altogether purchase a White Man Servant.

If Necessity call for it, that the Husbandman must fit out a man against the Enemy; if he has a Negro he cannot send him, but if he has a White Servant, 'twill answer the end, and perhaps save his Son at home.

Were Merchants and Masters Encouraged as already said to bring in Men Servants, there needed not be such complaint against Superiors Impressing our Children to the War, there would then be Men enough to be had without Impressing.

The bringing in of such servants would much enrich this Province, because Husbandmen would not only be able far better to manure what Lands are already under Improvement, but would also improve a great deal more that now lyes waste under Woods, and enable this Province to set about raising of Naval Stores, which would be greatly advantagious to the Crown of England, and this Province. . . .

Suppose the Government here should allow Forty Shillings per head for five years, to such as should Import every of those years 100 White Men Servants, and each to serve 4 Years, the cost would be but 200 *l.* a year, and a 1000 for the five years: the first 100 servants being free the 4th year, they serve the 5th for Wages, and the 6th there is 100 that goes out into the Woods, and settles a 100 Families to strengthen and Baracade us from the Indians, and so a 100 Families more every year successively.

And here you see that in one year the Town of Boston has lost 1320 *l.* by 44 Negroes, which is also a Loss to this Country in general, and for a less Loss, (if it may improperly be so called) for a 1000 *l.* the Country may have 500 Men in 5 years time for the 44 Negroes dead in one year.

A certain person within these 6 years had two Negroes dead computed both at 60 *l.* which would have procured him six white Servants at 10 *l.* per head to have Served 24 years, at 4 years a piece, without running such a great risque, and the Whites would have strengthened the Country, that Negroes do not. 'Twould do wel[l]

that none of those Servants be liable to be Impressed during their Service of Agreement at their first Landing.

That such Servants being Sold or Transported out of this Province during the time of their Service, the person that buys them be liable to pay 3 *l.* into the Treasury.

27. Petition of David Jeffries, 1707.[1]

June 12, 1707.

To his Excellency Joseph Dudley Esqr. Capt. General and Governour in Chief and to the Hono'ble the Council and House of Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay now in General Court assembled June 12th 1707.

The Petition of David Jeffries of Boston Merch't, Humbly Sheweth,

That your Petitioner had a negro woman named Bilhah and four Small children one that Sucked at her Breast consign'd to him in the sloop *Rebecca* John Pitts Ma'r from Jamaica who arrived here in October last. And your Petitioner was forced to pay four pounds a head for their Importation which your petitioner thinks very hard in regard some these sd Children were not worth the Money and therefore

Yo'r Petitioner humbly prays the favour of this great and General Assembly that so much thereof may be remitted him as Shall seem Equitable and reasonable.[2]

28. Governor Dudley to the Board of Trade, 1708.[1]

Boston New England Octob'r 1st 1708.

My Lords, Your Lordships Commands of the fifteenth of April last past, referring to the African trade for Negros, carryed on by the African Company, and other Seperate Traders to Her Ma'tys Province of the Massachusetts, came to my hand from Barbados on

[27] [1] *Acts and Resolves, Mass. Bay,* vol. VIII., App., vol. III., pp. 770-771, from Council Records, VIII. 335, and Mass. Arch., IX. 157.

[2] "In the House of Representatives, June 13: 1707, Read and Referrd to next Session, Novr. 11: 1707. Read and Committed." Endorsed: "David Jeffries. Petition, June 13: 1707. Refer'd to next Sessions." On Nov. 15 the House granted the petition by remitting the duty on the youngest child. This received the assent of the governor on Nov. 25:

"Order for abating Four Pounds of the Duty due by David Jeffries of Boston, on a Negress and Four Children consigned to him in the sloop *Rebecca,* from Jamaica, John Pitts, Master.

"Upon reading the petition of David Jeffries, merchant, praying an abatement of the duty for four small negroe children imported,

"Ordered That the Sum of Four Pounds be abated to the Petitioner, in regard one of the Said negroes, was a Sucking child." *Acts and Resolves,* vol. VIII., App., vol. III., p. 248.

[28] [1] C. O. 5: 865, no. 8; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1708-1709, p. 110.

the Twenty eighth of Septemb'r past. And I have used all possible application to make my letters ready from this Province, as I hope to do from the Province of New Hampshire, and this is the first conveyance since.[2]

And that I might perfectly Satisfy your Lordships what Negro's have been Imported into this Province from the Twenty fourth of June, 1698 to the 25th of Decemb'r, 1707, I have caused the Officers of the Revenue to Attend me, and have had Conference with the principal Merchants and Planters referring to the Number and prices of Negro's brought in.

And I find by the best Computation that I can make (which cannot faile me to any Degree) That there are in Boston Negro Servants to the Numb'r of 400 above halfe of them born here.....400
In One hundred Towns and Villages in this Province.....150

Total.....550

That in the sd Nine years and halfe last past of the above said Number Arrived Two hundred.

That none of these were brought in by any Ships of the Affrican Company, nor Separate Traders directly from any part of Affrica, but from the West Indies, That is to Say, Barbados, Jamaica, the Leward Islands, etc. Nor can I learn from any Merchants or Planters here, that before this time, The Affrican Company had any Ships or Factory here; But Some Traders on their own Accompts, a long time Since, have been upon the Coast of Guinean and brought Slaves, the last was Thomas Windsor in the year 1700, who brought in Twenty five negroes. Copy of the Dutys paid to the Affrican Company is Inclosed. Since which here is an Officer, Mr. Benja. Alford, Impowrd to receive the Ten per Cent. As by Act of Parliam't given for the Affrican Company,[3] whose Commission is Dated 25th Feby. 1700/1.

Every Body is sensible of the Absolute necessity and great benefit of that trade for the West Indies, but it is not so Serviceable for these Northern Plantations.

Because the Winter halfe year Admits of little Service from them, but Demands a great deal of Clotheing, which is very dear in these Provinces.

[2] On Oct. 10 Governor Dudley wrote that there were seventy negro servants in New Hampshire, about twenty of whom had been brought in during the past nine years (*ibid.*, p. 111). On Jan. 26, 1709, Eleazar Kimberly reported to the Board of Trade that after strictest inquiry, he found that no negroes had been imported into Connecticut by the Royal African Company or the separate traders; that perhaps half a dozen a year might come from the West Indies. In 1710 Deputy Governor Saltonstall made a similar report. *Ibid.*, 1708-1709, p. 209; 1710-1711, p. 123.

[3] Act of 1698. See this work, I. 421-429.

The Negroes so brought in from the West Indies, are Usually the worst Servants they have, which are therefore Sent to be Solde. The prizes are Usually between Fifteen and Twenty five pounds per head.

These Plantations being upon the Continent Admit of their running from their Masters, whereas upon the Islands they are soon Recovered.

Upon all which Accounts they have been found so little profitable and the Planters here do so much prefer White Servants from Great Britain, Ireland, Jersey, and Guernsey, who are Serviceable in the War presently, and after become Planters, that they have Set, by a Law three years Since, Four pounds per head upon all Blacks imported, to Encourage the bringing in of White Servants.

This my Lords is the past and present State of that Trade in this province.[4]

29. Notices of Sales, 1712-1714.[1]

November 10, 1712.

A Young negro girl born in Barbadoes that speaks good English, to be sold by Mr. Grove Hirst,[2] merchant, and to be seen at his house in Trea-mont Street, Boston.

April 13, 1713.[3]

A very likely Negro Man, aged about 18 or 20 years, lately arrived from Jamaica, to be Sold by Capt. Gilbert Bant and to be seen at his House in Middle-Street, Boston.

August 3, 1713.

Three Negro Men and two Women to be Sold and seen at the House of Mr. Josiah Franklin at the Sign of the blue Ball in Union-Street Boston.[4]

[1] To this letter the Board of Trade replied on Jan. 12, 1709: "We take notice that you say the Assembly of the Massachusetts Bay have, by an Act passed about three years ago, laid a duty of £4 per head on negroes, you ought to have acquainted us with the year the said Act was passed in, and have given us the title of the Act, for we can find none such among those we have; and therefore we expect that you transmit it to us by the first opportunity. One of the reasons you give why negroes are not desired in New England, is because it being on the Continent the negroes have thereby an opportunity of running away; the same reason will hold in Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, which are also upon the Continent, where negroes are so valuable." C. O. 5: 913, pp. 44-46.

[29] [1] *News Letter,* of dates given.

[2] Grove Hirst was Samuel Sewall's son-in-law.

[3] During the year 1713 there are in the custom-house entries as recorded in the newspapers two vessels outward bound for Cape Verde. Without further evidence of negro trade such items have not been included here, though a vessel bound for Cape Verde could easily engage in the traffic in slaves.

[4] The Blue Ball, at the corner of Hanover and Union streets, was purchased by Josiah Franklin in 1712 and remained in the possession of the family 41 years. See Shurtleff, *Description of Boston* (pp. 626-634), for a history of the house; Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston* (II. 273), for a picture of the sign which gave it its name.

June 14, 1714.

Five Young Negro's, aged between Ten and Fifteen Years to be Sold by Mr. John Jeffers, and to be seen at his House in Brattle Street, Boston.

August 23, 1714.

Three Negro Women, one Girl, four Men and two Boys, to be Sold by Messieurs John and David Jeffers Jun., and to be seen at Mr. John Jeffer's House in Brattle Street, Boston.

September 13, 1714.

To be disposed of by Mr. Samuel Sewall Merchant, at his Warehouse near the Swing-Bridge in Merchants Row Boston, several Irish Maid Servants, time most of them for Five years one Irish Man Servant who is a good Barber and Wiggmaker, also Four or Five likely Negro Boys.[5]

September 27, 1714.

One Negro Woman, Five Negro Boys, and One Negro Girl, to be Sold by John Ferry, and to be seen at the House of Mr. Simon Rome, the next Door to the Post Office in Cornhill, Boston.

October 25, 1714.

Several Negro Men and Women, to be sold on reasonable Terms, by Mr. Richard Bill Merchant, and to be seen at his House in Sudbury-Street Boston.

Two Negro Men aged about 22 Years, a Boy aged about 16, and a Girl aged about 12 Years, to be Sold by Thomas Palmer Esqr. or Capt. Joseph Wood: The Negro's to be seen at the House of Capt. Gilbert in Fish-street at the Upper End of Scarlets Wharffe in Boston.

30. Accounts of Nathaniel Harris, 1712.[1]

1712.	Mr. Nathanael Humphry of Antigua Dr.	£	*s.*	*d.*
May.	To what he was indebted to me at Antigua to come out of the produce of the Negro Man	14	14	0
July	To freight of 2 Negro's	4	0	0
	To the Impost of Ditto	7	12	6
	To 2 Shirts 1 pr. Shoes and Cap for Negro Man	1	7	0
	To Cloathe and keeping the Negro Woman and damage recd. by her	5	0	0
	To Comission for Selling the Negro Man	1	10	0
		£34	3	6

[5] A combination of trade in negroes and in Irish servants was probably not unusual.

[30] [1] Mass. Arch., IX. 165-166. The previous year Nathaniel Harris, in the sloop *Virginia,* cleared from Boston for Virginia (*News Letter,* Dec. 10, 1711).

The notices of sales for 1711 are:

May 14, One man, one woman, two, boys, William Clarke
Nov. 12, Negro man, Henry Franklyn
Dec. 10, Negro man, Post Office

	Contra Cr.	£	*s.*	*d.*
1712	By Mr. Dwight for one Negro Man Sold to him for	30.	0.	0
	By Ballance due to me	4.	3.	6
	By one Negro Woman in my house to be delivered on demand named Hagar and "appraised at twenty Eight pounds money in province bill upon the Oaths of Capt. Gyles Fifield and Tho. Jenkins Sworn before me Paul Dudley, Justice of Peace." [2]			

BOSTON, October 9th, 1712.
Errors Excepted NATH'L HARRIS

31. SUMMARY OF SALES, 1715-1721.[1]

Date	Negroes	Agent
1715, Apr. 15	Negro boy and two young negro women	Samuel Sewall
May 9	Several negro men and women	William Atkinson
June 6	" " " " "	" "
July 18	Six young negro women and four children	Post Office
" "	Two negro men, one negro woman	William Harris
Aug. 8	Several young negro men	Messrs. Guionneau
" "	Two negro men and a boy	Capt. Simon Ramy
" "	Two notices of single negroes	
" 22	Three young negro women	Ship Tavern
Sept. 12	Six negro men	John Binning
Oct. 10	Four negro men, two women	William Clark
1716, June 25	Several negro men, a woman, a boy	John Pym
1717, Apr. 8	Several negro women and boys	Capt. John Corney
June 10	Negro man, negro girl, two negro boys	Nathaniel Cunningham
Aug. 12	Two negro boys	Jonathan Barnard
1718, Apr. 28	Two negro women	William Harris
Oct. 20	Three negro men and two women	John and James Alford
1719, Apr. 20	Negro man	Mr. Skinner
" "	Two negro men	John Powell
May 11	Several negro boys and girls	John Charnock and Co.
" "	Two negro men	Thaddeus Maccarty
" 25	Negro boy	Samuel Sewall
June 1	Two negro girls, a negro woman	Mr. Faneuel's Warehouse
Nov. 30	Negro man, two negro women	Capt. Peter King
" "	Negro boy	Capt. John Ellery
1720, Jan. 4	Negro man	Capt. Samuel Long in Charlestown, or Mr. Thomas Moffat in Boston
Oct. 24	Negro woman, two negro boys	Capt. Robinson
Nov. 21	Negro man	Capt. Joseph Wadsworth
Dec. 19	Gold Coast negro woman	Capt. Robinson
1721, May 8	Two negro men	William Clark
" 29	Several negro men from St. Jago	Mr. Holmes

[2] The words enclosed in quotation-marks are in different handwriting from the remainder of the manuscript.

[31] [1] Notices of these sales appeared in the *News Letter* or in the *Boston Gazette* of the dates given.

32. William Pepperrell to Benjamin Bullard, 1719.[1]

June 25, 1719.

Sir, I received yours by Captain Morris, with bills of lading for five negroes and one hogshead of rum. One negro woman, marked Y on the left breast, died in about three weeks after her arrival, in spite of medical aid which I procured. All the rest died at sea. I am sorry for your loss. It may have resulted from deficient clothing so early in the spring.

33. Proceedings of the House of Representatives, 1722.[1]

December 7, 1722.

Penn Townsend, Esq; brought down a Petition of Leonard Vassal,[2] praying, That as he brought over some Negros for the use of his Family, he may have the Impost remitted. Sent down from Council Recommended. Read and Ordered, That the prayer of the Petition be granted. Sent up for Concurrence.

December 8, 1722.

Charles Frost, Esq; brought down a Petition signed Leonard Vassal, passed on in Council Decemb. 7, *viz.* Read and Concurred. Provided, That if the Petitioner shall hereafter dispose of any of the Negros within this Province, he shall pay unto the Commissioner of Impost, the Duty set by Law for the same.

Sent down for Concurrence. Read and Non-concurr'd,

And the House Insist on their own Vote. Sent up for Concurrence.

34. Notices of Sales, 1726.[1]

May 12, 1726.

Three likely Negro Boys lately Arrived here, to be sold by Mr. Jacob Royal in Union St., Boston.[2]

[32] [1] Usher Parsons, *Life of Sir William Pepperrell* (Boston, 1855), p. 28. Benjamin Bullard, an Antigua merchant, had shipped to Kittery Point five negroes, consigned to the firm of Pepperrells. In 1705 a slave belonging to William Pepperrell had run away and reached South Carolina, where he was secured by the governor and returned to Kittery. *News Letter,* Apr. 22, 1706.

[33] [1] *Journal of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts,* IV. 139, 140.

[2] Leonard Vassall, grandson of Samuel Vassall, the London alderman who had been concerned in the slave trade as well as in many other colonial ventures of the seventeenth century, had come from Jamaica to Boston not long before this. He died in Boston in 1737.

[34] [1] *News Letter,* of dates given. Many of the items are repeated in later issues of the *News Letter.* The custom-house entries for 1725 give, Jan. 7, John Harris, sloop *Africa,* outward bound for Africa, and on Oct. 14, Harris from Africa, but offer no evidence as to whether he brought negroes. The advertisements are:

1723, Aug. 19, Three negro women, Samuel Sewall
1725, Aug. 5, Several negro boys, one girl, John Webster
Aug. 19, Four negroes, man, a woman, boy, girl, Isaac White

[2] On Aug. 1 Jacob Royall advertised "A Parcel of Negro Boys and Girls" at three, six, nine, or twelve months' credit. *Boston Gazette,* Aug. 1, 1726.

May 26, 1726.

Eight Choice Negro Men, One Negro Woman, and an Negro Girl to be seen, and Sold at the Salutation, by Mr. Benony Waterman at the North End, Boston.

June 30, 1726.

To be Sold, Several likely Negro Men, lately Arrived from the West Indies, fit for Town or Country Service, to be seen at Mr. Anthony Youngs House at the Salutation in Boston.

To be Sold by Mr. Samuel Sewell at his House in the Common,[3] Boston, several likely Young Negro Men and Boys Just Arrived.

July 18, 1726.[4]

Several Negro Boys, Girls and Women To be Sold on board the Sloop *Dolphin,* Benjamin Millekin, Master, lately Arrived from St. Kitts, now laying at the Long Wharf, and if desired, the Buyer shall have 3, 6, 9 or 12 Months Credit.

Very Likely Negro Boys and Girls, to be Sold by Mr. John Carnes, Brasier, near The Draw-Bridge in Boston.

Just Arrived, A Likely Young Negro Man, and Five Sturdy Negro Boys, to be Sold by Messieurs Guionneau and Leblond, and to be seen at the said Mr. Guionneau's House in Queen-Street Boston

September 1, 1726.

To be Sold, A Parcel of Negros, Just Arrived, *viz.* Men, Women, Boys and Girls; they are to be seen at Capt. Nathaniel Jarvis's House near Scarlets Wharff.[5]

October 6, 1726.

Likely Negro Boys and a Girl just arrived, to be sold by Mr. Samuel Sleigh, Inquire at Messieurs Oliver and Welsteed's Warehouse on the Dock, Boston.

November 17, 1726.

Several choice Gold Coast Negroes lately Arrived. To be Sold at Mr. Bulfinch's, near the Town Dock, Boston.

December 15, 1726.[6]

Two likely Young Negro Men lately imported, to be Sold by Thomas Steel Esq., and to be seen at his House in Hanover Street, Boston.

[3] Similar notice in *Gazette,* July 18.

[4] *Boston Gazette,* July 18, 1726. This issue of the *Gazette* contains five advertisements of newly arrived negroes.

[5] On Sept. 29 Captain Jarvis advertised "A likely Negro Girl, lately Arrived from the West Indies," which suggests that he had disposed of all his cargo but one.

[6] The custom-house entries for 1726 are:

Jan. 18, Cleared for Africa, John Harris, sloop *Africa*
Nov. 24, " " " Francis Plaisted

35. Petition of Andrew Trent and Benony Waterman, 1727.[1]

August 18, 1727.

A Petition of Andrew Trent and Benony Waterman of the Island of Barbados, Merchants now residing in Boston, shewing that on the 31st of May last, they arrived at Boston from Barbados, having sundry Negro Slaves on Board as their Property, which they entred and paid the Duty of £4 per Head for according to the Law of this Province, that Two of the said Negroes dyed in July last, being the Property of the Petitioners at their decease, and were of the Value of One Hundred and Fifty Pounds or there abouts, praying they may be allowed to draw back the said sum of Four Pounds per Head by them paid for the Duty of the said Two Negroes deceased, for the Reasons mentioned.

Read and Ordered, That the Prayer of the Petition be granted and that the Commissioner of Impost be and hereby is directed to repay to the Petitioners the Money they have paid for the Duty of the two deceased Negroes within mentioned. Sent up for Concurrence.

36. Accounts of the *Katherine*, 1727.[1]

Sloop "Katherines" Book Begun anno 1727 and Cheifly Relates to what Cap Plaisted was Concernd in Exe. per G. G.

1727	Dr Sailes and Nete Prosede of Sundery Negroes *Vizt.*				
	To abatement made Joseph White, Esqr.	£	2.	10.	
	To the Buriall of foure Negroes		2.	18.	4
	To foure Coffines		1.	16.	
	To Dannell Goff at Vandue		13.	17.	6
	To Impost		94.		6
	To abatement made Mary Gilbart		5.	0.	
		£	120.	2.	4

1727	Per Contra			Cr.			
Septr.	By Joseph Plasted	1	Boye	£	75.	0.	0
	By William Thomas	1	Ditto		75.	0.	0
	By John Stanford	1	Man		75.	0.	0
	By Capt. Macarty	1	Boye		80.	0.	0
	By Thomas Jackson	1	garle		80.	0.	0
	By Joseph White Esqr.	1	Boye		62.	10.	0
	By William Mallus	1	Woman		80.	0.	0
	By Mathew Bond	1	Boye		60.	0.	0
	By Sam'el Weekes	1	Ditto		80.	0.	0
	By [Jonathan] Brown	1	Ditto		60.	0.	0
	By Capt. Jno. Pittes	1	Woman		80.	0.	0

[35] [1] *Jour. House of Representatives, Mass.*, VII. 333. On Oct. 7 a similar petition from Simon Rogers, who had purchased a new negro in July, was granted (*ibid.*, VII. 369; Mass. Arch., IX. 201). For further information about Rogers see *post*, no. 37, n. 1.

[36] [1] Mass. Arch., CXXXVI. 45-80. The advertisements for 1727 are:

Feb. 2, Negro man, John Brewster

Aug. 2, Parcel of likely negroes of both sexes, Capt. Nathaniel Jarvis

See also *post*, no. 37, n. 1, and S. G. Drake, *History and Antiquities of Boston*, pp. 574-575, notes, where a number of advertisements are printed which the editor has not come upon.

[*Accounts of the "Katherine"*—continued:]

Cr.

By Capt. Jno. Webester	1	Ditto		70.	0.	0
By Joseph Cowell	1	garle		£65.	0.	0
By Hebbert Newton	1	Boye		65.	0.	0
By Edword Luttwich	1	Man		75.	0.	0
By George Cambles	1	garle		30.	0.	0
By Natha'el Weles	1	Boye		75.	0.	0
By Mary Gilbart	1	"		75.	0.	0
By Jemes Pecker	1	Boye		60.	0.	0
By Giddeon Ball	1	garle		60.	0.	0
By Natha'el Emes	1	"		50.	0.	0
By Jemes Fordike	1	"		47.	0.	0
By Dannill Goff	1	"		59.	0.	0
By Francis Plasted	1	Boye		45.	0.	0
By John Stover	1	garle		70.	0.	0
				£1653.	10.	
To Sundery Charges per the other Side				120.	2.	4
[2]Nete Prosed Carried to Credit of the owners				£1533.	7.	8

. . .

37. Accounts of Hugh Hall, 1728-1733.[1]

1728 Feb. 15. Memo. to get Certificates for the following Negro's Ship'd out of the Province.

Sam'l Seddon of Hampton, 1 Neg'e boy Imported 2d Sept'r 1727 per Capta. George Lee.

[2] The section omitted records the sale of the general merchandise and the rum on board. The description of the cargo of lumber carried by the *Katherine* to the Leeward Islands, amounting to £466 17 2¾, and a list of the expenses of her "outset," amounting to £331 5 4½, are in no sense peculiar to a slaver. The vessel was apparently reloaded in Boston and sent to Africa for a second slave cargo. The accounts are in such confusion that it is well-nigh impossible to separate those items which relate to the voyage under Captain Plaisted from those which belong to the voyage under Captain Atkinson. The instructions sent to Captain Atkinson (*post,* no. 39) supply the names of the owners, among whom was the captain himself. In items of Aug. 19, 1729, he is charged "To ¼ of £500 Starling Insuerance on the Sloop *Catharine* from Boston To Guiney and Back againe and Reinsurance from Antiago When have the acc'tt from Loyde and Rusk Shall Charge yr. ¼ parte." One fourth of "Nete Prosede of acc'tt Sales of Negroes Rum etc. from antigo" is entered as £516 15¾. The sale of this cargo offers more evidence on the price of slaves in Massachusetts than the editor has elsewhere come upon. Massachusetts currency at this time was valued at 17 *s.* per oz. of silver, though it was 8 *s.* per oz. in 1712. W. B. Weeden, *Economic and Social History of New England,* II. 473.

A few scattered examples of earlier and later prices may furnish some basis for comparisons, though most of these are for seasoned or country-born rather than new negroes. The inventory of the estate of James Lloyd, a Boston merchant, in 1693, valued a negro man at £30 (*Papers of the Lloyd Family,* 1927, p. 121). In 1707, for purposes of taxation, negro men over fourteen were valued at £20, women at £15 (*Acts and Resolves, Mass. Bay,* II. 615). The *News Letter* of Mar. 10, 1718, gave the average valuation of the negroes in the colony as £30. In 1727 a new negro man was valued at £20 (Mass. Arch., IX, 202 a). By 1776 a negro man who had cost £60 was offered for sale at £50, a woman whose cost was £35 could be obtained for £30. *Medford Historical Register,* III. 120.

[37] [1] The items which follow are those relating to negroes, selected from an account book of Hugh Hall which was presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society by Mrs. Mary Baury Jackson Rathbone, great-great-granddaughter of Hugh Hall. The small volume is labelled "Small Accounts not posted," and the entries are frequently so abbreviated as to be unintelligible. For 1727 we also have several items relating to Hall's business: "Several very likely Young Negro's of each Sex (just Arrived) to be Sold at Six or Twelve Months Credit, on good security, by Mr. Hugh Hall Merchant,

Wm. Willson of Carolina, 1 Negro was Imported 18th April 1727 per Capt. Benja. Hathorn.
Mary Danilsone of Killingly, 1 Negro Man nam'd Cuffee Imported May 1728 per Capt. Bowditch.
David Naughtye of Guilford 1 Negro Girl Imported per Capt. Peter King.
Ditto 1 Negr boy imported 3d Sept. per Capt. Waterhouse.
Tho. Salter 1 Negro Imported 3d Septr by ditto.
John Knowls of Hartford. 2 Negros a boy and a Girl Imported 3d Sept. by ditto.
Isaac Freeman of Fairfield 1 Negr. boy Ditto.
James Brown of Providence, 1 Negr. man nam'd Tom imported 4th Octo'r last per Capt. Norwood.
William Caddow, 1 Girl Imported 3 Sept by Capta. Samuel Waterhouse.

Ballances Due to my Employers Barbadoes this 6th March 1728.[2]

Thomas Richards of Barb's Dr. . . .		
Charges on 2 Negro's Dyed		
To Cadders for Dyet and Care	£2	
To Williams the Grave Digg'r	1.	4.
To Doct'r Douglass's bill	2.	3. 6
To Bearers at		16.
To Cost for two Coffins	1.	6.
To Ditto for Bringing the Negro's on Shore and rum		5. 8
		7. 15. 2

Sale of Three negro's, Eight barrells of Sugar and one hhd. of Rum, on Acco't of Mr. Thomas Richards of Barb. and put into my hands for Sale.[3] . . .

---

at whose Ware-house on Mr. Pitt's Wharffe is Sold Barbadoes Rum and Sugar in Hogsheads, Tairces or Barells, and sundry European Goods" (*News Letter,* May 4, 11, 18, 1727); "Boston, July 10, 1727. Receiv'd of Mr. Simon Rogers Twenty pounds in full for a Negro man named Nick whose Title I Promise to Warrant and Defend. Per H. HALL;" "Impost Office, Boston Octb: 7: 1727. These Certify that Mr. Hugh Hall has Ingaged to pay the duty of Three Negro males and one female Imported from Barbados per the Ship *Martha* Edward Cooper Comd: in June Last. For Daniel Russell Esq. Comis., per EPHRA BREED. To whom it may Concern, Sold Mr. Simon Rogers one of three negro's above mentioned named Nickey. H. HALL." Mass. Arch., IX, 202 a-b.

During the year 1728 Hall's advertisements for negroes "just arrived" appeared in the *News Letter* from May 23 to July 11, and in the *Gazette* of Sept. 16 and 30. The notice of Sept. 30 refers to "Men, Women, Boys, and Girls, some of which Arrived on Saturday last." Hall is still advertising newly arrived negroes in the *News Letter* of Aug. 7 and 14, 1729.

[2] Here follow ten names.

[3] On May 9, 16, 23, and 30, 1728, Thomas Richards advertised in the *News Letter* "a parcel of fine likely Negroes . . . Two Boys, Three Girls, Three Women, and Four Men, At the House of Capt. Nathanael Jarvis at the North End, Boston."

June 5.	By John Allen	1 Negro Girl	£75	
20.	By Will'm Warner	1 Boy	80	
23.	By Stephen Kellogg	1 Girl	70	
				316. 16. 6[4]

Deduct the following Charges. . . .

Ditto [Cash] for Petticoat for Jubah		5
Do for Doct'r for Blister and [?]		5
Ditto for Dyet of the Neg'rs Four Dayes a 10/per week till sold	£6.	17. 2
. . . .		
To Duty of 5 Negros	21.	7. 6
To Commission on the Whole 5 per cent	15.	18. 10

Negro's Receiv'd from Barbados in the Year 1729.

Tilla	Sold J. Allen	Th. Richards
Dido	B. Thing Exeter	
Juba	S. Kellogg	
Abra	W. Warner	

Receiv'd per Grafton

Quaco	Gosse at Auction	
Duke		
Jasper	B. Clough	S: Osborne
Bass	Marston D. G.	
Abah	I. Davis	
Pater	Cash [?]	
Quamno	Langdon	John Best
Essee	T. Higins	
Quashey	B. Lincoln	Geo. Forster
Benabah	Jno. Billings	
Shante	R. Pope	R. Warren Esqr.
Cubbah		
Frank	B. Colman	T. Applewhaite
Armenda	Wm. Caddow	
Prince	D: Henshaw	Jno. Trent
Punch	J: Colman	Weir of W. C.

per Raymond

Sherper	H. Blanchard	R. and J. Osborne
Betty	Ex [*illegible*]	T Applewhaite

per Capta. Langdon

Austin	Nath'n Thwing	T. Salter Esq.
Deddie	J. Davenport	
Abanna	Cunningham	Jno Howell jun.
Arannah [?]	Jas. Hay	
Quy [Ivy?]	W. C. and I. D.	Dr. Jno Hall.
Sampson	Wm. Wheeler	H. Hall Esqr.

[4] The total here given includes the sugar and rum as well as the negroes.

per Capta King

	Cuffy	Gregory	Ott: Haggatt Esqr.
	A Lame Joseph	Crosbey	Eyer Walcott

Receiv'd per Forster

	Lango	Dyed	H. Hall Esqr.
Augt.	Banma	Thos. Salter	
	Bamba	Vendue £40	
July	Gumba	Jno Dannels	
	Sherry	Wm. Dodge	
	Munen	Charles Warham	
Sept. 1.	Elecata	Thomas Craft	
Augt. 3d.	Bumbo	B. Stratton	
	Cumba	Jona Barnard	
July 18.	Quoney	Job Cort	
July 15.	Demeca	N. Salisbury	
	Yamboo	I. Knowles	

per King

Aug. 29.	Ocreka	Ebenes'r Demon	H. Hall Esqr.
Sept. 20.	Ankque	Mest. Haven	
Sept. 1.	Ocrasaw	Benja. Blanz	
Aug. 9.	Ocrague	Theo. Prince	
Aug. 29.	Oessah	Ebe'r Damon and S.	
Aug. 21.	Taynay	Eben'r Hawkes	
Aug. 19.	Yono Cish	Ed. Jommer	
Aug. 21.	Bacches	Eben'r Hamks	
Sept. 29.	Boyyas	Joseph Crosby	
Aug. 23.	Agonna	Ditto	
	Bayna	B. Jepson	
	Yaumah	Dyed	
	Acavan	Kilbourn	
	Abnabea	B: Barron	
	Ocra	Brintnall	Geo. Worrell
	Jack Lewy	David Mason	Exrs. for Forster Esqr.
	Ventured	Thos. Coch	Phil. Lewis
	Prince	Ben. Welles	John Ashley Esq.
	Ossan	Jacob Royall	Francis Vaughan Esqr.
	Thom	B. Salter	John French Esqr.
	Mamillus	P. Pope	Peter dead
	Addy	John Billings	Henry Jonas Attorney to Sm Bromley Esqr.
	Cudjo	Caleb Norwood	

Boston Anno. 1729

Augt. 15. Received by Capt. Laist

Jupiter	Nath'a Cowdry	Ex'rs of G: Forster
Bongeos	Frances Wardell	
Jackes	St. and Sa. Wms.	
Sarah	B. Billengs	Sam'l Osborne, Esqr.
Theribah	Vendue £31	
Grace	Dyed	
Sham	Jno Franklyn	Jas Dotten Esqr.
Guy	Goasa Vendue	John Wallcott Esqr.
Robbin	Jno Franklyn	Jno Downs Esqr.
	P W and H Mingo sold Sept. 5 Robt Warren Esqr	
Andbe		
Simon	B Sanders	per Carrington

Oct. 18 per Jacob Williams

John	John Miller	Sarah Smith
Ned	Ditto	John Tyacke
Quashey	Ditto	Col. T. Applewaite
Carey	Ditto	Wm Holder shiped by Execs.

Mem'dum Sundry of my Negro's in the hands of the following p'sons,

Returned Austin in Mr. Jos. Wroas hands
returned Sham in Capn Coyers

return Duke, Quaco, Adam, Elecato } Men'd: 351 Owners to be Shipt assignees of Sir J: Bush

Negroes rece'd Anno 1730 per Captn Langdon

Tom, Jenny } S: Osborne Esqr
Primax, Quarto } Jno French Esqr

Mr. Bryants Negro Dyed abt. 11 Aug.
Mr. Brintnal Dyed the begining Sept.

38. Act for laying a Duty on Negroes Imported, 1728.[1]

An Act more effectually to secure the duty on the Importation of Negroes.

Whereas the payment of the duty of four pounds per head laid upon negros imported into this province, is often evaded by bringing them in, in a clandestine manner; for remedy whereof,

Be it enacted by His Excellency the Governour, Council and Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, [Sect. 1.] That henceforth the master of any ship or vessel whatsoever that shall bring into this province any negro or negros shall be obliged to give in upon oath a true account or list of the negros he has on board or brought with him, on penalty of one hundred pounds for failure therein or for giving a false list.

And whereas negros are frequently landed in the neighbouring provinces or colonies, and brought thence into this province in order to save the duty,

[Sect. 2.] Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That whoever shall purchase or bring into any town of this province as aforesaid, any negro or negros for which the duty has not been already paid, shall be obliged, within fourteen days after the said negros being so brought in, to make an entry with the clerks of the town where the said negro shall be brought, and to pay the duty of four pounds per

[38] [1] *Acts and Resolves,* II. 517-518 (1715-1742).

head to the said clerk, to be by him transmitted to the commissioner of impost in Boston, on penalty of eight pounds to be paid for each negro not entred as is hereby required, to be recovered by action, bill, plaint or information in any of his majestie's courts of record, by the said town clerks respectively; one-half thereof to his majesty for the use of the province, one-fourth to the town clerk who shall sue for and recover the same, and one-fourth to the poor of the town where the forfeiture is made: provided, the prosecution be within twelve months after the bringing in of such negro or negros.

[Sect. 3.] And be it further enacted, That from and after the publication of this act, the duty paid for any negros who shall dye within the space of twelve months from the time of their importation, shall be drawn back by the owner of such negros; any law, usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

[Sect. 4.] This act to continue in force for the space of seven years, and no longer.[2]

39. Instructions to Captain William Atkinson, 1728.[1]

Boston Decem'r 28th 1728.[2]

[2] This measure was re-enacted in January, 1739, the only important change being the substitution of a period of ten for seven years as the term for which it was to be effective. *Acts and Resolves,* II, 981-982.

[39] [1] Library of Congress, Vernon-Wager MSS., no. 3. On Oct. 7, 1729, agents of the Royal African Company at Cape Coast Castle wrote to the company that the chief mate and three men of the *Guinea* packet, Captain Martin, had been "panyard" at St. Andrews River, "on Acco't of a Caboshier panyard by a Boston Ship, Capt. Atkinson" (T 70: 7, p. 159). On Oct. 22, 1730, the agents reverted to the subject, writing, "The natives have contracted an aversion to the Sort of Vessels called Sloops since their ill treatment from Capt. Atkinson from Boston" (*ibid.,* p. 168). Another version of the story of Captain Atkinson's misdemeanors reported that he had stolen many negroes on the coast and sold them. The treasure on board had tempted his crew, who rebelled and threw him into the sea. Some of the negroes escaped and reported the mutiny, whereupon the crew were seized and were in gaol in Antigua (*Weekly Journal and British Gazetteer,* Dec. 13, 1729). Several other English papers also contained the story. This is in all probability the same William Atkinson who in 1726 was captured by pirates while a passenger on a North Carolina sloop, turned the tables on the pirates, and aided in bringing them into Boston as prisoners. For an account of his adventure see *News Letter,* July 7, 1726.

[2] For the years 1728 and 1729 the notices not already quoted are:

1728, Sept. 12, Two new negroes
Sept. 19, Three likely negroes
Sept. 30, Two negroes, Jonathan Sewall
Oct. 21, A parcel of likely Negroes just imported, Jacob Royall
Nov. 14, Two young negroes, William Green
1729, June 19, A Parcel of young negroes, Edward Thomas
July 3, Four negro boys, Christo. Ceely
July 3, A Parcel of young negroes, Benony Waterman
July 17, Several young negro women, Clark and Kilby
Sept. 4, A parcel of young negro boys and girls, Gerrish and Harris
Oct. 23, Four negro men and a negro girl

The customs entries from the *News Letter* are:

1728, Mar. 21, entered in from Guinea, Robert Ball

Capt. William Atkinson, You being master of the Sloop *Katherine* and she having her Cargo aboard and cleard at the offices, you with your Company are to embrace the first favourable Oppertunity of wind and weather and set Sail with the said Sloop Directing your Course for the Coast of Guinea, where Arriving Dispose at the best prises you can of our Cargo aboard Consignd as per bill of Lading, and mounts to, per Invoice, £[*blank*] and Invest the produce thereof mostly in good likely Negroes from 12 to 25 Years of Age the Greatest part to be boys. Bring also Some Chamwood, Elephants Teeth, and Gold Dust. for the Better Sale of the Cargo you may proceed from Harbour to harbour as you shall Judge for our Intrest. for your Care and Managem't of the Voyage we are content that you Shall have Over and above your wages the usuall Comm'ns of 4 per Ct. on the Sale of the Negroes here; and what Ellse may be the Produce of our Cargo from hence. and whereas you made a Declaration to us under your hand of the 12th Nov'er past of a very Considerable affair that you have assur'd us you Can and will manage greatly to our Advantage which in case you Effect with Safety we do hereby promise and engage that you Shall Share a Seventh part thereof equally with us, and as to any Transaction about it we will indemnify you to the full Valleue of what we may be Benifitted by the said Affair, If need should so require. When you Come in Sight of the Light house, make a Signal by haulling up a goose wing of your main Sail and the light house Master will come of to you with our Letters of further direction, and you may consult with him, and he will Assist you in Getting any thing ashore you may desire. If it should happen he Should not come of to you you may Ply of and on and send up a Letter to us by Some faithfull hand as Soon as possible, and having got from aboard what you Think proper if no Man of Warr at Nantascot bay you may go on Shore. If there Should, then you may go into Cape Ann, or any other Harbour, for our farther Orders, and our present thot's are to Send the Sloop with the Negroes to Virginia. Above all things we commend to you the Greatest Dispatch imaginable in the Sale of your Cargo and every thing else, and hope you will not stay above two months upon the Coast of Guinea and that we may see you here Some time In May or June Next at farthest. Wee have a great Confidence in you[r] prudence, and Good Management In every Article may happen in the

Sept. 19, cleared for Africa, Peter Jump
Dec. 26, " " " William Atkinson
1729, July 19, entered in from Guinea, Peter Jump

During the year 1729 Captain Cutler, probably the commander of the *Jolly Batchelor* a few years later, cleared for Africa. Captain Jump, on the schooner *William,* must have returned to Africa not long after this, for early in 1731 the English papers reported his death on the coast, where he had been surprised by negroes and all his crew but three killed. *Read's Weekly Journal and British Gazetteer,* Jan. 28, 1731.

voyage, and that you keep us early advice from Guinea, and all Other places, as you proceed and If we have pointed to any thing here that Cannot be done, Or Omitted any thing which hereafter you may be Able to put in practice for our better Advantage, we Still Submit it to your prudence and Descretion to do as you shall See Occassion, or as any thing to us unforeseen may require, and we have only to Request to you our Desire and Order that having completed all you[r] Business on the Coast of Guinea, you must make the best of your way to this place. So we Commit you to the Devine protection and Care.[3]

40. Instructions to Governor Jonathan Belcher, 1731.[1]

December 10, 1731.

. . . Whereas Acts have been passed in some of Our Plantations in America for laying Duties on the Importation and Exportation of Negroes to the Discouragement of the Merchants trading thither from the Coast of Africa. . . . It is Our Will and Pleasure That you do not give your Assent to or pass any Law imposing Duties upon Negroes imported into Our Province of the Massachusetts-Bay payable by the Importer or upon any Slaves exported that have not been sold in Our said Province, and continued there for the space of twelve Months. . . .

41. Notices of Sales, 1732.

April 17, 1732.[1]

Just imported from Barbadoes and to be Sold by Pyam Blowers, Three very likely Negro Men, a fine Negro Woman with a Boy and

[3] The instructions are signed: "Your Loving Friends Jona. Belcher, Peter Pusulton, Willm. Foy, Eben'r Hough, Wm. Bant, Andw. Janvill." Jonathan Belcher, a prosperous Boston merchant, was a member of the council from 1718 to 1729 and governor of Massachusetts from 1730 to 1741.

[40] [1] *Jour. House of Representatives, Mass.,* 1732-1734 (Mass. Hist. Soc., 1930), p. 23; *News Letter,* June 15, 1732. There seems to be no evidence that Massachusetts contemplated changing her duty act at this time. These instructions, the result of Virginia legislation, were sent to all colonial governors, irrespective of the conditions in the particular colonies.

[41] [1] *Weekly Rehearsal,* Apr. 17, May 1, 8, 1732. The notices for 1730 are: May 7, "Likely negros from 12 to 20 Years," Jacob Royall, Dorchester; June 4, "Parcel of choice negroes . . . many of which have had the small pox, Inquire of Brattle Oliver." The one outward entry for Africa is John Payne for Guinea, Oct. 8, 1730.

For 1731: Aug. 5, "Choice parcel of negro boys and girls," Merret and Fletcher; Sept. 23, "Sundry likely negroes," James Allen. The customs entries are, May 6, Robert Ball entered from Africa; Sept. 16, Robert Ball, outward bound.

The *News Letter,* Mar. 4, 1731, states that between December, 1729, and Dec. 4, 1730, two vessels cleared for Guinea. The Portsmouth, N. H., clearings for Dec. 6, 1731, included Samuel Moore for Africa (*Weekly Rehearsal,* Dec. 6, 1731). In the year 1731 appeared Paul Dudley's *Essay on the Merchandize of Slaves and Souls of Men,* which was advertised in the *News Letter* for Aug. 26, 1731, with the advertisement of a "likely Negro Lad" not far from it.

Girl, to be seen at Mr. Barnsdale's next Door to Mr. Harris's school at the North End Boston.

July 24, 1732.[2]

To be Sold by Benony Waterman from Barbadoes at Capt. Nathaniel Jarvis's House, near Scarlet's Wharff, in Boston, a parcel of likely young Negros lately arriv'd from the West Indies, also good Barbadoes Sugar, to be Sold by said Waterman, at Mr. Pyam Blowers Warehouse upon the Dock.

December 28, 1732.[3]

Several likely young Negros of both Sexes, lately Imported from the West Indies, fit for either Town or Country Service, among whom is a choice Negro Man suitable for a Gentleman's Family: To be sold. Enquire at Capt. Nath. Jarvis's, near Scarlet's Wharff at the North End, Boston.

42. Notices of Sales, 1733-1737.

August 6, 1733.[1]

To be Sold by Benony Waterman from Barbados, at Capt. Nathaniel Jarvis's House near Scarlet's Wharf, a Parcel of Likely Young Negroes, also good Barbados Sugar to be Sold by the said Waterman at Mr. John Phillips's Warehouse near the Swinging Bridge.

May 16, 1734.[2]

Just Imported, Several very likely Negro Boys and Girls: To be Sold by Mr. Charles Coffin, at the Seven Stars in Ann Street; as also choice West India Rhum.

June 13, 1734.

To be Sold by Joseph Lindsay, just arrived from Barbadoes likely young Negro Boys and Girls; Also Barbados Rum, White and Muscovado Sugar and cotton Wool. Inquire at Mrs. Barnsdell's at the

[2] *Weekly Rehearsal,* July 24, 31, Aug. 7, 1732. On Sept. 4, 11, 18, 25, and Oct. 2, Samuel Pemberton advertised "several likely negro boys."

[3] *News Letter,* Dec. 28, 1732, Jan. 4, 11, 1733; also in *Weekly Rehearsal,* Jan. 18, 1733. The following are the customs items for 1732:

May 25, cleared for Africa, Thomas Dickinson; Oct. 5, outward bound for Africa. Robert Ball; Oct. 19, outward bound for Africa, Richard Cole; Nov. 22, outward bound for Africa, Samuel Moor.

For the years following 1731 the naval officers lists from Virginia (*post,* vol. IV.) add to the names of New England vessels carrying negroes.

[42] [1] *Weekly Rehearsal,* Aug. 6, 20, 27, Sept. 3, 1733. The only customs entries pertaining to Africa are those of John Avis and Thomas Kennelly, one entering in from Cape Verde, the other clearing for Cape Verde. *News Letter,* Sept. 6, Nov. 1, 1733.

[2] This and the following items are from the *News Letters* of the dates given. In every instance the item is repeated in one or two subsequent issues.

North End, Scarlet's Wharff or at his Warehouse near the Swing Bridge at the Town Dock.

June 27, 1734.

Just Imported, by John Hawkesworth from Barbadoes a Parcel of fine likely Negros, Men and Women, and are to be Sold at Mrs. Mary Barnsdale's at the North End, near Mr. Harris School.

Just arrived, Very likely Negro Men, Women, Boys, and Girls, to be sold by Capt. Philip Dumaresq;[3] Merchant in Boston. . . .

December 19, 1734.

On Thursday next, the 26th Current, Will Be Sold by Publick Vendue, by Daniel Goffe,[4] at the Sun Tavern, at Three of the Clock in the Afternoon, Six or Seven very likely Young Negro Boys and Girls, lately arrived from the West Indies (being a very Cold Season, will be Sold Very Cheap).

May 26, 1737.

Just Imported from Guinea, A Parcel of likely young Negroes, Boys and Girls: To be Sold by Thomas Jenner Esq: at his House in Charleston.

June 16, 1737.[5]

To be Sold A very likely lusty Negro Man about Twenty-two Years of Age, lately imported from Guinea. Inquire of the Printer hereof.

[3] Philip Dumaresq had settled in Boston and married there early in the century. From the customs items it is evident that from 1713 until 1740 he was actively engaged in coastwise and West India trade. In the latter year he was captain of the *Young Eagle,* fitted out by John Jones, jr. See J. F. Jameson, *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period* (1923), pp. 373, 493; and A. T. Perkins, *Sketch of the Family of Dumaresq* (1863).

[4] Governor Belcher had a short time before recommended Capt. Daniel Goffe to Sir Charles Wager for marshal of the admiralty. Mass. Hist. Soc., *Colls.,* sixth ser., VI. 517.

[5] *News Letter,* June 16, 23, 30, 1737. The customs entries are:

1735, May 22, entered in from Africa, Wyer
Oct. 16, cleared out for Cape Verde, Silk
Dec. 11, outward bound for Cape Verde, Williams
" 25, cleared out for Africa, Mousell
1736, Jan. 29, cleared for Cape Verde Islands, Robertson
Aug. 5, entered in from Cape Verde, Mousell
Nov. 25, cleared out for Africa, Ball
Dec. 1, entered in from Africa, Thurston
1737, Feb. 17, outward bound for Africa, Bryan
May 26, entered in from Africa, Ball
Sept. 1, entered in from Gambia, Robertson
Oct. 20, cleared out for Cape Verde, Mousell

Though most of the information to be gleaned from these records pertains to Boston, it is of course true that a few negroes were coming in to other ports of Massachusetts. Such items as the following suggest a procedure probably not uncommon, "I wrote to Mr. Salmon of Barbadoes to send me a negro." From the diary of Matthias Plant, June 22, 1735, Joshua Coffin, *History of Newbury,* app. H, p. 338.

43. Vote of the Boston Selectmen, 1733.[1]

At a Meeting of the Selectmen, July 11, 1733. Capt. John Sheffeild master of the Brigt. *Orange Tree,* being Stopt at the Castle, informs that he has been 30 Days from Spikes's [2] in Barbadoes with his Brigt. with Rum, molasses, Six Bags of Cotton and Twenty Negroes, and that on the 12 may, he was himself at Bridge Town in Barbadoes, where the Small pox was then very rife, but that he took in his Loading at Spikes's and that all the time of his Loading and in his passage, he has had none of his people ailing or complaining, and desires he may have Liberty w'th his Brigt. to come up into the Harbour.

Voted, That Messrs. Armitage, Jeffries, Winslow and Saltonstal be desired, with a Justice to go on board the Brigt. and to examine into the affair.

Accordingly the above Committee with Justice Sewall went down, and Examin'd the Master and Mate upon Oath, and apprehending no Danger to the Town, of the Small pox, from the Said Brigt. etc. A Certificate was Granted.

44. Extract of a Letter from Captain Moore, 1733.[1]

[Santiago, July 20, 1733.]

On the 17th of June last, as we were coming down the River Gambia, at Twelve o'Clock in the Night, the Natives fired at us, upon which began a very smart Engagement, which lasted till day light: Mr. Lowder was most of the Time in the Cabbin loading small Arms, some of our People not having Discretion to do it themselves, till by an unhappy contrary Wind, the River narrow, and the Vessel not answering her Helm, we fell along the Shore, the Natives rus'd on in great Numbers in order to board us, but were so received that they thought proper to Retreat: In which Conflict Mr. Lowder came upon Deck, and (being in a Consternation) was shot thro' the Body; He went immediately down, and had all imaginable Care taken of him: He being in the Height of Action, his Wound was with great Difficulty stop'd bleeding. He liv'd Twenty four Hours, sensible of his approaching Dissolution, and spent his little Time in making his eternal Peace.

[43] [1] "Selectmen's Minutes, 1716-1736," *Report of the Record Commissioners* (1885), p. 243.

[2] Speights Town, on the northwest coast of Barbados.

[44] [1] *Weekly Rehearsal,* Sept. 10, 1733; also in the *News Letter,* Sept. 6, "Extract of a Letter from Capt. Moore, who sail'd from this Port for Guinea the beginning of last Winter, dated at St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verde Islands, July 20, 1733." See this work, II. 409 n., 411.

The Captain also writes, that Doctor Blaney, a young Gentleman who had his Education at Harvard College, and who went to Guinea with him, died of a Fever the 12th Day of July last.[2]

45. Samuel Waldo to Captain Samuel Rhodes, 1734.[1]

Boston, March 12th 1734.

Sir, With my Sloop *Affrica* which you command I desire you'll make all possible dispatch for Barbadoes where I have recomended You to my Friend Mr. James Pemberton who will I hope be capable of Serving you in disposall of Some considerable part of your Cargo [2] att a good rate and giveing You as much Cash for the same as the amount or near it. Bill Lading you have with You also Invoices Inclosed that of the Cargo to be disposed of in the West Indies am's to £2763. 17. 8 the other which contains some part of the Cargo fitt for Guinea am's to £1462.4.11¼ in Sale of the whole I doubt not You'll do your endeavours to Serve my Intrest and be the Success what it may I shall acquiesce. What of your Cargo You may not have Opportunity of selling att Barbadoes att a good rate (so for Cash), You may probably dispose of att some one or more of the Leward Islands takeing either money or Rum in Pay which done you are to proceed for the Island of St. Eustatius there applying to Mr. Fredrick Gysen to whom I now write to take your directions in Investing the whole Value of what Effects he may have of mine in his hands to be shipt on board your Sloop or the Scooner *Gambia* Capt. Masters for the Coast of Guinea or part in one and part the other. what Effects of mine that you left last Voyage in said Island, You'll also with full Produce of the West Indies Cargo You have now aboard Invest in a Cargo of Rum for Guinea, I compute my Effects will be near extensive enough to load your Sloop with Rum, also to purchase a good Quantity of Gunpowder and many other Goods that You may think as suitable and reasonable as you can propose to gett on the Coast. You have herewith Copys of Mem'o, given me att London of what Goods are suitable for the Coast, and If You think your Cargo will admitt thereof without prejudice to the Voyage, buy an assortment;

[2] About a year earlier bad news had reached Boston concerning another New England venture: "Portsmouth New-Hampshire, Aug. 29 [1732]. A Vessel from the Coast of Guinea advises, that Capt. John Major in a Schooner from this Place, was treacherously Murdred, and his Vessel and Cargoe seized upon by the Negroes." *News Letter,* Sept. 7, 1732; *South Carolina Gazette,* Nov. 18, 1732; see also this work, II. 403, 409-410.

[45] [1] Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court. Suffolk Court Files, no. 46527. These instructions were called to the attention of the editor by Miss Amelia C. Ford. See "An Eighteenth-Century Letter from a Sea Captain to his Owner," *New England Quarterly,* III. 136-137.

[2] The cargo consisted of fish, candles, wine, shoes, desks, silversmiths' wares, pork, oil, staves, bricks, lead, brass, steel, iron, pewter, beads, cowries, muskets, and dry-goods. Suffolk Court Files, no. 46995.

as Trade Guns and Musketts are a very necessary part of your Cargo I would advise You to omitt no Opportunity of purchasing till you have obtained what You think a Sufficient Quantity. As soon as You arrive att the Island of St. Eustatius I am of Opinion it will be best to dispatch the Scooner *Gambia* with about 4000 Gall. of Rum for the Cape de Verde, with orders att the Isles of May with all possible Expedition to take aboard a Loading of Salt, and to engage att St. Jago such a Quantity of the Cape de Verd Cloths as may be necessary to assort You, as there may probably be some hazard in taking them aboard it may be best to have that omitted, till your Arrival there when the Scooner may take them: and You after There is no hazard may take such part as you think proper out of her, as You'll also do by the Salt or any other Goods She carrys She being intirely under your Care and Direction and if the Master Capt. Moses Masters does not answer your Expectations you may either remove him, or sell the Vessell; if he behaves well he may greatly advantage our Voyage which I hope he will do. Copy of his Orders signed by him You have herewith, also Invoice of his Guinea Cargo from here [?] and Bill Lading which You'll take due care of. From the Cape de Verde You'll with all possible Expedition go for Guinea, there Trade in such manner and Places as You think best. You will be a Judge of what may be most for my Intrist, so I shall intirely confide that You'll act accordingly in the Purchase of Negros, Gold Dust or any other the produce of that Country with which You'll as soon as possible make your Return to me either by way of the West Indies or Virginia where You'll sell Your Slaves either for Gold Silver or good Bills of Exch'e, in which You'll be very carefull not only to have a good and substantiall Drawer but a Prospect of due Payment which without much Difficulty You may be Informed in, and when there appears any hazard You had best avoid the Bills unless some good Man will endorse the same, all which Bills You are to remitt by different Conveyances to London making One half the same payable to Messrs. Parkin, Sibwell [?] and Co., the other half to Messrs. Bullock and Moller. what Gold You may gett from your Slaves, and Dust (or on the Coast) it may be best to bring with You. The Scooner *Gambia* I hope You'll be able to sell on the Coast, and bring the full Produce of her and Cargo with You, but if You can't sell her, and she takes from the Coast a Cargo of Slaves it will be best the same be consigned to Mr. Pemberton att Barbadoes if a Markett there, and at the other Islands to whom you think best able to serve me, but if You are obliged to take a large Number of Boys and Girls and you find the time of Year for coming hither agreeable You may send him directly home to me but it would be more Pleasure

to me to have her well sold, You'll give the Master a Caution to take care of her Bottom, and You'll also consider the hazard of sending up the Rivers that unless You think the Master will be prudent it may be best to avoid any hazard that way, tho the Prospect of Advantage thereby may be considerable. I am told You have frequent Opportunity on the Coast of Selling Slaves for a good Price on [*illegible*] Bills to Liverpool, and often to Lisbon. if any thing the former way offers You'll be under Difficulty to know the Circumstance of the [*illegible*] drawer and so You'll take all needfull Caution to prevent Loss and from the letters I apprehend if any of the English Factory are concerned in the Vessell You'll be safe, and the Recomendations of any of them in favour of any Portuguese Gentleman may be satisfactory, If by anything unseen our Cargo should not be so extensive in Value as to afford a Prospect of Gain, If by tarrying and tradeing some reasonable time upon the Coast You find You can make the Voyage better You'll do it, but If you meet a quick Markett for your Rum and Your Voyage will answer, the sooner You gett of the Coast the better, as your Voyage will be the shorter and very probably your Compy and Slaves in better health, and all our Risques will be the less, and as we may very likely try the Voyage again. should You be unsorted and any small part of your Cargo remain that is not perishable You'll be able to Judge whether it may be best to wait the Sale thereof or bring it back. As You'll want from the West Indies an additional small number of Men I hope You'll be able to engage Mullins and Crew, who You may give some small Encouragement that may tempt him. Capt. Masters Mate I promised a hogshead of Fish so lett him have No. 44 which You'll compute the cost of, and take of him what it amounts to more than his Months pay which Masters ought to Pay You if he paid not his Mate here.[3] . . .

Herewith you have abstracts from Mr. Wilk's Letters of the Insurance I ordered which it will be for my Intrest and Safety that You observe and I do recommend your proceedings to be accordingly Else we not only lose the Premium, but in case of Accident my whole Intrest. You must send me Bills Lading for yours and Masters whole Cargo from St. Eustatius by different Conveyances that I may be able to prove my Intrest, and write me if you have Opportunity from Guinea of what occurs respecting Sale of the Cargo there, and what of each sort You may be able to purchase, and may actually have purchased, and as Opportunity direct may not offer You can make use of any to any part of the West Indies under Cover to any

[3] In the paragraphs omitted are references to earlier West India trade of Waldo's, and directions for the disposal of various effects of his.

of the Acquaintances there. If Your coming from off the Coast with Slaves will bring it towards Winter or late in the Fall before You can reach Virginia it will be best to go for the West Indies where by trying more or less the Islands You may probably do better than by selling att Virginia, and if You have any number of very Young Slaves which do not render as well att the Places where You sell Your large or Well grown ones it may be adviceable to bring them here with You especially if theyll not render equall to £65 or £75 this money each. If in your Return hither from Virginia You think well of taking a moderate Loading of wheat You'll do it as from the West Indies You'll endeavour the bringing a Cargo of Molasses, or anything else You may think will do better than Pistolls or Bills Excg. . . . I have att Barbados some knowledge of Mr. Peters Oliver also Mr. Clarke who You may apply to in case Mr. Pemberton will not serve You on as good Terms as You can reasonably desire. You'll be able to judge there whatever may most conduce to my Intrest, and as I can't expect your waiting there the Sale of your Goods You'll leave such things there as you think will best answer taking as much Cash with you on Account thereof as You can persuade them to advance, in which [*illegible*] will be room for the Person You engage with to liberate and thereby he may recomend himself to a Com's on the Slaves in case of your sitting down att that Island for a Markett; I can't avoid earnestly recomending to you the utmost dispatch from the West Indies that You may be with your Rum on the Coast before the Rd. Islanders or any others from these parts by which You'll doubtless reap great advantage. For your own Safety as well as mine You'll have the needfull Guard over your Slaves, and putt not too much confidence in the Women nor Children least they happen to be Instrumental to your being surprised which may be fatall. I have wrote Mr. Kirby if he has not shipped (nor engaged freight for) the Effects he has of mine I shall esteem of his Paying em to You, so If you think you shall need em You may order accordingly, or If You do not want it and Everard makes his Return from St. Kitts hither he may take 'em but probably you may there meet some Musketts and India Goods which may be agreeable for Your Voyage, in which case You'll take 'em with You. . . . Capt. Masters has with him 10 bbs. of Carroline Pork which he signed no Bill Lading for, he had that Quantity for Hubbard, the like from Holmes. What Beefe or Pork You may think necessary for your Compa You'll take the best Opportunity for the buying of in the West Indies. . . . You must att Barbadoes esteem your Wines part of your Guinea Cargo which its my Intention they shall be unless You meet an agreeable sale for them this I mention to obviate any Pretence they may

make to oblige You in said Island to Pay a Duty on them there or else where unless you sell them. there is one Mr. Nath'l Haggett in sd Island who has a good Understanding with the Governour to whom I Pray You'll tender my Service, as he may be capable of doing You Service in Return, on Acct. of Your Wine.[4] . . .

46. Memorial of an Admiralty Court, 1737.[1]

June 11, 1737.

A Memorial of the Commissioners of a Special Court of Admiralty, now sitting in Boston, for the trial of Piracies, Felonies and Robberies upon the Sea, shewing that on the 7th Instant, Samuel Tyley Gent. Register of said Court, exhibited certain Articles of Felony and Murder against Samuel Rhodes of Boston, Mariner, charging him with killing and murdering a Negro Man called Frederick's Slave, on the 2d of January 1735, upon the high Seas and within the Jurisdiction of the Admiralty of Great Britain, *viz.* on board the sloop *Africa,* whereof the said Rhodes was then Commander, lying at Anchor in the River Gambia on the Coast of Guinea near unto Fort St. James, and about sixteen Leagues up the River, that the said Rhodes on his Arraignment pleaded the Matters alledged are not in the Jurisdiction of the Court, and of that prayed Judgment; and the Matter being attended with great and uncommon Difficulties, praying the Court to give such Directions to the Agent upon the State of the Case, to be transmitted to him, as may be deemed necessary for clearing up the Difficulties as attend the present and may attend future Cases of this Nature. Read.

47. Captain Samuel Rhodes to Samuel Waldo, 1737.[1]

North Kingston August 26, 1737.

Sir, . . . I would have you seriously consider that From Eustatius I took on your acco't one hundred and thirty hhds. (or Thirteen thousand g's) of rum and between three and Four hundred Ponds Ster: in dry cargoe. This cargoe sufferd thirty one hundred Pounds Loss as beneath *viz.* 3500 g's Rum exclusive of 10 per Ct.

Leakt out in gold at	3 p.	£2695. 0. 0
Long boat and thirty odd pigs of Lead Lost at Gambia		175. 0. 0
Ditto at Anamaboa		60. 0. 0
Do. 2 cannoots [canneets?]		230. 0. 0
		3160. 0. 0

[4] For an account of the disasters of this voyage see *post,* no. 47.

[46] [1] Mass. Arch., *House Journal,* p. 40.

[47] [1] Suffolk Court Files, no. 44562; *New England Quarterly,* III. 137-145.

This is no inconsiderable sum to come out of our cargoe nor is there any possibility for you to think I did not well improve the other part, when you consider and you ought to Do me that Justice That I purchased for you more than two hundred Slaves, more than one tonn of wax and half a tonn of Ivory, which had it pleased God, would have made me more in the gs: sales than twenty thousand Pound at a very moderate computation. . . . you have a number of times objected to me my Long Stay on the Coast, I was forct to stay tradeing from October until June (about Eight months) theres no man alive but must have done the same at that time nor can your frowns (which I deserve not) ever make me say that I am herein taxable, I beg your patience Sir, while I recount to you the detention of other rum men at the same time, two Snows of Road Island one of 140 the other of 90 Slaves the first stayed to Dispose of their Rum all most eight months, the other between 6 and 7 months, a sloop of Boston annother of Road island each about 45 slaves was on the coast one five months the other six, two sloops of Barbad one 90, the other about 35 Slaves one stayed nine months, the other 7 months and at this rate might every rum vessel be counted one small one excepted who had a lucky dispatch, you object that I had some dry cargoe and ought not to have stayed at Gambia which is no rum country. I have to say that had I known the country then as I know it now I would not have continued so long there but my account of the Leward coast being full of Rum did not deceive me and my design herein was nothing, more than advanceing your Interist, as to our haveing Dry cargoe enough to shorten our tarrying on the Coast there's nothing in it at all, both the Barbadians were sorted Dry yet could they not draw their rum sooner, ther's one objection of yours which I am confident you dont want answerd namely that what time the Plux came among our slaves I should havd destroyed one part of our Cargoe (to say the rum) to save the other this you have told me a number of times yet I dont think you were serious in it, You impute the Mortallity among the Slaves to our Long tarrying, I have no notion of thats makeing it absolutely necesary and expected, because there is so many instances the contrary, you very often seem to Repine and say that such a mortallity never was before, if it was the greatest that ever was this ought by no means to make you angry with me, but though I can't se[e] what good they can do us we are not without company. Isaac Holmes from South Carolina will tell you that two angolamen this summer lost so many slaves that the Remaining would not pay mens wages, there is now at newport not long arrived a small Guineaman who buried all the Negroes except a few which

had As good have gone with the rest being of no value[2] . . . the negroes was dyeing and meagre. this may be evinced from the Death of 16 of them presently after sageran bought them this was all most half of them.[3] I must have either have sold them all together (some just Dead excepted) and take the Coacoa[4] the price 66 ps as I remember, or else have half of them turnd aside and have sold at a prime price, and it was my opinion that the Former would be our best acc't . . . when Sageran first saw and markt the negroes, we did not talk about the Cocoa we were at first wide in the price which coming to Sageran's Partner one John De Bergist sayd they could not pay all cash and mentiond the Cocoa which I afterwards to my sorrow took, but Sir had I then insisted upon all money I must have kept the negroes. no person in Eustatius but these men would have give anything for them but Rum Sugar or some thing Contra: Bando, a few only Excepted, I should have had the charge of them and they would have Died on our hands, had I known the Cocoa was not merchantable I would not have taken it but would have sold the negroes as I could which how many and at what price would have gone off may be estimated from Sagerans acco't who sold as many of them again for Rum molasses etc, which he wanted for the Road island men as he cou'd and Lost (which I can now Prove) Eight Hundred Ps. . . .

48. Petition of Isaac Royall, 1737.[1]

December 7, 1737.

Petition of Isaac Royal late of the Island of Antigua, now of Charlestown in the County of Middlesex, Esq.; shewing that he has removed with his Family from Antigua to this Province, and brought with him considerable of his Substance, and among other Things and Chattels, a Parcel of Negros designed for his own Use in the Management of his particular Affairs, and not any of them for Merchandize, praying he may not be obliged to pay the Duty of Impost,

[2] On July 20, 1738, the sheriff was ordered to seize Rhodes's goods to the value of £5000. The charge against him was that he had stowed the rum casks carelessly in sand ballast and had failed to inspect them. The jury found for the defendant and directed Waldo to pay the costs. Suffolk Files, nos. 46995, 47713, 48317. See *post,* no. 49.

[3] The correspondence does not show the disposition of the remainder of the cargo of 200 negroes which Captain Rhodes had purchased.

[4] Waldo had complained that Rhodes disposed of his negroes for a cargo of unsaleable cocoa, contrary to his instructions. Those portions of the letter not here printed deal for the most part with this purchase.

[48] [1] Mass. Arch., *House Journal,* p. 70. The petition was considered Dec. 21, 1737, but was not granted (*ibid.,* p. 100). On at least two occasions, while Royall was a resident of Antigua, Governor Belcher wrote to him for a negro boy (Mass. Hist. Soc., *Colls.,* sixth ser., VI. 255, "Belcher Papers"). After his removal to Massachusetts he occasionally sold slaves. In 1743 two are advertised about which "information may be obtained from Jacob Royal of Boston or Isaac Royal of Charlestown." *News Letter.* Feb. 24, 1743.

for the Reasons mentioned. Read, and Ordered That the Petition be considered to morrow Morning.[2]

49. Testimony of Dennis Driscoll, 1738.[1]

Mr. Dennis Driscoll of Lawfull Age Tes[t]ifieth and saith That he was Mate of the Sloop *Mary* of Bristoll upon the Coast of Guinea in the year 1733; and in the Year 1735 was Mate of the *Bartlett* Galley of Bristoll upon the said Coast of Guinea; and in the Year 1736 was mate of the Ship *Hobhouse* of Bristoll upon the said Coast and that he has in every one of the several Voyages he made in the aforesaid Vessells traded upon the Coast of Guinea on board of Rum Vessells that came from America, And that he perfectly well remembers he has seen on board the said Rum Vessells the Ground Tier of Rum stowed in Shingle and Sand Ballast and that he has heard Several m[asters of] Rum Vessells on the said Coast say that th[ey had] Suffered a great Deal of Leakage for want of [iron] bound Casks [*torn*] that he has been in the hold [of] Several [Vessells] on said Coast and has [*torn*] of the Ground Tier of said [*torn*] seen all or great part [*torn*] Leaked out, the Deponent further saith he never sa[w an]y large Casks of Liquor, bro[ught] from Europe in Wooden bound Casks nor from [the] Canarys or Western Islands nor any other place except America, that when he was Mate of the aforesaid Sloop *Mary* of Bristoll he stowed away on board said Sloop in Holland several large Butts of Brandy the Casks being Iron Hooped and that they were Carried in Said Sloop to Guinea which were stowed in Sand Ballast. he further adds that he assisted in Loading a Vessell with Rum for Guinea in Barbadoes and that all the ground Tier was in Cask with wooden hoops and Stowed with Shingle Ballast.[2]

Suffolk ss.

Boston October 12, 1738.

[2] On July 6, 1731, Samuel Royall had petitioned in behalf of his brother Isaac, who was still in Antigua, asking that he be relieved of the duty on six negroes brought into Boston. This petition also was refused. *Journal of the House of Representatives*, X. 206.

[49] [1] Suffolk Files, no. 47639.

[2] "Then appeared Dennis Driscoll and made oath to the truth of within Declaration by him Subscribed, Mr. Waldo's Attorney being notified and Mr. Freeman appearing for them, said Driscoll being bound to Sea. Before me Abiel Walley Just: peace Sworne to in Inf'r Court Boston October 1738. Att'r Ezek'l Goldthwait, Cler. Copy Exam'd Byfield Lyde Cler."

50. Notices of Sales, 1739-1741.

June 21, 1739.[1]

A likely Negro Boy about 14 Years, and two Men One about 25, the other 30, all New and just Imported, to be Sold. Enquire of the Printer.

July 19, 1739.

To be Sold by John Vryling, living in Beacon Street, Two very likely young Negro Girls, and a Negro Boy, just imported from Mounserrat, and can understand and speak pretty good English, and are already very handy in a Family.

July 24, 1740.

Just imported and to be Sold by Thos. Hubbard, Merchant at his Dwelling House in Summer Street Boston,[2] a parcel of fine young Negro Boys and Girls; also Cotton Wool and Old West India Rum.

Lately imported and to be sold on Board the Briganteen *Industry* John Leppington Master now lying in the Harbour of Charleston, A Parcel of very likely Negroes, Enquire of said Leppington either on board said Brigg or at his House in Charlstown.

September 4, 1740.

Sundry likely young Negro Boys, and one Negro Girl to be sold by Bodman and Shipton.

October 7, 1740.

Just imported from the Coast of Africa, and to be Sold by Mr. John Jones[3] on board the Brigantine *Poultney,* now lying at Clark's Wharff, A Parcel of likely Young Negroes, Men, Women, Boys and Girls; to be seen on Board said Vessel.

May 14, 1741.

Just arriv'd and to be Sold by Jones and Griffin, A Parcel of likely Negros. Likewise most all sorts of European Goods.

October 29, 1741.

Lately imported from the West Indies, sundry likely Negroes, to

[50] [1] These items appeared in the *News Letters* of the dates given and in subsequent issues. The customs entries for 1739 are:

July 12, entered in from Gambia, Robertson
July 12, entered in from Cape Verde, Mousell
Aug. 2, outward bound for Africa, Cutler
Nov. 8, outward bound for Africa, Bennet

[2] Thomas Hubbard was for many years speaker of the House of Representatives; he later became a member of the Council. For twenty-one years he was treasurer of Harvard College. The house on Summer Street, purchased from the Vassall estate in 1737, Hubbard occupied until 1773. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* XXV. 37-52.

[3] This John Jones was probably the brother-in-law of Peter Faneuil and one of the owners of the *Jolly Batchelor* (*post,* no. 52). The *News Letter* of Oct. 23 also advertised two recently imported negroes.

be Sold by John Alford and Jonathan Tyng at their Warehouse in Boston.[4]

51. Case of the *Mermaid*, 1739.[1]

July 10, 1739.

John Robinson, Master of the Schooner *Mermaid* from the Coast of Guinea, being sent for appear'd, and was Sworn by Mr. Justice Lyman and being Examin'd, on oath, Declares, as follows, That he came from the River Gambo, Two and Forty Days ago, with Eleven White men on board, and Fifty Slaves; That they had the Small Pox, on board, five Months ago, for about Ten Weeks, one Hundred and Forty leagues up the River Gambo; that he buried Two Whites and One Black; that afterwards he burnt Brimstone in the Vessel and Cleansed her with all possible care *Vizt.* in February last, Since which no Person has been Sick of that Distemper, but that they have had the Measles, and Flux on board, that the Flux continues among the Slaves, but the measles is not now among them, That they have lost Fifteen Slaves of the Flux, in said River and in their Passage and that they buried two in Sight of Cape Cod, Yesterday: That 3 Whites and 4 Blacks have had the Small Pox, that all the White men on board have had the Small Pox; That the negroes are all young under Twenty years of age; That he took out all his Water Casks and Cleansed them, but the Ballast had not been Shifted.

[4] The *News Letter,* Oct. 1, 1741, suggests one source of New England slaves: "Last Tuesday Night several Black Slaves, which were lately taken by Capt. Rouse in the Spanish Prize and brought in here, and who have been disposed of to several Persons in Town, being join'd and assisted by several other Black Servants, made their escape out of the Harbour in a Long-Boat which they stole." One young man, just imported, was offered for sale in 1742; in 1743 Charles Apthorp offered for sale a parcel of both sexes, and "a parcel of likely negroes just imported from Guinea, and to be sold on the *Post Boy,*" was advertised (*News Letter,* Feb. 4, 1742, Aug. 8, 1743; *Boston Evening Post,* May 3, 10, 1742). The customs items in the *Evening Post* are:

1741, Feb. 12, cleared for Africa, Dickinson
June 29, outward bound for Africa, Stocker
Nov. 23, outward bound for Africa, Cutler
1742, July 29, cleared for Africa, Beer (or Beard)
Oct. 11, cleared for Africa, Ball
Nov. 25, outward bound for Africa, Freeman
1743, July 11, entered in from Africa, Beer
Aug. 4, entered in from Africa, Ball
Dec. 5, cleared for Africa, Ball
Dec. 5, cleared for Africa, Beer

The melancholy end of Beer's trading is recounted in the *News Letter,* May 7, 1747: "By a Letter from the Coast of Guiney, *via* Barbadoes, dated the 14th of January last, we have Advice, that Capt. Bear in a Vessel belonging to Rhode Island, being off Cape Coast Castle with a Number of Negro Slaves, and a considerable Quantity of Gold Dust on board; the said Slaves found an Opportunity to rise against the Master and Men, and kill'd the said Master and all the Crew, except the two Masters [Mates], who by jumping over board and swimming ashore sav'd their lives. What became of the Vessel and Negroes afterwards the Letter does not mention."

[51] [1] "Selectmen's Minutes, 1736-1742," *Report of the Record Commissioners,* pp. 187-188.

The Select men having Considered the above Declaration, are of Opinion it is Convenient the said Vessell be visited, and therefore Voted, That Capt. Armitage, Capt. Forsyth, Caleb Lyman Esqr. and Mr. Clarke be and are hereby desired to take a Doctor, with them, and to go on board said Schooner, Now in the Road, and to make a Strict Enquiry into the Circumstances of said Vessel, and Slaves, and that they Report thereon as soon as may be.

The Gentlemen above named, accompanied by Doctor Davis and Doctor Rand having Visited the said Schooner, They Report as follows, *Vizt,*

That they found about Twelve of the Slaves on board Sick of the Fever and Flux, and that there is a very dangerous Stench on board, and 'tis their Opinion, It is necessary for the safety of the Town, that the said Vessell be not permitted to come to the Wharf, for the present, but that she be sent down to Rainsford Island, or some other Convenient place, in order for the Airing and Cleansing the vessell, and Shifting her Ballast, and for airing and taking Care of the Slaves, and that they put on Shore all their Casks.

Accordingly a Number of His Majesties Justices being present, a Warrant was drawn for carrying the said Schooner down to Rainsfords Island and there to remain until further order from lawful Authority; Signed by the Hon. William Dudley and Anthony Stoddard Esqrs. Samuel Sewall, Samuel Adams, Caleb Lyman and Daniel Henchman Esqrs. with the Select men.

52. Case of the *Jolly Batchelor*, 1743.[1]

The Libel.

George Birchhall, Charles Wickham *et al.*[2] *vs. Jolly Batchelor.* Colony of Rhode Island etc.

[52] [1] The manuscripts relating to this case are in a bundle of admiralty papers in the archives of Rhode Island, but since the owners of the *Jolly Batchelor,* Peter Faneuil, John Jones, and Captain Cutler, all lived in Boston, it has seemed better to place the case with the Massachusetts material. After a catastrophe on the coast George Birchall had rescued the *Jolly Batchelor,* placed Captain Wickham in command, and sent her to New England. An announcement of Captain Wickham's arrival at Newport was published in the *Evening Post,* Aug. 15, 1743: "We have now certain Advice, that Capt. John Cutler, late Commander of a Snow belonging to this Town, who sail'd for Guinea some time ago, as he was trading in the River Sierra Leona, was murdered, with 2 or 3 of his Men, by some Portuguese who are settled on that River. They rifled the Vessel, and took away his Slaves, etc. but by the Assistance of an honest English Man who is settled in those Parts, some of the Slaves were recovered, and the Vessel again fitted for the Sea, and last Friday she was brought into Newport by Capt. Wickham of that Place, who had himself been taken by a Spanish Privateer on the Coast of Guinea some Time before." Shortly after the arrival of the vessel Birchall brought suit against the representatives of the owners for salvage, and libelled the snow. W. B. Weeden, in *Economic and Social History of New England* (II. 467-472) and in "Early African Slave Trade in New England" (*Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, new ser., V. 124-128), gives a brief account of the fate of this venture.

[2] In a letter to Godfrey Malbone, written Sept. 12, 1735, Charles Wickham is referred to as a Newport captain (*Commerce of Rhode Island,* I. 44). He, with Alexander Mackensie, William Wyat, and Silvester Sweet, had shipped from Newport on

To the Hon'ble John Gidley Esq. Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty for the Colony aforesaid[3]

The Libel and Appeal of George Burchil now residing at the Banana Islands[4] on the Coast of Guinea in Affrica Mercht against the Snow *Jolly Batchelor* and her Cargoe, whereof John Cutler Deceased was late Master, And your Appellants come into this Hon'ble Court and do Libel Appeal and Say that on or about the Ninth Day of March A D 1742 That at the River Saralone[5] on the Coast of Guinea the said Vessel was Seized apprehended and Taken and the Master thereof with Two of the Marriners were barbarously Murdered by the Natives on Shore, and who at the Time aforesaid took Possession of said Vessel and her Rigging and Sails afterwards took and Carried on Shore together with her Slaves then on board and then did leave and abandon sd Vessel and afterwards to wit on the ninth Day of April following the Appellants with much Labour Hazard and Care retook said Vessel and procured for her partly by purchasing of the Commanders of Some English Vessels then on the Coast Suitable and Necessary Sail and Rigging for her and also procured from the Natives Twenty Slaves and some of those stores that they Carried from the Vessel aforesaid and Appointed Charles Wickham Master thereof who hath now brought her into this Port. Wherefore as this a Matter of Salvage and therefore Cognizable in this Court the Appellants prays the Advisemon of this Court on the Premises and as he apprehends he hath a right to Salvage for sd Vessel and Cargoe for his great Pains Expences and Labour sending her into this Port aforesaid and that the usual process of the Court may be Issued forth against said Vessel and Cargoe and the Owners thereof Notified to Answer this Libel and abide your Honours Decree thereon and they will in Duty bound ever pray etc.

NEWPORT Aug: 18th[6]

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the *Eagle,* Sept. 8, 1742. The *Eagle* was seized by a Spanish privateer, hence Wickham and his three men were on the African coast without a vessel and thus were free to bring the *Jolly Batchelor* home. Wickham's sailors believed that enough of the cargo of the *Eagle* had been preserved to yield the amount of their wages and appealed for them to Judge Gidley's (Gridley?) court. The record does not show the outcome. Weeden, "Early African Slave Trade," Am. Antiq. Soc., *Procs.*, new ser., V. 126 n.

[3] John Gidley of Newport had been appointed judge of admiralty in March, 1742, "till the King's will could be known." Leonard Lockman was appointed to the place in 1744. S. G. Arnold, *History of Rhode Island* (1860), II. 140, 145.

[4] The Banana Islands, near the mouth of the Sierra Leone River, became of increasing importance to the slave traffic as the century advanced. John Clarkson, in his account of his mission to America in 1791 (New York Hist. Soc., MS., I. 121), described them as the "Paradise of Africa."

[5] Sierra Leone.

[6] Signed, "J. Honyman advoc pro Ad, Jno. Gidley Judge," "Filed and Allowed and Court to be held at 3 oClock P M. A true Copy exam. pr Jm Gould D. Regr." Endorsed, "Copy of the Libel Geo: Burchil *vs.* Snow *Jolly Batchelor.*" Both the copy and the original of this libel are among the papers of the vessel. In so far as the latter is at all legible the two correspond exactly.

Deposition of Alexander McKenzie.

Alexander McKenzie aged about 35 years, testifieth and Saith that at farron Bay on Serrelone River on the Coast of Guinea abt the 8th of March last past, he went on board the Snow, called the *Jolly Batchelor* John Cutler Commr with a design to get a pasage with sd Cutler (the vessel he was before in being lately taken by the Spain-yards) the sd Cutler accordingly shipt him, and in two or three Days after the sd Cutler being then in good health, Sent on shore the Yawl to look for the Long boat, (in wch he the Deponent went with two Blacks) wch had been mising a day or two before, in looking for wch he was sent out one Day about 9 a Clock in the morning and returnd the next Day about 7 a Clock with the Long boat with the two negroes before mentioned. when he came on board two Portuguese Negroes laid hold on him the Deponent and presented two Cockt pistoles at his breast, and forced him on board the Snow where were about twenty other negroes who were Confederates in the murder of Cap Cutler, who's body half an hour after he saw dead upon the half deck and some of the negroes tying stones about his hands and then they threw him over. In an hour or two after this all the slaves in the vessel to the number of about Seventy or Eighty were Caried on shore in the Long boat and Yawl, while some others were plundering the sd Vessel, and in the Evening they caried the deponent with some others on shore at atown called Senr Lewis's[?] town and kept them there till the next day, when the deponent one Rich'd Smith and Jno Kendall had leave to go from them and they by the direction of two negroes in three Days and a half arrived at a place called the Bannanoes where they inform'd Cap Burchall and Cap Wickham that Cutler was murdered With two of his men and his vessel taken. In seven or Eight Days after the sd Burchall fixed out three shallop and a smaller boat with abt thirty men black and white with fire arms within three or four days, after they arrived at Sarelone river where they found the vessel Lying like a wreck without any running riging or Sails to the Yard. when they came on Board there was no person there, then Mr. Burchall and Capt Wickham borrowed a Shallops Main Sail and fore Sail and brought the Vessel to White Mans Bay about four Miles distant and then said Burchall and Wickham procured the Forestay Sail Main Sail and Fore Sail and Maintop Sail, with about Thirty five of the Slaves that were carried out of the Vessel, and the Foretopsail Cut to pieces, and proceeded with the Vessel to the Island of Bananos and their bought Rigging etc. and refitted the Vessel. But wanting provision and some other Necessaries were obliged to keep sd Vessel thereabouts Six Weeks and upon

Arival of Capt Pitman in a Ship from Bristol were Supplied and then they returned to Serralone River to Water the Vessel, and Capt. Wickham Sailed from [*illegible*] with Twenty Slaves on the Owners account, for Newport in Rhode Island where We arrived the Eleventh Day of this Instant August and further saith not.[7]

Deposition of Charles Wickham.[8]

Charles Wickham of Newport, Mariner On Oath in Open Court Declared, That he was at the Bannanoes on the 12th or 13th Day of March last at the House of Mr. George Burchall, and saw an English Ensign hoisted over upon the Main and as soon as he saw it Capt. Burchall dispatched a Canoe over which returned in about two Hours and brought three White Men Over with him, who travelled by Land from Serralone who told us they belonged to the Snow *Jolly Batchelor* and declared that Capt. John Cutler the Master of sd Snow had been about four Days before cut off by about twenty Portugese and Negroes who came aboard sd Snow armd and killed the sd Cutler and two of his Men and carried away the running Rigging and Sails of sd Snow together with the Slaves and Cargo and forced all the Seamen and Mariners on Shoar at Senr Lewis' Town in Sierra Leon River. About the 28th of the same Month of March Capt. George Burchall fitted out from the Bonanas three Shallops and a Yawl maned with about thirty men blacks and Whites well armed in order to go to the sd River and retake sd Snow. About eight and forty Hours after we arrived at Whiteman's Bay in Sierra Leon River where Capt Burchell and the Deponent immediately went on shoar to John Cumberbur's Town and upon advising with him went in our Shallops and Yawl to a Portugese negro named Joseph Lopez and desired him to Assist us that we might recover sd Snow. He promisd he would Whereupon we returned to Whiteman's Bay where we expected him the next Day there. We waited about Eight Days without hearing anything of sd Lopez and then one of his Men came with Orders to Senr Lewis to deliver up the Vessel and Slaves And the same Day sd Lewis sent Word to Us that we might go up to Farrons Bay and take the Vessel. The next Day we went in two of our Shallops and Yawl only the other Shallop being gone to get Provision and took possession of the Snow, Likewise her Main sail and Foresail were delivered at the same Time, Top sails and Forestaysail We purchased of the Natives and a small Quantity of the

[7] Signed: "the mark of Alexander + McKenzie, Sworn in Open Court."

[8] At the top of the sheet which contains this are the beginnings of depositions by Silvester Sweet of Newport and William Wyatt of Portsmouth, Eng., both crossed out. John Battey, of Jamestown, R. I., and Oliver Arnold, mariners, who were at the house of George Birchall on Mar. 12 or 13, deposed to substantially the same account.

running Rigging and after we had got her a small matter fitted we carried her down to the Bannanoes and after we had been there some Time Came Capt Pitman from Bristol, who supplied us with Cordage sails and provisions to fit her for the Sea. There was no English Vessel at the River Sierolone at the Time the sd Snow was taken and for some Time afterwards. I received at several Times Thirty four Slaves of Senr. Lewis, two of which Died and twelve were Sold for the Necessary Stores and provisions for the Vessel, to wit Eight to Capt. Burchall and four to Capt. Pitman and the remaining Twenty the Deponent [hath ?] now brought into this port in sd Snow. And the Deponent further Saith That One of the Mariners belonging to sd Snow told the Deponent that the Slaves on Board sd Snow were Numbered the Night before sd Capt. Cutler was Murdered and that there were Seventy five of them then on Board and further the Deponent saith that after they had taken possession of sd Snow they went and lay at Whiteman's Bay about Ten Days in Order to recover the Slaves of sd Vessel but could not get any more than the above Thirty four, and one that was sent down to sd Snow at the Bannanoes who afterwards run away.

Account of Augustine Lopez.

SEIRRALIOAN, Febr the 14th 1742/3.

Dr Captain Jno. Cuttler to Augustine Lopez

			Bars
To 4 Buckaneer Guns	at	6	24
To 2 Barrells Pork	at	20	40
To 2 Small Guns	at	4	8
To 2 Musquets	at	4	8
To 6 Glass Muggys			3
To 60 Gall: Rum	at	1	60
			Bars 143 [9]

Resibi por Conto de Capp'ann Joan Cuttler no mão de Sr' Capp'an Jorge Birchll.

Seu Servidor
AGUSTINHO LOPEZ [10]

[9] The value of the bar in terms of English money differed widely from time to time. One writer familiar with African commerce in 1690 gave its value as about 6 *s.*; another as 6 *s.* 8 *d.*; Park, at the end of the eighteenth century, thought it worth about 2 *s.* Weeden gives 12 bars as the equivalent of £1 sterling, a low valuation for any period. It should be understood that bars were more frequently the money of account than an actual medium of exchange.

[10] "Received on account of Capt. John Cutler by the hand of Capt. George Burchill. His servant, Agustinho Lopez."

Account of Captain Joseph Pitman.

BANNANOES.

Dr Snow *Jolley Batchelor* to Joseph Pittman

						Bars
To	7 lb twine					3½
To	Trisaile Gibb Topmaststaisaile					28
To	3 C. Bread					25
		C	qr	lb		
To	Tirce of Pork qt.	2	1	0		
To	a Hhd. Beef qt.	3	2	8		
		5	3	8	at 12	70
To	Pump Leather and Saile Needles					1
To	Cordige 1 C at 12					12
To	one New Top Gallent Saile					11
To	one Box Candles qt. 68 ct. 6 ct. p. 1					9½
To	5 C Bread and Butt					33
						Bars 193

May the 28th 1743. The Contents of the above and all demand per Js: PITTMAN

Account of Slaves Received.

SIERRALIONE, June the 14th 1743.

An Acct. of Slaves, Recd. on Acct. of the Owners of the *Jolly Batchelor,* Capt. Jno. Cutler Late Commdr.

			Slaves
To	34	recd. at Sierralione	34
To	3	Recd. from Henry Tucker	3
To	1	Sent to me at the Bannanoes	1
To	1	Tooth weight 52 lb.	
To	1	Boy Left Ill in my hands recovered	1
			Slaves 39

Contra	Cr.		
By	2	Slaves Died at the Bannanoes	2
By	5	Runaway at Do.	5
Pay'd as pr Bill			12
Remains on board as pr Bill Lad.			20
Payd one Tooth as pr Bill wt. 52 lb.			
			Slaves 39

Account of George Birchall.

SIERRALIONE, June the 14th 1743.

Dr. Sneau *Jolly Batchelor* to George Birchall

	Bars
To a Bill paid Capt. Wickham for Provisions	50
To a Bill paid Capt. Pitman	193
To Do. paid Mr. Augustin Lopez	143
To a Coil of Cordage and Block	3
To 3 small Do.	7
To 2 Do.	5
To a boat Load of Mangoes	2
To 3 Coiles Cordage from Jno. Cumberbatch	4
To Cordage and blocks from Do.	4
To Half a Main Topsaile at Do.	7
To the other Half at Pinto	5
To mangoes	2
To a Main Topsaile	20
To a Brass Box Compass	5
To a fore Stay Saile	8
To paid Joshua Acct. for Riggen and backstays	13
To 6 Cuttlasses for the Up of the Sneau	6
To 4 Guns for Do.	20
To Powder for Do.	7
To Ball for Do.	2
To 2 Iron Potts for Do.	5
To 2 Iron Bars for pump Spears	2
To one Ax	1
To 7 yds of Duck	3½
To 2 Pistols	8
To 10 Rice brought from the Bannanoes	40
To 8 Do. Sent for	32
To 22 Do. Delivered the Ship at her departure	88
To 2 New Iron bound Butts at 10 Each	20
To one Do. Small	8
To 20 Gall: Rum on the Sneau Acctt.	20
To Mangoes	4
To 120 lb. of punch	7
	Bars 744½

Contra Cr.

June the 14th		Bars
	By twelve Slaves at 60	720
	By one Tooth wt. 52 lb.	24½
		Bars 744½

Letter of George Birchall.

Gentlemen, The Mellancholly Subject on wch I now write you, I do not Doubt but you have heard ere this comes to your Hands, as Capt. Noris Sail'd for your parts While I was Endeavouring to recover your Sneau, and so Miss'd the Oppertunity of Accquainting you, that on the 12th of March I hade Advice that there was an English flagg Hoisted on the Main land Opposit to the Island on wch we Reside, and as it was a thing Uncommon, I Ordered one of my Cannoes to goe see for what it was Hoisted, and my Cannoe soon return'd wth the Deceas'd Captn. Cuttler's Boy, and some of the Remains of his people, who Inform'd me that Captn. Cuttler wth two others of his People were Murder'd in the River Sierralione, by some Portugees that live there and his Ship cutt off and Plundered, and as I found it was by a Particular Sett of People, and the Natives had not any Hand in it, I did not Doubt but I should recover her, I therefore tooke three Shalops and a Yall wth me well mann'd and sail'd for the River and at my Arrivall, I found her Laying like a wreck, Strip'd of her Sails, Riggin, Provisions, Stores and in Short every thing but a few old Rum Hoggsheads fill'd wth fresh Water. when I found in what Condition she was, I did not think it worth while to meddle wth her, Unless I could have the Slaves Deliver'd up, wch they Inform'd me was Eighty four when She was Cutt off, (I therefore haveing an Acquaintance wth the Great King of this Countrey, and Mr. Josepf Lopez who abhor'd the Action and of Great Powre in the Country,) Apply'd my self to these two, first Setting forth the Baseness of what had been committed, and of what Determt [detriment] it was Likely to be to the River, If they did not give the Owners Satisfaction for what they hade Suffer'd. they both Promis'd to doe all in there Power and they Immediately Sent to the Vilain, to Deliver every thing up to me, but the Slaves and every thing else belonging to her, was so Distributed about it was Impossable to Collect them; her Riggen, Stores and Sail's was Cutt, and Devided therefore it was not to be got, but by Imploying one of the Natives to give the others Incouragement to bring them in, which was done, I then got the Sneau and what Sailes etc. I could with thirty four Slaves and being at much Expencess, and Provisions not to be got in the River, I sail'd with her for the Bannanoes, and there to remain Untill I could Provide Provissions and Necessarys for the Voage Home, and for want of Provisions was Oblig'd to land the Slaves, and put them into my Plantacion that they might not Starve before I could make Provision for them, I Ordered all my Boats out in Pursute of Provisions, with the best of Goods to Purchase it,

but it came but Slowly in, there being a Scarcity at this Juncture all over the Country. the first Assistance we met with was from Captn. Pitman who Arrived here from Bristoll, and as I traded with him for neare a Thousand pounds Sterling, it Engaged him to Spare me what Sailes were Necessary and wanting, likeways Provisions, as youll see by his bill of Parcells Inclos'd, this Enableing her to goe off the Coast, after she was Wooded and Water'd. I Proceeded again with her to Sierralione in Order to Compleat it, and at the same time to try what more of the Slaves I could recover, A list of which I here send you, I have had much more trouble in this affair than I at first could have Expected; besides neglecting my own Business and factorys, which I have sufferd much by, but doe not repine at it as I did it to serve my deceased friend, his Friends and family, whose virtues and honour, the Unfortunate Deceasd used often to mention to me, with so much Satisfaction, that we used often to wish our Selfs with you, to whome he had Promisd to interduce me, in my way to old England, this makes me Mellancholly therefore I must Conclude this Subject, and add that as Captn Wickam hade the Misfortune to Loose his Ship by a Spainish Privateer, he with his mates and People came to the Bannanoes in Order to gett a Passage off the Coast, and as this affair Happn'd, While he was with me, I haveing known him before, allthough he had an Oppertunity of getting off some time before with Captn. Jno. Noris, who likeways Promis'd to give him his Passage, and his Slaves with him freight free, therefore I thought it was but Justuce to give him the freight as he was disapointed to serve the Sneau, of which he has hade a Share of the Trouble, and on these terms and Obligeing the Sneau, and Effects to Pay him and his people Wages as pr the Incloasd List, I Prevail'd on him to Stay, and take Charge of the Ship to bring her home to you, as after the Expence was Paid as pr the Incloased Acct. their was but few Slaves Remaining, as youll See by the Incloas'd Bill of Ladeing, and not any Papers to be found where you hade Order'd her, I thought to send her to you Directly wch was far the best way; I have Endeavour'd much but to no Purpose to gett his Papers and Books of Accts, they Allways Denying that they knew any thing of them Although John Kendell has Seen them in their Hands, hade I Recover'd his Books it would have Enabl'd me to have Settled all Accts, to your Satisfactions, as allso to my own, for Captn. Cuttler dealt wth Severall People as well as with my self, where he sometimes left goods, without being Paid Directly for them and at other times recd. Slaves, and not haveing right Sortments was Left Untill he hade. Just before the Unhappy Mellancholly time, he Left in my Hands a Large quantity of Flints de-

sireing me to give them storehouse room, and when he return'd from Sierralione, If we could agree for them I was to have them, we Disagreed about the Price, he wanting Seven and Sixpence pr Thousand, and I Insisting on Paying him five Shilings only, as they were a Large Parcell, but what quantity Exactly I cannot tell as we Did not Agree, he only tooke the weight of them and keept it to him Self, but there Appears to be about Fourty Thousand. I hade allso two Hoggsheads of Rum Containing two Hundred and Sixteen Gallons, and a Small Parcell of Loose Beads of no value, when he was wth me Last. I hade made a Memmorandum, in my Accts. wth him wherein he hade Overcharged me in Somethings, which he Promisd to Draw out fair again and en[*illegible*] the overcharge to my Satisfaction, but never return'd the Acct. Again to me, therefore without the Books Its Impossable to be at any Certainty, but as these Rogues are Roman-catholicks, and their is a Priest here, I hope to Prevail wth him to Procure them, if they are not destroy'd, then I shall be able to Collect in his Debts, of which I know there is some, but must have a powre before I can make any Demand; I recd. for Capt. Cuttler Just before he Died three Slaves, and a Tooth weight fivety two pounds, from Mr. Henry Tucker, who is yet indebted to him, but cannot tell how much. this Person as soon as he heard news of what hade Happend at Sierralione, made a Demand of the Slaves and Tooth, but I let him know though I hade no Power to Demand the Debts, I hade Power to keep what was put in my hands on the Owners Acct. therefore gave him a Recipt, and shipd the Tooth, and two of the Slaves on board the Sneau, the other Slave Died at my House. I allso have sent a Boy Slave which Captn. Cuttler Left in my Hands verey Ill, but since well recoverd, allso rec'd one Woman sent by Mr. Lopez to me, he finding She was the Sneaus Property, there is likeways here a verey Poor man, who Assisted Captn. Cuttler in tradeing and Borrow'd his Long boat to Trade in, and when he return'd from his Voage, Put his Effects into Captn. Cuttlers Hands in hopes of Buying his Long boat, and he being well Accquainted in this Country, went to gett Rice for the Sneau, but before he returned the Ship was Cutt off, and the Poor man has little or any thing left, his Debt is something above three Hundred barrs, and I belive is Justly due to him, as he sent his Acct. To Capt. Jno Noris to Settle it for him before the Sneau was cutt off, therefore the Man ought to be Paid out of what may hereafter be recover'd, there is four Slaves due for the Long boat, but will not be paid Untill the Person has Some Satisfaction for his goods, which was Carried off by Captn. Edward Tarleton, and what Contributed much towards the Captns Unhappy End, as the whole relation will be too tedious to mention

here, I refer it to the Captn and People that are now in the Sneau, I have put the Gold Watch which Belongs to the Deceased, into Captn. Wickhams hands, to Deliver to Mrs. Furnel the Deceas'd Sister,[11] who I have heard him say so much of that hade he lived, I belive he had Bestow'd it that way, therefore I hope it will come safe to her.

Gentlemen I think I have nothing further to add then that I have Impowerd Capt. Wickam, to Receve whatsoever may become Due to me, on Acct. of my Recovering the Sneau, and Slaves, which I hope at Least will be a Third of all, and when that is done I do Ashure you I shall be a Looser. I hope you give him immediat Satisfaction, that everything will be done Agreeable to him. Gentlemen, I am very Sorrow that after recovering those Slaves, I have to Accquaint you that ten of your Slaves Run away wth one of Island Cannoes five of which I have gott back again, I lost 23 at the Same time and Capt. Wickam three, I have only got one of my own as yet, but am in Pursute of them, hope to recover them, and be Asshured If I can gett yours allso, you Shall have them paying the Charges, my best Endeavours shall not be wanting to Serve you as far as Lays in my power. when Captn. Wickam Accquaints you wth the Custome of this Country, wch he is now Accquainted with, and you are Strangers to, youll find how much I have allready favour'd you, one Instance is this at the Time I Advanc'd my money for your Use, I have charged my Self Sixty Bars pr Head for the Slaves which I am paid in, and at the same time the greatest Price we Livers in this Country, we pay but fourty five, an other, I have not made a Charge for any Provisions which was Expended at my House, for the Up of between thirty and fourty of your Slaves, Dureing the time of their Stay, which was more than Six Weeks. Sir I have sent by Captn. Wickam, a bundle of Papers which is all that was put into my hands by John Kendell, I hope it will come safe to your hands.

Gentlemen the reason of my sending the Ship to Road Island, is because all the people and officers are Inhabitance of that place, and hade she been orderd Elsewhere I am not certain whither they would have proceeded in her as they Started severall Difficulties about it. Gentlemen I hope this will meet wth a favourable reciption as I have done it purely with Intention to Serve you.

[11] A. E. Brown describes Mary Cutler as "Highly educated with decided literary tastes" and withal, a "poetess." It was Benjamin Faneuil's marriage with her which caused his choleric uncle Andrew to disinherit him in favor of Peter. *Faneuil Hall and Faneuil Hall Market* (Boston, 1901), pp. 16-17.

Decree.[12]

I have Considered the Lible of George Burchill Residing at the Banana Islands on the Coast of Guiney in Africa Mercht against the Snow *Jolly Batchelor* Jno. Cutler Late Commander and her Cargoe etc. and I do Adjudge and Decree to him the one third part of the aforeside Snow and Appurtenances and the one third part of the twenty Negros Mentioned in the Lible free of all Charges or Deduction for Salvage the aforeside Snow and Negroes I order to be Apprisd on Oath by Benj: Cranston, Patrick Grant and Tho: Vernon and to be sold at Publick Vendue by Will King Deputy Marshall of this Court on the thirtyth of this Instant Augt at the House of Mr. Jacob Hassey and I Order the sd Will King to pay the one Whole third thereof to George Burchell or to his Lawfull Attorney the other two thirds after all Charges are first Subducted and tax'd by me I order the sd Will King to pay to Benj. Furnel[13] of Boston Esq. and Mr. Jno Jones[14] Mercht Aforesaid as soon as Demanded by them althe Portage Bill in this Case I Reject.[15]

Appraisement.

By Virtue of a warrant Directed to us the Subscribers from the Hono'ble his Majesty's Court of Admiralty in the Colony of Rhode Island etc. To A prize the Snow *Jolly Bachelor,* with her Tackle Apparrel furniture Slaves etc. We have Aggreable to Sd warrant Viewed the Said Snow etc. according to the best of our Skill and Jud[g]ement, think they are worth as follows *Viz.*

[12] "20th Aug'st 1743, George Burchall *vs* Snow *Jolly Batchelor* and Cargo. The Court being Opened according to Adjournment, His Honr the Judge pronounced his decree."

[13] Peter Faneuil died Mar. 3, 1743. In the absence of a will his brother Benjamin became administrator of his estate (Brown, *Faneuil Hall,* pp. 16-17, 102). No evidence has come to light to give positive support to Brown's statement that Peter Faneuil, "like his contemporaries, was often found engaged in the trade in human beings," though it is probable that he frequently received a slave or two from the West Indies, along with other commodities. The present seems to have been his only venture to Africa. In 1737 he wrote to Thomas Kilby, "Captain sends you for his private account two young negro men, wch, if you can get a good price for, pray dispose of them" (*ibid.,* p. 45). His letter to Capt. Peter Bulkley (or Buckley), commander of the *Byam,* ordering a young lad for a house boy is well known. It is to be found in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Procs.,* VII. 418 (August, 1864); L. M. Sargent, *Dealings with the Dead* (Boston, 1856), II. 532; Brown, *Faneuil Hall,* pp. 32-33; Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston,* II. 262.

[14] The venture of the *Jolly Batchelor* seems to have been strictly a family investment. Capt. John Jones was the husband of Mary Anne Faneuil, sister of Peter and Benjamin. Brown, *op. cit.,* p. 121; Sargent, *op. cit.,* II. 503, 510; *News Letter,* Mar. 10, 1743.

[15] The decree is signed "Jno. Gidley Judge." The costs, amounting to £184 10 8, are enumerated by Weeden in "Early African Slave Trade," Am. Antiq. Soc., *Procs.,* new ser., V. 125-126.

	The Snow *Jolly Bachelor,* with her Tackle Apparrel Furniture, Yawl, etc. worth		£1300
5 negro boys	Jobah	£75	
	Jobah	90	
	Cubah	80	
	Farih	80	
	Young	105	
		———	430
3 Girls	Durah	50	
	Battah	50	
	Bungoh	65	
		———	165
6 Women	Yallah	80	
	Morandah	85	
	Mowoorie	100	
	Simboh	100	
	Burrah	100	
	Yearie	100	
		———	565
6 Men	Cubah	105	
	Carie	95	
	Cudah	60	
	Fassiah	50	
	Curiarah	100	
	Pattoe	100	
		———	510
			£2970

NEWPORT 31st August 1743.[16]

Sale.

Acco't of the Sale of the Snow *Jolly Batchelor* etc. with Twenty Negroes:

Mr Samll Vernon to 1 Negro Boy	£100
Mr John Tweedey to 1 Negro Girl	81
Mr Brinley to 1 Negro Man	93
Col Cranston to 1 Negro man	75
Sailes Carr to 1 Negro man	105
Mr Harte to 1 Boy	91

[16] Signatures, "Pat: Grant, Thos: Vernon, Benj. Cranston." Endorsed: "Personally appeared the within named Patrick Grant, Thomas Vernon and Benjamin Cranston and made Oath to the truth of the within Appraisement According to the best of their Skill and Judgment. Attest. J. Gould D Regr."

Mr Samll Bayley to 1 Negro Woman	106
Capt. Charls Wickham to 1 Negro Woman	74
Mr Chitenen to 1 Negro Woman	101
Mr Chaning to 1 Negro Boy	134
Colo. Cranston to 1 Negro Boy	71
Mr Brinley to 1 Negro man	85
Mr Brinley to 1 Negro man	94
Mr Don to 1 Negro Boy	78
Capt. Hartle to 1 Negro Girl	59
Wm King to 1 Negro Girl	40
Mr Isaacs to 1 Negro Girl	69
Capt. Wickham to the Snow	1300
Mathias King to 1 Negro Girl	75
Capt. Robinson to 1 Negro man	41
Mr Brinley to 1 Negro man	60
	2924 [17]

53. Notices of Sales, 1744-1758.

August 23, 1744.[1]

Just Imported, from the Coast of Guinea, And to be Sold on Board the Schooner *Post-Boy,* Robert Ball Master, lying at Mr. James Russel's Wharff in Charleston, A Parcel of likely young Negro Boys and Girls. Inquire either of said Ball on board said Schooner, or of said Russel at his Warehouse on said Wharff.

August 11, 1746.[2]

Just Imported, A Parcel of young Negro Slaves of both Sexes, to be Sold. Enquire at Mr. Oliver's Bake House, near the South Battery.

November 9, 1747.[3]

Two likely young Negroes, about 14 Years old, a Boy and a Girl, lately imported from Guinea, to be sold by Thomas Jenner, Esq. at Charlestown.

[17] It should be £2932. Weeden says that the snow sold for £1300, the twenty negroes for £1644, which gives a total of £2944. The men average £84, the women £79 (Am. Antiq. Soc., *Procs.,* new ser., V. 126). To this is added, "The Marshalls commission 2½ per ct. = 18. 5. 6 from court costs."

In the admiralty papers of the Rhode Island archives there are documents relating to a second African case, in which Edward Mumford brought suit for wages on a voyage to Guinea and New England, commanded by John Robinson. The case belongs to the court proceedings of 1745.

[53] [1] *News Letter,* Aug. 23, 30, 1744. Ball entered in from Africa May 25. *Boston Gazette,* May 28, 1744.

[2] *Boston Post Boy,* Aug. 11, 1746. John Merrick advertised negro men on Mar. 31, 1746; Robert Jenkins, on July 11. *Post Boy,* Mar. 31; *News Letter,* July 11, 17, 1746.

[3] *Boston Evening Post,* Nov. 9, 1747.

October 19, 1749.[4]

To Be Sold, by Samuel Hendly and Company, at his House in Charleston, A likely Parcel of Negro Boys and Girls, and two fine Negro Men, just imported from Africa.

October 10, 1751.[5]

To Be Sold. At Publick Vendue, at the Bunch of Grapes, Mr. Samuel Wetherhead's Tavern in King Street, on Tuesday the 15th Instant at Twelve o'Clock, Five strong hearty stout Negro Men, most of them Tradesmen, such as Caulkers, Sailmakers, etc. Any Person Inclining to Purchase may see them any Time before the Sale, on Board the Schooner *Success,* Matthew Milburn Master, lying at the South Side of the Long Wharf; the Condition of Sale may be seen at the Place of Sale. Boston, October 9, 1751.[6]

June 22, 1752.[7]

Kittery, June 14th. This Day arrived the *Betsey,* Samuel Lanphier, Commander from the Coast of Guinea, with a Quantity of very likely Boys and Girls of the blackest Sort: All Persons who incline to be Purchasers may apply to me the Subscriber, where they shall be dealt with on reasonable terms. ALEXANDER RAIT.

October 26, 1758.[8]

Just Imported and to be Sold. By Arnold Welles, Some very likely Negro Boys, from twelve to eighteen Years of Age, and three or four Negro Men between twenty and thirty Years old.

54. BOSTON CUSTOM-HOUSE ITEMS, 1746-1757.[1]

Date	Master	Voyage
1746, Feb. 10	Robinson	Entered in from Africa
June 16	Ball	" " " "
1747, May 21	Thomson	" " " "
Sept. 10	Ball	" " " "

[4] *News Letter,* Oct. 19, 26, Nov. 2, 1749.

[5] *Ibid.,* Oct. 10, 1751.

[6] An advertisement which appeared in the *Post Boy,* Oct. 7, 1751, for what is obviously the same group, said that they were from Halifax, and directed enquiries to Benjamin Hallowell of Boston.

[7] *Post Boy,* June 22, 1752.

[8] *News Letter,* Oct. 26, 1758, and following issues.

[54] [1] *News Letter,* for the dates given. In addition to the advertisements for newly arrived negroes already printed, the following have been found in the Boston papers between 1745 and 1758:

1746, Jan. 27, *Evening Post,* two men from West Indies, printer
Mar. 31, *Weekly Post Boy,* several negro men, John Merrick
July 11, *News Letter* and *Evening Post,* two or three negro men, one a cooper, one a carpenter from West Indies, Robert Jenkins
1749, June 8, *News Letter,* a likely negro woman, Alford and Tyng
1754, Aug. 19, *Evening Post,* two men, one woman, Edward Scheaffe from *Blava*
1758, July 24, *Evening Post,* six healthy negro boys and girls, by auction at the Royal Exchange Tavern
July 27, *News Letter,* five likely negro boys just imported, printer

Date	Master	Voyage
1748, Dec. 1	Fuller	Entered out for Africa
Dec. 8	Ellery	" " " "
" "	Thomson	" " " "
1749, June 16	White	Outward bound for Africa
July 30	Ball	Cleared out " "
Aug. 3	Fuller	Entered out " "
Sept. 21	Besham	Entered in from Cape Verde
1750, June 20	Power	Entered out for Africa
July 11	Fuller	" in from "
Oct. 24	Rhodes	" out for "
1751, May 6	Ball	" in from Barbados
1752, July 16	"	Cleared out for Africa
" 29	Grey	" " " "
Sept. 14	Ellery	" " " "
1753, Nov. 22	Harding	" " " "
1754, Jan. 3	Ellery	Entered out " "
1757, Feb. 10	Binney	Cleared " "

55. Notices of Sales, 1759-1762.

October 18, 1759.[1]

To be Sold, A Very likely Negro Boy, has been about Twelve Months from the Coast of Guiney, speaks good English, strait Limbed, handsome featur'd, good natur'd and has had the Small-Pox. Enquire of the Printer.

August 7, 1760.[2]

Just Imported from Africa, a Number of prime young Slaves from the Windward Coast and to be Sold on board the Schooner *Phillis* lying at New-Boston.

July 30, 1761.[3]

To be Sold, A Parcel of Likely Negroes, imported from Africa, enquire of John Avery at his House, next door to the White-Horse, or at a Store adjoining the said Avery's Distill House, at the South-End near the South Market: Also if any Persons have any Negro Men, strong and hearty, tho not of the best morral character, which are proper Subjects for Transportation, may have an Exchange for small Negroes.[4]

[55] [1] These items appear in the *News Letters* of the dates given and in subsequent issues. In May, Arnold Welles advertised "A few very likely negroes chiefly boys to be sold at a reasonable rate". *Evening Post,* May 14, 1759.

[2] "Gwinn for Africa" was "outward bound" Jan. 9, and "enter'd in from Africa" Aug. 6 (*News Letter,* Jan. 10, Aug. 7, 1760). Gwinn (or Gwyn), Ball, Innis, and Day all cleared for Africa in the closing months of 1760 (*ibid.,* Sept. 25, Oct. 16, Nov. 6, 13, Dec. 11, 1760). The *News Letter* of Sept. 24, 1761, writes of Captain Day, of the sloop *Thomas*: "By Capt. Day who arriv'd since our last from the Coast of Africa, with a Number of fine Negroes: whilst they were on the Coast, they got open the Hatches and rose upon the Crew, but were soon overcome and subdued, their Ring leader being Shot and kill'd, and others wounded."

[3] "Gwin from Africa" appears in the custom-house record as printed in the *News Letter,* July 16, 1761. He was reported "in a Schooner of Boston", on the coast of Africa, in February of that year; by Aug. 12 he was once more outward bound for Africa (*ibid.,* June 4, Aug. 13, Sept. 4, 1761). Other inward entries from Africa during the year were Carpenter, June 24, Ball, July 29; outward to Africa were Binney, May 13, and the sloop *Thomas,* Gresham Spear, Oct. 22. *Ibid.,* May 14, June 25, July 30, Oct. 22, 1761.

[4] A negro man and woman, from Goree, are advertised. *Ibid.,* Oct. 15, 1761.

May 20, 1762.[5]

Just Imported from Africa, A Number of Prime young Slaves, from the Windward Coast: To be seen at Mr. Blanchard's Store at New-Boston.

Just Imported, From the Coast of Africa, A Parcel of likely Negroes; To be Sold on board the Sloop *Diamond,* Capt. Wickham, now lying at Mr. Avery's Wharf, near the South Market. Inquire also at said Avery's House near the White-Horse.

Those who incline to purchase, must apply speedily, as the Vessel is soon to sail for Rhode-Island.[6]

June 10, 1762.

Just Imported from Africa, A Number of Prime Slaves from the Windward Coast. To be seen at a Store on Mr. Griffin's Wharf.

November 4, 1762.

Just Imported from Africa. And to be Sold Cheap at No. 5, Butler's Row, A Few prime Men and Boy Slaves from the Gold Coast.

56. Instructions to Captain William Ellery, 1759.[1]

14th January, 1759.

Sir, The Snow *Caesar* is fully loaded and equipped for sea. My orders are to you, that you embrace the first favorable opportunity of wind and weather, and proceed to the coast of Africa; touching first, if you think proper, at Senegal, where, if you find encouragement, you may part with such part of your cargo as you can sell to your liking, and then proceed down the coast to such ports or places as you judge best to dispose of your cargo to advantage, so as to purchase a cargo of two hundred slaves,[2] with which you are to proceed to South Carolina, unless a peace should happen, or a good

[5] From the customs items one learns that the brig *Phillis,* Peter Gwinn, entered from Africa May 19; the sloop *Diamond,* Thomas Wickham, from Africa May 27. Binney and Swatridge cleared for Africa July 22, Spear Oct. 20, and Gwinn Nov. 4 (*ibid.,* May 20, 27, July 22, Oct. 21, Nov. 4, 1762). Gwinn cleared for Maryland June 2, returning to Boston Sept. 15; Ball entered from Rhode Island July 14. *Ibid.,* June 3, July 15, Sept. 16, 1762.

[6] This sentence was added to the advertisement on its third appearance. *News Letter,* June 3, 1762.

[56] [1] Charles Brooks, *History of the Town of Medford* (1886), p. 437. The advertisements and customs records are far from satisfactory and one can be certain that they fail to disclose the total amount of trade between Massachusetts and the African coast. For example, Captain Lindsay, whose voyages to Guinea in the '50's have been described by G. C. Mason ("The African Slave Trade in Colonial Times", *American Historical Record,* I. 315 ff.), had Boston as well as Rhode Island owners (*News Letter,* Aug. 31, 1758). Captain Mersyer, arriving in New York on May 12, 1754, reported the arrival of a snow from Boston just before he sailed from the Gambia River. *Ibid.,* May 23, 1754.

[2] The return cargo was 153 adult slaves and two children. Brooks, *Medford,* p. 437.

opportunity of coming off with a man-of-war, or some vessel of force, for the West Indies. In that case, I would recommend the Island of St. Christopher's, being handy to St. Eustatia's, for the sale of your slaves. Buy no girls, and few women; but buy prime boys and young men. As you have had often the care of slaves, so I think it needless to say much upon that head in regard to keeping them well secured and a constant watch over them.

Your cargo is good, and well assorted. Your rum,[3] I make no doubt, will hold out more than it was taken in for; having proved some to hold out more than the gauge. As you have guns and men, I doubt not you'll make a good use of them if required. Bring some of the slaves this way if not too late.

I am, with wishing you health, success, and happiness, your assured friend and owner,

57. Sale of Negroes, 1762.[1]

Sales of two Negros receiv'd from Africa for Acco'ts of Captn. Thomas Underwood, sold per Orders of Capt. Phillip Wilkinson.

Boston, June 1762.

		£	s.	d.[2]
1762				
June 8th	By Cash of the Governor for 1 Negro Boy	46.	13.	4
	By Ditto of John Melvill for 1 Ditto	46.	13.	4
		93.	6.	8

Charges	£	s.	d.			
paid Cap'n Wickham freight	13.	6.	8			
Duty	2	0	6			
I Weeks board for One and 2 Weeks for the other		12				
Cloathing for Ditto		6				
My Commiss'ns on Sales and returns at 5 per Ct.	4	5	0			
Nett Proceeds Carr'd to Acct. Curr't	72	16	6			
Dr. Acco't Curr't				Cr.	93.	6. 8

[3] In part this cargo consisted of "Eighty-two barrels, six hogsheads, and six tierces of New England rum; thirty-three barrels best Jamaica spirits; thirty-three barrels of Barbadoes rum; twenty-five pair pistols; two casks musket-ball; one chest of hand-arms; twenty-five cutlasses." *Ibid.*, p. 437.

[57] [1] Rhode Island Historical Society, G. C. Mason, *Reminiscences of Newport*, I. 70. Mason illustrated four sets of especially printed *Reminiscences* with original letters and other papers and presented them, one to the Rhode Island Historical Society, one to the Newport Historical Society, and one to the New York Public Library. The fourth is understood to be in the possession of members of the Mason family. Reference to the *Reminiscences* must be explicit as to the set if the location of a document is to be indicated.

[2] In 1776 Isaac Royall, giving directions for the sale of his negroes, stated that two of them had cost £60 sterling each, and two £35. *Medford Historical Register*, III. 120.

Sepr. 27th To my ord'r on Messrs Wilkinson and Ayrault[3] in your fav'r	72. 16. 6	By proceeds of 2 Negroes as above	72. 16. 6

BOSTON 27th Sepr 1762
Errors Excepted
I. GREENLEAF

58. NEWS ITEMS RELATING TO SLAVE TRADE, 1763-1765.[1]

BOSTON, July 7 [1763].[2]

We hear from Hartford in Connecticut, that one Day last Week, the Mate of a Vessel lately arrived there from the Coast of Africa, being delirious, took a Negro Boy into his Arms, and jump'd into the River, and drowned both himself and the Boy.

NEWPORT, June 25 [1764].[3]

Capt. Wanton, who left the Coast in February last, informs us, that Mr. Ebenezer Washbourn, of that Place, who was Mate of the Brig ———, Capt. Rhodes[4] of Piscatauqua, lost his life at Cape Malpas, on the Coast of Africa, the latter End of December or Beginning of January last. He being acquainted with the Coast, and desirous of going ashore to trade, took the Long Boat, with several men, and a Quantity of Goods, for that Purpose: but the Negroes having been injured by a Vessel just before, detained these People, being the first they met with, as Objects of their resentment: But Capt. Rhodes having a Number of them in his Possession, they agreed to exchange, and accordingly delivered up all the Men except the Mate, who on a Dispute arising concerning the Goods, which the

[3] Mason, in printing this account, substituted the name of Peter Williams for that of this house. *Am. Hist. Rec.*, I. 345.

[58] [1] *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston News Letter*, July 7, 1763, Sept. 20, 1764.

[2] The custom-house items as they appeared in the *Gazette and News Letter* for Jan. 20, Mar. 10, June 9, Aug. 12, Dec. 1, 9, 1763, are:

Jan. 19, cleared for Africa, Day
Mar. 9, outward bound for Africa, Gardner
June 8, " " " " , *Diamond*, Stanton
Aug. 10, " " " " , *Lion*, Binney
Nov. 30, cleared " " , Rose
Dec. 7, outward bound " " , Pinkham

J. B. Felt records that a Salem vessel sailed for Guinea on May 21, 1763 (*Annals of Salem*, II. 261). Captain Binney arrived in Boston on July 14, having disposed of a cargo of slaves in Martinique (*Gazette and News Letter*, July 14, 1763). One additional item of this year suggests a well-developed trade. On Nov. 17, 1763, Thomas Hancock and Company advertised for sale the *Adventure*, Boston built, 250 tons, with dimensions suitable for the Guinea trade. *Ibid.*, Nov. 17, 1763.

[3] *News Letter*, July 5, 1764.

[4] This may have been the Captain Rhodes who entered out from Boston to Guinea Oct. 24, 1750. *News Letter*, Oct. 25, 1750.

Negroes had applied to their own Use, jumped overboard, and was instantly followed by one of the Blacks, who swam under him, and by some Stabs in his Body, killed him.

BOSTON, September 17 [1764].[5]

By a Vessel from the West-Indies we learn, That Capt. Joseph Miller, in a Sloop from New London, died on the Coast of Africa, and all his Hands, except two, and that the Negroes soon after availing themselves of that Opportunity, came off from the Shore and killed the two surviving Men, and then took Possession of, and pillaged the Vessel.

BOSTON, March 7 [1765].[6]

Last week was committed to Goal in this Town, William Preest,[7] who, as he says, was Chief Mate of the Brigantine *Hope,* Thomas Goold, Master, belonging to Messers Forseys, which Brig sailed from New London about a Year ago, bound to the Coast of Guinea; that at Senegal in the Night time the Crew of the said Vessel murdered their Captain, and threw him overboard, and one Taggart, who had been appointed chief Mate in the Room of Preest, occasioned by a Dispute between him and the Captain, took Command of the Brig and went to St. Thomas's; that in their Passage the Negroes rose on them and killed one or two of the Crew; and they killed seven or eight of the Slaves; that they went from St. Thomas's to Porto Rico, where the Spaniards seized the Vessel and Slaves, upon which the Crew ran away with the Boat at St. Domingo, and then separated themselves. It is said Preest confesses that he assisted in throwing the Captain over-board after he was dead, but that one Huntington, second Mate, and one Miller, a Foremast Man, knocked the said Capt. Goold in the Head, while he lay asleep, which was on the 15th of May last.[8]

[5] For this year the *Gazette and News Letter,* Jan. 5, Feb. 23, Sept. 20, and Oct. 25, gives:

Jan. 4, cleared for Africa, *William Henry,* Pinkham
Feb. 23, " " " , *Virginia* Packet, Spear
Sept. 19, " " " , *Triton,* Caleb Gardner
Oct. 25, " " " , *Greyhound,* Symes

Probably in August, 1764, the schooner *Mary* of Marblehead, Richard Boyd, master, arrived at Jamaica with 78 Gambia slaves. *Georgia Gazette,* Jan. 17, 1765.

[6] *News Letter,* Mar. 7, 1765.

[7] On Mar. 28 the *Gazette and News Letter* recorded the death of William Preest while in gaol.

[8] This account bears a close resemblance to one which appeared in the *Gazette and News Letter* of Aug. 16 (*Ext.*), 1764: "New York, August 9. Last Sunday arrived the Brig *Dispatch,* Captain Gifford, in 29 Days from St. Domingo, in whom came the mate of a Brig — late commanded by Capt. Faggot, belonging to Messrs. Forsey of N. London, by whom we learn, That as Capt. Faggot was at Anchor, off Goree, on the Coast of Africa, with 43 Slaves on board, the Slaves rose in the Night against the Crew, cut the Cable, killed the Capt. and two of the Men, but were at last overcome by the Mate and the rest of the Sailors, who went into Porto Rico. The Spaniards boarded the Brig, on Pretence of the clandestine Trade, and condemned both the Vessel and Cargo."

July 11, 1765.[9]

We hear that Capt. Spear of this Place is arrived at South-Carolina, from the Coast of Africa: He has been from hence near 18 Months, and buried his Mate, Boy, and every Hand on the Coast: he lost a great Number of Slaves, while he waited for the Arrival of some Man of War to supply him with Hands to bring off his Vessel.

August 22, [1765].[10]

Capt. Grounsell,[11] who is arrived at Marblehead from the West-Indies, informs that he spoke with Capt. Ball, of this Port, 13 Days ago, bound for South Carolina from the Coast of Guinea, having on board about 200 Slaves.

59. Effort to Check the Importation of Slaves, 1767.[1]

. . . About the time of the Stamp Act, what before were only slight scruples in the minds of conscientious persons became serious doubts, and, with a considerable number, ripened into a firm persua-

[9] *Gazette,* July 11, 1765. Captain Spear entered from South Carolina Aug. 29 (*ibid.,* Aug. 29, 1765), having delivered 80 slaves in Charleston (see *post,* vol. IV.). Justin Winsor states that the decline of the Massachusetts slave trade began in 1765, a statement difficult to prove or disprove conclusively (*Memorial History of Boston,* II. 485, note 4). This period certainly saw the growth of controversy over the abolition of the trade, though occasional protests against it had already found utterance. Salem in 1755 expressed disapproval of the traffic, when Deacon Timothy Pickering was empowered by the town to petition the General Court in their behalf against the importation of negroes. Felt, *Annals,* II. 416.

[10] *Gazette and News Letter,* Aug. 22, 1765. The significant customs entries, from the issues of June 20, July 4, 23, and Oct. 3, are:

June 19, outward bound for Africa, Gwinn
July 3, cleared out for Newfoundland and Africa, Kent
July 23, entered out for Africa, M'Carty
Oct. 2, outward bound for " , Godfrey

Thomas Irving's "Account of Vessels entering inward and clearing outward," Oct. 10, 1765, to Oct. 10, 1766, gives 3 as clearing from Boston to Africa in this time. Mass. Hist. Soc.

Report reached Boston in August, 1766, that Captain McCarthy had arrived in Barbados; by October Gwinn was back in Boston, from St. Croix (*Gazette and News Letter,* Aug. 14, Oct. 23). Dole cleared for Africa Dec. 11. One further item testifies to the importance of the African trade in Boston at this time: "To Be Sold By James Griffin, Sundry Goods Imported for the Coast of Guinea, *viz.* French, Danish, and Trading Small-Arms, Nicanees, Tapsails, Chelloes, Guinea Knives, Iron properly drawn for the Coast, Britannia's. Also, Hemp, Duck, Ozenbrigs, Cordage, Anchors, etc." *Ibid.,* Feb. 21, 1765.

[11] "Grounsell", in the dialect of Marblehead, meant Crowninshield.

[59] [1] Mass. Hist. Soc., *Colls.,* fifth ser., III. 385. Samuel Dexter to Jeremy Belknap, Feb. 23, 1795. In 1795 Judge Tucker of Virginia sent to the Rev. Jeremy Belknap of Boston "Queries respecting Slavery and Emancipation of Negroes in Massachusetts". Copies of these questions Dr. Belknap distributed to about forty gentlemen of prominence who might be able to give information on the subjects. The questions themselves, with Belknap's reply compiled from the correspondence which he had elicited, are to be found in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Colls.,* first ser., IV. 191-211; the letters received by Dr. Belknap, *ibid.,* fifth ser., III. 382-416. The letter here printed, though written in 1795, is given this place because of its account by a member of the House of Representatives of the attempt to check the importation of slaves in 1767.

sion that the slave trade was *malum in se.* Pieces against it appeared in newspapers, and some pamphlets were written.[2]

March 4, 1767, a bill intitled "An Act to prevent the importation of slaves into this Province" was read a first time in the House of Representatives.[3] On a second reading the next day, it was committed for alteration. On the 13th it appeared again, and was read a first time under the title of "An Act for preventing the unnatural and unwarrantable custom of enslaving mankind in this Province, and the importation of slaves into the same." On a second reading (the 16th)[4] a vote for a third reading did not obtain; but a committee was appointed to bring in a bill for laying a duty on slaves imported. Such a bill was brought in the next day, intitled "An Act for laying an impost on the importation of negro and other slaves into this Province," and read a first and second time, and on the 18th read a third time, and passed to be engrossed. I was then a member of the House, and active for the bills under every form. The Council made many amendments, the House non-concurred, and thus died the bill. Had it passed both Houses, Gov. Bernard would not have signed it. The duty was laid high.[5]

[2] One of these publications was a portion of a sermon preached by the Bishop of Gloucester, before the S.P.G.F.P., Feb. 21, 1766 (*Gazette and News Letter,* Apr. 2, 1767); another outburst against the slave trade is to be found in the *News Letter,* Aug. 2, 1770. The growing opposition to the trade can also be followed in the pamphlet literature which preceded the Revolution. In 1772 appeared an *Oration on the Beauties of Freedom,* dedicated to the Earl of Dartmouth, which contained a plea for the liberty of the negro. The author of this plea stated that he had offered it to the newspapers but had been refused space. James Swan's *Dissuasion to Great Britain and the Colonies from the Slave Trade,* one of the most ambitious of the pamphlet publications, was addressed to the Governor, the Council, and the House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay. Another evidence of increasing interest in the moral aspect of the slave trade is to be found in *A Forensic Dispute on the Legality of Enslaving the Africans, held at the public Commencement in Cambridge, New England, July 21st, 1773,* by Two Candidates for the Bachelor's Degree (Boston, 1773). The debaters were Theodore Parsons and Eliphelet Pearson, both natives of Newbury.

[3] The instructions of the Boston town meeting to the representatives, James Otis, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, and John Hancock, in 1766, were, "that you move for a law, to prohibit the importation and purchasing of slaves for the future". The next year the question was put as to whether to adhere to this clause in the previous instructions and it was determined to do so. "Town Meetings, 1758-1769", *Report of the Record Commissioners* (1886), pp. 183, 200.

[4] A note corrects this. The second reading was on the 14th; a committee to bring in a bill for an impost was appointed on the 16th.

[5] The customs entries which appear during this year in the *Gazette and News Letter,* Jan. 22, Oct. 1, 22, Dec. 10, are:

Jan. 21, cleared for Africa, Dole
Sept. 30, " " " , Gwin
Oct. 20, " " " , *Sally,* McCarty
Dec. 10, " " " , Cordis

The day on which Capt. Daniel McCarthy cleared he advertised for two runaway seamen who were to be returned to him or to Thomas Boylston, the owner of the *Sally.* Samuel Dexter, in a letter to Dr. Belknap, writes of "McCarthy, and I believe Job Prince" as the captains of Thomas Boylston in this trade. Prince's name does not appear in the customs entries which have been noted, but one reference to his adventures we possess: "Boston, July 6, 1761. The Same Day Saturday last Capt. Prince came to Town from Salem, who informs that on his Passage from New-york to Guinea in a Ship, he was taken by a French Privateer of 14 Guns, and carried into Martinico. Capt. Prince had 2 Men killed before he struck." *News Letter,* July 9, 1761.

60. The Voyage of the Sloop *Friend*, 1768.[1]

Bridgetown, Barbadoes, June 2, 1768.

Sir, I improve this opportunity to inform you of the ill success of our voyage: we arrived at Anaboa[2] on the Coast of Africa the 28th of March, where we purchased 102 slaves and had 31 freighted by the Governor of Cape-Coast Castle for the Island of Granada; the 17th of June we sailed from Oppom,[3] which is 30 leagues to leeward of Annamaboe: the 20th, Captain Dole was taken sick with a violent fever, attended with a bleeding at the Nose, and after using our utmost efforts, he recruited: the 29th made the Island Fernand Po, having very unsettled weather from our sailing from Oppom, and only one observation during the eleven days between Oppom and Fernand Po: After beating several days in the bite of Biafra the captain was taken with a relapse; we met with several fresh gales of wind, which put the sloop very much out of repair; and it was the captain's desire, with the advice of a master of a vessel, who had taken passage off the coast, and was acquainted with the Cameroons, to bear away for that river in order to clean and repair: The 23d of July arrived at the Cameroons, where we found the ship *Union* of Liverpool, Thomas Hewes, commander, which had a surgeon on board, who attended captain Dole during our stay here, which was 9 days in cleaning and repairing the vessel: the whole time the captain was very low, and it was the surgeon's opinion very dangerous: July 31st we put to sea, found the weather very unsettled and the wind continually from W.S.W. to S.W. which is directly into the bite: August 23d being 3 leagues from the Island Ferdnand Po, captain Dole departed this life after 64 days sickness: I continued beating till the slaves provisions were expended, except 5 days at a short allowance; we met with a fresh gale of wind that split our mainsail, it being very bad before rendered it quite unserviceable; [with?] advice of the vessels company I bore away again for the Cameroons: The 6th October we arrived there and found the snow *Katherine* of London, Joseph Valens, master and capt. Hewes; the latter having no provisions to spare, I applied to capt. Valens for a supply, who knowing my necessity required £75 sterling for a quantity of yams for 6 weeks; which to prevent the slaves suffering, I was obliged to comply with: Having repaired the vessel in the best manner possible we proceeded to sea; and went to Fernand Po, where I purchased

[60] [1] *Gazette and News Letter,* July 7, 1768. "Boston July 7, 1768. Extract of a Letter from the Mate of the Sloop *Friend,* Dole, late Master, who sailed from this Port, for the Coast of Africa, about Eighteen Months since, to the Owner in Boston, dated Bridgetown Barbadoes, June 2, 1768."

[2] Anamabo.

[3] Appam.

three boats load in order to help out: We continued beating till the 6th December, all the people being sick but myself and one more, and having carried away three of our starboard shrouds in a very severe gale of wind, the vessel springing a leak, and for 6 hours with 3 feet of water in her hold, during which time we never perceived to gain upon her, pumping and baleing continually, the sails and rigging past repair, and no canvas or twine on board, we were obliged to bear away the third time for the Cameroons: where the vessel after a proper survey was condemned. I freighted the slaves on board the brig *Henry,* Joseph White, master belonging to Liverpool, having buried 33 slaves belonging to the cargo, and 8 of the freight. During our passage in the brig from the Cameroons, which was 3 months and 7 days, we buried 19 of the sloops cargo and 9 of the freight, which makes in the whole 66: what remains is 46 cargo and 17 freight: We arrived at Barbados the 31st of May: having buried 4 of the people and 2 drowned during the voyage: only myself, the carpenter, and 2 people now survive. Being now bound to Granada, shall from thence give a more particular account of our misfortunes.[4]

[4] One fragment of 1768 gives no direct information about Massachusetts slave trade, but may offer a slight clue to the Boston interests connected with it: "Boston, July 16th, 1768. Bills of Exch'e, Dr. to Cash paid Mr. Mumford for the following Bills of Exch'e *Vizt.* Stevenson and Went on Lascells and Daling in favor of Charles Wickham on 12 Months Sight, 8 pr Ct. being deducted the Bill for Stg. £279. 4. 3. £342. 10" (Mass. Hist. Soc., Amory Waste Books, 1768). Stevenson and Went, and Lascelles and Daling were Barbadian dealers in slaves.

For 1769-1770 the *News Letter* offers the following customs items:

1769, Jan. 12, outward bound for Africa, McCarty
Mar. 9, " " " " , Turner
May 25, " " " " , McNeil
Oct. 26, " " " " , Gwinn
Nov. 30, " " " " , Foster
1770, May 10, outward bound for Africa, Dunn
June 7, " " " " , McCarthy
" 28, " " " " , Fletcher
July 12, cleared out " " , Turner
Oct. 18, outward bound " " , Bennet
" 25, " " " " , Craigie

Captain McCarthy of the *Sally* was one of the signers of a certificate sent to England from Anamabo Nov. 3, 1770. See this work, II. 543 n.

61. Custom-House Items, 1771-1774.[1]

Date	Master	Voyage
1771, Aug. 29	McCarthy	Outward bound for Africa
" "	Turner	" " " "
Sept. 26	Dunn	" " " "
Dec. 19	Tash	Cleared " "
1772, May 28	Bennett	Outward bound " "
July 9	Fulford	" " " "
Aug. 6	McCarthy	" " " "
Sept. 3	Craige	" " " "
Nov. 26	Hay	" " " "
Dec. 31	Shaw	Cleared " "
1773,[2] Apr. 8	Dean	Outward bound " "
" "	Ford	" " " "
June 3	Dunnell	" " " "
July 8	Dunn[3]	Cleared " "
Sept. 16	Turner	Outward bound " "
"	Gibson	" " " "
Dec. 2	Holloway	" " " "
1774,[4] May 26	Cunningham	Cleared " "
Aug. 25	Hay	" " "
" "	Buffinton	" " "
" "	Collyer	" " "
" "	Gill	" " "
Nov. 3	Orne	Outward bound " "

62. Instructions to Thomas Denny, Representative from Leicester, 1773.[1]

May 19, 1773.

. . . And, as we have the highest regard for (so as even to revere the name of) liberty, we cannot behold but with the greatest abhorrence any of our fellow-creatures in a state of slavery.

[61] [1] *Gazette and News Letter,* for the dates given.

[2] Professor S. E. Morison finds eight clearances from Boston for Africa in 1773 ("The Commerce of Boston on the Eve of the Revolution", Am. Antiq. Soc., *Procs.,* new ser., XXXII. 38). This disproves the conclusion Dr. Belknap reached in 1795, that not more than three ships a year from Boston were ever engaged in the slave traffic (Mass. Hist. Soc., *Colls.,* first ser., IV. 196). Vessels from other Massachusetts ports were also on the African coast. "Salem, July 13. We hear that the Schooner ———, belonging to this Place, and late commanded by Capt. John Masury, is arrived in the West-Indies, from the Coast of Africa; and that the Captain and three Men were dead; but that the Mate and one Hand, the only two of the Crew left, performed the arduous Task of navigating the Vessel from the River Gambia to Dominico in 19 Days, having at the same Time 25 Slaves under their Care." *Gazette and News Letter,* July 15, 1773.

[3] On Oct. 15, 1770, Richard Brew wrote from the African coast to Liverpool merchants that one-third of a Boston vessel, the *Beggar's Benison,* commanded by Captain Dunn, was owned by Mr. Grossle, governor of Cape Coast Castle, who was, under the organization of the English company of 1750, forbidden to trade in slaves. Because of this ownership Captain Dunn received preferential treatment in the trade, as did other Boston and Rhode Island captains with whom English officials traded. African Merchant, *Treatise upon the Trade from Great-Britain to Africa* (1772), app. H, pp. 85-86, 98.

[4] This list, which can make no pretensions to completeness, may occasionally be supplemented by incidental information from other sources. On Dec. 25, 1774, Capt. Peleg Greene wrote to Aaron Lopez of Rhode Island that Captain Johnson of Boston was trading at Anamabo (*Commerce of Rhode Island,* I. 524-525).

[62] [1] Emory Washburn, *Historical Sketches of Leicester* (Boston, 1860), pp. 442-

Therefore we strictly enjoin you to use your utmost influence that a stop may be put to the slave-trade by the inhabitants of this Province; which, we apprehend, may be effected by one of these two ways: either by laying a heavy duty on every negro imported or brought from Africa or elsewhere into this Province; or by making a law, that every negro brought or imported as aforesaid should be a free man or woman as soon as they come within the jurisdiction of it; and that every negro child that shall be born in said government after the enacting such law should be free at the same age that the children of white people are; and, from the time of their birth till they are capable of earning their living, to be maintained by the town in which they are born, or at the expense of the Province, as shall appear most reasonable.

Thus, by enacting such a law, in process of time will the blacks become free; or if the Honorable House of Representatives shall think of a more eligible method, we shall be heartily glad of it. But whether you can justly take away or free a negro from his master, who fairly purchased him, and (although illegally, for such is the purchase of any person against their consent, unless it be for a capital offence) which the custom of this country has justified him in, we shall not determine; but hope that unerring Wisdom will direct you in this and all your other important undertakings.[2]

63. Resolution of the House of Representatives, 1776.[1]

In the House of Represent. Sepr. 13, 1776.

Whereas this house is credibly informed that two Negro men lately brought into this State as prisoners taken on the high seas are advertised to be sold at Salem the 17th instant by public auction,

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443. In 1771 a second attempt to forbid importation was made by the legislature, but the bill was vetoed by Governor Hutchinson (W. E. B. Du Bois, *Suppression of the Slave Trade,* pp. 31-32, citing *House Journal,* 1771, pp. 211, 215, 219, 228, 234, 236, 240, 242-243). In 1773 Salem representatives were instructed to use their endeavors to prevent future importation of negroes, as "repugnant to the natural rights of mankind, and highly prejudicial to the Province" (*Gazette and News Letter,* May 27, 1773; also *Gentleman's Magazine,* XLIII. 358). The town meeting of Sandwich voted: "That our representative is instructed to endeavor to have an Act passed by the Court, to prevent the importation of slaves into this country, and that all children that shall be born of such Africans as now are slaves among us shall, after such Act, be free at 21 years of age" (F. Freeman, *History of Cape Cod,* Boston, 1862, II. 114-115). The negroes of Massachusetts sent in numerous petitions for the passage of such a measure. Mass. Hist. Soc., *Colls.,* fifth ser., III. 387, 432-437.

[2] A bill for the purpose here described passed both houses, and went to Governor Hutchinson for his signature on Mar. 8, 1774. He refused his assent on the ground that he had no authority from the crown to confirm such a bill, in which position he was undoubtedly right. The same position was taken by Gage a few months later. Mass. Hist. Soc., *Colls.,* first ser., IV. 201; Du Bois, *op. cit.,* p. 32, citing *House Journal,* March, 1774, pp. 224, 226, 237, June, pp. 27, 41.

[63] [1] Mass. Arch., CCXV. 96.

Resolved That the Selling and enslaving the human Species is a direct violation of the natural rights alike vested in all men by their Creator and utterly inconsistent with the avowed principles on which this and the other United States have carried their Struggle for liberty even to the last appeal, and therefore that all persons concerned with the said Negroes be and they hereby are forbidden to sell them or in any manner to treat them otherwise than is already ordered for the treatment of prisoners of war taken in the same Vessel or others in the like employ and if any Sale of said negroes shall be made, it hereby is declared null and void.[2]

64. Instructions to Captain ——, 1785.[1]

November 12, 1785.

Captain, Our brig, of which you have the command, being cleared at the office, and being in every other respect complete for sea; our orders are, that you embrace the first fair wind and make the best of your way to the coast of Africa, and there invest your cargo in slaves. As slaves, like other articles, when brought to market, generally appear to the best advantage; therefore, too critical an inspection cannot be paid to them before purchase; to see that no dangerous distemper is lurking about them, to attend particularly to their age, to their countenance, to the straightness of their limbs, and, as far as possible, to the goodness or badness of their constitution, etc., will be very considerable objects.

Male or female slaves, whether full grown or not, we cannot particularly instruct you about; and on this head shall only observe, that prime male slaves generally sell best in any market. No people require more kind and tender treatment to exhilarate their spirits, than the Africans; and, while on the one hand, you are attentive to

[2] This was sent to the Council, where a new draft was drawn up and returned to the House on Sept. 14. This the House refused to accept, and returned its own resolution. On Sept. 16 however it agreed to a second draft sent to it from the Council. As actually passed the resolution read: "Whereas this Court is credibly informed, that two Negro men, lately taken on the High Seas, on board the sloop *Hannibal,* and brought into this State as prisoners, are advertised to be sold at Salem the 17th instant by public Auction, Resolved, That all persons concerned with the Said Negroes be and they hereby are forbidden to sell them or in any manner to treat them other ways than is already ordered for the treatment of prisoners taken in like manner; and if any Sale of the said Negroes shall be made, it is hereby declared null and void. And that whenever it shall happen, that any Negroes are taken on the High Seas, and brought as prisoners into this State, they shall not be allowed to be sold, nor treated any otherways than as prisoners ordered to be treated, who are taken in like manner" (Mass. Arch., CCXV. 95-96). The softening of the indictment of slavery may have been insisted upon by the Council to spare the feelings of the southern colonies. The sale of negro prisoners of war, here forbidden, was a sore point with the promoters of Sierra Leone twenty years later than this.

[64] [1] Felt, *Annals of Salem,* II. 289-290. The brig was probably the *Favorite.* See Felt, II. 287, 291; Moore, *Notes on Slavery,* p. 66.

this, remember that on the other hand, too much circumspection cannot be observed by yourself and people, to prevent their taking the advantage of such treatment, by insurrection, etc. When you consider that on the health of your slaves, almost your whole voyage depends; for all other risques, but mortality, seizures and bad debts, the underwriters are accountable for; you will therefore particularly attend to smoking your vessel, washing her with vinegar, to the clarifying your water with lime or brimstone, and to cleanliness among your own people, as well as among the slaves.

As the factors on the coast have no laws but of their own making, and of course such as suit their own convenience, they therefore like the Israelites of old, do whatsoever is right in their own eyes; in consequence of which, you ought to be very careful about receiving gold dust, and of putting your cargo into any but the best hands, or if it can be avoided, and the same despatch made, into any hands at all, on any credit. If you find that any saving can be made by bartering rum for slops, and supplying your people with small stores, you will do it; or even if you cannot do it without a loss, it is better done than left undone; for shifts of clothes, particularly in warm climates, are very necessary. As our interest will be considerable, and as we shall make insurance thereon, if any accident should prevent your following the track here pointed out, let it be your first object, to protest publicly, why, and for what reason, you were obliged to deviate. You are to have four slaves upon every hundred, and four at the place of sale; the privilege of eight hogsheads, and two pounds eight shillings per month; these are all the compensations you are to expect for the voyage.

Your first mate is to have four hogsheads privilege, and your second mate two, and wages as per agreement. No slaves are to be selected out as privileged ones, but must rise or fall with the general sales of the cargo, and average accordingly. We shall expect to hear from you, by every opportunity, to Europe, the West Indies, or any of these United States; and let your letters particularly inform us, what you have done, what you are then doing, and what you expect to do. We could wish to have as particular information as can be obtained, respecting the trade in all its branches on the coast; to know if in any future time, it is probable a load of N. E. Rum could be sold for bills of exchange on London or any part of Europe; or for gold dust; and what despatch in this case might be made.

You will be careful to get this information from gentlemen of veracity, and know of them if any other articles would answer from this quarter. We should be glad to enter into a contract, if the terms would answer, with any good factor for rum, etc. If any such

would write us upon the subject, and enclose a memorandum with the prices annexed, such letters and memorandums shall be duly attended to. We are in want of about five hundred weight of camwood, and one large elephant's tooth of about 80 lbs., which you will obtain. If small teeth can be bought from 15 to 30 lbs., so as to sell here without a loss, at three shillings, you may purchase 200 lbs. Should you meet with any curiosities on the coast, of a small value, you may expend 40 or 50 gallons of rum for them. Upon your return you will touch at St. Pierres, Martinico, and call on Mr. John Mounreau for your further advice and destination. We submit the conducting of the voyage to your good judgment and prudent management, not doubting of your best endeavours to serve our interest in all cases; and conclude with committing you to the almighty Disposer of all events. We wish you health and prosperity, And are all your friends and owners.[2]

65. Joseph and Joshua Grafton to Messrs. Harrison and Matthews, 1787.[1]

Salem 6th Jany, '87.

Gentn., Your esteemed favour of 8th Jany last came duly to hand, the contents of it merits our best thanks which we beg leave to present. We purposed our Brigtn. *Gambia*[2] for your Coast again this Winter but the quantity of Rum that was shipped in the fall from Rhode Island has induced us to lay her by for the present, in the Spring we probabily shall try an African Voyage. . . . The bearer hereof Captn. Wm. Robinson having a Cargo of Rum, Tobacco and Lumber we have desired him to give your House the preference of it and have given him a Letter for that purpose. Mr.

[2] The owners may have been Joseph and Joshua Grafton. Of the New England trade after the Revolution one English sojourner on the African coast wrote: "they have now here, from Boston and its vicinity, six vessels, five of which, I am told, have positive orders to take slaves only, and more are daily expected. By reason of some disagreement or misunderstanding among their captains, the price of slaves is much enhanced; and the factories all along the coast, are so well supplied with rum, that the demand, and of course the price, are considerably lessened. But such enterprizing geniuses are the New Englanders, that I expect to hear of their sending vessels for slaves round the Cape of Good Hope: for when they find (which they will soon do) the great disproportion between the profits of some of their vessels voyages and those that are now about leaving the coast, and when to this they will add the prospects of markets hereafter, and the embarrassments they are liable to from our frigates, methinks the time is not far distant for such an event to take place." *Charleston Evening Gazette,* Oct. 25, 1785.

[65] [1] Essex Institute, "Log of the *Romulus,* 1781," letter no. 7. Harrison and Matthews were located at the Isles de Los (or Delos). Letter no. 5 relates to the affairs of a deceased Captain Chilcutt, who had evidently been trading on the African coast for the Graftons. The Isles de Los, much frequented by the American traders of this period, are the Ilhas dos Idolos mentioned by Hawkins (this work, I. 48 n.), close to the mouth of the Sierra Leone River.

[2] Felt says that the *Gambia* had made an African voyage in 1785.

Morriarty his Mate being intrusted by our Judge of Probate with papers to prove the Will of the late Capt. Joseph Robinson of our ship *Africa,* we shall esteem it very Kind (as it was made at Cape Coast Castle) if you have any acquaintance with Governour Mourgue[3] there, for an introductory line to him in order that he may meet with no difficulty in accomplishing his Bussiness.[4] . . . By Brigt. *Favorite,* Robinson.

66. Joseph and Joshua Grafton to Captain Edward Boss, 1787.[1]

Salem 21st Sept. '87.

Sir, . . . As we wrote you in Decem'r last, so we again say, "if you are not engaged when we are in want of a commander we shall give you the preference". We should, ere this, have fixed our Brigt. for Africa, had not we been so disapointed from Charleston in payments but from the latest accounts from the Coast, we find prime Slaves were not to be purchased for less than 200 Galls. Rum eac. and even at that rate, they could not be purchased at the factories. We shall again write you whenever we intend our Brigt. for Sea. . . .

We probably shall in a short time fix her for Charleston, for to give 200 Gals. Rum for a Slave will not answer, more especially to sell 'em in the West Indies.

the Sale of Slaves at Charleston being prohibited,[2] has so far frustrated our entended plans, that except some new channel should be open for the Sale of them we shall be quite discouraged from carrying on the Trade.[3] . . .

[3] James Morgue, governor at Cape Coast Castle 1784-1787.

[4] Another letter of the same date, repeating a part of this one, adds, "If our Trade to Africa should fail we shall be at a loss how to improve [*i.e.,* employ] our Vessells". The writers then explain the restrictions which have been laid upon that trade, and discuss the possibility of sending small cargoes of rum to the coast (Essex Institute, *ibid.,* no. 10). The Graftons were restoring a business which had been largely to the coast of Africa. On Feb. 3, 1787, Messrs. Perkins and Burling, who had established a house in Santo Domingo, wrote to the Graftons, evidently in response to enquiries, that it would be difficult to introduce slaves into Santo Domingo since the strictest scrutiny would be observed (L. V. Briggs, *History and Genealogy of the Cabot Family,* II. 472). Capt. George Crowninshield also sent a vessel from Salem to Africa in 1787, the *Polly and Sally,* Thomas Thomas, 50 tons, sent out Aug. 6, 1787. This had not been heard from on Apr. 11, 1788. Essex Institute, no 40, letter of Apr. 11, 1788.

[66] [1] Essex Institute, "Log of the *Romulus,*" no. 163. The letter is addressed to Swansea. Captain Boss had sold slaves in Charleston, S. C., in 1786.

[2] South Carolina prohibited the trade in 1787. For a time at least the Graftons considered African cargoes other than slaves. In one letter to London correspondents they enquired concerning the bills of exchange drawn on Messrs. Harrison and Matthews, Isles de Los, James Crawdson (?), Popo, and Governor Morgue, Cape Coast Castle, and expressed an interest in ivory, camwood, and gold dust, but not in slaves. On Mar. 26, in a request to John Coffin Jones of Boston for capital, they stated that they were interested in trade in gold dust. Essex Institute, nos. 14, 65.

[3] Felt records that in November the news reached Salem that the brig *Favorite,* possibly belonging to the Graftons, had arrived at Martinique with crew and cargo

67. William Fairfield to Rebecca Fairfield, 1789.[1]

Cayenne, April 23, 1789.

Honour'd Parent: I take this Opportunity to write Unto you to let you know of a very bad accident that Happen'd on our late passage from Cape Mount, On the Coast of Africa, bound to Cayenne, we sail'd from Cape Mount the 13th of March with 35 Slaves

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greatly depleted by disease (*Annals,* II. 292). In spite of the obstacles in the way of profitable trade at this time, scattered evidence testifies to a continued interest in the traffic in slaves. The schooner *Collector,* John Carnes, possibly owned by Messrs. Pierce and Cabot of Boston, carried slaves to Charleston in 1786. While it is not possible to assert with finality that an African insurance in which William Robinson and Nathan Goodale were concerned was on a slave vessel, it is probable that such was the case (Essex Institute, nos. 66, 69, 83). In 1791 the *St. John,* Grafton, of Salem, and the *Speedwell,* Burdett, of Boston, were trading between Africa and Surinam (*Salem Gazette,* Sept. 6, 1791). The African news which reached Boston that year was scarcely of an encouraging nature: "Boston, Oct. 3. . . . A letter of a late date from a gentleman on the coast of Africa, to his friend in this town says, 'That Mr. John Ormond, (a famous chief and factor) of the Rio Pongas, is no more. His white people are all massacred by the natives, and his property become a prey to his own slaves. Numbers of people are sufferers unfortunately I am one. This event has caused such tumult and confusion, that the trade is almost at a stand'" (*ibid.,* Oct. 4, 1791). In 1794 the *Favorite* and *Two Brothers* cleared for Africa; in 1795, the *Ruth,* the *Hope,* and the *St. John.* *Ibid.,* Jan. 7, Feb. 11, 1794, Sept. 15, Oct. 6, Dec. 8, 1795.

[67] [1] *Essex Institute Historical Collections,* XXV. 311-312. The letter is addressed to Salem. The Rev. William Bentley wrote of the departure of William Fairfield, sr., from Salem: "September 23. Capt. Wm. Fairfield, *Felicity,* Sch., sailed, according to the Clearance, for Cape de Verd Islands. It is supposed from the Cargo, this latter carried, and the character of the owner, that this Vessel is intended for the slave trade. The owner confesses he has no reluctance in selling any part of the human race. The event in its probable consequences gives great pain to thinking men, and in consideration of the owner's easy circumstances, is supposed to betray signs of the greatest moral depravity" (*Diary of William Bentley,* Salem, 1905, I. 104). The next week Bentley wrote: "The Law against Slavery,. the outward bound passage of a vessel for Guinea, as mentioned (p. 318), led me to think of the general conversation on the Slave Trade, and as the Clergy were mentioned as having procured the Law against it, to think what had been said against them. It so happened that the owner of the Guinea Vessel uttered in the preceeding week many hard things upon the subject of the Clergy, etc." (*ibid.,* Sept. 28, 1788). The law to which Bentley referred, passed Mar. 25, 1788, is quoted at length in the "Case of the *Abeona," post,* no. 74. Its passage had been hastened by the kidnapping of three free negroes in Boston. They had been put to work on a vessel in Boston harbor, then carried to the island of St. Bartholomew and offered for sale. Indignation over this outrage brought a number of petitions to the legislature, one of them being from the Boston clergy, and hastened the passage of the Massachusetts act abolishing the slave trade. Meantime Governor Hancock and the French consul had communicated with all the West India islands, the governor of St. Bartholomew had stopped the sale in that island, and the kidnapped negroes were returned to Boston in 1788. Mass. Hist. Soc., *Procs.,* LI. 356-358; see also Robert Rantoul, "Negro Slavery in Mass.," *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.,* XXIV. 94-96.

Judge James Winthrop, in his reply to Belknap's queries in 1795, wrote: "The construction of the act is such that it must extend the prohibition to every part of the world. . . . I cannot forbear adding that it would be more worthy of an enlightened legislature to regulate a trade which is woven into our nature, and has been carried on and considered as lawful from the earliest antiquity, than to try to abolish it. If abuses have crept in, they ought to be guarded against; but abuse alone will not justify abolishing a trade which manifestly tends to preserve life and to increase the quantity of productive labor in the whole world. Wars among savages may in some small degree be promoted by the trade, but the lives of the prisoners are saved." Mass. Hist. Soc., *Colls.,* fifth ser., III. 390-391.

On bord, the 26th day of March the Slaves Rised upon us, At half past seven, my Sir and all hands being Forehead Except the Man at helm and my self, three of the Slaves took Possession of the Caben, and two upon the quarter Deck, them in the Caben took Possession of the fier Arms, and them on the quarter Deck with the Ax and Cutlash and other Weapons, them in the Caben, handed up Pistels to them on the quarter Deck. One of them fired and killed my honoured Sir, and still we strove for to subdue them, and then We got on the quarter Deck and killed two of them. One that was in the Caben was Comeing out at the Caben Windows in order to get on Deck, and we Discovered him and Knock'd him overbord, two being in the Cabin we confined the Caben Doors, so that they should not kill us, then three men went forhead and got the three that was down their and brought them aft And their being a Doctor on bord Passenger that Could speak the tongue he sent one of the boys down and Brought up some of the fier arms and Powder And then we Cal'd them up and one Came up and he Cal'd the other and he Came up. We put them In Irons and Chained them and then the Doctor Dres'd the Peoples Wounds they being Slightly Wounded. Then it was one o'clock they buried my honoured Parent, he was buried as decent as he could be at Sea the 16 of this month. I scalt myself with hot Chocolate but now am abel to walk about again. So I remain in good health and hope to find you the same and all my Sisters and Brothers and all that Inquires after me. We have sold part of the Slaves and I hope to be home soon.[2]

68. Moses Brown to James Phillips, 1791.[1]

Providence 1st 11 Mo. 1791.

. . . The Superior Court of Massachusetts at their late Session have Established their Law over the Slave Traders, by Decreeing the fine upon the Transgressors,[2] not now suffering their own nor Even the Cittizens of this or any other state to fitt their Vessells, on a Slave Voyage to Affrica, from that state, after a long struggle to Baffle and Delay the tryal in the Courts below, the Jury in both

[2] "News of the death of Captain William Fairfield, who commanded the Schooner which sailed in Capt. Jo White's employ in the African Slave Trade. He was killed by the Negroes on board." The Fairfields were apparently members of Bentley's congregation, since he records them as among those whom he has visited enough to know the family, which consisted of nine children. Bentley, *Diary,* I. 123, 124.

[68] [1] Rhode Island Historical Society, Moses Brown Papers, VII. 60. James Phillips was the London printer and publisher who issued Clarkson's *Essay on the Commerce of the Human Species.* For years he was closely associated with the London committee for the abolition of the slave trade, and his imprint appears upon many antislavery pamphlets of this period. For Moses Brown see *post,* nos. 284 ff.

[2] The reference is to a decision rendered by the Massachusetts court in October, 1791, concerning the *Hope,* Captain Stanton. See *post,* nos. 292, 293, 297, and notes.

Courts, and the Judges Charge in the latter has done Honour to the Cause of Humanity and we hope will have some good Effects here where there is a powerfull opposition to our Law and the societies [3] Endeavours to Execute the same by the Guiney Traders. . . .

69. Isaac Hacker to Moses Brown, 1792.[1]

Salem 9th Mo 11th 1792.

Respected Friend, . . . He [Capt. Stephen Cleveland] [2] is a person I have long been personally acquainted with, is one whom I esteem for his principles of equity and Benevolence to the oppressed Affricans and is the prossecutor of one of the Traffickers and his Associate and partner in Iniquity, the noted Sinclair and Waters [3] who have transported many of those unhappy People from their native land to the West Indies and sold them there, the Circumstances of the evidence etc. may be best given thee by himself, his Circumstance is singular in this place, being the first who hath boldly stood forth in the Cause, and altho many are wishing well to him, yet he hath to Combat with a Considerable number, of whom it is no breach of Charity to say are the very worst of mankind. I hope he will not be discouraged but persevere on to the bringing to Justice such Inhuman Violaters of Justice, Humanity and Law.[4] . . .

[3] Providence Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

[69] [1] R. I. Hist. Soc., Moses Brown Papers, VIII. 6.

[2] Stephen Cleveland at the age of sixteen had been seized by a press gang and served for a number of years on an English frigate. His son, Richard Jeffry, who had served in the counting-house of Elias Hasket Derby, was at this time on a voyage. On Apr. 20, 1792, he wrote to his father from the Cape of Good Hope, "I long to hear how your lawsuit is settled, the event of which causes me much anxiety." H. W. S. Cleveland, *Voyages of a Merchant Navigator* (1886), pp. 4-6, 12, 14.

[3] On Nov. 12, 1790, Bentley wrote: "It is reported that Sinclair has returned from a Guinea voyage with the loss of all his crew. Notwithstanding the laws of the Commonwealth, there is not one man of spirit to stand forth and make enquiry into these detestable practices. I am informed that the daring wretch, who has made me so much mischief, is engaging in such a voyage." On Aug. 2, 1792, his entry was: "The Slave Trade engages the public attention. Sinclair returned into this port, and being without the affections of the people, was a fit subject for the Law. S. Cleveland, of the G. Jury, with a precept and Sheriff, taking such assistance as they pleased went to his Vessel, but found he was at his house, to which they went directly. He was in the room below and received them but soon suspecting their design he slipped up stairs, and fastened the door, threatening death to any person who should approach him. The officer burst the door. Sinclair threw down his arms, and jumped out of the window, and was apprehended by the guard below. He was conducted to close prison, his property attached, and that of Capt. J. Waters for this infamous trafick" (*Diary,* I. 212, 384-385).

Bentley's implication that Sinclair was not the only violator of the law is borne out by an entry in Felt's *Annals* (II. 296): "Reported that another of our vessels, the *St. John,* had arrived at Surinam from Africa. This shows, that a few of our merchants, like others in various sea ports, still loved money more than the far greater riches of a good conscience, more than conformity with the demands of human rights, with the law of the land and the religion of their God." The vessel to which reference is made here and in the papers which follow (*post,* nos. 71, 72, 74) was the *Abeona,* Sinclair, which cleared from Salem for Goree on Mar. 8, 1791. An *Abeona* of Salem, under one Captain Smith, was reported at Havana on June 19, 1792. *Salem Gazette,* Mar. 8, 1791, June 19, 1792.

[4] Cleveland also had a letter for Brown from Edward Southwick of Danvers: "*Esteemed Friend,* Captn. Stephen Cleveland the bearer hereof hath lately commenced

70. Moses Brown to Samuel Eliot, 1792.[1]

Providence 14 9th Mo 1792.

Esteemed Friend, Since I Saw thee in Boston I have been applyd to by some of my friends at Salem for advice and Assistance to Capt. Cleavland of that Town in the Case he has Commenced against the Master and owners of a Slave Vessel which saild from that Town and Carryd out from Africa about 90 Slaves and Sold at the Havannah of which fact it is Said full proof is made, but as the Defendants have made themselves Rich by the Trade and sensible by this Craft they have their Wealth are not only clamorous against the Prosecutor who I am Informed is a Person of Good Character but by their ability to Exceed him in feeing Lawyers as he is not a man of much Property, he stood in Need of the aid and assistance of the friend[s] of Humanity and Justice to Execute the Law upon the Transgressors and what Renders some Influence the more Necessary is that I am Informed that Parsons one of the Lawyer[s] had taken from the opposite side in the Case which the Society was Engaged in at Taunton[2] and Recovered, but Pleas in Arrest of Judgment has been by Parsons layd before the Superior Court and is yet unsettled and to this Judge Sulivan is Depended on in that case to plead the Cause in behalf of the Society or Mr. Rotch[3] who engaged him but is said by some to be Engaged on the side of the Slave Traders at Salem, but I hope this is a mistake. Some of us here desireous of Establishing your Law, have thought best to Desire thy Assistance in applying to Judge Sulivan in the Case of Salem by which it will be known if he is Engaged against Cleavland and If Sulivan will Receive a fee on Cleveland['s] behalf should hand him Twenty Dollars herewith sent thee by Cleveland but if he declines then Engage Dexter of Charles Town in both Cases. Capt. Cleavland

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an action against the Master and Owners of a Schooner which has been on the Coast of Africa for Slaves and taken from thence Ninety three and sold at the Havannah. It being an action of consequence And he like to meet with considerable opposition has thoughts of consulting with some of the Abolition Society on the Subject" (Moses Brown Papers, VIII. 7). The suggested opposition Cleveland had already encountered. Bentley's record for Aug. 10 is, "The Slave Trade affair has incensed most violently a certain class of people against the Informer, whose life has been threatened."

[70] [1] Moses Brown Papers, VIII. 8. The copy of this letter in the letter-book is at points almost incoherent, and probably differs considerably from the form of the letter actually sent to Eliot.

[2] The Providence Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. The Taunton case was that of the *Hope,* see *post,* nos. 292, 293, 297. Theophilus Parsons, a member of the Massachusetts convention which ratified the Constitution, was later chief justice of Massachusetts.

[3] James Sullivan, attorney general 1790-1807, governor 1807-1808, had pleaded the case against the owner of the *Hope* in a speech described by the Boston *Centinel* as "able and elegant" (T. C. Amory, *Life of James Sullivan,* 1859, II. 15-16). William Rotch, jr., of New Bedford, was one of a family of Friends of Nantucket and New Bedford who were in part responsible for the strong antislavery sentiment of those places.

has been up here on this Buseness with Some overtures to the Society on this Subject which as it is not together and the President and Principal Councellor absent nothing in Cash in our Fund by Reason of the Many Calls on the Treasurer, a few of us have made this more for the Incouragement of Capt. Cleveland and the promotion of the General Cause. . . .

71. Statement of Edward Pulling, 1792.[1]

The Subscriber in the practise of Law at Salem in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts does hereby certify that Sometime in the Month of July last past, he instituted a Suit at the Request of Captain Stephen Cleveland, against Joseph Waters and John Sinclair wherein the said Stephen Cleveland as well for the commonwealth of Massachusetts as for himself declared against them in debt for transporting ninety Inhabitants of Africa in the Schooner *Abeona* whereof they were owners, to the Havanna and there selling them as Slaves.

That the Writ is made returnable to the Court of Common Pleas next to be holden at Newburyport within and for the County of Essex on the last Tuesday of September instant, that the said Stephen Cleveland, has taken unwearied Pains to procure the necessary Evidence, that he has taken the depositions of two of the Crew belonging to said Schooner which amounts to full Evidence of that fact, that he has duely subpoened a John Waters who was mate of the said Schooner and who now is in Salem, that the Writ has been duely served on the said Waters and Sinclair, on the said Waters by attaching property in two or more Vessels, on the said Sinclair, by arresting his Body, who has procured good and substantial bail, and that said Stephen Cleveland has taken every proper and legal step to support the said Action.

Salem, September 17 At 1792
Inscribed Saml Elliot.

72. Samuel Eliot to Moses Brown, 1792.[1]

Boston Septem'r 19, 1792.

Sir, I duly recd. your obliging Favour by Mr. Cleaveland, and immediately attended to the Business to wch you called my Notice. The same Afternoon I waited upon Judge Sullivan who told me

[71] [1] Moses Brown Papers, VIII. 9, enclosed in a letter from Samuel Eliot to Moses Brown. Edward Pulling, a Salem selectman and a member of the convention which ratified the Constitution, is described in these letters as a "Gentleman much esteemed, of good Character and Reputation in the Law."

[72] [1] Moses Brown Papers, VIII. 9.

he could not then determine, if he had engaged in the Case, Cleaveland against Sinclair as the Minutes of the Causes he had undertaken were at his Office, but he would let me know on Monday Forenoon. I again waited upon him at that Time, or rather attempted to, as I found he had just set out for Worcester Court. He had however left a Letter, the purport of wch was, to say, he had been applied to in the Case of Cleaveland Superior Court at Salem, but that the action at Taunton, wch he mentioned to me on Saturday as a leading Cause, by wch Cleaveland's would be determined would be argued first and that he was to argue it in Support of the Law of this State, and that he would do it with Energy being determined to exert himself in doing all he could for the Establishment of the Freedom of the whole Human Race. You will notice my Business with him on Saturday was to offer him the Fee of 20 Dollars you sent to me by Mr. Cleaveland wch he did not chuse to take then, as he had not with him his Minutes of his Engagements. Upon receiving his Letter abovementioned I was fully of his Opinion, that the Cause at Taunton will make a precedent for that at Salem. Consequently if Judge Sullivan would have received the money, it would in a Manner have been thrown away, as the Gentleman is already bound to defend against Parsons at Taunton, and he must do it with Force if he means to preserve any Consistency, having written and published a Pamphlet solely to advocate the Importance of the seperate Governments, in Opposition to the Idea of Consolidation [2] and Mr. Cleaveland having informed Me, that Mr. Pulling and Parsons could alone speak in his Case at Newbury, even if Sullivan and Dexter were both engaged, I have thought it best to omit speaking to Dexter, at least at present especially as I do not think he could now be brought in to do any Good at Taunton. These Determinations you must be sensible, are made, subject to your Controul as I am very willing my Opinions should be reversed by your superiour Judgment, and consequently I shall hold myself ready to obey your Orders.

I inclose you a Paper signed Edward Pulling, forwarded to me by Capt. Cleaveland. This latter Gentleman, I had never seen, till your Introduction of him. It appears to me, he has very great Merit in this Case. He is, as he tells me, in Advance Eighty Dollars wch from what he says of his Circumstances, he must not be suffered to lose. Our Society I trust, will enter with Spirit into the Business. It is enough, and more than enough, for Mr. Cleaveland to bear the personal Insults and Abuse he suffers. I am ready to pay any As-

[2] Sullivan's pamphlet was probably *Observations upon the Government of the United States*. For some general account of his opinions on the relations between state and federal government see Amory, *op. cit.*, I. 221-237.

sessment, or to do any thing that may be reasonably expected. Do not let the Society be disgraced by any want of timely Effort and Exertion. If we do not support Mr. Cleaveland, as far as appears to me, it would be better the Society were extinct. I hope better things than the smallest Inattention, tho I thus speake my Design is to excite the warmest Zeal and the most vigorous Activity. . . .

73. J. and T. H. Perkins to Perkins, Burling, and Company, 1792.[1]

Oct. 6, 1792.

. . . This money you will appropriate to the purchase of the Slaves and other articles specifi'd in the enclosed Memo. (for us as agents of Dan'l McNiel[2] from the Cape to the Havanna and from there here). If you cannot readily buy the Slaves in the road, we hope you will find some new negroes from on shore, who know nothing of the language, and will answer to admit the vessel, (which must be entered as from St. Eustatia and St. Thomas, and the papers calculated acordingly—we mean his log.) We are to fit out his vessel[3] for the Coast, and send a number of vessels to take away the Molasses he has consigned to us: They will take the Cape on their way, in "order to get the Slaves for admission." For this business we are to receive 5% on outfit, and 5 on sales.[4] . . .

[73] [1] Briggs, *The Cabot Family,* I. 390. The originals of the letters which passed between Perkins and Burling in Santo Domingo and various Boston merchants the editor has not examined, but the selections printed by Dr. Briggs contain frequent references to aspects of the slave trade. On June 24, 1790, Perkins and Burling of Santo Domingo wrote to Theodore Lyman of Boston: "We by no means advise your sending any more (negroes). It is almost impossible to get rid of an infant negro." On July 27 they informed Simon Elliot of the safe arrival of the *Betsey,* Capt. Allen Hallet, with thirty-two slaves in whom they understood he was interested. On Dec. 16, 1791, Thomas Handasyd Perkins wrote to M. Jean Laroque: "When the disturbances of Yr Colony have passed, you will probably be in want of Cargoes for the Coast of Africa. Rum, Tobacco, and Coarse Cloths are always to be had here low, such as suit the Guinea Market" (*ibid.,* I. 387, II. 478, 505). For a brief sketch of the connection of T. H. Perkins with Santo Domingo see *New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* X. 201-211. Simon Elliot, was his father-in-law.

[2] This may have been the Captain McNeil who in 1786 commanded the *Thomas.* "By her [*Betsey*] we learn that the ship *Thomas,* Capt. M'Neil, had arrived at that island [St. Thomas] from the Isle de Los, on the coast of Guinea, with a cargo of 200 slaves; Between 40 and 50 perished in their passage by the disease and cruelties peculiar to this inhuman traffick. Capt. M'Neil's crew had been very sickly. The mate, carpenter, cooper, and four hands were buried in the course of the voyage." *New Haven Gazette and the Connecticut Magazine,* Apr. 27, 1786.

[3] The *Katy.*

[4] In 1793 the same firm wrote: "If you cou'd buy more Slaves at 150 or 200 dollars, such for instance as went down in the *Katy,* and charter a vessel to take them to the Havanna, all on a/c of the *Sachem,* it wd do well. . . . They are worth 250 to 270 Ds." (Briggs, II. 505). Not only do the Perkins papers provide information on the relations between Boston merchants and the West India trade in slaves but they are said to contain over one hundred letters to traders in Africa, which might add much to our knowledge of the methods by which the African trade was carried on at this time. *Ibid.,* I. 391.

74. The Case of the *Abeona*, 1792.[1]

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.
Essex ss.

To the several sheriffs of our County of Essex or his Deputy, Greeting,

We Command you to attach the goods or Estate of Joseph Waters of Salem in our said County of Essex Merchant, and John Sinclair of said Salem mariner to the Value of four thousand seven hundred pounds, and for want thereof to take the bodys of the said Joseph and John (if they may be found in your precinct) and them safely keep, so that you have them before our Justices of our Court of Common Pleas, next to be holden at Newburyport, within and for our said County of Essex, on the last Tuesday of September next, then and there in our said Court to answer to Stephen Cleveland of Salem aforesaid Shop Keeper, who Sues this action as well for the said Commonwealth as for himself, In a plea of Debt for that by an act of the great and General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts made and passed in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty eight, Intitled "an act to prevent the Slave trade, and for granting relief to the families of Such unhappy persons as may be Kidnaped or decoyed away from this Commonwealth; it is among other things Enacted,[2] that no Citizen of this Commonwealth, or other person residing within the same shall for himself or any other person whatsoever either as master, factor, super cargo, owner or hirer in whole or in part, of any Vessel directly or indirectly, Import or Transport, or buy or sell or receive on board his or their Vessel with intent to Cause to be Imported or Transported, any of the Inhabitants of any State or Kingdom, in that part of the world called Affrica as Slaves, or as Servants for Term of years; and that every Citizen Inhabitant or Resident as aforesaid, who shall directly or Indirectly receive on board his or their Vessel with Intent to Import or Transport, or Cause to be Imported or transported any of the said Inhabitants of Affrica, Contrary to the true Intent and meaning of this Act, and be thereof Lawfully Convicted, shall forfeit and pay the sum of fifty pounds; for every person by him or them so received on board, with Intent

[74] [1]Suffolk Court Files, no. 134544 (4). Proceedings in the court of common pleas for Essex County, in a case brought, on appeal, before the Supreme Judicial Court at Boston.

[2] The act was passed Mar. 25, 1788. Its opening paragraphs read: "Whereas by the African trade for slaves, the lives and liberties of many innocent persons have been from time to time sacrificed to the lust of gain:

"And whereas some persons residing in this Commonwealth may be so regardless of the rights of human kind, as to be concerned in that unrighteous commerce. . . . " *Acts and Resolves,* 1786-1787, pp. 615-617, March, 1788, ch. 48.

to be Imported or transported, and the sum of two hundred pounds for every Vessel fitted out with Intent to, and that shall actually be Employed in the Importation or transportation, aforesaid, to be recovered by Action of Debt, in any Court within this Commonwealth, proper to try the same; the one moiety thereof to the use of this Commonwealth, and the other moiety to the person who shall prosecute for and recover the same." [3] Now the Pl'ft in fact says, that sometime in the month of March in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety one, the schooner called the *Abeona* was fitted out by the said Joseph Waters and John Sinclair Citizens of said Commonwealth and residents at said Salem and Sailed on a Voyage from Salem aforesaid to that part of the world Called Affrica, which said Schooner then, and is still Owned by the said Joseph and John, and the said John was then and is still master of said Schooner, and the said John [did] actually proceed in said Schooner on said Voyage to the Coast of Affrica and did then receive on board said schooner Ninety Inhabitants of said Affrica, and from thence did Import and Transport them to Certain Islands in the West Indies (so called) and there so Sold said Inhabitants for Slaves, by reason of which the said Joseph and John have forfeited the sum of fifty pounds for every person thus Imported or Transported, and the sum of two hundred pounds for the fiting out of said Schooner, Wherefore by Law an action hath accrued to the said Stephen, to recover of the said Joseph and John the sums of four thousand five hundred pounds, and two hundred pounds, one moiety thereof for the use of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and the other moiety thereof to the said Stephen the Pl'ft. Yet the said Joseph and John tho' requested have not paid said sums or either of them, but unjustly detain them.[4] . . . and still do refuse to pay the same, all which is to the Damage of the said Stephen who sues as aforesaid (as he saith) the sum of five thousand pounds, which shall then and there be made to appear, with other due damages, and have you there this writ, with your doings therein, Witness, Benjamin Greenleaf, Esqr. at Salem this Second day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety two.

J. Osgood Clerk.

Essex ss, august 2d: 1792. In obedience of the within, and for want of Goods and Chattles and Estate of the within named John Sinclair, and by order of the within named Stephen I have taken the

[3] Section 2 of the act provided that insurance placed on such vessels and cargoes should be null and void; the last section, that the act should not extend to vessels which had already sailed.

[4] Repetitious matter is here omitted.

body of the said John Sinclair and have Committed him to the Commonwealth Goal in Salem.

JOSEPH TURELL Dep: Shff.

Essex ss, august 2d. 1792. In Obedience to the within writ I have Attached one individual half part of the following goods and Chattles, being of the Value of Eleven hundred pounds, which ware shewn to me by the within named Stephen Cleveland, as the Estate of the within named Joseph Waters and which I attached by order of Said Stephen (to wit) the Schooner Called the *Abeona* now Lying at Peirces Wharf in Salem in said County, of about Eighty Tons burthen, together with the masts, Spars, Sails, Anchors riging and Appurtenances with all the Cargo on board the same, Consisting as it is said of about Seventy or Eighty Casks of Molasses not Gauged, supposed to Contain about seven or Eight thousand Gallons—about three hundred dried Hydes and a quantity of Logwood, also the Sloop Called the *Dolphin,* Bu[r]then about sixty five tons with her masts, Spars, Sails Riging, Anchors and Appurtenances now lying in Salem in the County aforesaid, with her Cargo on board the same Consisting as tis said of about two thousand Bushells of Corn and about two hundred Bushells of flour, and also the schooner *Charming Sally,* burthen about sixty seven Tons now lying in Salem in the County aforesaid, with her masts Spars, Sails, Riging, and all appurtenances, and at the same time I gave to said Joseph Waters a summons in due form of Law.

JOSEPH TURELL, D. Sheriff

State of Massachusetts, Essex ss, Court of Common pleas
September T: 1792.

Stephen Cleveland
vs
Joseph Waters and *als.* } Def'ts plea

And the said Waters and Sinclair come and defend the force and Injury, and pray Judgment of the writ aforesaid, and say, that the said Court of Common pleas here, Ought not to have Cognizance of the action aforesaid, because they say, that by the Constitution for the United States of America, ordained and Established by the people thereof, Since the making of the said Act (entitled an act to prevent the Slave trade and for granting relief to the families of such unhappy persons as may be kidnapped or decoyed away from this Commonwealth) and before the Cause of the Action aforesaid, if any hath accrued to the said Cleveland, is supposed to have ac-

crued or the supposed Crimes and Offences in the said Writ alledged are supposed to have been Committed, it was, and is, among other things ordained and Established, that the Congress of the said United States, Shall have power, to regulate Commerce with foreign nations, and to define and punish Offences against the law of Nations, and that the Judicial power of the said United States shall Extend to all Cases of Admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction, and that the trial of all Crimes not Committed within any State, shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by Law have directed: And further, the said Waters and Sinclair say That by an act of the first Congress of the United States, pursuant to the said Constitution passed in the first session of the said Congress, Entitled an Act to Establish the Judicial Courts of the United States, it is among other things Enacted; that the District Courts, by that Act Established, shall have, Exclusively of the Courts of the several States, Cognizance of all crimes and Offences that shall be Cognizable under the Authority of the United States, Committed within their respective Districts, or upon the high Seas, where no Other punishment then Whipping, not exceeding thirty stripes, a fine not Exceeding one hundred dollars, or a term of Imprisonment not exceeding Six months, is to be Inflicted; and shall also have Exclusive Original Cognizance of all Civil Causes of Admiralty and Maritime Jurisdiction, and in and by the same Act it is further Enacted, that the Circuit Courts, thereby Established, Shall have Exclusive Cognizance of all Crimes and Offences, cognizable under the Authority of the United States, Except where that act otherwise provides, or the laws of the United States shall otherwise direct, and Concurrent Jurisdiction with the District Courts of the Crimes and Offences cognizable therein [5]— And so the said Waters and Sinclair say, that the Cause of the action aforesaid, if any hath Accrued to the said Cleveland, and the supposed crimes and offences in the said Writ alledged, if any have been Committed, did accrue to the said Cleveland, and were Committed on the high seas, within the Exclusive Jurisdiction of the Judicial Courts of the said United States, and not at Salem in the said County of Essex, or within the said state of Massachusetts, or Elsewhere, within the Jurisdiction of this Court of Common pleas here—And this the said Waters and Sinclair are ready to Verify; Wherefore they do not Suppose, that the said Court of Common pleas here will or Ought to have or hold further Cognizance of the action aforesaid.[6]

And the said Stephen Cleveland who sues as aforesaid, says the said plea of the said Joseph and John above by them pleaded and

[5] *Statutes at Large,* pp. 73-93, 1 Cong., 1 sess., ch. 20.
[6] Signed, "Joseph Waters, Jno. Sinclair."

the matters and things therein Contained are bad and Insufficient in Law to proclude this Court from having and taking Cognizance of the Action aforesaid, and that by Law the said Stephen is not bound to Answer thereto, and all this the said Stephen is ready to Verify, wherefore for want of sufficient plea in this behalf, the said Stephen who Sues as aforesaid, prays Judgment, and that the said Joseph and John may Answer Over.

Per E. PULLING.

And the said Waters and Sinclair, say their plea aforesaid is good and sufficient in Law to preclude this Court from having and taking cognizance of the action aforesaid of the said Cleveland against them had, and because he has not answered thereto, pray Judgment of the writ aforesaid and that the same may abate—and for their Costs.[7]

[*Letter of James Sullivan to Samuel Sewall.*]

BOSTON 15th Sep'r 1792.

Sir, The inclosed plea [8] is well. perhaps the only use to be made of it is, that should it be over ruled you can appeal and avoid a trial by Jury in the Common pleas. I believe the same advantage as intended by the plea may be had on the merits of the case for it appears to me that it brings up the question whether our act has the force of Law, if it has not, because Congress hath the cognizance of this kind of business then there is no act in existance agt the slave Trade, for the United States have made none. This question may be made on the issue or reserved for a motion in arrest of Judgment. The offence if there was one was committed on the high Seas, but there was none unless our Court had authority to make the Law. if they had, then the offence exists and is Cognizable in our Courts.[9]

[*Deposition.*]

I Joseph Crookshanks of Lawful age testify and say that I shipped on board the schooner *Abiona* John Sinclair master. And sailed from Salem on the fourth day of march in the year of our lord one thousand seven hundred and ninty one for the coast of Africa and

[7] Signed, "Samuel Sewall." Endorsed: "A true copy, Attest. J. Osgood Cler." There follows: "And now the said Waters and Sinclair being ordered to answer over in this suit, come and defend etc. when and where etc. and say they are not guilty and neither of them is guilty in manner and form as the said Cleaveland has declared and thereof put etc. by Samuel Sewall. And the said Cleveland likewise. G PARSONS, STEPHEN CLEVELAND."

[8] The plea of the defendants.

[9] The court of common pleas decreed that Waters and Sinclair should answer the plaintiff's writ and declaration, thus maintaining the jurisdiction of the state courts in the premises. Waters and Sinclair appealed to the Supreme Judicial Court.

arrived at Goree on said coast some time in the month of April following, that we caried on board said schooner from salem to said coast of Africa a cargo of Rum, Tanned leather, tobacco, etc. that we caried from Salem to said coast twentyseven pair of shackles, and twentysix pair of handcuffs', as I recollect, that we disposed of our cargo at sundry Islands on said Coast of Africa, that we there took on board said schooner ninety two or ninety three black Inhabitants of Africa which Captain Sinclair commonly called Slaves, some of which were brought on board said schooner in Irons and some not, that we sailed from said coast with the said black people on board, about the last of september one thousand sevenhundred and ninety one and arrived at maritinico in the west indies some time about the last of october following, where we landed the said black people, and afterward within a few days took them on board again, and carried them to the Havannah where we left them, and Captain Sinclair afterwards told me that the Slaves were all sold, except a little girl whom he called Abiona, her he carried with him to New York. I further say that I shipped on board said schooner as carpenter to go to the coast of africa for Slaves.

And further saith not.

SALEM October 24th 1792.

The Jury find,[10] that sometime in the month of March *viz.* on the fourth day of that month in the year One thousand seven hundred and ninety one, the Schooner called the *Abeona* mentioned in the second Count of the Plaintiffs Writ was fitted out by the said Joseph Waters and John Sinclair then Inhabitants in said Commonwealth and residents at said Salem with intent to be employed in the transportation of divers inhabitants of said Africa as slaves, which said Schooner was then and ever since has been owned by the said Joseph and John, and the said John was Master thereof, and did actually sail on said voyage within the same month of march in said Schooner, and arrived in the month of June in the same year to the Coast of Africa, and the said Schooner was there actually employed in the transportation of divers inhabitants of said Africa there received on board the said Schooner in the months of September and October in the year last aforesaid and not before and thence did transport the same to certain Islands in the West Indies and there afterwards sold them as Slaves in manner and form as the said Cleaveland in his second Count has alledged; and contrary to the said Act referred to in said Cleave-

[10] The court's statement of the case is omitted as it covers familiar ground. It, as well as the sheriff's writ, enumerates three *Abeonas,* all committing the same offence in the same year. This, it seems clear, must be the result of the legal forms used, not of the facts.

land's Writ. And the Jury further find, that since the making of that Act and before the purchase of the said Cleaveland's Writ aforesaid another Act of the General Court of the said State of Massachusetts, entitled an Act for the Ease of the Citizens concerning Actions upon penal Statutes was made and enacted and is given in evidence in this Case.[11]

And further the Jury find, that since the making of the said act to prevent the Slave Trade etc. in the said Writ mentioned and before the fitting out of the said Schooner as aforesaid, it was and is ordained and established by the Constitution of the United States of America among other things, that the Congress of the said United States shall have power, to regulate Commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, to define and punish piracies and felonies committed upon the High Seas and Offences against the law of Nations, and that the Migration or Importation of such persons as any of the states now existing, shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress, prior to the year One thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person and that no state shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing it's inspection laws.

And whether the said Action of the said Cleaveland could be brought at the time of bringing the same, or can be duly maintained within the said County of Essex, and whether since the establishment of the said Constitution of the United States, any Action could accrue to the said Cleaveland upon the matters and things in his said second Count alledged, the Jury are wholly ignorant, and pray the advisement of this Court thereon And if upon the whole matter this Court shall be of opinion that the said Cleaveland's Action might be brought and maintained as aforesaid, and that an Action has accrued to him as aforesaid, then the Jury find the said Joseph and John Guilty and that they have forfeited the said sum of two thousand pounds, in manner and form as the said Cleaveland has alledged in the said Count: but if otherwise of opinion, then the Jury find the said Joseph and John as to the said second Count not Guilty.

And as to the other Counts in the said Cleaveland's Writ aforesaid, the Jury find the said Joseph and John not Guilty, and that neither of them is Guilty.

BENJ'N GAGE

Writ dated 2d July 1792, Served Augt. 2d. 1792.

[11] *Acts and Resolves,* 1788-1789, pp. 19-21, June, 1788, ch. 12.

1st.[12] Aco. as it respects the transportation of Africans which by the Writ appears to be done wholly upon the High Seas.

2dly. As it respects the fitting out a Vessel with intent to transport —wh is partly arising within the County and partly at sea.

1st. Since the act prohib'g the Slave Trade, the Constit. of Un'd Sts. has been establ'd wh has restrained the legisl. powers of the individ. Sta' in sev'l part'rs and by or under that Constit. are now establ'd new Courts to exercise their office within the states having Jurisd'n in some Cases concurr'g in others, exclusive of the C'rts of the sev'l sts. That Cons. and the laws of the un'd Sts. made in pursu'e thereof are now the Supr. law of the land, and the judges in ev'y St. are bound thereby notw'g the Cons. or laws of any St. As that Supr. law might be supposed to affect the legisl. power of a state, the def'ts in this ac. might and may yet avail themselves of any defence aris'g therefrom upon the exam'n of the Merits of this act.: from which they must be at all events discharged, if the state Legisl. has not at this time the power of making the laws upon wh their supposed crime arises: but the object'n may we appreh'd be very properly consid'd under the present plea. And we need not on this quest, consider the power of the legisl. of the St. to declare any supp'd facts to be crim'l, but only whether they have power to establ. a tribunal for the trial of any facts, whether crim'l or not, happ'g under cert. local circumst's; We say may it please your hon[or] and it is admitted by the D C'rts and we appeal to the Writ in this Case, that the facts alledged as crim'l ag. the Def'ts in this Ac. are supposed to have happ'd on the High Seas and we argue that the Legisl. of any St. has not at the time auth'y to institt. a tribunal for the trial of facts happ'g there and we conclude that if they cannot and we shall further endeavour to shew that the constit. and Laws of the U. S. having establ'd tribunal with exclusive pow. instit. —any former institut'n is annulled. Jurisd. of matters arising upon the High Seas, the Jurisd. of This C'rt in This Case is therefore taken away The Sen. stat. upon wh this Ac. is grounded has been cons'd as a commerc. regulat. and in that view is I think abolished by the 10th Sect. of 1st Art. of the Cons. of the Un. Sts. wh has declared that no state shall, without the consent of Congr. lay any imposts or Duties on imports or exports. It has been and I think is more properly consid'd as defining and punishing an Offence wh if com'd at all must be com'd on the High Seas or within the territory and Jurisd. of other States or Kingd's—and that view is an exen. of the author'y given to Congr. of defining and punish'g Pir's and fel's comm'd on the H'h Seas and off's ag. the law of nats. wh

[12] This is apparently a memorandum of the argument for the defense.

from the nature of it is an exclus'v auth'y. But it is not to my pres't purp. to enlarge upon these topics. The Trib'l instit'd for the trial of the facts alledged as an offence, is a Court of the St. of Mass's wh however constit. and supr. in matters aris'g within the state, is excluded from any Jurisd. of this action by Art. 3, of the Const. of U. S. Sect. 1 and 2, by wh the jud'l power of U S is vested in a Supr. C'rt and in such other C'rts as the Congr. may establ. and wh Jud'l Power is declared to extend, among other things, to all Cases of admiralty and Marit. Jurisd. and by wh it is also determ'd that the trial of all crimes not comm'd within any St. shall be at another place or places as the Congr. may by law have directed. These causes of the Constit. appear to me to conclude ag. any auth'y wh the Legisl. of a part'r St. might have to establ. a tribunal for the trial of the facts alledged in this Ac. wh wheth'r cons'd as a breach of a Commerc'l Regulat. or an off'ce ag. a pub. inst. are

Art. 1. S 8. To def. and pun. pir's and fel's comm'd on the H'h Seas, and off's ag. the law of nats.

S 10. No St. shall with't the consent of Congr., lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except'g what may be absolutely nec'y for executing its inspect. Laws.

Art. 3. Sect. 2. The Judic'l power shall extend to all cases in law and equity aris'g under this Const. the laws of the Un'd St's and treaties made or wh. shall be made und'r the auth'y etc. to all Cases of admiralty and marit. jurisd.

The trial of all Crimes etc. not comm'd within any St. shall be at such place or places as the Congr. shall by law have directed.

1st Congr. 1st Sess. ch. 20. p 93
Act to establ. the Jud. Crts.

S. 9. The distr. C'rts shall have exclus'y of the C'rts of the sev'l sts. cogn. of all Crimes and Off's and shall be cogn. und'r the auth'y of the U. S. comm'd within the respt. Dis. Cr. or upon the H'h Seas etc. and excl. orig. cogn. of all cir. Cases of adm. and marit. Jurisd.

S. 11. Circ't C'rts have excl. cogn. of all Crimes and Off's cogn. und'r the auth'y of U. S., exc. etc. and concur't Jurisd. with the distr. C'rts of the Crimes and Off's cogn. therein.[13]

[13] In January, 1792, a suit was begun in Portland by John May against one Mr. Hodges, for fitting out the *Eagle* for Africa and importing slaves therein. "Mr. Lithgow informed the Court that Mr. Hodges was an alien, and that as such (the sum sued for being about 500 dollars) he had a right then to file a petition for the removal of the cause from that Court to the Federal Court of this District . . . . The question, however, was new, and in the opinion of the Court was important; a decision of it was therefore postponed till the last Tuesday in May next" (*Salem Gazette,* Jan. 17, 1792). This may have been the case referred to in July: "Portland, June 22 . . . . At this term an action, John May Esq. *vs* Henry Skinner and others merchants, for breach of an act of this Commonwealth, to prevent the Slave Trade etc. removed from the Court of Common Pleas of this County, because one of the Defendants is an Alien, went to a Jury, who returned a special Verdict against the Defendant; and the same is continued to September term for advisement." *Ibid.,* July 3, 1792.

75. John Dawson to Montgomery and Company, 1792.[1]

Liverpool, 24th Novr., 1792.

Messrs. John Montgomery and Co., Boston

Gentn., I have received your favor of the 10th Ultimo and am Obligd for your kind offers of Service, but you will be informed e're this the African trade is not yet abolished. I am not at present in want of Shipping, but its probable I may send a Ship or Ships to your address to take in Rum such as you mention, to assort other goods upon the coast. If I should dispatch any Ship to you, or my agents on the Coast of Africa in my Name, to be loaded with Rum etca, I shall rely on you to use your endeavours for my Interest, and also to give the Vessels the quickest dispatch possible, and your Bills on me to the amount of whatever is Shipd for my account will meet due Honor, and you will please to observe I do not permit Goods to be Shipd on a Vessel of mine upon any pretence whatever but what is solely for my Own Account.[2]

76. Stephen Cleveland to Moses Brown, 1792.[1]

Salem, Novr. 30th, 1792.

. . . Sinclair is gone to New Yourk in a Small Ship Belonging to himself and other Guinea merchants, with a Compleat Cargo for

[75] [1] Mass. Hist. Soc., *Procs.,* XLIV. 668. John Dawson was at this time the holder of a contract to supply negroes to the Spanish markets of the West Indies (this work, II. xliv, 577 n., 656 n.). From this letter one may surmise that Montgomery and Company had written to the Liverpool merchant soliciting business in rum traffic, under the supposition that the slave trade was soon to be abolished in England. *Ibid.,* p. lviii.

[2] Apparently at the time of writing this letter Dawson wrote to John Ashley, one of his African agents, directing him if he needed rum to send to Boston for it, as a letter of June 3, 1793, from Ashley to Montgomery and Company informs them that he is sending the *Abby,* under Capt. Joseph Winter, "for a Cargoe good strong Rum; which I must beg of you to have put on board with all possible dispatch; as I shall be much in want, having been lately much disappointed in the arrival of our Liquor Ships from Holland, owing to the Warr between France and England". Directions follow for the casks in which the rum is to be shipped, for lumber, and for carpenters who are to be sent out on the *Abby.* Ashley also wrote to Dawson explaining that he had been obliged to promise Captain Winter an emolument of £100 in lieu of the commissions he would have received on slaves had he not been sent direct to Boston for the rum. On the arrival of the *Abby* in Portland, where Captain Winter took on water and provisions, it was seized as an English vessel carrying American papers and evidently held for nearly five months. A letter from William Smith to Capt. William McNeill, Feb. 7, 1794, indicates that the rum cargo, comprising 138 hogsheads and 46 tierces of Medford rum, valued at three shillings a gallon, was at last shipped under Captain McNeill, consigned to John Ashley and Capt. Joseph Winter, who was a passenger on the *Abby.* Both Winter and Ashley were reminded in letters of instruction from Smith that "by the Laws of this State no Vessell belonging to it is suffered to bring off any Slaves from the Coast of Africa under the penalty of £50 for each Slave and £200 fine for the Ship". Smith also wrote to Dawson explaining the transactions which he, in the absence of Montgomery in Spain, had undertaken on Dawson's account. A letter of Dec. 23, 1794, advised Captain Winter that rum was then so high in Boston that there was no object in his returning for another cargo (Mass. Hist. Soc., *Procs.,* XLIV. 668-683). This seems to have concluded Smith's efforts to share in the profits of the Spanish slave trade carried on by Dawson and Company.

[76] [1] Moses Brown Papers, VIII. 15. The earlier paragraphs of the letter report that the case has been postponed to the June term at Ipswich. One of Cleveland's

Africa. He had Several Crews who left him for fear of going after Slaves. he has been Obliged, finally to Ship them for New York there to be Discharged where he may find Ignorance Enough to go any where he Chuses. His Bondsmen are good and are holden to finall Judgment.[2] . . .

77. Henry Thornton to Governor Samuel Adams, 1795.[1]

Sir, I have the Honor of addressing you on the Part of my Brethren the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, a Society lately instituted for the purpose of Substituting a Trade in the natural Productions of Africa in the Place of that now Carried on for Slaves and with a view to the General Civilization Instruction and Improvement of the Natives of that abused Continent. We have been informed by the Governor and Council of our Settlement in Africa (Men of great coolness and perfect veracity)[2] that several American vessels have from time to time been trading in Slaves on that Coast Contrary as We are assured to the Laws of the States to which they respectively belong. Under these Circumstances We think it our Duty to put you in Possession of the Substance of the Intelligence we have received so far as respects those Vessels which appear to belong to the State of Massachusetts. And we shall continue to feel ourselves bound to transmit any Similar Intelligence which We may hereafter receive on such unquestionable Authority.

Sierra Leone House London 12 March 1795.

78. The Governor at Sierra Leone to the Sierra Leone Company, 1795.[1]

The Ship *Willing Quaker*[2] Adamson Master belonging to Boston or Salem in New England. She arrived at the mouth of the River

witnesses had brought suit against Sinclair for abuses on the coast of Africa, and had recovered £60 in the lower court. The appeal was still pending when Cleveland wrote. In all these cases the great difficulty was that of jurisdiction.

[2] On Mar. 4, 1793, Jonathan Edwards wrote to Moses Brown that a suit had been begun in New Haven by Dr. Mather, of Saybrook, against "White, Pratt, and Newel," African slave traders. On Sept. 24, 1793, this suit was still pending in the Connecticut courts. Whatever the outcome, it did not prevent Newell from a slaving voyage the next year. Zachary Macaulay writes of his presence on the Sierra Leone coast in July, 1794, and of the difficulties of that settlement with him. Viscountess Knutsford, *Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay,* pp. 60-61, 65, 74.

[77] [1] This document and also no. 78 are printed from a photostat copy in the Library of Congress. Henry Thornton, member of Parliament and London banker, was chairman of the court of directors of the Sierra Leone Company.

[2] Zachary Macaulay was made governor of Sierra Leone in 1794. For his own account of his intercourse with American slavers see Knutsford, *Macaulay,* pp. 62-67.

[78] [1] "Extract from the Letters of the Governor and Council at Sierra Leone to the Chairman and Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company."

[2] The *Willing Quaker* was reported at Havana in the summer of 1792. She sailed from the West Indies Dec. 15, 1792, where her cargo had been supervised by Perkins and Burling, agents of Capt. Daniel McNeil, one of her owners. Messrs. J. and T. H. Perkins of Boston may also have been owners. Of the cargo the agents

Sierra Leone on the of April 1793, thence she went to the Bananas and the Isles de Los, and whilst she staid on the Coast lay mostly at one or other of these places. She took in Slaves at both places. In the month of July she left the Isles de Los with upwards of One hundred Slaves on board, bound it is supposed to Surinam. A. W. Hutchinson came out as Supercargo, but some difference arising between him and Adamson he was left on the Coast whence he took a passage to the West Indies in the Schooner *Union* of Salem, R. Fisher Master, also freighted with Slaves.

Witnesses. Crews of the *Willing Quaker,* Adamson of Boston, and of the *Nancy,* Cook of Providence.

The Schooner *Union* of Salem in New England.[3] When she arrived on the Coast she was commanded by one Hall[4] who dying at Bance Island, was succeeded in the Command by his Mate. She took on board a Cargo of Slaves from the Rio Nunez with which she left the Coast bound to the West Indies, or Surinam about the latter end of October last. The name of the Master who carried her off was Fisher.

On leaving the Rio Nunez as we heard he carried off several free people Natives of Africa, who were on board assisting the Mariners in doing the vessel's duty.

Witnesses. Crews of the *Union,* Fisher of Salem, and of the *Kate,* Conolly of Charlestown.

Brig *Rachel* of Boston, Leetch Master, and John Knight Super-

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wrote to Captain McNeil: "The *Willing Quaker* sailed from here the 15. . . . The want of Tobacco kept her here for some time . . . and we concluded to put on board of her 20 hhds. more Rum" (Briggs, *The Cabot Family,* I. 392; *Salem Gazette,* June 19, 1792). Captain Adamson carried a letter from McNeil to King Naimbanna of Sierra Leone, directing that seven slaves owed to him as the result of earlier trading be paid to Adamson in men and boys. The instructions from the owner to the captain charged him to see that the cargo was young and healthy, without defects in limbs, teeth, and eyes, and with as few females as possible. The slaves were to be "well fed, well used, and kept clean and dry." The men slaves were to be always in irons and the gratings locked at sunset. The price desired was $50 per head (*ibid.,* I. 391-392). About the same time that the *Willing Quaker* was being fitted out Messrs. J. and T. H. Perkins were despatching the *Clarissa* to Havana with slaves, under Capt. William McNeil, nephew of Daniel. The Havana port was at this time open to American vessels only if they carried new negroes. It was therefore customary for American merchants to include in their cargoes a sufficient number of negroes to ensure admission, along with a mixed cargo of merchandize. This practice the letters between J. and T. H. Perkins in Boston and Perkins and Burling in Cape François frequently illustrate.

[3] See Knutsford, *Macaulay,* pp. 52, 55, 60, 62, 133, 164-165.

[4] "Reports that Capt. Spence Hall died in the Guinea Trade. He has left a wife and six children, belonging to the english Church in this Town. He has been an unfortunate man, and thus sought base means for his redress" (Dec. 19, 1793, Bentley, *Diary,* II. 77). Bentley later wrote: "A Second Guinea Captain has died this season, Burditt, who with Hall lived in this part of the Town, and were of the Eng. Church. The first belonged at Charlestown, and sailed from it near Boston. The last was a foreigner; both married in the Town. The news produced a bonfire on the Common, in all the rain and the people were alarmed, supposing it to be a building in flames." Jan. 23, 1794, *ibid.,* II. 80.

cargo. Arrived in Sierra Leone River 24th Novr. 1793, and went thence to the Bananas. He sold his Cargo there to a Mr. Geo. Bolland for upwards of fifty Slaves, with which it is supposed he will shortly proceed to Surinam.

Witnesses. Crews of Brig *Rachel,* Leetch of Boston.

There was one also belonging to Boston whose name we could not learn taking in Slaves at Goree and having taken in 40 Slaves, on her way down the Coast, the slaves rose and put the Captain 1st and 2d Mates and one man to death, the vessel drifted to the mouth of the Rio Nunez, where she went ashore and was taken possession of by Mr. Lawrence a trader in that River, after an engagement with the insurgents of 6 or 7 hours Continuance.

79. Insurance on the *Hope*, 1803 (?).[1]

By this Policy of Assurance Underwritten in the Office kept by N. P. Russell, Messrs. J. and T. H. Perkins for Mr. Robt. Corning

[79] [1] For this fragment of an insurance policy on a slave vessel the editor is indebted to Professor S. E. Morison. See his *Maritime History of Massachusetts,* p. 33, for a reference to it. It is probable that many such vessels were insured in Boston, though the evidence to prove that such was the case is difficult to unearth. In January, 1818, suit was brought in Charleston, for the payment of certain promissory notes given as premiums on insurance policies executed in Boston, on slaving voyages from Africa to Charleston in 1803. It was held by the court that the notes were void since by the act of 1788 Massachusetts citizens were forbidden to participate in that trade (Mrs. Helen T. Catterall, *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery,* II. 306). All Boston companies were not willing to insure such cargoes, however. On Mar. 19, 1802, Thomas Davis, president of the Boston Marine Insurance Society, wrote to Eben Stocker, of Newburyport: "We have always declined writing on Vessels to the coast of Africa after Slaves. I suppose the one mentioned in your letter from Havannah must be of that description" (Mass. Hist. Soc., Papers of the Boston Marine Insurance Society, Letter-Book, May 1, 1799-Dec. 21, 1828). G. C. Mason published the fragment of an insurance written in New York on the brigantine *Anstis* (no date): "And touching the adventures and perils which we the assurers are content to bear, and do take upon us in this voyage, they are of the seas, men of War, Fire, Enemies, Pyrates, Rovers, Thieves, Jettizons, Letters of Mart and Countermart, Surprizals, Taking at Sea, Baratry of the Master and Marine[r]s and all the Perils, Losses and Misfortunes that have or shall come to the Hurt, Detriment or Damage of the said Goods and Merchandize, or of the said vessel her Tackel, Apparel and Furniture or any part thereof" (*Am. Hist. Rec.,* I. 318-319).

A letter which falls outside the limits of this work is not without interest at this point. On Jan. 25, 1810, N. P. Russell wrote to Messrs. J. and T. H. Perkins: "At your particular request, I have offered to the underwriters in my office the two African risks, *viz.* the Ship *Sn. Francisco de Asis* and Cargo, and the Schr. *Carlota,* Capt. Fitzpatrick, and Cargo, at twenty five per cent. owing to recent news from the Coast of Africa, the underwriters absolutely decline insuring any vessels in the slave trade at present, and of course will not even name a premium on these or any others" (Mass. Hist. Soc., Perkins Papers). The inference seems to be that Messrs. J. and T. H. Perkins were still concerned in the slave trade, though after the act of Congress of May 10, 1800, they had apparently hesitated to deal further in negroes. "An Am. Vessell wd be as deeply implicated with one slave as with a load from the Coast—the forfeiture is the vessell and $2000 fine, and $200 pr head for each slave—this amounts to a pretty severe prohibition and we prefer losing a little upon a few horses than gaining upon human flesh—so that upon all sides we are opposed to getting our vessells in by Negroes." Havana, July 16, 1804 (?), J. and T. H. Perkins to James Graham, *The Cabot Family,* II. 517.

of St. Croix, doth make insurance and cause to be insured, lost or not lost, the sum of thirty-three thousand three hundred dollars, on the Danish Ship *Hope* and Cargo (one-third on Ship and two-thirds on Cargo) at and from the Coast of Africa to Havana, with liberty to touch and trade at St. Thomas, commencing the risk when the outward cargo is loaded.

[Premium 10 per cent. The assurers are liable for loss by insurrection, but not by natural mortality. Each slave is valued at two hundred dollars. This policy is meant to take up the risk where a former policy leaves it, meaning no. 15,884 . . . dated June 13, 1803.

Underwritten for $13,000 by Sam'l Bond, Benj. Homer, Nathl. Fellowes, J. Prince, Wm. H. Bordman, Tuthill Hubbard, Crowell Hatch. Policy no. 15899.]

80. The Case of the *Mendon*, 1807.[1]

Before the Most Noble and Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of Appeals in Prize Causes.

The *Mendon,* Jonathan Gorham Fitch, Master.

The said Jonathan Gorham Fitch, the Master, and Claimant of the said Ship and Cargo, as the true, lawful, and sole Property of Subjects of the United States of America, } Appellant,

against

George Cunningham, Commander of the Private Ship of War the *Elizabeth,* the Captor of the said Ship and Cargo, by him taken and carried to the Island of Dominica } Respondent

Case on behalf of the Claimant and Appellant.

The above Ship, laden with an assorted Cargo of India Goods and other Merchandizes, in Virtue of his Majesty's Royal Licence, sailed from the Port of London to Loango, on the Coast of Africa, where the said Goods were bartered for Slaves, with which she sailed for the River La Plata, and on entering the same he found the Ports under Blockade by his Majesty's Squadron under the Command of Sir Home Popham; that the Master was warned not to attempt to enter any Port except that of Maldonado, then in Possession of the

[80] [1] Vice admiralty briefs in the possession of the Marine Research Society. For the privilege of examining these records and for presenting those sections here printed the editor is indebted to Mr. George Francis Dow of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. The brief contains the statement of the case for the appellant with abbreviated depositions of the master and of one or two seamen, a list of the papers on board the vessel, most of which are briefly summarized, the judgment rendered, and an appendix which presents many of the papers in full.

English; but he afterwards received Permission to go to Monte Video, which the Master attempted, but on his Arrival at Monte Video, he was warned off by the Spaniards; from thence he went to Rio de Janeiro, and after staying there about a Month, taking in Provisions and Water and repairing his Ship, he sailed for the Havannah, and on the 6th March, 1807, the said Ship and Cargo were captured by the Private Ship of War the *Elizabeth,* George Cunningham, commander, and carried into the Island of Dominica.

On the 24th March following, Proceedings were commenced against the said Ship and Cargo as Prize, at the Suit of the Captor, in the Vice Admiralty Court for the Island of Barbadoes.

On the 17th April, the Judge of the said Court, no claim having been entered for the Ship and Cargo, condemned the same as lawful Prize to the Captors. . . .

Jonathan Gorham Fitch, Master.

To the First Interrogatory this Deponent saith, That he was born at Nantucket, that he had been chiefly at Sea for the last seven Years, and that he is a Subject of the United States.[2]

3. That the said Ship and Goods were taken on Friday, the 6th March, 1807, in about the Latitude of fifteen Degrees; that he believed they were seized for being bound to the Havannah; that the said Ship was brought into the Port of Roseau; that she sailed under American Colours; that she had no other Colours on board; and that no Resistance was made at the Time of the Capture.

4. That he was the Master, and was first appointed to the Command of the Ship by John Mackay, of Boston; that he took Possession of her about three Years ago at Buenos Ayres; that Richard Curtis was the Name of the Person who delivered him the Possession; and he believed the Place of his Residence was at Boston.[3]

6. That the whole of the Lading on board belonged to the Examinant; that neither he nor any of the Officers or Mariners had any Part, Share, or Interest in the Ship, except that the Examinant belonged to her in the Capacity of Master; and that she was built at Weymouth, in the State of Massachusetts.

[2] In his deposition Captain Fitch describes in more detail his various voyages. This seems to have been his first venture in slaves.

[3] Among the papers carried by the vessel was a clearance dated Portsmouth, Dec. 7, 1801: "Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States of America, to all who shall see these Presents, greeting. Be it known, that Leave and Permission are given to Richard Curtis, Master or Commander of the Bark called the *Mendon,* of the Burthen of 137 29/95ths Tons, or thereabouts, lying at present in the Port of Portsmouth, bound for the Cape of Good Hope, and laden with Brandy, Shooks, Hoops, Grindstones, Canvas, Axes, Steel, Cordage, Butter, Beef, Coals, Anvils, Rum, and Dry Goods, to depart and proceed with the said Bark on his said Voyage, such bark having been visited, and the said Master having made oath, before the proper Officer, that the said Bark and Cargo belongs to one or more of the Citizens of the United States of America, and to him or them only."

7. That her Name was the *Mendon*; that she had been so called since she was built; that she had a Sea-letter on board; that during the Voyage before she was taken she sailed from London to the Coast of Africa, and from thence bound to the River La Plata, at which Place he arrived about the 20th November then last past, and found that it was blockaded by his Britannic Majesty's Ships of War; that he then sailed in her for the Rio de Janeiro, and that her last Voyage began at London and was to have ended there; that her Lading on her first Voyage was with Slaves, from the Port of Mosambique bound to the River La Plata, at which Place they were sold, when the Examinant took Charge of her and loaded her with Tallow for the Port of London, where it was delivered; that she then carried Dry Goods to the River La Plata, there loaded Tallow, which was delivered at London; that her last Cargo was an assorted one of India Goods, taken in at London and delivered at the Bay of Loango, in Africa; that the last Port she sailed from was the Rio de Janeiro, which she left about the 20th January last, but that no Clearances were given since she left the Port of London.

8. That the Lading she carried at her first setting Sail was an assorted Cargo of India Goods and about three Pipes of Spirits, and that she had on board when captured seventy-five Slaves and some trifling Articles remaining of her outward- bound Cargo.[4]

9. That Mr. Mungo Mackay was the Owner of the Ship; he knew him to be the Owner from Information of his Agent, who chartered her to the Examinant; that such Owner was by Birth an American and resided in Boston, where he believed he had always resided.

10. That a Bill of Sale of the said Ship was made by Philip Riley to John Mackay, the Brother of Mungo Mackay, on Account of the said Mungo Mackay, at Buenos Ayres in the Presence of two Witnesses, which was delivered up to the Captors.

12. That he, the Examinant, was the Lader, Owner, and Consignee of the Cargo on board; that he now lived in London, and carried on his Business and Trade there; that he had been established there as a Resident for twelve Months; that before he went to Sea his Residence was at Nantucket; that the Ship was bound to the Havannah, where the Cargo would have been delivered if permitted, and for the real Account, Risk, and Benefit of the Examinant; that, at the Time of the lading of the Cargo, and at the present Time, and also if the same should be restored and unladen at the destined Port, the same did, do, and would belong to the Examinant, and to no other Person.

[4] The cargo laden in London amounted to £1715 15 9. William Brunton, the captain's clerk, stated that it consisted of India goods, crockery, rum, and paints, and that the paint was still on board when the vessel was captured.

15. That a Charter-party was signed, which was delivered up with the Papers; that such Charter-party was made in March or April last past, between the Examinant and a Mr. William Todd, the Agent for the Ship at London, the Contents of which were, that the Examinant, for the Sum of five hundred Pounds Sterling, paid to Mr. Todd by him, was to have the Use of the said Ship so long as he chose, he keeping her in Order at his own Expence.

16. That there were on board the said Ship at the Time of her taking her Departure from her last clearing Port, before her being taken as Prize, a Register, Sea-letter, Mediterranean Pass, Bill of Sale, Charter-party, one Bill of Lading, with a Consul's Certificate attached to the same, the King's Licence, Invoices, Accounts, and two Protests; that none of them were burnt, torn, thrown overboard, destroyed, or cancelled, concealed, or attempted to be concealed, except the two Protests, which were still in Possession of the Examinant, but he had been shewn to the Captain of the Privateer.

19. That on his Departure from London he left Instructions with Messrs. Foster, Brunton, and Goddard, of London, to insure the said Ship and Goods on her Passage from London to Africa, and from Africa to the River La Plata, and back to London.

20. That in case the said Ship had arrived at her destined Port, the Examinant was to have taken the Chance of the Market for the Sale of his Goods.

21. That the Negroes were of the Congo Nation,[5] and the other Articles remaining on board were of the Manufacture of Great Britain.

27. That all the Passports, Sea-briefs, Charter-parties, Bills of Sale, Invoices and Papers, which were found on board, were entirely true and fair; and that none of them were false or colourable; and that he knows of no Matter or Circumstance to affect their Credit; that the Passport and Sea-brief were obtained by Mr. Harne, of Massachusetts, for this Ship only; that he believed they were obtained upon the Oath of the Persons therein described, and were to last as long as the Ship was sea-worthy; that there was a Duty or Fee payable, and he believed they were paid; and that there was a Duty and Fee to be paid whenever they were renewed; that such Passports had not been renewed, to the Knowledge of the Examinant, and he believed the Ship was in the Port when the Sea-brief and Passports were granted.

29. That the Ship was steering her Course to the Havannah at the Time of her being first pursued and taken, and that her Course was

[5] Brunton testified that the slaves were shipped on board in Loango Bay, in August and September, 1806.

not altered by the Appearance of the Vessel by which she was taken; that her Course was at all Times, when the Weather permitted, directed to the Havannah.

30. That the Ship was first sold to Mr. Riley, by her then Supercargo, whose Name he did not know; that such Sale was made at Buenos Ayres, but he did not know at what Time, for what Sum, or what Consideration, or whether such Sum was ever paid; she was afterwards sold by Mr. Riley to Mr. John Mackay, for his Brother, Mungo Mackay, at Buenos Ayres, for about 11,000 Dollars, to the best of his Recollection, which Sum was paid; that it was a fair and true Equivalent, and he believed such Sale and Transfer to have been truly made, and not for the Purpose of covering or concealing the real Property; and he verily believed if the said Ship should be restored she would belong to Mr. Mungo Mackay, and to no other Person. . . .

James Williams the Mate.[6]

6. That he believed the Captain to be the sole Owner of the Ship and her Lading.

7. That after he shipped on board the said Ship she sailed from Loango, bound to Monte Video, but was detained by a British Squadron under Sir Home Popham, and carried to Maldonado; that from Maldonado she sailed to Monte Video, by Permission of Sir Home Popham; that the Ship was not allowed to enter there, and she then sailed for Rio de Janeiro, from whence she sailed bound for the Havannah or Charlestown, which would be most convenient; that the only Cargo of which he had any knowledge was her last outward-bound Cargo, consisting of Cloths, Earthen-ware, Spirits, and a small Quantity of Cutlery, which was delivered at Loango, excepting a small Part thereof then on board, and that the said Ship sailed from Rio de Janeiro about the 19th of January, then last past.

8. That the said Ship when taken, had on board Slaves and a few Articles of her outward-bound Cargo.

9. That to the best of his Knowledge the Captain was the Owner of the Ship when taken; that he believed he was the Owner at the Time from his having so informed the Examinant.

12. That Captain Fitch was the Lader, Owner, and Consignee of the Cargo then on board, which was to have been delivered at Charlestown or the Havannah for the real Account, Risk, and Benefit of the said Captain Fitch; that his Belief was founded on what Captain Fitch had informed him; and that he could take upon himself to swear he believed that at the Time of lading the Cargo, and

[6] Williams was a native of Pennsylvania; for four years he had lived in Charleston.

at the present Time, and also if the same should be restored and unladed, the same did, does, and would belong to the said Captain Fitch, and to no other Person.

20. That he believed if the Cargo had been unladen at the destined Port it would have immediately become the Property of the said Captain Fitch, and of no other Person; and that he was to have taken the Chance of the Market for the Sale thereof.

21. That the Slaves on board were Natives of Africa; and that the remaining Articles of the outward-bound Cargo were of the Manufacture of Great Britain.[7] . . .

Papers transmitted in the Process from Barbadoes.[8]

Register, dated Portsmouth, 7th December, 1801, granted on Oath of Samuel Ham, of Portsmouth, in the State of New Hampshire, Merchant, who deposed that he, together with Benjamin Conner, of Exeter, and Jonathan Clark, of Portsmouth, were the Owners of the Ship *Mendon* of Portsmouth, whereof Richard Curtis was then Master, a Citizen of the United States; that the Vessel was built at Weymouth, in the State of Massachusetts, in the Year 1800, as appeared by Certificate, and that the said Ship had been duly registered at the Port of Portsmouth.

Certificate, dated Buenos Ayres, 24th June, 1804, and signed Silas Atkins, jun. and Mark Riley, that at the City of Buenos Ayres there was no American Consul, nor Agent for the United States, and that the within-mentioned Ship, the *Mendon,* was bought by John Mackay, Agent for Mr. Mungo Mackay, jun. a Citizen of the United States, residing at Boston, on his sole Account and Risk, and that Jonathan Gorham Fitch was appointed Master, in Lieu of Richard Curtis, late Master. . . .

Bill of Sale of the Ship, dated 24th June 1804, by John Reilly, of Philadelphia, Owner of the *Mendon,* of Portsmouth, in Consideration of the Sum of 11,000 Dollars lawful Money of the United States of America, paid to him by Mungo Mackay, jun. of Boston, he sold to the said Mungo Mackay, jun. the said Ship, to the sole and only proper Use and Benefit of him the said Mungo Mackay, jun. for ever. . . . Whereas, the Commanders of several Slave Ships, who had a Notification given them, that the Ports of La Plata [were

[7] The deposition of Brunton, a British subject, native of Scotland, follows.

[8] In addition to the items here printed, clearance papers, a certificate from the American consul in London, the articles of agreement and the roll of the officers and crew of the vessel, a freight agreement between William Todd, jr., London agent of Mungo Mackay, and Captain Fitch, several further depositions, and various certificates are included among the prize papers. The *Mendon* had on board ten mariners, two Germans and eight Americans, from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Albany, and Charleston. She carried three blunderbusses, one musket, four pistols, two cutlasses, and ammunition, for protection from the slaves, but had no guns mounted.

blockaded] have represented that their Slaves wanted Refreshments of every Kind, which they could not procure at Maldonado, and they were apprehensive by going to Monte Video, they might suffer the Penalty of a Breach of Blockade; under Considerations of Humanity no Steps whatever shall be taken against Slave Ships for their entry into the Ports of La Plata, nor if met shall such Ingress be considered, by any of the Cruizers under my Command, as a Breach of Blockade, on the Contrary the Captains and Commanders of his Majesty's Ships in La Plata, are desired to permit all Slave Ships to enter any of the aforesaid Ports, provided there is no legal Objection to their entry, except the Breach of the Blockade.

Given under my Hand on board his Majesty's Ship *Diadem,* Maldonado Road, the 16th November, 1806.[9]

HOME POPHAM.

RHODE ISLAND

81. ACT OF THE GENERAL COURT, MAY 19, 1652.[1]

Whereas, there is a common course practised amongst English men to buy negers, to that end they may have them for service or slaves forever; for the preventinge of such practices among us, let it be ordered, that no blacke mankind or white being [be] forced by covenant bond, or otherwise, to serve any man or his assighnes longer than ten yeares, or untill they come to bee twentie four yeares of age, if they bee taken in under fourteen, from the time of their cominge within the liberties of this Collonie. And at the end or terme of ten yeares to sett them free, as the manner is with the English servants. And that man that will not let them goe free, or shall sell them away elsewhere, to that end that they may bee enslaved to others for a long time, hee or they shall forfeit to the Collonie forty pounds.

[9] The cause was heard Apr. 17, 1807, before the judge of the vice admiralty court of Barbados, and the vessel and cargo were condemned as prize. An appeal from this decree was entered by Jonathan Gorham Fitch and John Mackay of Boston, brother and heir of Mungo Mackay. The Lords, having heard the proof read, reversed the earlier decision and restored the ship and cargo to the claimants.

For some knowledge of the share which Massachusetts took in importations into South Carolina between 1803 and 1807 see this work, vol. IV., South Carolina.

[81] [1] "Acts and Orders made at the Generall Court of Election held at Warwick", *Rhode Island Colonial Records,* I. 243. For a discussion of this measure see Du Bois, *Suppression of the Slave Trade,* pp. 33-34; W. D. Johnston, "Slavery in Rhode Island," *Publications* of the Rhode Island Historical Society, new ser., II. 114. This, the fourth law in this country limiting slavery, has no extant history. What lay behind it, how widespread was the desire for it, for how long, if ever, it was enforced, can only be surmised. It is not improbable that the Dutch from Manhattan made negro slaves available to the Rhode Island colonists, but no evidence of this has come to light. The fact that the act was passed at a time when commissioners from Newport and Portsmouth were not meeting with those of Providence and Warwick may have some significance, since the economic importance of slavery was clearly greater to the southern towns; but this again is surmise, as it is by no means manifest that such importance had as yet been recognized.

82. Act of the General Assembly, April, 1708.[1]

And it is further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that whereas, by an act of Assembly, in February last past,[2] concerning the importing negroes, one article of said act, expressing that three pounds money shall be paid into the treasury for each negro imported into this colony; but upon exporting such negro in time limited in said act, said three pounds were to be drawn out of the treasury again by the importer:

It is hereby enacted, that said sum for the future, shall not be drawn out, but there continued for the use in said act expressed; any act to the contrary, notwithstanding.

83. Governor Samuel Cranston to the Board of Trade, 1708.[1]

May it please your Lordships: In obedience to your Lordships' commands of the 15th of April last, to the trade of Africa.

We, having inspected into the books of Her Majesty's custom, and informed ourselves from the proper officers thereof, by strict inquiry, can lay before your Lordships no other account of that trade than the following *viz.*:

1. That from the 24th of June, 1698, to the 25th of December, 1707, we have not had any negroes imported into this colony from the coast of Africa, neither on the account of the Royal African Company, or by any of the separate traders.

2. That on the 30th day of May, 1696, arrived at this port from the coast of Africa, the brigantine *Seaflower,* Thomas Windsor, master, having on board her forty-seven negroes, fourteen of which he disposed of in this colony, for betwixt £30 and £35 per head; the rest he transported by land for Boston, where his owners lived.

3. That on the 10th of August, the 19th and 28th of October, in the year 1700,[2] sailed from this port three vessels, directly for the coast of Africa; the two former were sloops, the one commanded by Nicho's Hillgrove, the other by Jacob Bill: the last a ship, com-

[82] [1] "Proceedings of the General Assembly held for the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, at Newport, the last Tuesday of April, 1708", *R. I. Col. Recs.,* IV. 34.

[2] Various searchers in the Rhode Island material have failed to find either text or title of the February act (Du Bois, p. 205). If the statement in the act of 1715 is correct, a duty was laid upon incoming negroes as early as 1701/2. No other evidence of it has been found, however.

[83] [1] *R. I. Col. Recs.,* IV. 54-55. Governor Cranston was here replying to the circular letter sent out by the Board of Trade on Apr. 15, 1708, in preparation for its comprehensive report to the House of Commons of Jan. 27, 1709 (this work, II. 49-81). The governor's three letters of this date were read by the board on Dec. 12, 1709. *Journal of the Board of Trade,* 1708-1715, p. 104; *R. I. Col. Recs.,* IV. 92.

[2] See *ante,* no. 28. Captain Windsor's expedition in 1696 was in violation of the monopoly of the African Company. While those of 1700 may have complied with the requirements of the law of 1698, it is quite likely that they too were encroachments upon the privileges of the company.

manded by Edwin Carter, who was part owner of the said three vessels, in company with Thomas Bruster, and John Bates, merchants of Barbadoes, and separate traders from thence to the coast of Africa; the said three vessels arriving safe to Barbadoes from the coast of Africa, where they made the disposition of their negroes.

4. That we have never had any vessels from the coast of Africa to this colony, nor any trade there, the brigantine above mentioned excepted.

5. That the whole and only supply of negroes to this colony, is from the island of Barbadoes; from whence is imported one year with another, betwixt twenty and thirty, and if those arrive well and sound, the general price is from £30 to £40 per head.[3]

According to your Lordships' desire, we have advised with the chiefest of our planters, and find but small encouragement for that trade to this colony; since by the best computation we can make, there would not be disposed in this colony above twenty or thirty at the most, annually; the reasons of which are chiefly to be attributed to the general dislike our planters have for them, by reason of their turbulent and unruly tempers.

And that most of our planters that are able and willing to purchase any of them, are supplied by the offspring of those they have already, which increase daily; and that the inclination of our people in general, is to employ white servants before negroes.

Thus we have given your Lordships a true and faithful account of what hath occurred, relating to the trade of Africa from this colony; and if, for the future, our trade should be extended to those parts, we shall not fail transmitting accounts thereof according to your Lordships' orders.[4]

NEWPORT, on RHODE ISLAND, December 5, 1708.

[3] One specific purchase can be cited: William Hawkins of Providence purchased a negro from William Mackcollin, a Barbados merchant, on June 7, 1695. *Early Records of the Town of Providence* (1894), IV. 71-72.

[4] Cranston accompanied this report by two others dealing with subjects about which the Board of Trade had asked information. A comparison of these reports with that sent to the board by Governor Peleg Sanford in 1680 shows that during the intervening quarter of a century Rhode Island had passed from a planting to a trading community. Sanford reported that there were no merchants nor men of considerable estates, no shipping save a few sloops, and no customs duties. The Newport custom-house was established in 1681; a duty on molasses was laid in 1696. During the '80's Rhode Island developed the great skill in distilling which was to play so large a part in her later commercial history. Cranston's account pictures a commercial society in close intercourse with the West Indies and ripe for wider trading ventures. Ship-building had already come to be one of the important activities of the colony during the preceding decade. The population was 7181, of which 426 were blacks. *R. I. Col. Recs.*, IV. 55-59; Arnold, *History of Rhode Island*, I. 488-491.

84. Act of the General Assembly, February 17, 1712.[1]

And whereas, there was an act of Assembly made at ————, in the year ——, entitled an act, etc.:

It was then and there enacted, that for all negroes imported into this colony, there shall be £3 current money, of New England, paid into the general treasury of this colony for each negro, by the owner or importer of said negro; reference being had unto the said act will more fully appear.

But were laid under no obligation by the said act, to give an account to the Governor what negroes they did import, whereby the good intentions of said act were wholly frustrated and brought to no effect; and by the clandestinely hiding and conveying said negroes out of the town into the country, where they lie concealed:

For the prevention of which for the future, it is hereby enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the publication of this act, all masters of vessels that shall come into the harbor of Newport, or into any port of this government, that hath imported any negroes or Indian slaves, shall, before he puts on shore in any port of this government, or in the town of Newport, any negroes or Indian slaves, or suffers any negroes or Indian slaves to be put on shore by any person whatsoever, from on board his said vessel, deliver unto the naval officer in the town of Newport, a fair manifest under his hand, which shall specify the full number of negroes and Indian slaves he hath imported in his said vessel, of what sex, with their names, the names of their owners, or of those they are consigned to; to the truth of which manifest so given in, the said master shall give his corporal oath, or solemn engagement unto the said naval officer, who is hereby empowered to administer the same unto him; . . .

But if the said master shall refuse to give to the said naval officer such a manifest as aforesaid, or to swear to the said manifest when so delivered to the said naval officer, then upon complaint of said naval officer, (whose oath shall be sufficient evidence in this case,) to the Governor, or in his absence, to the next officer of the peace in the town of Newport, the Governor, or the officer to whom the complaint is made, shall immediately issue out a warrant of distraint unto the sheriff or his deputy, to apprehend the body of the said master, and him to commit to Her Majesty's jail, there to remain without bail or mainprize until he hath paid the full sum of £40 current money, of New England, to the treasurer of this colony, for

[84] [1] "Proceedings of the General Assembly held for the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, at Newport, the 27th of February, 1711-12", *R. I. Col. Recs.*, IV. 133-135. The same session enacted that the naval officer be allowed "a book suitable and fitting for the business relating to the importation of negroes, etc. pursuant to an act herein mentioned, relating to the same". *Ibid.*, p. 138.

the use of said colony, with all other charges that shall accrue through his contempt.

And when the said master hath delivered his said manifest and sworn to it, as abovesaid, and before he hath landed on shore, or suffer to be landed, any negroes or Indian slaves as aforesaid, he, the said master, shall pay to the naval officer the sum of £3 current money, of New England, for each negro; and the sum of forty shillings of the like money for each Indian that shall be by him imported into this colony, or that shall be brought into the colony in the vessel whereof he is master.

But if he hath not ready money to pay down, as aforesaid, he shall then give unto the said naval officer a bill, as the law directs, to pay unto him the full sum above mentioned, for each and every negro and Indian imported as above said, which bill shall run payable in ten days from the entering the manifest as above said; and if at the end of the ten days, the said master shall refuse to pay the full contents of his bill, that then the said naval officer shall deliver the said bill unto the Governor, or in his absence, to the next officer of the peace, as aforesaid who shall immediately proceed with the said master in the manner above said, by committing of him to Her Majesty's jail, where he shall remain without bail or mainprize, until he hath paid unto the naval officer, for the use of this colony, double the sum specified in his said bill, and all charges that shall accrue thereby; which money shall be paid out by the said naval officer, as the General Assembly of this colony shall order the same.[2] . . .

85. Thomas Richardson to Stephen Webb, 1714.[1]

[Newport,] 15th of 4 mo 1714.

Respected Friend, Stephen Webb, Capt: Ramsey Arrived here last week per whom I have thine wth: the Malatta woman who is Come in good helth and as thou Saye is a Likely Creature. I have not yet had a Chap[2] to my minde Shall doe the best I Can for you in Disposeing of her and make Returns as Soone as Can I Shall not think £45 too much for her if Can git it tho: hardly expect to git it for her.[3] . . .

[2] All masters were required to give £50, current money, bond. To clear up any uncertainty as to the meaning of this act it was, on May 7, 1712, "Voted, and it is further enacted by this Assembly, upon the request of the naval officer, concerning the act of importation of negroes and Indians, that any negroes or Indians brought into the harbor of Newport, or any other part of the colony, and an entry made of the vessel, and a manifest given by the master, is an importation within the act." *Ibid.,* IV. 143.

[85] [1] Newport Historical Society, Letter-Book of Thomas Richardson, no. 70.

[2] Customer, purchaser.

[3] As the phraseology of the letter suggests, Thomas Richardson was a member of the Society of Friends. Rhode Island Friends apparently took no action in regard to the buying and selling of slaves until three years after the date of this letter, and instances of trade on the part of members of the society can be found until the 'sixties.

86. Thomas Richardson to Stephen Webb and Nicholas Coleman, 1714.[1]

Newport the 21st of 8br 1714.

Respected Friends, Stepn Webb and Nicho's Coleman . . . I had determand to take a Journy to Boston in a few days and then designed to send som fish and mackrell to my Friend Stephn Webb for the produce of his Mullatto Woman there haveing not been any opportunity from hence Since I sold her but Shall now observe the Lattr orders and carry ther Ntt pduce being £36. 10 (As per Accott Sales Inclosed) to the Cr of your Compa Acctt. She is a lusty and handy wench but haveing some bad quality my Kinsman has Returnd her to me again in order to be sent to York or Sold here. . . .

87. Act of the General Assembly, July 15, 1715.[1]

This Assembly, taking into consideration that Newport is the metropolitan town in this colony, and that all the courts of judicature within this colony are held there; and also, that it is the chief market town in the government; and that it hath very miry streets, especially that leading from the ferry, or landing place, up to the colony house, so that the members of the courts are very much discommoded therewith, and is a great hindrance to the transporting of provisions etc., in and out of the said towns, to the great loss of the inhabitants thereof:

Thereof, be it enacted by this present Assembly, and by the authority thereof it is enacted, that the sum of £289 17 *s.* 3 *d.*, now lying in the naval officer's hand, (being duties paid to this colony for importing of slaves),[2] shall be, and is hereby granted to the town of Newport, towards paving the streets of Newport, from the ferry place, up to the colony house, in said Newport; to be improved by their directors, such as they shall, at their quarter meetings appoint for the same.

And whereas, there was an act of Assembly, made at Newport, in the year 1701-2,[3] for the better preventing of fraud and coven, in paying the duties for importing of negro and Indian slaves into this colony, and the same being found in some clauses deficient, for the effecting of the full intent and purpose thereof;

Therefore, it is hereby enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every master of ship, or vessel, merchant or other person or persons,

[86] [1] Newport Hist. Soc., Richardson Letter-Book, no. 70.

[87] [1] "Proceedings of the General Assembly, 1715," *R. I. Col. Recs.*, IV. 191-193.

[2] Since this includes duties on Indian as well as negro slaves it does not make certain the number of negro importations.

[3] One is tempted to dismiss this as a misprint for 1711/2, since the act of that date certainly reads as if it were the first legislative attempt to prevent fraud in the payment of the import duties on slaves.

importing or bringing into this colony any negro slave or slaves of what age soever,[4] shall enter their number, names, and sex in the naval office; and the master shall insert the same in the manifest of his lading, and shall pay to the naval officer in Newport, £3 per head, for the use of this colony, for every negro, male or female, so imported, or brought in. And every such master, merchant, or other person, refusing or neglecting to pay the said duty within ten days after they are brought ashore in said colony, then the said naval officer, on knowledge thereof, shall enter an action and sue the recovery of the same, against him or them, in an action of debt, in any of His Majesty's courts of record, within this colony.

And if any master of ship or vessel, merchant or others, shall refuse or neglect to make entry, as aforesaid, of all negroes imported in such ship or vessel, or be convicted of not entering the full number, such master, merchant, or other person, shall forfeit and pay the sum of £6, for every one that he shall refuse or neglect to make entry, of one moiety thereof to His Majesty, for and towards the support of the government of this colony; and the other moiety to him or them that shall inform or sue for the same; to be recovered by the naval officer in manner as above said.

And also, all persons that shall bring any negro or negroes into this colony, from any of His Majesty's provinces adjoining, shall in like manner enter the number, names and sex, of all such negroes, in the above said office, under the penalty of the like forfeiture, as above said; and to be recovered in like manner by the naval officer, and shall pay into the said office within the time above limited, the like sum of £3 per head; and for default of payment, the same to be recovered by the naval officer in like manner as aforesaid.

Provided always, that if any gentleman, who is not a resident in this colony, and shall pass through any part thereof, with a waiting man or men with him, and doth not reside in this colony six months, then such waiting men shall be free from the above said duty; the said gentleman giving his solemn engagement, that they are not for sale; any act or acts, clause or clauses of acts, to the contrary hereof, in any ways, notwithstanding.

Provided, that none of the clauses in the aforesaid act, shall extend to any masters or vessels, who import negroes into this colony, directly from the coast of Africa.[5]

[4] In practice, infants were not subject to the duty. "It is ordered by this Assembly, that the duty of two sucking slaves imported into this colony by Col. James Vaughan, of Barbadoes, be remitted to the said James Vaughan." *R. I. Col. Recs.*, IV. 209.

[5] This exemption may imply a desire to foster a trade not yet flourishing. There is little evidence to show the amount of direct trade between Africa and Newport at this time, or between Newport, Africa, and the West Indies. Robert Grieve,

And it is further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the money raised by the impost of negroes, as aforesaid, shall be disposed of as followeth, *viz.*:

The one moiety of the said impost money to be for the use of the town of Newport, to be disposed of by the said town towards paving the streets of said town, and for no other use whatsoever, for and during the full time of seven years from the publication of this act; and that £60 of said impost money be for, and towards the erecting of a substantial bridge over Potowomut river, at or near the house of Ezekiel Hunt, in East Greenwich, and to no other use whatsoever.

And that Major Thomas Frye and Capt. John Eldredge be the persons appointed to order and oversee the building of said bridge, and to render an account thereof to the Assembly; and the said Major Frye and Capt. Eldredge to be paid for their trouble and pains, out of the remaining part of said impost money; and the remainder of said impost money to be disposed of as the Assembly shall from time to time see fit.[6]

88. A Minute of the Society of Friends, 1717.[1]

Newport, 1717.

A weighty concern being on this Meeting concerning the importing and keeping slaves. This Meeting therefore refers it to the con-

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in an article on "The Sea Trade and its Development" (Edward Field, *State of Rhode Island,* 1903, II. 402), seems to imply that the assiento granted by the treaty of Utrecht to Great Britain stimulated Rhode Island commerce. Indirectly and after some years this may have affected the profits of Rhode Island traders somewhat, but in so far as it is possible to judge from existing material there is little to support the opinion that a direct increase in Rhode Island slaving resulted from the contract of 1713. In the "Remonstrance" of Rhode Island against the continuance of the Molasses Act, in 1764, the implication is that the people of the colony regarded 1723 as the year in which their trade to the African coast became one of importance.

[6] At the meeting of the Assembly of May, 1716, it was reported that there was not sufficient money from the impost on negroes to meet the payment of £60 here ordered, and the Assembly voted to take £20 from the general treasury to make good the deficiency. In October, 1717, the Assembly ordered that £100 from the imposts on slaves be paid to the overseer who had charge of paving the Newport streets. The act was modified June 18, 1723, when it was "Voted, that Mr. Daniel Updike, the attorney general, be, and he hereby is ordered, appointed and empowered to gather in the money due to this colony, for the importation of negroes, and to prosecute, sue and implead such person or persons as shall refuse to pay the same; and that he be allowed five shillings per head, for every slave that shall be hereafter imported into this colony, out of the impost money; and that he be also allowed ten per cent. more for all such money as he shall recover of the outstanding debts; and in all respects to have the like power as was given to the naval officer by the former act." In June, 1729, it was provided that half the duty on slaves was to be set aside for the paving of Newport streets, the other half for the support of "the great bridges on the main, in the country roads". *R. I. Col. Recs.,* IV. 209, 225, 330, 424.

[88] [1] R. M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (1911), p. 157. In 1727 the Yearly Meeting voted: "It is the sense of this Meeting, that the importation of Negroes from their native country and relations is not a commendable nor allowable practice and that practice is censured by this Meeting." The difference in the wording of this suggests that the direct importation from Africa may have become more common

sideration of Friends everywhere to waite for the wisdom of God how to discharge themselves in that weighty affair, and desires it may be brought up from our Monthly and Quarterly Meetings to our next Yearly Meeting, and also that merchants do write their correspondents in the islands and elsewhere to discourage their sending any more (slaves) in order to be sold by Friends here.

89. Notices of Sales, 1721.[1]

New-Port, Rhode-Island, June 2d, 1721.

By Order of the Court of Admiralty, There are Nineteen Negroes whereof Two are Men, Eleven Women, Four Boyes and Two Girls, to be Exposed to Sale by Publick Vendue on Wednesday the Fourteenth Day of this Instant June, at Two of the Clock in the Afternoon, at the Town School-House of said New Port.[2] . . . Where all Persons that are inclined to buy the said Negroes, Cocoa or Sugars; or any one of the said Negroes, or part or parcel of said Cocoa or Sugars, are hereby invited to resort. The Conditions of Sale to be seen at the Coffee House, and at the Register's Office, both in said New Port at any Convenient Hours Three Days preceeding the time of Sale.

Rhode Island, June 23, 1721.[3]

The Sale of the Negro's, Cocoa and sugars, which by Decrees of the Honourable John Menzeis Esq: Judge of the Court of Admiralty were appointed to be sold on the 14 and 15 Instant and continued to this day, and the Prices to be paid in and secured, as by the said Decrees and Conditions of Sale published by Warrant of the said Judge will appear; which sale being obstructed most illegally by An Act of the Governour and his Assistants (a Copy of which was refused when demanded by said Judge) on pretence that the ordering and disposal of such belongs to them by their Charter, and that the Governour of Rhode Island as Vice-Admiral hath a Right to the

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since 1717. For the attitude of two prominent Rhode Island Friends toward slavery see Caroline Hazard, *Thomas Hazard, Son of Robt., call'd College Tom* (1893), pp. 43-45; Wilkins Updike, *History of the Narragansett Church* (1847), I. 174; Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-158.

[89] [1] *Boston News Letter,* June 5, 1721. John Menzies, judge of the vice admiralty court in Boston, on July 20, 1721, wrote an account of the events which in all probability led to this sale. Two Whipples, Christopher Almy, and Norton were concerned in a vessel which had been seized by the pirate Roberts off St. Lucia. After six or seven weeks the pirates captured a Dutch vessel, loaded it with sugar, cocoa, and negroes, and sent Norton off to dispose of the cargo. He anchored in Tarpaulin Cove, between Rhode Island and Massachusetts, and here his confederates sent sloops to convey the goods to Providence Plantations. The attention of the customs officers of both Massachusetts and Rhode Island was attracted and that portion of the cargo not already disposed of was seized. *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial,* VI. 135-136.

[2] Cocoa and sugar were also put up for sale under the same conditions.

[3] *News Letter,* June 29, 1721; Jameson, *Privateering and Piracy,* pp. 318-322.

Value, if no Owner appear, (tho' their Charter contains no such Priviledge or grant:) The Judge considering these proceedings to be an unjustifiable incroachment upon His Majesty's Right, and the Authority of the Court and Jurisdiction of Admiralty by him Constitute; as also considering a Publication of Articles or Conditions of sale put up and signed by John Wanton and Nathaniel Kay Esqr; in other Terms than the said Judge had ordained, and whereby they had appointed two parts of the produce to be Lodged in their own hands, and the third to be given to the said Governour, And this, notwithstanding that the Judges Decree as to the Negro's was upon an Information laid by the said Kay in the Court of Admiralty: As also considering that Thomas Flower surveyor and searcher at this Port had refused to deliver supplies of the Cocoa and Sugars condemned to be sold upon a Libel filed at his instance: He the said Judge did Ordain the said Wanton, Kay and Flower to be summoned before him, to answer for their contempt of the said Decrees, and disobeying the Authority and Jurisdiction of His Majesty's said Court; And upon their Non Appearance the Judge Amerced the said Thomas Flower in 10 *l.* Nathaniel Kay in 50 *l.* and John Wanton who persevered in his contempt and threatened the Marshall of Court with Imprisonment for offering to serve the citation against him in the like sum of 50 *l.*

It is also observable, That this Day and the Day preceeding, the Doors of the Court-house were shut up and the Judge of Admiralty denyed access thereunto, unless he would comply with their Acts of Council, which to him appeared a betraying of the trust reposed in him, if he should have complyed therewith, and therefore was obliged to hold the Court elsewhere.[4]

90. Newport Custom-House Entries, 1725-1728.[1]

Date	Master	Voyage
1725, Jan. 7[2]	James Hester	Cleared for Africa
June 24	Clark[3]	Outward bound for Guinea
Sept. 30	Hester	Entered in from Guinea
Dec. 28	Thurston	Cleared for Guinea
1726, Jan. 27	William Barry	Outward bound for Africa
Sept. 22	Thurston	Entered in from Guinea
Nov. 25	"	Outward bound for Africa
1728, Sept. 30	Scott and Malbone[4]	" " " "

[4] The following is the only item in the *R. I. Records* which relates to this controversy: "Ordered, that the committee appointed for the sales of the negroes, and cocoa, and sugar, pay and allow to Lieut.-Col. Wm. Coddington all such reasonable charges and allowance for his time, that he hath spent and taken in securing the same." "Proceedings of the General Assembly, Newport, the 13th day of June, 1721," *R. I. Col. Recs.*, IV. 298.

[90] [1] The last item comes from the *Boston Gazette,* the others are from the *News*

91. Edward Byam to Abraham Redwood, jr., 1727.[1]

Antegoa Augt. the 10th 1727

Sir, . . . This is to advise You that I have Loaden on board of Sloop *Betty,* Daniell Coggeshall[2] Coma. for Your accot . . . two negroes one boy and one Girl . . .

Augt. 20th 1727

	£	12 *s.*
To cloaths for negroes		
. . .		
To Capt. Thos. Tarleton for a negro boy	30	
To Thomas Kerby Esqr. for a negro girle	23	

92. The Voyage of the *Little George,* 1730.[1]

Since our last[2] we have had a more particular Account of the Negroes rising and overcoming Capt. George Scot of Rhode Island, in his return from Guinea, which we have been desired to Insert: And it is as follows, *viz.*

I George Scott, (the Scriber) Master of the Sloop the *Little George,* belonging to Rhode Island; Saild from the Bonnana Islands on the Coast of Guinea, the first of June 1730, having on Board

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Letter. The dates given are those of the issue of the paper. The actual date of the entry is usually a day or two earlier.

[2] "In the fall we expect negroes here directly from Guinea, a vessel having sailed from here [Boston] and one from Rhode Island". Weeden, *Economic and Social History of New England,* II. 456, quoted from the "Amory MSS."

[3] This may be the Jeremiah Clark whose capture by the Spaniards and recapture by pirates had been reported in the *News Letter,* May 16, 1723. Possibly it was also that Jeremiah Clark who arrived from South Carolina with the story that Capt. Richard Duffie of Rhode Island had been taken by the pirate Sprigs, who later gave him not only his liberty but 25 negroes. *Ibid.,* Jan. 28, 1725.

[4] The *Newport Hist. Mag.* (III. 56) prints a painter's bill of 1728, which contains the items: £3 for painting the sloop *Betty,* Matthew Malbone; £16 for painting the *Charming Betty,* George Scott.

[91] [1] Newport Hist. Soc., Redwood Letter-Book, no. 644, pp. 4, 5. The Byam family was a numerous and important one in Antigua. The elder Edward Byam had been president of the Council of Antigua and lieutenant governor of the Leeward Islands. A few months after the date of this letter he was commissioned lieutenant governor of Antigua. The writer of the letter was probably his son Edward, who acted as attorney for Redwood.

Abraham Redwood, sr., born in Bristol, Eng., once the commander of a vessel trading between London and Jamaica, later a planter in Antigua, had removed first to Salem, then to Newport, some years before this. He retained his extensive sugar plantations, and since it is with plantation affairs that many of the letters of this correspondence deal only a few of them have been printed in the Rhode Island material. Abraham Redwood, jr., merchant and philanthropist of Newport, was born in Antigua, educated in Philadelphia, married and settled in Newport. *Newport Hist. Mag.,* I. 7-16; *Commerce of Rhode Island,* I. 1 n.

[2] As Redwood's wife was Martha Coggeshall, Daniel was doubtless a connection of his. In the letter of Apr. 11, 1731, a part of which follows, Nugent writes of loading goods for "your brother-in-law Mr. Coggshell", who, according to the editor of *Commerce of Rhode Island* (I. 16 n.), was David Coggeshall.

[92] [1] *News Letter,* May 6, 1731. The account is signed by George Scott.

[2] The first notice of this disaster appeared in the *News Letter,* Apr. 29, 1731.

Ninety six Slaves (thirty five of which were Men.) On the 6th of said Month at half an hour past four of the Clock in the Morning, being about 100 Leagues distant from the Land, the Men Slaves got off their Irons, and making way thro' the bulkhead of the Deck, killed the Watch consisting of John Harris Doctor, Jonathan Ebens Cooper, and Thomas Ham Sailor; who were, tis thought, all asleep. I being then in my Cabin and hearing a Noise upon Deck (they throwing the Watch overboard) took my Pistol directly, and fired up the Scuttle which was abaft, which made all the Slaves that were loose run forwards except one or two Men (who seemed to laugh at the Cowardice of the rest, and defiance of us, being but 4 Men and a Boy) who laid the Scuttle, and kept us down confin'd in the Cabin, and passing by the Companion to view us, we Shot two Men Slaves.

On so sudden a surprize, we were at a loss what to do, but consulting together, filled two round Bottles with Powder, putting Fuses to them, in order to send them among the Slaves, with a Design at the same instant of Time, to issue out upon them, and either suppress them or loose our Lives; but just as we were putting our design in Execution, one of the Slaves let fall an Ax (either thro' accident or design) which broke the Bottle as Thomas Dickinson was setting fire to the Fuze, and taking fire with a Cagg of Powder, in the Cabin, rais'd up the Deck, blew open the Cabin Doors and Windows, discharged all our fire Arms but one, distroyed our Cloaths and burnt the Man that had the Bottle in his hand in a most miserable manner, and my self with the rest very much hurt thereby.

Upon this unhappy accident, we expected no less than immediate Death, which would have been unavoidable, had they at that Juncture of time, rushed in upon us. And being in this consternation and hopeless, sent up the Boy in order (if possible) to bring them to Terms, but they slighted our Message. And soon after (the Smoke clearing out of the Cabin) we found the other Bottle of Powder which by Providence had not taken fire, and which put new Life and vigour into us, that we were resolved to withstand them to the uttermost; and accordingly Loaded our Arms and Shot several of the Slaves, which occasioned all the Men Slaves to betake themselves to the Quarter Deck, over our Heads. The Slaves then got two Swivel Guns, and filled them almost full with Powder, which they found in the fore Hold, as they were looking for Provisions, and designed to blow the Bulkhead in upon us, which they put fire to several times, but could not get off by reason of wet Weather. We had two Carriage Guns in the Boat, which we expected the Slaves would get out, and therefore watched them very narrowly; but in

a dark Night they effected it, and brought them upon the Quarter Deck; they loaded one of the Guns, and pointed it directly down the Scuttle: we hearing them about the Scuttle and having prepar'd ourselves; so soon as they lifted it up, we Shot the Man dead that pointed the Gun, another of the Slaves standing by clapt a Match to it and fir'd it off, which blew the Scuttle all to pieces and some of the Deck, but did us no Damage. They then took pieces of Boards and laid them over the Scuttle and the Hole they had made in the Deck, and laid the Tarpawlin, with a great Weight upon them to prevent our coming up.

Then they made Sail (as they thought) towards Land and were continually heaving down Billets of Wood, and Water into the Cabin, with intention to Disable us and spoil our small Arms. And the Fourth Day after the Rising made the same Land we departed from, then stood off and on again for 4 or 5 Days more, in which time the Boy being forced by Hunger, run up among the Slaves, who immediately put him in Irons. They made several attempts to come down into the Cabin, but their Courage fail'd them. I then call'd to them to come down to decide the Matter, they answer'd, by and by.

Finding our selves grow very weak, thro' these hardships, and for want of sustenance; we thought it proper before our Strength was quite spent to take some desperate Course. I proposed to cut away the Cieling and bore some Holes thro' the Vessels Bottom, which being approved on, was directly done, and let in about three feet of Water, I then called to the Slaves, and told them, I would drown them all, which frighted them exceedingly: They then sent the Boy to the Cabin Door, to tell us, that they had but just made the Land, and that when they got a little nearer the Shore, they would take the Boat and leave them with the Young Slaves: I told them if they would do that I would not sink her. (My design in letting the Water in, was to force the Vessel on her side that we might get some advantage.) They stood in for the Land about 12 a Clock at Night, struck upon the Bar of Serrilone River, and were in great Danger of being lost. The Vessel being strong beat over the Bar, and they run Ashore about 3 Leagues up the River, on the North Side; being then High Water, and at Seven a Clock the next Morning there was not above a foot of Water along side.

The Natives waded from the Shore with fire Arms, wou'd have fain try'd to overcome us, but were perswaded from it by the Slaves on Board, who told them we should shoot them if they appeared in our Sight. They perswaded the grown Slaves to go Ashore, and drove the Young ones over board and then followed them, making the

Vessel shake at their Departure. Our Boy assuring us the Slaves had all left the Vessel, we immediately went up with our Arms, and saw the Slaves just Ashore. We found our great Guns loaded quite full. And as we hoisted out our Boat, the Natives mustered very thick on the Shore and fired at us divers time. We made what haste we could to the other side of the River, where we Rowed down about two Leagues, and found a Sloop riding in French-man's Bay belonging to Montserat, James Collingwood Commander, where we refreshed our selves, being all of us in a weak and miserable condition, having had nothing to subsist upon, during the Nine Days we were under this Affliction but Raw Rice.

93. Newport Custom-House Entries, 1731-1739.[1]

Date	Master	Voyage
1731, Nov. 15	Perkins[2]	Cleared for Africa
1732, July 17	Wickham	Outward bound for Africa
Aug. 7	Hammond[3]	" " " "
Aug. 21	Scott	" " " "
Sept. 11	Haynes	" " " "
Oct. 30	Knox	Entered in from "
1733, Jan. 29	Brin	Outward bound for "
July 23	Wickham	" " " "
Aug. 20	Scott, Hammond	" " " "
" "	Godfrey	Cleared " "
Sept. 10	Cahoone	" " "
Dec. 11	Wickham	" " "
1734, July 8	Mumford	" " "
Aug. 26	Godfrey	" " "
Oct. 14	Scott	" " "
1736, Jan. 2	Hammond[4]	" " "
1739, Mar. 12	Malbone, Wickham	Outward bound " "
July 2	Potter	Entered in from Africa
" "	Wickham	Cleared for Africa
Dec. 17	Eldred	Outward bound for "

94. Walter Nugent to Abraham Redwood, 1731.[1]

Antigua, April the 11th, 1731.

Worthy Sir, . . . I send you two Negroes; if you like them

[93] [1] The entries are from the *Weekly Rehearsal,* the dates being those of the issue of the paper, not of the customs entries.

[2] News reached Newport in October, 1732, that Captain Perkins had been killed on the coast on Apr. 27, 1732, in a negro uprising on his vessel (*Weekly Rehearsal,* Oct. 30, 1732; *News Letter,* Oct. 27, Nov. 2. 1732; *South Carolina Gazette,* Dec. 9, 1732). Items concerned with the slave trade were copied from paper to paper in the colonies, so that whatever information reached America from Africa was thoroughly disseminated.

[3] "We hear from the West Indies, that Capt. Hammond in a Sloop (belonging to Capt. Malbone of Rhode Island) in his Passage from Guinea to Barbados, having on board 55 fine Slaves in Lat. 9 Long. 37 was over set and all the Slaves Drowned, the Capt. with 8 Men, after being 6 Days in their Boat, 3 Days of which without Victuals and Drink, got safe to the West Indies." *News Letter,* Mar. 6, 1740.

[4] The items which follow are from the *Boston Gazette.*

[94] [1] Mass. Hist. Soc., Wetmore Papers, vol. I.; *Commerce of R. I.,* I. 15-16. Nugent was at this time an applicant for the management of Redwood's Antigua plantation (*Commerce of R. I.,* I. 10, 21). On Apr. 4, 1729, William Hillhouse of Antigua sent Redwood a negro in disgrace for bad conduct but promising amendment. *Ibid.,* I. 6.

keep them and give my Account credit for what you think they are worth. the Negroe man is a Peice of a Saylor and a fine Papa Slave,[2] cost thirty pounds Sterling out of the Ship. The Negroe woman is a fine Slave. [I] had another which is a better washer, but Suspected somthing I entended against her, on which Shee's given us the Slip this morning, but hope to have her againe before Pope[3] sailes. note, this woman I now send I bought her from One John Wilson, and paid him forty-five pounds Cash. I now understand his Title is not good, and am advised to ship her off. if you Like her I will Warrant her to you. . . .

95. Order of the General Assembly, June, 1731.[1]

Whereas, James Cranston, naval officer of the colony, has set forth to this Assembly, that near a twelve-month since, one Mr. Royall imported into this colony forty-five negroes, on which there was a duty of £3 per head, and not long after, sixteen of said negroes were transported into the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, where there is a duty payable also; and prayed for directions how to proceed in said affair.

Upon consideration whereof, it is voted and ordered, that the duty to this colony of the said sixteen negroes transported into the Massachusetts Bay, as aforesaid, be taken off and remitted; but that he collect the duty of the other twenty-nine.[2]

96. Act of the General Assembly, May, 1732.[1]

Whereas, there was an act made and passed by the General Assembly at their session, held at Newport, the 27th day of February, 1711, entitled "An act for laying a duty on negro slaves that shall be imported into this colony," and this Assembly being directed by His Majesty's instructions to repeal the same;

Therefore, be it enacted by the General Assembly, and by the authority of the same it is enacted, that the said act, and every clause

[2] The inhabitants of Great and Little Popo or Papaw, in the kingdom of Ardra on the Slave Coast, were called by the English Papaws. They are described by Bryan Edwards as "the most docile and best-disposed Slaves" brought from Africa. Edwards, *History of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (1794), II. 73-74.

[3] Capt. Francis Pope, at this time master of Redwood's sloop *Abraham and Jonah,* frequently appears in the Redwood letters. See *Commerce of R. I.,* I. 16, 31, 35, 37, 41.

[95] [1] "Proceedings of the General Assembly held at Newport, the second Monday in June, 1731", *R. I. Col. Recs.,* IV. 454.

[2] The Massachusetts duty was £4. See *ante,* no. 38.

[96] [1] "Proceedings of the General Assembly, held at Newport, the first Wednesday in May, 1732," *R. I. Col. Recs.,* IV. 471.

and article therein contained, be, and it is hereby repealed, made null and void, and of none effect for the future.[2]

97. Accounts from an African Trade-Book, 1733-1736.[1]

			£	s.	d.
		Bought 6 Slaves and Mer.			
		No. 1. A Man for 30 rum[2]	20		
		2. Do for 30 rum	20		
		3. Do for 30 rum			
		4. a Man boy 80 rum			
		5. a Woman 80 Do			
		6. a Girl 60			
		Galenas May the 6 [1733]			
		No. 7. a boy ⎫ for 108 gals rum			
		8. a Do ⎭ and 25 of Sugar [*torn*]			
		No. 9. a Man for 80 gals of r[um]			
		Bartered with Hallebur B.			
		28 gals at 3/9 21			
		10 at 5/ 10			
		1 barr'l Tar 6			
		37 bars[3]	9		
				5	

[2] There seems to be no evidence that this act of repeal encountered any objection on the part of the colony. Her ready compliance with the royal instructions was later cited as a proof of merit by James Martin, secretary of Rhode Island, in a letter to Richard Partridge, colonial agent: Sept. 6, 1734, "This Colony always paid a due Deference and Regard to any Orders and Instructions either from his Majesty or the Board of Trade And did imediately upon Receipt of an Order from that Board repeal an Act for laying a Duty upon Slaves imported here" (Gertrude S. Kimball, *Correspondence of the Colonial Governors of Rhode Island,* I. 63-64). The prompt repeal of the duty is also referred to by the governor on Dec. 1, 1735, in response to a question from the Board of Trade, when he wrote: "We had only a Duty of £3 per head on Negroes imported from the West Indies (and then exempted therefrom All directly from Africa) Which Act was immediately repealed upon the receipt of an Order from Your Hon'ble Board" (*ibid.,* I. 73). It is entirely probable that it was by this time obvious, both to the Rhode Island merchants dealing in slaves and to those interested in the revenues of the colony, that importation into Rhode Island was, and would continue to be, inconsiderable and that the repeal of the duty act was a matter of small consequence. Johnston's implication that an increase in trade resulted from the repeal can hardly be supported by the evidence which he cites. When Governor Hopkins wrote of eighteen vessels annually sent to the coast he was not referring to the trade into Rhode Island alone but to those vessels which carried negroes to the West Indies as well, a point which Johnston does not make clear ("Slavery in Rhode Island," R. I. Hist. Soc., *Pubs.,* new ser., II. 124). It is however true that the increase in the negro population of Rhode Island between 1730 and 1748 was surprisingly large. In 1730 there were 1648 blacks, in 1748, 3077. Updike calls attention to the fact that the enumeration for 1730 did not include the towns east of the bay, a fact which would account for part of the increase. Updike, *Narragansett Church,* I. 169.

[97] [1] For the accounts which follow the editor is indebted to Professor B. M. Bigelow, of Brown University, who came upon them among miscellaneous papers in the Newport Historical Society. They are apparently sheets from a trade-book, possibly made up some years after the trade, since items of 1740 and 1741 appear along with those of 1733 and 1736. Some of these items seem to have little to do with the slave trade. The editor has taken the liberty of arranging the entries in so far as it was possible according to date. On a separate sheet, not here printed, the item "To what Expended on the Snow *Unity*" appears once or twice but it is not clear that the trade here described is that of the *Unity*.

[2] The surmise of the editor is that the "30" should in each case be 80.

[3] The name Joseph Scott is written several times across these accounts.

			£	*s.*	*d.*
		Received from him			
		24 2 lb basons 12			
		2 ps niconess 8			
		1 ps blue baft 6			
		1 ps of Do 6			
		1 Compass 5			
		37 bars	9	5	
		No. 10 a Man bought of Joshua Lincok for 50 bars			
		36 lb. of Teeth 12			
		18 lb. of Scraveloes[4] 3			
		65			
		pd him for the above goods and Slave			
		1 ps of blue baft 6			
		2 [*illegible*] 8			
		1 qt of powder 6			
		1 p Silk [*illegible*] 6			
		9 Iron bars 9			
		25 lb of Sugar 5			
		33 gal of rum 24	16		
		Tabo Canee			
		No. 11 a Man			
		3 Guns 12			
		2¼ barl Powder 16			
		1 ps Chelloes 5			
		blue bunting 5			
		Tabocanee May the 15th 1733.			
		Bars			
		No. 12 a Man			
		3 Guns 12			
		1 ps blue Baft 8			
		1 ps and ½ of blue bunting 9			
		2 Quarter Barrls Powder 16			
		2 4 lb basons 2			
		2 2 lb basons 1			
		2 Cags rum 8			
		1 Iron bar 1			
		57 Bars			
10th		Bought two tons and half of rice for the following goods:			
		11 Quarter barls of Powder 88			
		20 4 lb basons 20			
		34 2 lb basons 16			
		9 Iron bars 9			
17		2 ps of Niconess 10			
		1 ps Tapseals 8			
		½ ps of Photees 4			
		3 ps of bunting 18			
		93 bars			
		[173]			

[4] The term scrivello was applied to an elephant's tusk weighing less than twenty pounds.

			£	s.	d.
		River Sestors May the 26th			
		Custom to the King			
		1 Cag of Rum 5			
		2 Iron bars 2			
		pd. for Wood the following Goods			
		1 peice and half of blue linnen 9			
		1 Iron bar 1			
		10			
		Anamabo June the 8th 1733			
		paid the Customs 34			
		to Anamabo			
		to Agar			
		to little Cormantine			
		to great Cormantine			
		to Anashan			
		34			
June	8th	No. 13 a Man 32 *l.*			
		4 2 lb basons 2			
		2 ¼ barls. of Powder 16			
		1 ps of Purpits 5			
		105 gallons of Rum 105			
		128	32		
		No. 14 a large Girl 22 *l.*			
		barls of Powder			
		[c]helloe			
		57 gals of Rum			
		ps. purpets			
		[5]. . . .			
		Anamabo June the 9th 1733			
		No. 15 A Man boy 30 *l.* A			
		1 ps blue Baft 8			
		2¼ barrels of Powder 16			
		1 ps Sleties 2½			
		93 gallons of rum 93			
		3 lb of Sugar ½			
		120	30		

[5] The following entries are here omitted: "Anamabo June the 9th 1733. Jonathan Nichols Dr.

	£		
"To 95 gall's Moll. at 7/6 pr gall	35	12	6
To 13 bbls of Flour wt. Nt. 23C 13l. at 40 *s.*	47	8	3
To Your Note hand for £80 Cash the 5th of April 1742— the 15th of June 1743	92	2	9
	175	3	6
	47	8	3
	£127	15	3"

"Newport Rhode Island June 24th 1734 Received of Joseph Scott Two hogshead of Rum containing Two Hundred and Twenty three gallons which I promise to dispose of for sd Scott clear of Charge and invest the Nt Proceeds etc such goods as I think will be most to his advantage. As Witness My Hand Nathan Bull."

			£	*s.*	*d.*
	No. 16 a Woman 24 *l.*				
	4¼ barrels powder	32			
	1 ps of blue Baft	8			
	2 ps Chelloes	10			
	2 Sheets	2			
	2 Blankets	2			
	42 gallons of rum	42			
		96	24		
10th	No. 17 A Man 32 *l.*				
	32 Ackys Crocran	32			
	2½ barls of Powder	16			
	1 ps of blue Bafts	8			
	20 Iron bars	20			
	1 green purpet	5			
	47 galls of Rum	47			
		128	32		
	No. 18 A Woman 24 *l.*				
	96 gallons of rum	96	24		
	No. 19 A Man 32 *l.*				
	4 Acky's crocran	40			
	1¼ barls of powder	8			
	1 ps of blue Bafts	8			
	72 gallons of rum	72			
		128	32		
11th	No. 20 A Boy 23 *l.*				
	1¼ barrell of Powder	8			
	84 gallons of Rum	84			
		92	23		
	No. 21 a Man 32 *l.*				
	1 ps blue Baft	8			
	120 gallons of rum	120			
		128	32		
	No. 22 A Man boy 25 *l.* 10 *s.*				
	1¼ barl of Powder	9			
	6 Acky's crocran	6			
	89 gallons of rum	89			
		104	32		
	. . . .		[25	10]	
	ANAMABO August the 1st 1733				
	No. 92 a Woman 21 *l.*				
	84 gallons of rum	84	21		
2nd	No. 93 a Woman 24 *l.*				
	1 Cag tallow	3			
	1½ ps of calico	5			
	1 ps purpets	5			
	30 Acky's crocran	30			
	53 gallons of rum	53			
		96	24		

				£	*s.*	*d.*
3d	No. 94 a boy	26 *l.* 10				
	2 oz crocran		32			
	8 Sheets		8			
	1 Cag of tallow		3			
	63 gallons of rum		63			
			106	26	10	
4th	No. 95 a woman	24 *l.*				
	1 ps of cuslees		5			
	1 ps of French Stripe		4			
	5 Acky's crocran		5			
	82 gallons of rum		82			
			96	24		
8th	No. 96 Man	32 *l.* 10 *s.*				
	3 Carpets		6			
	1 Blankit		1			
	5 Sheets		5			
	1¼ barl powder		8			
	2 bunches of Beeds		2			
	6 lb of Sugar		1			
	3 oz crocran		48			
	(pd. one Cag tallow in part of the crocran)					
	59 gallons of rum		59			
			130	32	10	
	Bought of Thomas Dickinson 19 Slaves [nos. 97–115, 3 men, 3 men boys, 13 women] for 1704 gall. rum £426 and 36 bars Iron.					
	ANAMABO August the 9th 1733					
	No. 116 a Boy	22 *l.*				
	88 galls of rum		88			
	No. 117 a Woman	21 *l.*				
	3 Small purpits		9			
	75 gallons of rum		75			
			84			
	No. 118 a Man	33 *l.*				
	3 ps blue bunting		12			
	1¼ brl powder		8			
	4 Sheets		4			
	1 ps of ½ Says		8			
	48 gallons rum		48			
	52 Do Do		52			
			132	33		
	No. 119 a Girl	£12:10				
	50 galls of rum		50	12	10	
	Paid my Gold Taker					

	ANAMABOE 1736	oz.	A.	*Oz.*	*Acky*
August 18th No. 1	A Boy				
	24 Ancors rum	6		6	
19th No. 2	A Woman				
	19 Ancors rum	4	12	4	12

	Anamaboe 1736			Oz.	Acky
No. 3	A Woman				
	22 Ancors rum	5	8	5	8
No. 4	A Woman				
	2 quarters barl powder	1			
	18 Ancors rum	4	8		
		5	8	5	8
29th					
No. 5	A Woman				
	20 Ancors rum	5		5	
No. 6	A Woman				
	1 qr bb Powdr		8		
	18 ancors rum	4	8		
		5		5	
No. 7	A Man				
	26 Ancors Rum	6	8	6	8
No. 8	A Boy				
	18 Ancors Rum	4	8	4	8
No. 9	A Boy				
	13 Ancors Rum	3	4	3	4
No. 10	A Girl				
	2 qr bb Powder	1			
	12 Ancors rum	3		4	
No. 11	A Boy				
	2 bb Flower				
No. 12	A Man				
	1 qr bb Powder		8		
	26 Ancors rum	6	8		
		7		7	
8th					
No. 13	A Man				
	1 bender booges	2			
	5 Iron bars		8		
	18 Ancors Rum	4	8		
		oz. 7		7	
	. . . . . [6]				
15th					
No. 18	A Man boy				
	2 qr bb Powder	1			
	2 Iron bars		3		
	4 purpits	1	4		
	17 An: 1 gall: rum	4	5		
		oz. 6	12	6	12

[6] Purchases 14 to 17 were two men, at 7 oz. each, one boy at 5 oz., and one girl at 4 oz. 6 ac.; nos. 19 to 22 were three women at 5 oz. each, and one boy at 3 oz. 2 ac.; nos. 23 to 39 included five men, four of them at 7 oz. each, one at 7 oz. 4 ac., three women, each with a child, at 5 oz. 8 ac., 5 oz. 12 ac., and 5 oz., respectively, three women, two at 5 oz., one at 5 oz. 4 ac., one girl at 3 oz. 15 ac., four boys, at 5 oz. 4 ac., 5 oz. 8 ac., 6 oz., and 6. oz. 8 ac., and one man boy at 6 oz., 4 ac.

	Anamaboe 1736			Oz.	*Acky*
21st	Sold Capt. John Watkins 7 Slaves 5 large boys 1 Woman 1 Girl for £137 or Recd. the following goods				
		oz.	A.		
	Viz. 50 ps Purpits at 5A	15	10		
	4 long Ells	4			
	8 half Ells	4			
	2 whole Says	2			
	4 half Says	2			
	4 ps b [*illegible*] and D Callicoes	2			
	4 p blue bafts	2			
	3 p Cott: Romals		15		
	3 p Challaes	1	2		
	4 cags Tallow		12		
		—	—	34	7
	. . . .	oz. 34	7		
Octr the 5th	Sold Capt. John Watkins 3 Slaves 2 Women and 1 Boy Recd. the following goods				
	Viz. 4 long Ells	4			
	1 half bb Powder	1			
	30 Purpits	9	6		
	1 cag Tallow		3		
		—	—		
	. . . .	oz. 14	9	14	9
Novr. the 4th	Sold Capt. John Blackinridge 5 Men 1 boy and 1 Girl for			44	4
	Recd. the following goods				
	Viz. 77 perpets	24	1		
	4 Long Ells	4	1		
	4 half Ells	2			
	1 Chest Sheets qt 65	4			
	10 Cags Tallow	1	14		
	9 Blue Bafts	5	10		
	2 pr Seernickers	1			
	2 Callicoes	1			
	1 Gingham		8		
	3 blankets		8		
		—	—		
	[7]. . . .	oz. 44	4		
Nov 12th	Sold Capt. John Watkins 2 Men 9 Women 1 Girl for			64	
	Recd. the following Goods				
	Viz. 108 perpetts	33	12		
	29 half Ells	14	8		
	1 Ell	1			
	12 Half Says	6			
	2 W. Says	2			
	20 Cags Tallow	3	12		
	3 cott Stripes		15		
	4 Chelloes	1	8		
	by so much overpaid in the slaves sold before		9		
		—	—		
	[8]. . . .	oz. 64			

[7] Nos. 40 to 50 were five men, four at 7 oz., one at 7 oz. 2 ac., three women, at 5 oz. each, two girls, one at 4 oz., one at 4 oz. 8 ac., one boy at 5 oz.

[8] Nos. 51 to 75 included four men, three at 7 oz. each, one at 6 oz. 12 ac., ten women, at 5 oz. each, seven boys at prices ranging from 4 oz. 8 ac. to 6 oz., three men boys, at 6 oz., 6 oz. 12 ac., and 7 oz., and one girl at 4 oz. 12 ac. Nos. 76 to 111 included fifteen men, at 7 oz. each, ten women, one at 4 oz. 12 ac., the remainder at 5 oz., one large boy at 6 oz. 4 ac., four boys at from 4 oz. to 4 oz. 8 ac., a man and a boy for 13 oz. 6 ac., one man boy for 7 oz., two girls at 7 oz. each and one at 4 oz. The total purchases here recorded are 111.

	Anamaboe 1736			Oz.	*Acky*
		oz.	A.		
Nov. 24th	Sold Capt. Hammond 4 Women for			20	8
	Recd. the following goods				
	Viz. 16 perpets	5			
	7 half Says	3	8		
	3 half Ells	1	8		
	1 ps Niconee		5		
	4 qr bb powder	2			
	14 Sheets		14		
	2 paper Sleties		5		
	112 galls rum	7			
		oz. 20	8		

98. James Brown to ——, 1736.[1]

S'r, I Understand by Capt. Mitchel that you had some thoughts of going in my Vessel to Guinia, and these are to Informe you that if you have, I would have you come up as soon as you can in Order that we may Agree upon the Voiage, we want some body that is Acquainted in Sheathing of Vessells, and if you can bring such a man up with you I shall be glad, provided you come in a day or two, I design to begin to grave her to-morrow but we have nobody here that is acquainted with that work.

99. John Cahoone, jr., to Stephen Ayrault (?), 1736.[1]

Anamabo, Octobr the 27th, 1736.

Sir, After My Respects to you: these may Inform how it is with me at present. I bles god I Injoy my health very well as yett: but am like to have a long and trublesom Voyge of it, for there never was so much Rum on the Coast at one time before, Nor the Like of the

[98] [1] R. I. Hist. Soc., Letter-Book of James Brown, 1735-1739. This is an undated fragment, without superscription, placed between letters of Mar. 28, and Apr. 6, 1736. On Apr. 9 Brown wrote to a Mr. Marcy that he could spare no more rum, since he was himself fitting out a vessel with rum. The reference in the two letters is undoubtedly to the *Mary,* which sailed for Africa in 1736, with John Godfrey as captain and Obadiah Brown as supercargo (see Gertrude S. Kimball, *Providence in Colonial Times,* 1912, pp. 245-248; also, *post,* no. 101). James and Obadiah Brown, brothers, were in business together at this time. After the death of James in 1739 Obadiah carried on the business, first alone, then with the four sons of James—Nicholas, Joseph, John, and Moses.

[99] [1] *Commerce of R. I.,* I. 46-47. G. C. Mason, in "The African Slave Trade in Colonial Times" (*Am. Hist. Rec.,* I. 312), substituted the name John Griffin for that of the writer of this letter. The group of Newport captains engaged in the slave trade before the Revolution, to which Cahoone belonged, was superior to many of the men concerned in this traffic. Most of them were members of the Fellowship Club of Newport, the rules of which precluded gaming, drunkenness, quarrelling, and all oaths. To this society they contributed 6 *d.* for each month of a successful voyage and received aid after an unsuccessful one. Among the members are found: Abraham All, Charles Bardine, Peleg Clarke, John Jepson, Thomas Carpenter, Caleb Gardner, Jeremiah Clarke, William English, Peter Dordin, James Duncan, George Champlin, and six members of the Wanton family. *Newport Hist. Mag.,* IV. 163-177.

french shipen[2] never seen before for no. for the hole Coast is full of them. for my part I can give no guess when I shall get away, for I purchest but 27 Slaves since I have bin hear, for Slaves is Very Scarce. we have had Nineteen sail of us at one time in the Rhoad: so that these ships that are said to Cary prime Slaves off is now forced to take any that Comes. heair is 7 sail of us Rume men[3] that we are Ready to Devur one another; for our Case is Despart: So, I begg that you will exist my family in what they shall want for I no not when I shall git home: to them myself. I have had the misfortune to Bury my Chefe Mate on the 21st of September, and one man more; and lost the Negro man, primus, and Adam Over board on my pasedge one three weeks after another: that makes me now Very weak handed: for out of what is left theair is two that is good for nothing. Cap Hamond hath bin heair six months and has but 60 Slaves on bord. my harty service to yr Spouse and family.

. . .

This day we are Informed Capt Handy heth cast away his Sconer to windward.

100. Vessels of Godfrey Malbone, 1737-1738.[1]

Newport, Rhode Island, February 21 [1737].

We are also inform'd from Guinea by the way of the West-Indies, That the Scooner *Haddock,* belonging to Capt. Godfrey Malbone of New-Port, was over-set and intirely lost, having on board Eight Slaves and a Quantity of Gold Dust; one Aldridge Master and all his Hands only saved.

Rhode Island, June 2 [1738].

By a private Letter from the West Indies, to a Gentleman here, we are inform'd, That a very fine Sloop belonging to Capt. Godfrey Malbone of this Place was totally consum'd by the Lightning on the Coast of Guinea, with a great many Negroes on board. Capt. Caleb Godfrey, Commander, and his Company saved their Lives by taking to the Long Boat.

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[2] The French were at this time not only making inroads on the English trade in the region of the Gambia River, where the two nations were always rivals, but were attempting to gain a foothold on the Gold Coast, probably in order to meet the needs of Louisiana and their Sugar Colonies. Of any move which suggested French aggrandizement in Africa or in the West Indies the English were instantly suspicious. Adam Anderson, *Origins of Commerce* (Dublin, 1790), III. 483.

[3] The New England traders. They alone made rum the staple for trade on the West Coast, though later in the century the term was occasionally used to include any West India captain who carried rum as his major commodity.

[100] [1] *News Letter,* Mar. 3, 1737, June 8, 1738. Godfrey Malbone, of Virginia birth, was a picturesque privateer and slave trader of Newport for more than twenty years. Redwood purchased a negro from him on Oct. 29, 1733, paying £90 (Wetmore Papers, vol. 1). Edward Peterson tells that on one occasion a slaver owned by Godfrey and John Malbone was attacked by pirates, whereupon the captain offered freedom to all the slaves who would join in defending the vessel. The enemy was repulsed, and the freed slaves settled on the Malbone estate in Pomfret, Conn. *History of Rhode Island* (1853), p. 103.

101. Accounts of James and Obadiah Brown, 1737.[1]

	Dr. Obadiah Browne	£	*s.*	*d.*
1737	To his 8th part of Gibbs the Bakers bill in 1736 for Sundries to the Sloop *Mary* amounting to £41.6.0	5	3	
	To his 8th part of his portledge bill too and from Guinia amounting to £599.17.0	74	19	9
	To 15 Months interest of £38. 0*s.* 7*d.* (at 2*s.* p pound p annum) being the 8th part of £304. 5 remaining due for her Outsetts when she Saild to Guinea	4	15	
	To his 8th part of the remainder of her Outsetts last Voiage and her Outsetts and Cargoe this present Voiage all amountg to £1052. 7*s.* 5½*d.*	131	11	11
June 25th	To 1080 pounds of Coffee Sold to Mr. Metcalf at 3/7 p.	193	10	
	To 574 pounds of ditto Sold to ditto, being part of the *Rainbows* Cargo	102	16	10
	To an over Charge in the ozenbriggs of 27 pieces of Eight in the W. Indies allowing each piece at 24*s.* N. E. Currency[2]	32	18	
	To his 8th part of his own Charge and disbursements on said Sloop the whole amounting to £113. 6. 6 as per his Acct. amounting to in his Book	14	3	3
	To his 8th part of Cap. Godfries[3] bill for Clearing out Collecters fees and other Charges all amounting to £9. 4. 4 as per his Acct. in his Book	1	3	
	To the ballance of his Separate Accounts as in Ledger C folio (90)	189	19	1
	To getting the wavels out of the Corne		5	
	To Storeage of Sundries since the Sloop came from Guinia £5 to his 8th part of it	9	12	6
	To Storeage of her old Sails and Wharffage of her boom and windless £1. 15 his 8th part of it	9	4	3
	To cloths and sundry Expences and Disbursements for Jacob Nete £28. 15 the one halfe	14	17	6
		£765	19	1
	Cr.			
	By his 8th part of 4 bolts of Ozenbriggs qt 453 Ells at 4*s.* per amounts to £90 12*s.*	11	6	
	By his 8th part of 11 bolts of duck at £13 per is £143	17	15	
	By his 8th part of 727 bushells of Salt at 4 per amounts to £145. 8	18	2	2
	By his 8th part of Cordage as per Invoice dutch wt 2822 lbs. and English gross wt 26 2. 16 lbs at £8. per the whole amounting to £213. 2. 10	26	12	10

[101] [1] "Accounts of the Sloop *Mary* on her return from Guinea," R. I. Hist. Soc., Moses Brown Papers, Misc., I. 2. A part of the slaves brought from Africa by the *Mary* were probably sold in the West Indies; three, valued at £120, were brought to Providence. On May 26, 1737, James Brown wrote to an unknown correspondent: "if I Remember Rite you deziared me to right you a few Lines at the Arivol of my Gineman. Theas may informe you that she is Arived and you may have A slave if you Cum or send Befoar they are Gon." Kimball, *Providence in Colonial Times,* p. 248.

[2] In 1738 the ratio of Rhode Island currency to sterling was 4 to 1.

[3] Capt. John Godfrey sailed again for Africa in the fall of 1737, this time in the *Olive Branch,* probably belonging to the Vernons. Newport Hist. Soc., William Vernon Letter-Book, no. 79.

		£	s.	d.
1737	By his 8th part of £60 for a Negroe woman thats gone to the Bay	7	10	
	By his 8th part of two Small Slaves one boy and one girle £60	7	10	
	By his 8th part of £77 for a Chest of guns and 2 p. pistells	9	12	6
	By his 8th part of £12. 5. 6 for a barrel of Sugar gone in sd Sloop	1	10	8
	By Cash of Mr. Metcalfe	50		
	By his 8th part of what properly belonged to her before she Sail'd per Agreement and now is in my possession	7		
	By 1080 pounds of Coffee his 8th part of it	24	3	9
	By his 8th part of some Corne and part of a barrel of Sugar 12*s.* 6*d.*	1	2	6
	By his 8th part of Empty hhds.	1	10	
	By one halfe of three Months work of Jacob Nete at £5 per Mo from the first of March to the last of May 1736	7	10	0
	To 1737 James Browne			
	By the remainder part of his wages on board said sloop *Mary* too and from Guinia as per portledge bill	64	16	0
	By his Acct. of Charges and disbursements as per his Acct. in his Book	113	6	6
	By 1/8th Interest of £26. 5. 0*d.* for 15 months at 2*s.* per annum per pound for Sundries before he saild for Guinia	2	17	2
	By his 8th part of the freight of a Slave being 60	7	6	
	By his 8th part of 74 Tearses of Rhum qt 4168 gall's at 6*s.* per gal. amounting to £1250 8*s.* 6*d.*	156	6	
	By his 8th part of 25 barrels of powder at 12 per bb amounting to £300	37	10	
July	By Cash he recd. of Peleg Browne not good that he said he recd of me, and gave him good money for it.	2		
the 12th	By pork to Solomon Rutenbarge	3	4	6
	By his Guinia Commissions on three Slaves that he brought home being £120[4]	4	11	8
	By two days work about said Sloop since she came home at 8*s.* per	16		
	By his 8th part of £8. 16 for 44 lbs of Coffee, he bot himselfe	1	2	
	By five Week more Work at £5 per month of Jacob Nete £6. 26 the one half	3	1	3
	By his Wages on board the Schooner *Ann* Sam: Gorton Master £17. 2. 10 the one halfe,	8	1	
		589	15	5
Sept. 8th	By ballance due to James Browne[5]	67	6	3
		£765	19	1

[4] These were not the only negroes brought into Rhode Island about this time. "To be Sold by Jonah Bayley of Newport on Rhode Island, several Negros, *viz.* Men, Women and Boys, who have been in the Country Three Years, and us'd to the Country Business." *News Letter,* Mar. 20, 1740.

[5] In a letter of Nov. 22, 1736, James Brown referred to his "Guineaman's Doctor's bill" as £18 5 21. R. I. Hist. Soc., Letter-Book of James Brown.

102. David Chesebrough to Abraham Redwood (?), 1738.[1]

Newport Feb. 27th 1737/8.

My dear friend, I have wrote you Several letters lately and very largely about all your affairs so have now but little to add especially since I have wrote you and Colo Tessalissour [?] in Company relateing your Snow *Martha and Jane* and Inclosed all her accounts in said letter. I have to the Utmost of my power Endeavoured to fit her in the best and Cheapest manner I Could but her Charge notwithstanding Runs high. I must as a Sincere friend tell you I wish you were Clear of her She is an Unlucky Changable Beast She has never got you any thing and I am afraid She never will and if my advice is worthy of your Notice I would not Send her another Guinea Voyage for by frequent advices from thence there is no prospect of makeing a Voyage I Should much reather if I might have my Choice that you would Load her of your Plantation and Com home in her your Self. I firmly believe it would be to your advantage. . . .

103. Francis Wilks and Zachariah Bourryau to Abraham Redwood, 1740.[1]

London, 25th Jany 1739/40.

Sir, . . . The foregoing is Copy of our last, since which we had your favour of the 22d Augt. pursuant to which we made 1000 Insurance for your Accot on the Snow *Martha and Jane*, Francis Pope, at and from Rhode Isl'd to Africa West Indies and Rhode Island as £13 pCt. which was the best terms I could get it done.[2] . . .

104. Abraham Redwood (?) to James Woodcock, 1740.[1]

Newport on Rhode Island April 4th 1740.

Dear Friend, . . . I took some pains in the Affair, shewd the goods to several Persons, one of whom was Capt: Mallbone, the most considerable Trader of any here to the Coast of Guinea . . . the highest he offered for them was 430 per Ct, [?] he said it

[102] [1] Newport Hist. Soc., Lopez Letter-Book, no. 621, p. 1. The presence of this letter in the Lopez Letter-Book would indicate that it was written to Aaron Lopez, and it is thus listed in the index, yet this can hardly be the case. Lopez did not come to Newport until 1752, which makes it highly improbable that any Newport merchant should in 1738 urge him to "come home." The fact that Redwood owned a West Indian plantation, the produce of which could be loaded for Rhode Island, and that he possessed a *Martha and Jane* makes it reasonable to surmise that the letter was written to him, though its presence in the Lopez Letter-Book goes unexplained.

[103] [1] Newport Hist. Soc., Redwood Letter-Book, no. 644, p. 66. Francis Wilks was the London agent for Massachusetts; Bourryau was a London merchant whose family had settled in St. Christopher. Jameson, *Privateering and Piracy,* pp. 449, 450 n.

[2] On May 14, 1741, the *Martha and Jane* was sold to Coleman and Sparhawk of Boston for £1000. Redwood Letter-Book, no. 645.

[104] [1] Redwood Letter-Book, no. 644, p. 68. An unsigned letter, probably from Redwood.

was not a proper Sortment, and that some of the Goods were charged too high 15 per Ct. I tried our other Traders to Guinea, who made the same Objections that Capt. Mallbone had done and some of them said the Goods looked as if they had been already on the Coast. . . .

105. Captain Francis Pope to Abraham Redwood, 1740.[1]

Antigua May 24 day 1740.

D'r Sir, I wrote to these few Lines that I have discharged the most Part of my People and the second mate being sick I discharged him to come home and paid Sum of them hear and Sir I have drawe orders upon you to Pay the Second mate sixty five pounds four shillings and the Carpenter seventeen pounds thirteen shilling and eigh[t] pence Rhoad island Currancy [2] which I hope you will except the order and Pay them for I think to keep as few men as Possable for tis to your advantage and wee have nineteen slaves unsold but hope to sell them in a very Little time.[3] . . .

106. Captain George Scott to ——, 1740.[1]

June the 13th 1740 At Sea Latt. 8 30 N.,
Long. 39 30 W.

Gentlemen, Meeting with this oppertunity I was very glad to acquaint you of our Miserable voyage. We left Anamabo the 8th of May, with most of our people and Slaves Sick, we have Lost 29 Slaves, our purchase was 129. My Negro Bonner is Deed, the Slaves we have Left is now I think all recovered. We have five thats Swell'd and how it will be with them I cant tell, we have one-third of dry Cargo Left, and two hhgs. rum, if I had Staid there to a sold I believe we should [have] Lost all our Slaves. I think to

[105] [1] Redwood Letter-Book, no. 644, p. 71. On Feb. 7, 1739, William Byam, either cousin or nephew of Edward, wrote to Redwood that Gold Coast negroes were in demand and that if Captain Pope should arrive before long he would do very well with his cargo. *Ibid.,* p. 61.

[2] At the beginning of the century the equivalent of one ounce of silver was about 8 *s.*, by 1730 it was about 20 *s.*, and by 1740, 27 *s.* Redwood was one of the group of Rhode Island merchants who had in 1732 opposed further currency issues. Richman, *Rhode Island,* pp. 71-72.

[3] On June 8 and 29 there are letters to Redwood, apparently from Pope, in which there is mention of various misfortunes connected with his arrival in Antigua, but no reference to his cargo. On July 14 he wrote that he had taken on a cargo of rum and sugar, probably from Redwood's own plantation, and was about to sail for Newport.

[106] [1] R. I. Hist. Soc., G. C. Mason, *Reminiscences,* III. 218. The letter bears no endorsement of any kind. With some changes it was printed in Mason's "African Slave Trade" (*Am. Hist. Rec.,* I. 317). On Apr. 9, 1740, Captain Scott had written to his brother Daniel from Anamabo that he had on board 60 men, 20 women, and some boys and girls. He had not yet decided whether to carry the cargo to Jamaica or Virginia. *Ibid.,* I. 342-343.

proceed for Antigo and fitt the Sloop and take the other trial on the coast, it will not doe to give out for one bad bout. If i goe directly back I'll sell the rum for gold if i gitt but twenty pence a gallon for it before i'll by slaves, the slaves thats Died I blieve there was none above twenty two years old and none under fourteen. I have sent by Capt. Lindsey Sixteen Ounces of gold, wich is all. I wrote you by Capt. Kinecutt who saild the 10th April, I have repented a hundred times the bying of them dry goods, had we Layed out two Thousand pound in rum bread and flower, it would purchased more in value then all our dry goods. I have paid a great part of the wages. My Serviss to all Freinds, pray Excuse all blunders for I am now aboard Capt. Lindsey and in haste to gitt aboard.

P. S. If I cant sell at Antego, so as I think is a good price I'll go to Jamico. G. S.

Capt. Eldred Shipt by me four Ounces gold wich I have sent by Capt. Lindsey to Mr. Ayrault. G. S.[2]

107. John Gunthorp to Abraham Redwood, 1740.[1]

Antigua July the 22th 1740.[2]

Deare Abraham, . . . I am heartilly sorry Pope has againe made you so bad a Voyage too and from the Coast of Guinea, Especially as I am given to understand, you have made a considerable purchase of lands in Rhoad Island and depend in a greate measure upon the returns of your Guinee cargoes to fullfill your engadgments therein wch faling short so greatly of yr expectations, must be a very greate disapointment to you; I hoape there is no occasion for a Friends advice to you, to pursue the Guinea trade no further, under the direction of Capt. Poape, who experience may teache you from your severe sufferings therein, has not the qualifications necessary to carry on that trade to advantage, surely he must think himself well rewarded and recompensd for any merit or claime he is intitld too, if you keepe him imployed in a small sloope, carrying your effects backwards and forward from your Towne to this place.[3] . . ,

[2] On July 14, 1740, Henry Bonnin of Antigua wrote, probably to Redwood, that he had heard from Captain Scott, who was then at St. Eustatius, with forty slaves still to be disposed of. He hoped there to obtain rum for his next voyage to Africa. Redwood Letter-Book, no. 644, p. 33.

[107] [1] Redwood Letter-Book, no. 644, p. 74.

[2] One of the characteristics of the slave trade in the 'forties was the increase in the number of colonial vessels engaged in it. David Crichton of Cape Coast Castle, writing in 1744 of the arrival of a French man-of-war, stated that at that time there were one Bristol vessel and five from Boston and Rhode Island anchored under the Castle guns. Public Record Office, Admiralty Papers, 1, Aug. 25, 1744.

[3] Captain Pope had been master of vessels in which Redwood was interested at least since 1731. Eight years before this Gunthorp had written a very different estimate of his ability: Apr. 23, 1732, "I should not doe Captain Pope justice if I did not acquaint you of his Diligence in your bussiness, and singular care and regard to your interest, and take my word for itt, that whenever you part with him, you will scarse meet with his equal for fidelity to serve you." *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 29.

108. Joseph Manesty to John Bannister, 1745.[1]

Liverpool Augt. 2d 1745.

Sir, I desire you will order Two Vessels built with the best white Oak Timber at Rhode Island, both tobe Square stern'd with 2½ and 3 Inch plank with good substantial bends or Whales. they are for the Affrican Trade to have middling bottoms to have a full Harpin and to carry their Bodies well forward and in the upper work not so much tumbled in as common for the more commodious stowing Negroes twixt Decks. To have snug heads without Rails, plain sterns, firm Quarter pieces no Quarter Windows nor Joiners work in the Cabbin (except so much as to sit in the Cabbin Windows) to Stern with a Tiller over the Round house to be sheath'd on the Stocks.

58 feet long in the Keel
22 feet beam
10 feet hold
5 feet twixt Decks

Main Mast 60 feet long, Main Yard 44 feet long, Main Top Mast 30 feet long all the other Masts and Yards in proportion, each Yard Arm 2 feet a Rising on the Quarter Deck and fore Castle 10 inches, bulk heads to be a Solid beam a half Round house 12 feet long on the sheets, the Gun Wall on the Main Deck 14 Inches Solid, on the Quarter Deck and forecastle 4 Inches, but the Timbers left high enough to Support Rails all round the Vessel for Guns 2½ feet from the Gunell, the Round house to be 2½ feet higher than the Quarter Deck 5½ feet high in the inside under the Beams, to have the same rounding on the Top as the other Decks, for messing Negroes on lower deck laid fore and aft. let them be ready for Launching in August next, to be Coated with Pitch and Tarr and I will send over Cordage, Sails, Anchors, Nails, and such a Cargoe as you shall order and will send a Master if required to go hence about April next.

[P. S.] 2 Gun Ports Stern

109. Joseph Manesty to Joseph Harrison, 1745.[1]

Liverpool Septem'r 10th 1745.

Sir, Above you have a Copy of an order which I gave to Mr. John Banister and inclos'd you have Invoice of a parcel of Goods ship'd

[108] [1] Newport Hist. Soc., John Bannister Letter-Book, no. 66, p. 2. Joseph Manesty, a Liverpool merchant, is best known as the friend and employer of John Newton during his slaving career (this work, II. 496). Gomer Williams occasionally refers to him as connected with the commercial ventures of Liverpool (*History of the Liverpool Privateers,* 1897, pp. 82, 149, 496, 518). John Bannister (or Banister), whose grandfather and father had been Boston merchants, came to Newport sometime after 1733. In 1739 he was in London, probably to arrange connections for the business which he was establishing in Rhode Island. Not only merchant but privateer, he was at one time concerned in three privateering vessels. Darius Baker, in his sketch of the "Newport Banisters," describes him as of "marked business ability, active, alert, shrewd, bold and masterful." Newport Hist. Soc., *Bulletin,* no. 43, p. 5.

[109] [1] Bannister Letter-Book, no. 66, pp. 2-3. Joseph Harrison, a brother of the

on the *Queen Elizabeth* Capt. James Neal which I desire you will make the most of for my Account and take all opportunities of causing the Carpenters etc to take Goods on acco't of these Vessels. . . . You will find some Nails in my Goods which I intend to be used in my Two Vessels and Expect you will manage so as to make the Sheating Nails and single Spikes do for Sheating them and if any more is wanting we can easily mend it here. I wou'd not have any Bolts in the Butts I think it quite needless for double Vessels. as you said Iron was as cheap with you as here I have not sent any so leave that part to your discretion but as Insurance is very high wou'd have as little money laid out on the Vessels as possible and if heads to them will be any Charge above £4 Sterling a Ship don't put any more than a piece before the Stern for Securing Gamaning of Bowsprit. as both Ships are design'd for Guinea a great regard must be had to the goodness of their Masts on the whole. the good opinion of your knowledge and integrity has put me on this Scheme so I make no doubt of your Executing it in a frugal Suitable manner. . . . shou'd it happen that a Vessel of or near the Dimentions of one of these order'd can immediately be bought Cheap [2] with you or of any other Size suitable for Affrica I shou'd choose to do it and build only one if that can be done. . . .

110. Instructions to Captain Pollipus Hammond, 1746.[1]

You being Master of our Sloop *Anstis* and ready to Sail our orders are that you imbrace the first oppertunity and make the best of your way for the Coast of Africa when please God you arrive there dispose of our Cargoe to the best advantage, make us returns in Negroes, Gold Dust and whatever you think will answer. If you have a good Trade for Negroes may purchase forty or Fifty Negroes. get most of them mere Boys and Girl, some Men, let them be Young, No very small Children. make all possable Dispatch, take care of your Vessells Bottom. If you meet with disapointment in your Trade

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architect Peter Harrison, was at this time a Newport merchant. He later became collector of customs in Boston.

[2] G. C. Mason cites one Rhode Island vessel which was to cost £24 old tenor per ton in 1747. Five years later a sloop could be built in Newport for £27 per ton, a "double decker" for £34 per ton, while in Swansea, in the upper part of the province, the prices were one-fifth less. "African Slave Trade," *Am. Hist. Rec.*, I. 313.

[110] [1] Newport Hist. Soc., Ellery Letter-Book, no. 82. Endorsed: "The above is a true Coppy. Pollipus Hammond." William Ellery, the owner of the *Anstis* and the signer of this letter, was a graduate of Harvard College, a successful Newport merchant, judge, and lieutenant governor, and the father of the signer of the Declaration of Independence. The sloop here mentioned may have been named after his daughter Anstis. The invoice of its cargo, consisting of rum, pork, beef, tar, flour, tobacco, and sugar, amounted to £7064 8, of which £6421 7 was in rum.

and cannot get home some time in October next may go to Barbados and Dispose of your Negroes, reserving Eight likely boyes to bring home. We intend a Letter for you in Barbados for further directions. Let us hear from you by all oppertunities. We wish you a good Voyage and are your Friends and owners. Notwithstanding the above we leave all to your prudent management relateing our slaves [2]

NEWPORT January 7: 1746

III. NEWPORT CUSTOM-HOUSE ENTRIES, 1747-1755.[1]

Date	Master	Voyage
1747, Nov. 3	Hammond	Entered in from Africa
Nov. 9	Wilson	Cleared out for Africa
1748, Aug. 22	Eldrid	" " " "
1749, July 31	Wanton	" " " "
Aug. 14	Barstow	" " " "
" 28	Carr[2]	" " " "
1750, Nov. 26	Keith	" " " "
Dec. 10	Jepson	" " " "
1751, Feb. 25	Brown	" " " "
Sept. 16	James	" " " "
Oct. 7	Stoddard	" " " "
Dec. 16	Brown	Entered in from Africa
1752, Apr. 20	Brown	Cleared out for Africa
May 4	Thurston	Entered in from Barbados
" "	Knowles	Cleared out for Africa
" 18	Pinnegar	" " " "
June 8	James	Entered in from Africa
" 15	Stoddard	" " " "
" 29	Grey	Outward bound for "
July 20	Hamlet	Cleared out " "
Aug. 28	James	" " " "
Sept. 18	Lindsay[3]	" " " "
Sept. 25	Ferguson	" " " "
Oct. 23	Carpenter	" " " "
1753, Feb. 12	Keith	" " " "
Feb. 26	Stoddard	" " " "
Mar. 5	Eldred	" " " "
June 25	Johnson	" " " "
Aug. 6	Hathaway	" " " "
1754, Feb. 4	Taylor	" " " "
July 8	Taylor and Godfrey	" " " "
" 22	Gardner	" " " "
" 29	Ferguson	Entered in from "
Nov. 4	Wanton	Cleared out for "
" 25	Nolten and Champlin	" " " "
Dec. 23	Brown	Entered in from Surinam
1755, Feb. 6	Thurston and Malbone[4]	Cleared out for Africa

[2] Similar instructions were given to Captain Hammond for the brig *Success*, three years later: "if you can manage your business so as to come home to us in a suitable time of Year than return home to us and bring as many Slaves as you think proper, if you think it will be most to our advantage than proceed to the West Indies and try your market and dispose of our Slaves to the best advantage. if you think proper bring us home some likely Boy Slaves" (William Ellery and Co. to Pollipus Hammond, Jan. 4, 1749, Ellery Letter-Book, no. 82). The *Success* had for some years been trading to Surinam and Jamaica. This is the first evidence of a voyage to Africa. Captain Hammond however had been sailing to Guinea since 1732.

[111] [1] *Boston Post Boy*, for the dates given.

112. Accounts of Abraham Redwood, 1747-1748.[1]

Redwood and Pardon Tillinghast *Cr.*

1747, Nov. 16. By Ditto [Cash] from Jonathan Mash in full for 1 Negro man Namd Bristo 80

. . .

1748, Sept. 20. By Ditto from Capt. William Stoddard for 1 Negro woman Named meriah and her Daughter a Gl. Named Jenny 250

. . .

To 1 Bond of Thomas Cranston for Negro man Payable unto James Pernin Dated November 9: 1747 250

By 1 Negro man sold to Thomas Cranston omitted 250

Newport December 1748

113. John Bannister to James Pardoe, 1747.[1]

Newport April 9th 1747.

Sir, The above is Copy of my last Since is come to hand Your favour of the 23d. Your Orders came just in Time to make your ship 24 feet Beam, she'll be launch'd in Septem'r and I am well assured the Compleatest Guinea Man that was ever built she'll Mess at least a fourth more Negroes on the Deck than any one I ever yet met with. the Person that builds her the most faithfullest of any in the Country that I have met with. I hope your Stores will be here Early in the fall I have Sold about ¾ of your goods at the Advance formerly advised and am delivering the others daily to your Trades-

[2] Perhaps the Capt. S. Carr who was wrecked in his return voyage from Africa in 1745. His crew and slaves were rescued by Capt. J. Dennis of the *Defiance,* and were sent in to St. Kitts. *Boston Evening Post,* Mar. 18, 1745.

[3] The following charges probably refer to the preparation for this voyage: "1752 Dr. The Brig'e *Sanderson* David Lynsey [Lindsay or Lindsey] m'r

	£		
To Wharfage of 75 hhds	£	3	15
To heaving down		1	
To Loading at the Wharfe		5	
To Wharfage from the 25 of July to the 1st Septemb'r 38 days 7/		13	6
	£	23	1

Newport Rhode Island Novemb 13, 1752.
Errors Excepted pr Abram. Redwood."

N. Y. Public Library, Mason, *Reminiscences,* II. 99.

[4] *News Letter.*

[112] [1] Mass. Hist. Soc., Wetmore Papers, vol. I.

[113] [1] Bannister Letter-Book, no. 66, p. 31. Pardoe was a Liverpool merchant, one of the correspondents of Henry Laurens of Charleston. For his venture in whaling see Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* p. 82.

men which Method I take in Order to make the most of 'em for your Advantage and your Sales will Turnout beyond any heretofore sent to this part of the World. in a word Sir I shan't leave any thing undone that may be Serviceable [2]

P. S. Pray send no Cockade or Scarlet Waistcoat Captains

114. Joseph Manesty to John Bannister, 1747.[1]

Liverpool, June 14, 1747.

. . . no trade push'd with so much spirit as the Affrican and with great Reason. a Vessel I sent from hence in June last is arriv'd at St. Kitts makes £13,000 Sales out of a Cargoe £1800. Exchange at St. Kitts 60 per Ct. and is now daily expected with every Farthing remitted in Sugar which will more then make that Money Sterling. Our Advises from Jamaica inform that Gold Coast Negroes sells from 48 to £55 a head . . . as all our Guinea Effects for next Crops are Order'd hom in Sugar freight will be 10 to 12 per Ct. which will be a noble thing.[2] . . .

115. John Bannister to Hubert Lascelles, 1747.[1]

1747 Nov. 14.

. . . You have undoubtedly heard the Merchants of Jamaica have agreed to supply the Royal Company of the Havannah with Negroes and provisions, upon which acco't they sent to Kingston Don Pedro de Estrada [2] a Spanish Gentleman to reside there and manage

[2] Later in the summer Bannister wrote: "Capt. Edward Lewis of your Town thinks her a fine Roomly Vessel for the Guinea Trade and I am satisfied she'll carry more Negroes of her Burthen than any Vessel built in these parts for the Trade" (Bannister to Pardoe, July 23, 1747, Bannister Letter-Book, no. 66, p. 32). The builder of the ship was Goddard.

[114] [1] Bannister Letter-Book, no. 66.

[2] Over a year before (Feb. 7, 1746) Manesty had written: "Ships are so scarce here that none is to be had at any rate or I should have engaged one this spring, but the price of negroes in the West Indies has made ships unfit for the business to be made use of so that I fear it will not be in my power to get one, but I will if I can." Some months later he added, "I have had returns for cargoes to Affrica and several parts of the West Indies in the course of 12 months at great profit". On Apr. 3, 1747, "Negroes at Jamaica 50 to £55 a head bought on the Coast of Affrica at from £4 to £6 a head" (Baker, "Newport Banisters," *Bulletin,* no. 43, p. 4; Bannister Letter-Book, no. 66). It was no wonder that Bannister, in receipt of such letters, himself entered the Guinea trade about this time: "I have this season a large navigation to the West Indies on my own account, which will enable me the next year to enter upon the Guinea trade with advantage." Bannister to Scott, June 19, 1747, *Bulletin,* no. 43.

[115] [1] Bannister Letter-Book, no. 66. Lascelles had just gone from London, where Bannister had known him, to Jamaica.

[2] Don Pedro de Estrada had been known a few years before as the daring commander of a privateer (Jameson, *Privateering and Piracy,* p. 399 n.). The privileges of the assiento were formally surrendered by the South Sea Company in 1750. They had not been exercised for some years before that. For a brief account of the Cuban slave supply see this work, II. xliv-xlvi.

the Affair for the Company. at present they only receive Negroes from Jamaica and procure the provisions from the northern Colonies, for which purpose a Commission with Blanks for the Names of the Vessels and Captains etc. is sent signed per the Governour and Countersign'd by Don Pedro de Estrada from whom such a Commission may be obtain'd by a person that is well acquainted with him, which Commission must be sent here by a safe hand. a Blank must likewise be left for either Snow, ship, Brigantine, or Sloop etc., also the Person who is to manage the business with Don Pedro De Estrada must agree with him the Price of Flower, Beef, Pork, Butter, Cheese. . . . mayn't be amiss to recommend to your consideration, namely the Importation of Negroes directly from the Coast of Guinea to the Havannah and upon the present View I am of the opinion it will be advisable to interest some Spanish Gentlemen of Interest in the Scheme. . . .

116. John Bannister to Philip Houghton, 1748.[1]

Newport January 28 [1748].

Sir, . . . as there [is] now a Confirm'd peace I shall be glad of your further direction Concerning the Guinea Vessell, if it be agreeable I shall be willing you have halfe of either Capt. Stanton or Godfrey ['s?] Brigg for that Purpose, to be Sent out on their Return to this port. Cap Godfrey is as good a Master and Sutable for Such a voyage, being well acquainted as any man In the Country. I would allso further Propose to Keepe a Double Deck Vessell of about 150 Tons full built Continually Running from this port to Lucea.[2] She may Conveniently make Two Voyages yearly, and in which Cace the business must be very Proffitable not only on Acco't of her making Two Voyages in a Season as our vessells make but one, but such a vessell as I propose full built will Cary upwards of 300 hhd besides the peoples Previledge and Sail with less hands then Some of our Sloops that wont cary more than halfe and into the bargain the ware and Tare not more than halfe what a Sloops is. Further if at any Time molasses want to be had She might take afreight home and Return here with a load of Coal or Salt. I . . . propose at Jamaica you have the Consignment so that the master will have Nothing to doe but to Navigate backwards and forwards and such a man I can Procure that will Serve our purpose. I also propose a Laden Shall be allwayes Ready on the Vessells Arrival that she might with safe[ty] make Two voyages as aforesaid. this

[116] [1] Bannister Letter-Book, no. 68, p. 203.
[2] In Jamaica.

allso would enable us to enter more leargely into the Guinea Trade etc.

This is Supmitted to your Judgment. I in my part Stand ready and I doubt not but we may cary this buisness on to greater advantage then its hithertoo been.[3]

117. Invoice of the Cargo of the *Success*, 1749.[1]

An Invoice of Sundries Shiped by William Ellery and Company Owners of the Brigg "Success" Pollipus Hammond master for Affrica and to him consigned viz.

January
4th 1749

	£	s.	d.
To 130 Hhds of Rum Qt. 14,147 Galls at 17 *s*	12,024	19	
To 100 Guinny Hhds for which allowed 20 *s*. per hh: more per common Hhds	100		
To 5 barrls of Sugar at 12.4.7 at £19 as per Invoice	233	18	9
To 14 barrl of Pork at £24 per barrl	336		
To 5 half barrl of Pork at £12	60		
To 31 barrl of Beef at £13 10 *s*.	418	10	
To 19 barrls of Flower at £14 per barrl	266		
To 30 barrl of Tarr at 100 *s*. Each	150		
To 2 barrl Monhaiden at 80 *s*	8		
To 156 [roll ?] Tobacco at 2 *s*	15	12	
	£13,612	9	9

118. Notices of Sales, 1750-1752.

Newport, June 30, 1750.[1]

Just imported in the Snow *Elizabeth* Capt. Cahoone from Africa, a Parcel of likely Negro Men, Women, Boys and Girls, to be Sold by Channing and Chaloner, cheap for ready Money or Short Credit.

[3] The next month Bannister wrote to Linzey George Wallis: "The Vessell Hollowell Treats of for the Liverpool Capt. was Sett up for a Liverpool Genl: fully bult Snug but Roomly. Quarterdeck Rising to the Comings of the Main Hatch and is 5 feet 8 Inches So that on Occasion She'll Answer for a Guinea man I Engage. She'l bare Viewing being a very handsome Wellbuilt Vessell and should be glad to part with her" (Feb. 3, 1748, Bannister Letter-Book, no. 68, p. 210). Of the ship *African*, 200 tons, Bannister wrote: "the Ship is a Roomly Ship in all Regard and suitable for a Guinea Man therefore of Course will sell to advantage. I built her for about Twenty pounds per Ton, such a Ship now can't be built under forty." Bannister to John Radburn, Oct. 27, 1748, *ibid.*, no. 66.

[117] [1] Ellery Letter-Book, no. 82. See *ante*, no. 110, n. 2.

[118] [1] *Boston Weekly Post Boy*, July 2, 1750.

May 11, 1752.[2]

To be Sold by John Banister at his House in Newport, also at Middleton on Connecticut-River, A fine Parcel of Negro Men, Women, Boys and Girls, imported directly from the Gold Coast, and they are esteemed to be the finest Cargo of Slaves ever brought into New England.

119. Captain David Lindsay to Stephen Ayrault (?), 1753.[1]

Barbadoss, June 17th N. S. 1753.

Gentle'n, These are to acqt: you of my arivel heare the Day before yesterday in 10 weeks from Anamaboe. I meet on my passage 22 Days of very [severe ?] winds and continuel Rains So that it beat my Sails alto peceses Soe that I was Oblige Several Days to have the Sails onbent to mend them. The vesiel Likwise is all Open Round her bows under Deck for these Reasons am oblige to Inter my vesiel heare and have valued my Self on Mr. Elias meriveal[2] who is to Dispatch me in three or four weeks Time. My Slaves is not Landed as yet, they are 56 in number for owners, all in helth and fatt. I lost one Small Gall. I've gott 40 oz Gould Dust and Eight or Nine hundred wt: maligata peper for Owners.

Not to Inlarge Shall Rite in a Day or 2. We are all well a bord. Mr. Sanford Died the 3d Day of March, and one John Wood [?] who went in the boat with him Died the 3d of April at Sea. I Left Capt. Hamblet at Cape Coast Sick. his Slaves had Rose and they Lost the best of what they had. heare is noe Slaves at market now.[3]

[2] *Post-Boy,* May 11, 18, 25, 1752.

[119] [1] R. I. Hist. Soc., Mason, *Reminiscences,* II. 80. Lindsay, master of the *Sanderson,* had written a melancholy letter from Anamabo in February. Trade was dull, his men were ill, his small cable was worn out. He then had on board sixty-one slaves. At that time there were at Anamabo Captains Hamlet, James, Jepson, Carpenter, and Butler; Gardner was due; Ferguson had gone to leeward (*Commerce of R. I.,* I. 59-60). His letter of June 17, with some changes, was printed by Mason in the *American Historical Record* (I. 339), where Mason uses the names William Johnston and Peter Brown in place of those of Wilkinson, Ayrault, and any other owners of the *Sanderson.*

[2] Susanna and Elias Merivielle had written to Lindsay's Rhode Island owners, Mar. 16 and Apr. 27, giving the prices prevailing in Barbados. Not long after the second letter, Susanna, the senior partner, died, leaving her son to continue the business. Mason, *Am. Hist. Rec.,* I. 339.

[3] Elias Merivielle reported to Wilkinson and Ayrault the sale of 47 negroes from the *Sanderson*—14 men, 9 women, 11 men boys, 8 small boys, 2 girls, 3 small girls, amounting to £1432 12 6. The prices ranged from £35 to £21. The charges included payment for permission to land the slaves, a duty of 5 *s.* per head, payment to the drummer who attended the sales, for liquor at the sales, for carrying notes into the country, for the captain's commission of £55 2 2, and the commission on the sales, the total being £142 15 3. Lindsay took on board 55 hhds. rum, 3 hhd. and 27 bbl. sugar, amounting to £911 17 2½; the remainder he took in bills. On his return to Rhode Island he was placed in command of the schooner *Sierra Leone,* 40 tons, owned by Newport and Boston merchants. *Am. Hist. Rec.,* I. 339-340.

120. Sale of the Cargo of the *Elizabeth*, 1754.[1]

Sales of 70 Negroes Imported in the Snow "Elizabeth" James Carpenter Master from Africa on account and Risque of Messrs John Channing and Co. Owners of Said Snow Mercht in Rhode Island.

	To Whom Sold	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Totall	Price	£	s.	d.
Feby 11	By Milbe Johnson				1	1		32	0	
	By John Lorrain[?]			1		1		24		
13	By Thomas Burch			1		1		37	0	
	By William Needam			1		1		40	0	
	By Hubert Lasscell			1		1		40	0	
	By Hugh Russell	2				2		88	0	
	By Hugh Bethune				1	1		35	0	
22	By Lawrence Halleran	1				1		45		
	By Henry Kinkaed			1		1		32	0	
	By Dias and Gutteres	11	14	11	8	44	M and W at £35 B and G at £20	1255	0	
	By Zachary Bayly			1	1	2		75		
	By Cash	1				1		42		
		15	19[2]	17	11	62		£1821	5	
						8	Dead			
						70				

Charges *Vizt.*	£	s.	d.
To Cash paid for Plantins, Yams, Bread fish and C'as for the Slaves when on Shore	2	17	6
To 4 teirces Rice for ditto use	16	11	11½
To Cash paid Import duty on 70 Slaves a 10/ ea	35	0	
To Captn. Thomas Carpenter for his Coast Commission of 4 in 104 on 1821. 5. 0 the Gross Amount Sales	70	0	11½
To My Commission on do. 5 pr Ct	91	1	3
To Mr. John Channings a/c for his 1/3 part of 1605. 13. 4 the whole Nt proceeds	535	4	5½
To Mr. Walter Challoner for his 1/3 ditto	535	4	5¼
To Mr. Peleg Thurston for his ditto	535	4	5¼
	1821	5	

KINGSTON, JAMAICA 7th July 1754
Errors Excepted HENRY LIVINGSTON[3]

[120] [1]R. I. Hist. Soc., Mason, *Reminiscences,* II. 70, 96 . A most interesting comparison can be made between the slave trade of a New England city and of a French port by a study of Gaston Martin's *Nantes au XVIIIe Siècle: l'Ère des Négriers* (Paris, 1931) with the Newport material here printed.

[2]The five missing women make it impossible to check the account.

[3]On July 13 Livingston wrote to Messrs. Peleg Thurston and Company, owners of the *Elizabeth,* lamenting the meagre proceeds of this sale, which he attributed to the fact that the slaves were "no better than refuse". He had loaded on the *Elizabeth* 90 casks of molasses and had paid Captain Carpenter £464 10 5½ for the use of the snow. N. Y. Pub. Lib., Mason, *Reminiscences,* I. 62.

121. Accounts of the *Hare*, 1754.[1]

A Portage Bill of mens Names Quality time of Entry Wages per Month and when Discharged Belonging to Sloop "Hare" Caleb Godfrey Master from the Coast of Affrica

Mens Names	*Quality*	*time of entry*	*Wages per Month*	*Advance Wages*	*When Discharged*	*time of servis*	*Green-wich Hospital*	*Advanced on the Voiage*	*whole Wages*	*Wages due*	*Remains to pay*
			£	£ s. d.		*Mo. Days*	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Caleb Godfrey	Master	May 10th	20		April 30th	11 20			233 6 8	233 6 8	233 6 8
John Arnold Hamond	Mate	May 13	20	20	April 30th	11 17	4 12	8 12 6	231 6 8	198 2 2 for boat	198 2 2 pd 5
Richd. Cole	Second Mate and Cooper	June 24	25	129 18	Febr 3d	7 10	2 18 8	7 5	113 6 8	43 5	193 2 2
Wm. Jones	Seaman	do. 11	16	16	Decr 11d	6	2 8 1	32 8	96	45 4 2 7 5	Jackett 38 6 2
Wm. White	do	do 28	17	51 19	Octo 28d	4	1 12	20	68		
Wm. Baggott	do	do 19	17	33 9	Janr. 28d	7 9	2 18 8	45	124 2	44 14 4 pd	
Wm. Burling	do	do 22	17	34 8	March 24d	8 16	3 8	64 9 6	135 1 4	32 15 10	32 15 10
John Batty	do	do 29	17	30 14	April 24d	9 25	3 18 8	62 14 4	167 3 4	69 16 4	69 16 4
Wm. Ball	do	do 26	16	16	April 24d	10 2	4	15 16 6	171 6 8	135 6 2	135 6 2
Barnb Harlwick	do	Sept. 21	17		Janr. 28	4 7	1 13 8	31 1 4	71 19 4	39 4 4 pd.	5 for Boat
Wm. Movony	do	Febr. 17	18		April 23d	2 5	17 4	25 2 9	39	12 19 11	12 19 11
John Bloodsworth	Cook	March 15	12	11 3 Barbados	April 23d	1 8	10 8	7 4	15 4	7 1 4	7 1 4
Robert Harvey	Seaman	April 3	18		April 23	22	6 2	7 18 8	13 4	4 19 2	4 19 2
Wm. Harvy	do	do 2d	18		do 24	22	6 2	6 4 6	13 4	6 13 4	6 13 4
Franciss Welch	do	Octo 31	17		Janr. 26d	2 26	1 2 8	8	48 14 8	39 12 0 pd	

[121] [1] New York Historical Society, Slavery MSS., box VI. We know that the *Hare* was preparing for an African voyage on June 1, 1754; by September, 1754, the vessel had reached the West Coast. There Captain Godfrey traded until some time in February, 1755, in which month he sailed for South Carolina. His trade here was completed in April and he returned to Newport. By October, 1755, he was making ready to obtain a second cargo from Africa, which he sold in Charleston in June and July, 1756. This portage bill may have been for the voyage of 1754. It is undated and is endorsed, "Recd. of Mr. Robt. Stevens, Sixteen pounds In part of the within Portage Bill." Three coats, 4 jackets, and 10 shirts had been advanced to these men, charged at £105. 10. The following merchants sold rum to the *Hare* for her Guinea voyage: George Gardner, Richardson, Jonathan Thurston, Thomas Cranston, David Earl on Cranston's account, Benjamin Green(?), and Nathaniel Coggeshall (*ibid*). The scrap of paper which contains this information also lists the provisions carried by the *Hare*—beef, pork, bread, flour, hams, tobacco, and sugar. Students of the slave trade may profitably examine the account of the voyage of the *Perle,* which traded on the West Coast about the same time that the *Hare* trafficked. See M. Léon Vignols, "La Campagne Négrière de *la Perle* (1755-1757)," *Revue Historique,* CLXIII. 51-78.

122. Samuel and William Vernon to Thomlinson, Trecothick, and Company, 1754.[1]

Newp't June 1st 1754.

. . . We allso Disire you to Insure for us £475 on the Sloop *Hare,* Caleb Godfrey M'r, £125 on Sloop,[2] £350 on Cargo, from this Port to the Coast of Africa and During her Trade on the Coast, To the Island of Jamaica [3] with Liberty to touch at the Windward Islands Or Shoud he make his Trade to Windward then Insurd to So. Carolina, in which Case Expect the Preem'o will be the Easier, A double bottom'd Vessel in this Port and expect will Sail in a fortnight. Capt. Godfrey is an Experienced commander on the Coast.[4]

. . .

123. Bill of Lading of the *Sierra Leone*, 1754.[1]

Shipped by the Grace of God, in good Order and well-conditioned, by Philip Wilkinson and Compy., Owners of the Schooner *Sira loone,* in and upon the said Schooner, called the *Siraloone,* whereof is Master under God for this present Voyage, David Lindsey, and now riding at Anchor in Harbour of Newport and by God's Grace, bound for the Coast of Africa. To say, Thirty four hogsheads, Tenn Terces, Eight barrils and six halfe barrils Rum, one barril Sugar, Sixty Musketts, Six halfe barrils Powder, one box beads, Three boxes Snuff, Two barrils Tallow, Twenty One barrils Beefe Pork and Mut-

[122] [1] William Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 91. Thomlinson, Trecothick, and Company were London merchants. For the career of William Vernon see G. C. Mason's *Annals of Trinity Church,* first ser., p. 153 n.

[2] In 1754 Evan Malbone and Ebenezer Flagg appraised the sloop *Sherbro,* William Brown late captain, just back from Africa, at £2100 old tenor. This was the property of Jacob Rodriguez Rivera and William Vernon. N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

[3] Obadiah Brown's Insurance Book (R. I. Hist. Soc.) contains a record, Feb. 29, 1753, of insurance on the "*Cumberbus,* 500 at 10 pr Ct from the cost of Africa to Jamaica".

[4] The connection between Captain Godfrey and the Vernons had existed for ten years when this was written. On June 10, 1744, when the Vernons were looking about for a captain for one of their ventures, William wrote to Samuel, "I think Caleb Godfrey is a very good man" (Vernon Letter-Book, no. 652, p. 4). Letters written by Laurens to the Vernons indicate that he did not think highly of Godfrey's ability to select a cargo. The *Hare* had completed this voyage and was in Newport preparing to sail again on Oct. 17, 1755, when the Vernons once more requested insurance, for Africa, and from thence to Charleston, £200 on Vessel and £400 on cargo, "covered free of the Premo". This they apparently did not receive because of the war rates (*post,* no. 140).

It is somewhat surprising that up to this time there is little evidence that South Carolina was regarded by the Rhode Island merchants as a desirable market for their slave cargoes, since there is ample indication that there was commercial intercourse between the two colonies. The Bannisters had consigned a cargo (not a Guinea cargo) to George Austin in 1740. In that year they had also delivered a "negro man Ruby," to Capt. William Barnes for sale in South Carolina, at £35, the proceeds to be invested in whatever would be advantageous (Bannister Letter-Book). William Vernon had been in South Carolina in 1746. Vernon Letter-Book, no. 78.

[123] [1] R. I. Hist. Soc., Mason, *Reminiscences,* IV. 278.

ton, 14 cwt. 1. qr. 22 lbs. bread, One barril mackrell, Six Shirts, five Jacketts, one peice blew Callico, one peice Chex, one mill, shackles, and Hand Cuffs etc.

Being marked and numbered as in the Margent; and are to be delivered in like good Order and well-condition, at the aforesaid Port of the Coast of Affrica (the Danger of the Seas only excepted) unto the Said David Lindsey or to his Assigns, he or they paying Freight for the said Goods, Nothing, with Primage and Average accustomed. In Witness whereof, the Master or Purser of the said Schooner hath Affirmed unto three Bills of Lading: all of this Tenor and Date; One of which Three Bills of Lading being accomplished, the other two stand Void. And so God send the good Schooner to her desired Port in Safety; Amen.

Dated in NEWPORT ON RHD ISLAND, June 19th 1754.[2]

124. WILKINSON AND AYRAULT TO CAPTAIN DAVID LINDSAY, 1754.[1]

NEWPORT June 19th 1754.

S'r, you being Master of our Schooner *Siralone* and ready to sail, our orders are that you Imbrace the first oppertunity of wind and weather and Proceed for the Coast of Africa, when plese God you arrive there Dispose of your cargoe on the best terms you Can for Gold, Good Slaves etc when you have finished your trade on the Coast (wch we desire may be with all Convenient Dispatch) Proceed for the Island of Barbadoes where you will find Letters Lodged for you in the hands of Mr. Elias Merivelle with whom Consult in regard to the Sale of your Slaves and if they will fetch Twenty Six pounds Sterling p head round you may dispose of them there and Invest the Produce as pr your orders you will find Lodged there, but If you cannot sell at the above price, Proceed without Loss of time to St. Vincents there dispose of your Slaves. If they will fetch five hundred Livres round in Money, and In case you sell there you may purchase as much Cocoa as you can Carry Under your halfe Deck and proceed to St Eustatia their Load with Molasses and If

[2] Lindsay wrote to his owners from Cape Coast Road on Jan. 8, 1755, that he had on board 57 slaves and was leaving the coast, as were Buffam and Wanton. From this voyage he returned to New England in April, 1755, and sailed for Africa again in August, instructed by Wilkinson and Ayrault to sell at Barbados or St. Christopher, whichever promised a better return (*Commerce of R. I.,* I. 64; Mason, "African Slave Trade," *Am. Hist. Rec.,* I. 341). In April, 1756, 44 slaves from the *Sierra Leone* were sold at St. Christopher, at prices ranging from £20 for boys and girls to £34 for men and £30 for women. After paying the commissions due on this cargo the bill in favor of the owners was £1082 18 2. To this £54 13 7 was shortly after added for the sale of three "refuse slaves" from the cargo. Captain Lindsay carried back to Rhode Island sugar, rum, and molasses amounting to £635 14 10. The owners recorded the receipt of these returns on June 24. *Ibid.,* I. 342.

[124] [1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Mason, *Reminiscences,* III. 148.

any opportunity of Fraight ship the remainder of the nett proceeds in Molasses to this Port or to Boston If to Boston Consign it to Messrs Steyh[?] and Wm. Greenleafe. Should you find it will detain you long at St. Eustatia to accomplish this send the Schooner home as soone as Possible after She is Loaded and Come Passinger after you have finished your business but If they will not fetch the above Price Proceed directly for the Island of Jamaica, there you will find orders Lodged for you and dispose of your Slaves on the best terms you can and Invest amount of the Produce in Good Muscovado sugar or will load you in such Cask as you can stow with most Conveniency and proceed home with all Possible Dispatch. you are to have four of 104 for your Coast Commission and five pr Cent for Sales of your Cargoe in the West Indies and five pr Cent for the Goods you purchase for return. we desire you will omit no opportunity of Letting us hear from you we wish you a good Voyage and are your Loving owners,

WILKINSON and D'AYRAULT Jr.

You are to have five Slaves Priviledge your Chief Mate two and he Can purchase them and your Second Mate two.

Above is a Copy of order recd wch I promise to follow

DAVD: LINDSAY

125. ACCOUNTS OF THE *HARE*, 1754.[1]

	Francis Mountain			Dr.		Contra			Cr.		
							Bars				
1754 Sept,	To a ham 11 pd	1	4 2		Novb 8th	By ½ ps red Plains	4				
	To 14 pd Bread	1			I de loses	By 3 high Cloaths	9				
	To 5 pd white Sugar	1	3 4		Cut for	By a Cag Powder	2				
	To a bar broom of wine	4	2 6		Slaves	By 6 Cargo Shirts	4				
	To 25 pd Pork	2				By a Cag of Powder	2	2 6			
	To 6 pd Brown Sugar	1				By 5 Cutlasses	3	1 8			
	To a bar'l Pork dl'd Capt. Stephins	16				By 600 Chrestall	6				
						By a ps Chilloe	6				
									36	4	2
	To freight 4 negroes at 20 Bars	80			Sere lone						
	To his Passage	20			cut for	By a short nickenee	4				
	To freight of a Chest	3			Slaves	By 3 Caggs Powder	7	2 6			
						By a 3 pd. Bason		3 9			
	Bars	131				By 2 ps Blew Bafts	12				
						By 2 3pd Basons	1	2 6			
	To ½ ps red Plains 4 a short nicknee 4	Deducted 8				By 3 bottles Snuf	2				
						By 4 red Caps	1				
	Cut for Slaves					By 2 pat'n red and white callicoe	1	1 8	30	5	
	Cloaths			123		By Cash recd in Barbados			56		5
							Bars		123		

[125] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. Though these accounts nowhere carry the name of the *Hare,* it is probable that they relate to Captain Godfrey's trade on the West Coast.

126. William Vernon to Gabriel Manigault, 1755.[1]

Newp't 9th Janry 1755.

S'r, This Advises you that we have a Sloop upon the Coast of Africa, Caleb Godfrey Com'dr who have ordered to your Place with his Slaves, and have taken the Freedom to recommend to your Address for Sales and Returns, Rec'd a Letter from him of 7th Sept'r and may reasonably expect he will be with you in March (no Accident happening to him). For the Proceeds of his Slaves wou'd have good Ster'g Bills of Excha., reserving sufficient to load him with Rice Home. Shou'd there be a few small Slaves that will not sell for much with you choose he shou'd bring them here if he has any Screvelios Teeth or Camwood wou'd not have them sold. Our Agreem't with Capt. Godfrey for his Comm. and Priviledge are in these Words, "It is Agreed that your Priviledge be six Slaves, if you think proper to purchase them, to be shipd and purchasd in common with the Cargo, and to bear an equal Proportion of Loss, by mortality or otherwise" etc . . . agreable to which he'l conform, As we are convincd nothing on your Part will be wanting for our Int.

127. Samuel and William Vernon to Captain Caleb Godfrey, 1735.[1]

Newp't, 10th Jan. 1755.

S'r, This will be d'd you by Mr. Gabriel Manigault to whom have wrote and advis'd of our recommend'g You to his Address, we have omitted saying anything to him of your expectations of draw'g part of the Comm. for Sales of your Slaves. But as you'l find him a Gent'n of the utmost Generosity and Goodness you'l meet with no Difficulty with him on that or any other Account. We recommend to you the utmost frugality in your Expences upon the Vessel during your stay there and that you'l make all the Dispatch in your Power.[2] . . .

[126] [1] William Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 51. This letter, with those of Apr. 15, 1756 (*post,* nos. 131, 132), disproves the statement that Gabriel Manigault of Charleston, S. C., never traded in slaves. D. D. Wallace, *Life of Henry Laurens* (1915), p. 74.

[127] [1] Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 52.

[2] The writers then repeat the instructions concerning small slaves and other commodities. On the same day a second letter directed that Godfrey take on at least six weeks' provisions, and assured him that he would find letters in South Carolina awaiting him.

128. Accounts of the *Hare*, 1755.[1]

An Acco't of Slaves Purchas'd of Whom and Cargo Disposed of Caleb Godfrey master on the Coast of Affrica

of Whome Purchas't	*Men*	*Women*	*Girls*	*Boys*	*59 hhds Rum 6222 gall. 537 6759*	*Beef bbl. 46½*	*Pork 1515 bbl.*	*4 Cags Bread*	*22 bbl Flower*	*217 bbl Hams*	*Tobacco wt. 1241*	*Tarr 6 bbl.*	*1 bbl. Brown Sugar wt. 2.4.8*	*Wine 29 Cask*	*12 Loves Loaf Sugar wt. 109 3pd*	*Boats Ordrs*	*Great Coat*	*Ship Bread*	*60 Ells Ticklinburg*	*Boards 700 feet*	*Snuff in Bottles 93*	*Long Boat*	*Gang Cask*	*Boom Tackel etc*	*Cordage*	*Candles*	*Small Shot*
Alex'r Ross				1	54⅔			2			36		18		9	2	1										
Wm Harriss	1				46⅔	1		1		21				1	9												
Andrew Morrison		1	1	1	209⅔		50			6	36		12		5			14									
John Holeman	2	3			510⅔		25		1					9, 2	6			14									
Robert Simson			1		89		50			14	36		6														
Geo Dowdall	3		2		483	50			1	15			12			1		14	5	107							
Wm. Ord	2	1	1		347	1	1		2	34½				9, 10	21												
James Tweed	2	1			277						60			9, 6						63							
Wm. Norie	1		2	1	306⅔				1		102									40	57						
Baillie and Key	4	2		1	721⅓	1			1	18			12					14									
Jo'n Langston		2			217								7½	9	9												
Wm Skinner	4	3	3	1	799⅓	2	1		1	24	180	1	6	1							36	1	1	1			
John Wallis	1	2			254⅔		25			22		1	12	9, 3													
Padre Levis		2			142⅓		1		1	14½	48	2		9, 2													
Andr Gomar	1	1			213⅓																						
Geo Tomson	1				93⅔				1																		28
James Potter			1		98		50						6		5												
Geo Hall	2			1	208⅔	6	1						6														
Capt Millitring[?]		1			93⅓						60																
Rich Hall		1			96																						
Mr. Wright	1	1			213⅓																						
Patrick Clow	2	1	1	4	416				1																		
James Ordrich	1				94⅔						60																
Rich'd Boardwell		3	1		306⅔				1		48																
Pistue[?] a Black					11																						
	28	25	12	7	6313⅔	12¼ 50w.	4 200wt.	3	11	169	666	4	97½	1 qr. 21 gall.	64			65	200						54	1	

[128] [a] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

Sundry Disburstments on Sloop "Hare" at Barbados

		£	s.	d.						
1755								1755		
Janr 29 d	To 400 Plantins		16	8				Febr	By order in favour of Charles Bolton	36	9	8¾
Feb'r 7d	To potatoes		1	3								
	To 7 Gall and ¼ of Rum at twice	1		4¾					By recd. of Francess Mountain	19	12	6
	To 6 pd. Sugar		3									
	To Wm. Collier for 6 Scains Twine		3	9					£	56	2	2¾
	To pd for Water		10									
	To 12 bottles ground Peper		15									
	To do. for 2 red Caps			7½								
15	To 40 Gall rum and 7 Pints	5	2	2¼								
					8	12	10½					
	To 2 Bushells Pease		6	3								
	To Paul Bedfords Acco't		10	8								
	To Capt. Housmans for Butter Had on the Coast	1	8									
16	To 50 wt. Sugar	1		10								
	To 250 Plantins		10	5								
	To a pd. thred and nedles		4	4½								
	To 127½ yds. Purpits at 9*d.*	4	15	7½								
	To 4 doz red Caps	1	12	6								
	To fresh Stock	1	15									
					11	3	8					
	To a quarter Pork		7									
	To pd. Wm. Baggot	3	17	2								
	To pd. Barns Hartwick	3	8	3								
	To pd Francis Welch	3	9	6								
	To pd. Rich'd Cole	4	11	6								
	To a cask of Bread as pr Rect	1	19	2½								
	To 2 man of wars men 5/		5									
	To do to a man 5 Days		5									
	To reporting the Vesel		15									
	To boat the Day Sail'd		5									
	To wheree hire at Sundr. times		12	6								
	To Limes		3	9								
	To fort night Signal		5									
	To my Expences 20 Days	5										
	To pd a Doctor	1	10									
	To pd Mr. Hammond		10	7½								
					27	4	6					
					47	11	1½					
	Ballance Due				9	11	2½					
					56	2	2½	[2]				

[2] Many of the accounts here printed show discrepancies which may be due to the inaccuracies of the original record or to mistaken transcriptions. It will be seen that the denominations below the bar were figured at shillings and pence.

The Sloop "Hare" Caleb Godfrey Commander to Gabriel Manigault Dr.

			£	s.	d.
1755	To Cash paid for 6 Bushels Potatoes at 7/6		2	5	
March 6th	To ditto paid for a quarter Beef wt 136 lb at 13*d.*		7	7	4
	To ditto paid for a Boat and hands to carry down Proviss'ns		1		
10th	To ditto paid Thomas Legard for a Barrel Tar		2	7	6
	To ditto paid for 15 lb White Bread		1	10	
	To ditto paid for 4 Heads[?]		1		
11th	To ditto paid for a Hogg wt 83 lb a 10*d.*		3	9	2
15th	To ditto paid for grinding 2 Razors			10	
20th	To 1 Barrel Ship Bread		5	10	
22d	To Cash paid for a Quarter Beef wt 113 lb at 9*d.*		4	4	9
April 5th	To Cash paid for a Cord Wood		2	10	
7	To 1 Barrel Ship Bread wt 124 lb Neat at £5 bl		6	16	4
10th	To Cash paid at the Naval Office	£21 10			
	To ditto paid at the Custom house	9 15			
	To ditto paid at the Comptroller's	1 10			
	To ditto paid at the Treasurer's	1			
	To ditto paid at the powder Receivers	9			
	To ditto paid at the Secretary's office	3			
			45	15	
	To ditto paid for 6 Bushels Potatoes the 11th March		1	10	
12th	To ditto paid for pilotage in and out		12		
	To Cash paid Capt. Godfrey the amount of his Account of Disboursments		126	19	11
			£224	15	

Received April 12th 1755 from Gabriel Manigault Two Hundred Twenty four pounds fifteen Shillings Current Money as pr the within Account being for the Use and Disboursements of the Sloop *Hare* whereof I am Master. Witness my hand to two Receipts of the Same tenor and date

£224 15 CALEB GODFREY

Account Sales of Fifty Four Negroes received pr the Sloop "Hare" Caleb Godfrey Commander from Affrica on Account of Messrs Samuel and William Vernon and Company Merchants in Rhode Island Vizt.

To whom sold	*Men*	*Women*	*Boys*	*Girls*	*When payable*	
March 19, 1755						
Alexander Chisolme	1				in three Months without Interest	£ 280
Lachlan Mckintosh	1				Ditto	280
Susannah Wedderburn			1		Ready Money	140
Samuel Simons		1	2		£176 ready money and £304 in three months without Interest	480
Horry and Lassenne	5	1	1		in fourteen days	1750
John Williams				1	ready money	220
Susannah Wedderburn	2				19th March 1756 with Interest at 8 pr Cent pr annum	475
Mrs. David		1				220
Thomas Mell	1				in One Month without Interest	245

To whom sold	*Men*	*Women*	*Boys*	*Girls*	*When payable*	
Charles Lorimer	2				1st March 1756 with Interest	490
Thomas Bell	1				19th March 1756 with Interest	245
Christian Minnick	1	1			three months without Interest	470
Hance McCulloch	1	1			£200 ready money and £265 the 1st January 1756	465
Mch 20th						
Peter Taylor		2			in three Months without Interest	298
Peter Peguine		1			£90 ready Money and £90 in three Months no Interest	180
William Lloyd		2			in Three Months without Interest	400
James Parsons		1			Ditto	200
William Bready	1				Ditto	200
Francis Smith	2				1st January 1756 with Interest	420
Henry Laurens[3]	8	1			ready money	1560
James Moore	1				in three Months without Interest	200
Alexander Chisolme	1				Ditto	193
Paul Smyser	1				Ditto	180
Ditto		1			Ditto	200
William Stone		1			Ditto	176
Ditto		1			Ditto	161
Ditto		1			Ditto	130
Charles Lorimer		1			Ditto	161
George Ducatt		1	and	child	Ditto	177
William Lloyd		1			Ditto	192
Paul Douxsaint		1			Ditto	195
Alexander Fraser		1			Ditto	161
	29	21	4	1	Sold for	£ 11144
Charges *Vizt.*	Deduct 1 negroe man of the 7 negroes sold together being Capt: Godfrey's property and would have yielded had he been sold by himself £280 and was an advantage to the Sale of the rest by selling him with them					280
						£ 10864

To Duty on 53 Negroes above 4 feet 2 Inches a £10 each	£530	
1 Ditto under	5	
To the Officers fees		17 6
To Wine and Punch at the Sale cost	7	
To the Vendue Master for selling 12 Negroes at Vendue	12	
To the Doctor for Visiting the Sloop on Arrival		7 7
To Discount for prompt payment on the following Sums having taken the Debts to myself and remitted the same *Vizt.*		
Alexander Chisolme on 2 Sums *vizt.* £280 and £193 is	£473	
Lachlan McIntosh	280	
Samuel Simons	304	
Christopher Minnick	470	
Peter Taylor	298	

[3]The remainder were sold at vendue.

Brought forward			£562. 4. 6	£10864
	Peter Peguine	90		
	William Lloyd on 2 Sums *Vizt* £400 and £192	592		
	William Breedy	200		
	James Moore	200		
	Paul Smyser on 2 Sums *vizt.* £180 and £200	380		
	William Stone on 3 Sums *vizt.* £176, £161 and £130	467		
	Charles Lorimer	161		
	George Duckatt	177		
	Paul Douxsaint	195		
	Alexander Fraser	161		
		£4448		
	at 8 pr Cent pr annum is 2 pr Cent for three Months		88. 19	
	To Capt Godfrey's coast Commission on £10864 at £4 per 104		417. 17	
	To my Commissions on £10864 at 5 pr Cent		543. 4	
				1612. 4. 6
	Neat Proceeds			£9251. 15. 6

SOUTH CAROLINA April 4th 1755
Errors Excepted
pr GABRIEL MANIGAULT

Sund. Disburstments on Sloop "Hare" at Charlestown So Carolina

1755		£	*s.*	*d.*			
March 22nd	To Brooms and Tarr brushes		17	6			
25	To greens at Sund times	1	5				
	To pd a Negro for Labour		2	6			
29th	To a qt [*illegible*] Beef 133 lb at 1/1	7	4	1			
April 1st	To a Scrubin Brush		12	6			
5th	To a quarter Beef 130 pd at 10 *d.*	5	8	4			
	To Cordage as pr Recept	9	15				
	To Do as Pr Do	3	10				
11th	To Warfage the Sloop	5					
	To 1½ bushl pease		18	9			
	To 4 Blankits for Slaves	9					
12th	To 12 pd Candles	2	17				
	To a qt Beef 118 wt at 9 *d.*	4	8	6			
	To Nails for boat		15				
	To pd Twine		10				
					52	4	2
	To pd the People	36	13	9			
	To my Expences from the 14th of March to the 13 of April is 28 days at 25/per Day	35					
	To the Cap of the Fort ommited above	3	2				
					74	15	9
					£126	19	11

Errors Excepted
CALEB GODFREY
CHARLESTOWN SO CAROLINA April the 12th 1755

Capt. Caleb Godfrey to Sam. and Wm. Vernon for Deficiency on Sloop "Hare's" Cargo to Africa Dr

			£	s.	d.
To your proportion of 2 Slaves Drowned on the Coast cost 160 Barrs is 19½ Barrs equal to £4 16 Sterling Excha. at 2200....is			105	12	0
To 6½ l. Bees Wax 1 Barr is 5/ Sterling			5	10	0
To 13 Bottles Snuff Barrs	8. 3				
20C Loaf Sugar	6. 3				
	15. 1	is equal £3 15 6 Sterling	83	1	0
To 1 Great Coat			16		
To Sund. to Wm. Cleveland Barrs	81				
to Geo. Dowdal	71				
	152	Barrs is £38 Sterling	830	0	0
To 1 Negro Girl lost her Life on the Passage			350		
			£1390	3	0

Sunds. Expended and Wastage out of the Sloop "Hare's" Cargo in a Voyage to the Coast of Africa.

Rum for Slaves Provisions wt people had etc.	357½	gall and 88 gallons used	
Beef for Butts Rice and returnd and Expended etc.	31½	barls	
Pork Expended	9		
Caggs Bread Eat by the mice	1		
flower Expended for Slaves rice not to be had	11		
Hams Expended and Lose of Weight on	107		
Tobacco Damnified when Shipt, used for Slaves and lose	525		
Tarr Used in Graveing etc.	2		
Sugar Expended and Sold the People etc.	134½		
Wine Expended and wants	5	gall	
Loaf Sugar Damage took of the papers, Wants	40¾		
Ticklenbourg for Boats Sail 2 Hammocks and sold people Some returned or Used on Sails at Carolina	60	Ells	
Boards used for Bulkheads and Platforms	290	feet	
Beans Expended Bread Do. and Sold			
4 White Oake Cask used for water Cask			
8 flower barrils Burnt and 8 water hogds bad stove at So Carolina			
Rum Shipt as pr Invoice	6759	gall	
Hoops Used	for Slaves Rum	6313⅔	
Staves do	for provisions and for do	334	
Shackles and Handcufs returnd	for the people	23½	
		6671	
	Expended and wants	88	
		6759	

Messrs Samuel and William Vernon Owners of the Sloop "Hare"
Dr.

		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1755 April	To 129 Barrels and 25 half Barrels Rice Shipt On board the Sloop *Hare* Caleb Godfrey Mas'r as pr Invoice				1797	11	7
	To Cash paid Capt. Godfrey for the use and disbursements of Said Sloop pr Receipt	224	15				
	To Cash paid the printer for Advertisements of the Sale of the negroes and to the post Boy for carry'g some of them into the Country omitted in account Sales	4					
		228	15				
	To Commission thereon at 5 pr Cent	11	8	9	240.	3.	9
	To Sundry Bills of Exchange remitted you by Capt. Godfrey *Vizt.*						
R.S.	Smith and Gordon's bill payable to John Smith and drawn on Will'm Thomson Merch't in London	150					
R.S.	Charles Mayne to George Seaman on John Bristow Esqr. Merch't in London	172	7	1			
	Charles Mayne to George Seaman on William Mayne in London	52	12	11			
	Benjamin Stead's to Gab: Manigault on William Stead Merch't in London	300					
R.S.	Ditto to ditto on Ditto	100					
	Ditto to ditto on Ditto	100					
	Str'g	875					
	at 7 for 1 is	6125					
	To 14 ps $\frac{8}{8}$ deliver'd Capt. Godfrey at 31/	21	14				
		6146	14				
	To Commission at 5 pr Cent	307		7	6453	14	7
					8491	9	11

Messrs Samuel and William Vernon Owners of the Sloop "Hare"
Cr.

		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1755 April 4th	By neat proceeds of 54 Negroes rece'd pr the Sloop *Hare* Caleb Godfrey Mas'r pr amount Sales	9251.	15	6			
	Deduct Capt. Godfrey's 1/12th part of the neat proceeds of the above negroes	770	19	7			
					8480	15	11
	By 3 Months Credit allowed for the payment of Duty on negroes amount'g to £535 a 2 pr Cent				10.	14	
					8491	9	11

SOUTH CAROLINA April 12, 1755
Errors Excepted pr. GABRIEL MANIGAULT

129. Accounts of the *Hare*, 1756-1758.[1]

		Doll.	£	*s.*	*d.*	*Sterl*
St. Jago	anchorage	3	0	13	6	
	Present to the Gov.			12	6	
	Sheep Goats etc.		3	0	0	
Isle May	Presents to Officiers	10	2	5	0	
	Stock, Grass and Corn	6	1	7	0	
Isle Delos	Kings Custom		3 Barrs			
	Wood		15			
	Plantins etc.		7			
	Turtle		12			
	Pilots Wages		10			
Bance Island	Kings Custom		6			
	Pilotage		16			
Sierreleon River	Kings Custom		15			
	Rice		23			
	Wood		12			
	Plantins Pepper etc.		9			
Cape Mount	Rice		184			
	Plantins etc.		10			
	Oil		5			
Grand Bassam	Wood		6			
	Oil and Plantins		2			
	Custom		3			
Grand Curra	Rice		66			
	Oil and Pepper		3			
Limpo	Rice		56			
	Oil Fowls etc.		4			
Lahou	Plantins		2			
	Corn		4			
		oz.	*a.*			
Cape Coast	Canoe hire	1.	8			
	Wood		6			
Anamaboe	Canoe and Customs	2.	8			
	2 Cankey Stone		4			
	Wood		6			
	Oil Plantins etc.		6			
	Black Sailors Wages	2.	8			
	Wood		9			
	Wood	31				

[129] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. Among the papers of the *Hare* are loose sheets, containing jottings of the trade on the African coast. Much of this is too scattered to be intelligible, but the items here printed seem to follow the trade of the *Hare* down the coast in fairly orderly fashion.

[*Accounts of the "Hare"*—continued:]		*oz.*	*a.*
	Corn	0.	12
	Yams, Pepp' etc.		6
Accra	Butter etc.	14	
Popo	Custom	6	
	Canoe hire	3	
	Water	1.	2
	Corn and Calavance [2]	1.	4
	Palm oil etc.	1.	12
Quitter	Corn	3.	12
	Shoats Sheep etc.	2.	10
Lagou	Corn	1.	14
	Oils	1.	8
	Plantins		2

Caleb Godfrey in Acctt. with Sam'l and Wm. Vernon Dr.

		£	s.	d.
1756	To Ball'ce as pr Acc'tt setled Novr. 7th 1755	29	3	
Apr 1st	To 4 lb Tea at 60/	12		
July 8th	To 2 lb ditto	6		
Augt	To Sund. of Rich'd Ward Esq. and Son as pr their acc'tt	38	4	
	To so much you recd. of Messrs. Austin and Laurens South Carolina Currency £426. 8. 7 as pr Rect			
	£426. 8. 7 is Sterling at 700 pr Ct. £60. 18. 4			
	£60. 18. 4 at 2200 pr Ct is Rhod Island Money	1340	3	4
	To Frt. of 2 Negro's from the Coast of Africa to South Carolina at £5 Sterling each is £10 Sterling at 2200 pr Ct	220		
	To Frt. of the two Negro from So. Carolina to this Port	40		
	To Cash pd. you in Bills of Credit	16		
		£1701	10	4
	To Case Lancets 80/ Pewter hand pump £15. 0. 0 Gaging Rod 30/ sold on the Coast and not credited for	20	10	
		1722		4

		£					
1756 Cr.	By 3½ Days work his Negro on bd						
July	the sloop *Hare*	4.	7.	6			
	By his Wages as pr Portledge Bill	216.	13.	4			
	By so much Carolina Currency being for the use of the Sloop *Hare* £203. 7. 7						
	£203. 7. 7 is Sterling at 700 pr. Ct. 29. 1. 1						
	£29. 1. 1 Sterling is this Curr'cy at 2200 is	639.	3.	9			
	By 2 Certificates to Cancel Bonds	4					
	By pd the Naval Officer	1			865	4	7
Ball'ce due S. and W Vernon					£856	15	9

NEWPORT 3d Octr. 1758

E E SAM'L and WM. VERNON

[2] A variety of peas or beans.

Dr. Account Sales of Six Negro Slaves receiv'd pr the Sloop "Hare" Caleb Godfrey Comdr from Africa Cr.

		£	s.
1756 May	To pd Doct'r Eben'r Gray for Medicines and Attendance of two Girls	37	18
	To Board, Nursing etc 1 Negro Girl that Dyed from the 1st May 1755 to May 1756 is 12 months at £16 pr month	192	
	To Clothing 6 Negros	20	
	To Coffin etc the Girl that Dy'd	8	
		257	18
	To Commissions on £1880 at 5 pr Ct.	94	
	To Nt Proceeds being	1528	2
		1880	

		£	s.
	By 1 Boy sold pr Robt. Stevens to Capt. Isaac Stelle for	410	
	By 2 Girls pr ditto to Rich'd Gibbs at £350 pr.	700	
	By 1 Boy sold Mr. Henry Ward pr S. and Wm. Vernon	420	
	By 1 Girl sold to Wm Vernon for	350	
	By 1 Girl that Dy'd	000	00
		1880	

NEWPORT 3d Octr 1758
Errors Excepted
ROBT. STEVENS and SAM'L and WM. VERNON

Dr. Caleb Godfrey in Acc'tt with Robt. Stevens Sam'l Vernon and Wm. Vernon Cr.

		£	s.
1756	To Coast Commissions on six Slaves wch he recd. at the value of £2000 to which agreed if sold for more or less to be added or deducted, as per his Acc'tt of Novr 8th, 1755	76	18
	To so much he recd for his proportion of sd. 6 slaves at the above value of £2000	162	4
		239	2

		£	s.
1756	By his Coast Commissions on six Slaves Nt. Proceeds being but £1528. 2. 0 as pr Acctt Sales is after deducting his Priviledge of six slaves	54	18
	By his Proportion of six Slaves	114	16
	is in Average of 80 the number purchased is but 72	169	14
	Ballance Due to R. Stevens and Vernons	69	8
		239	2

NEWPORT 3d Octr 1758
Errors Excepted
ROBT. STEVENS, SAM'L and WM. VERNON

Acco't of Sale, Charges and Net Proceed of 63 new Negro Slaves, Receivd of the Sloop "Hare" Caleb Godfrey Commander from Sierra Leon on the proper Account of Messrs. Samuel and William Vernon Merchants In Rhode Island

Purchases		*Men*	*Women*	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Terms of payment*	*Amount* £	*s.*	*d.*
1756									
June 29	James Kean			1		paid	130		
"	John Donnavan			1	1	£180 paid Remainder next Janry	340		
"	Nicholas Harleston	2				paid	500		
"	John Ernest Poyas			1	1	next January	300		
"	Samuel Burrows	1				ditto	260		
"	John Liviston			1		ditto	125		
"	Robert Nesmith	1				next March	250		
"	Thomas Cooper		1			next January	240		
"	John Scott	2				ditto	440		
"	John Waldon		1			paid	200		
"	Benjamin Hurst	1			1	next February	400		
"	Charles Minors		1			next January	200		
"	James Cooper	1		1		ditto	415		
"	James Brenard	1				next February	250		
"	Michael Geigar	2	1			£270 pd Rem'r next March	615		
30th	Elias (St. John's) Ball			3	2	paid	460		
"	Nicholas Harleston	1				paid	180		
"	Sarah Hext	2				Next January	430		
July 1	Mary Russell	2				next May	450		
"	William Jamison	1	1			next Jan'ry (the Man very meagre)	330		
"	Warham and Prioleau	1				very much swell'd and bursthend Netted pr Vendue	15	12	
"	Solomon Milner	1				extreamly sick	20		
2d	Robert Panley	2		1		next January	580		
	Mr. Wilson			1		paid	145		
6th	Warham and Prioleau	2				being old and meagre Netted pr Vendue	151	12	3
8th	Rev'd Alexr Garden Junr				1	next January	160		
"	Henry Laurens			1	1	paid	200		
9th	John Cahusac				1	next January	100		
July 13	Daniel Horry			1		next January	100		
	Thomas Rose		1			ditto	180		
	Warham and Prioleau	5	7	1		sold at publick Vendue Payb. next Janr'y	1425	19	
	Benja Yarnold				1	Sold for £180 but she being very ill with the foul disease we have agreed to pay for her care which may be £30	150		
	Men	28	13	13	9		9823	3	3
	Women	13							
	Boys	13							
	Girls	9							
		63							

Charges hereon *Vizt.*[3] . . .

[3] The charges are those contained in the "Abstract of Accot Sale". Endorsed: "July 1756, Austin and Laurens Sales of *Hare's* Cargo from Africa".

Dr. *Messrs Samuel and William Vernon on Acco't Currt with Austin and Laurens* *Cr.*

		£ s. d.			
1756 July 17th	To Cash Paid Capt Godfrey for Eight privilidge Slaves (Six on his own Account and two for his mate) in Avarage of 80 the Number purchasd of which 63 arrived here and sold for £8706 17 8 Nt Proceed pr Rect				
	" paid ditto for Coast Commission he demanded of us £4 per £104 on £8952. 9. 11 the Amot. of the Gross Sale of said 63 Slaves after deducting the above privilidge pr Receipt	344 7 3			
	" also for the Sloops disbursemts pr Receipt	426 8 7			
		770 15 10			
	Commission thereon 5 pr Ct	38 10 9	809 6 7		
	To Amount pr Invoices herewith of 150 Barrels 10 half Barrels Rice and 500 Spanish mill'd Dollars Shipd pr said Sloop *Hare* for Rhode Island		2612 12 11		
	To Ballance due hereon Carried to your Credit in a new Account		4414 6 10		
			8706 17 8		
			870 13 4		
1756 July 17th	By Net Proceed pr Acco't Sale herewith of 63 new Negroes Receivd pr the Sloop *Hare* Capt Godfrey from Sierra Leon on your Account				£8706 17 8

(Copy)

CHARLES TOWN SOUTH CAROLINA 17th July 1756.
Errors Excepted
AUSTIN and LAURENS

NOTE. There is now outstanding on the Acco't Sale of Negroes none of which will be due untill next Jan'ry ---------- £7320 19
Ballance of this Account ---------- 4412 6 10

which leaves us in advance ---------- £2906 12 12
from this deduct our Commission ---------- 654 1 11
Sum we advance exclusive of our Commission on which we shall charge the customary Interest till we are reimbursed ---------- £2252 10 3

Abstract of Acco't Sale, Charges and Net Proceeds of 63 new Negro Slaves Receiv'd pr the Sloop "Hare" Caleb Godfrey Commander from Sierra Leon on Account of Messrs. Samuel and William Vernon Merchants In Rhode Island

			£ s. d.
By Amo't of the Sale of said Sixty three Slaves			9823. 3. 3
Charges thereon *vizt.*			
To Doctor Oliphant visiting the Sloop on arrival	£10		
and for Medicines to the Negroes	4. 10.	14. 10	
" Duty of 52 Slaves at £10 ps	520.		
11 do undersize at £5	55	575	
" Printed Advertisements, hire of a Man and Horse to disperse them thro' the Country and Expences at the Sale		14	
" Permit and Fees to the Measurer Comptroller and Treasurer		4 3. 6	
" paid Middleton and Brailsford			
4 pss blue Bafts 43½ yds a 5/	10. 17. 6		
2 ps striped Cotton 17 Yds at 4/6	3. 16. 6		
1 Durfus Blankett for a Woman big with child	2. 15	17. 9.	
Commission on £9823 3 3 at 5 pr Ct		491. 3. 1	
Net Proceed being Eight thousand seven hundred and six Pounds seventeen Shillings and eight pence we pass to the Credit of Messrs Samuel and William Vernon in Acco't Currt		1116. 5. 7	
		8706 . 17. 8	
			9823. 3. 3

CHARLES TOWN SOUTH CAROLINA
17th July 1756
Errors Excepted
AUSTIN and LAURENS [4]

[*Receipt from Captain Caleb Godfrey.*][5]

CHARLES TOWN SOUTH CAROLINA 17th July 1756.

Received of Austin and Laurens Eight hundred and Seventy Pounds thirteen Shillings and four pence Current money for the produce of Eight privilidge Slaves (six of them on my own Account and two for my chief Mate) in Avarage of Eighty Slaves purchasd at Sierra Leon in the Sloop *Hare* of which Sixty three arrivd here and are sold by them for £8706 17 8 Net Proceed

Also Three hundred and forty four Pounds seven Shillings and three pence Currt Money for my Coast Commission of £4 pr £104 on £8952 9 11 the Gross Amount of the Sale of said Slaves after deducting the abovementiond Sum for Privilidge.

[4] Addressed "To Messrs Sam'l and William Vernon Merchts in Rhode Island, pr Cap'n Robbins." For the correspondence which preceded this settlement see *post*, nos. 131-138.

[5] Endorsed, "C. Godfrey's Rects of mony pd him by Austin and Laurence."

Also Four hundred twenty six pounds eight Shillings and seven pence Current Money to pay Mens Wages and other disbursements for the said Sloop *Hare* at this Port being in the whole, One thousand six hundred forty one pounds nine shillings and two pence Currt money for which I sign four Receipts of this Invoice and sale [6]

£870.	13.	4	Priviledge
344.	7.	3	Coast Commission
426.	8.	7	Disbursements
£1641.	9.	2	

130. Accounts of the *Titt Bitt*, 1756.[1]

Copy of Portage Bill for Sloop "Titt Bitt," Thos. Roggers Mast'r for Affrica

Time of Entry	*Men's Names*	*Quality*	*Advance Wages*	*Wages pr Month*
1756				
Janry 12th	Thos. Roggers	Mast'r	£30	£25 per mo.
March 26	Thos. Underwood	1st Mate	£70	£23
June 7th	Wm. Heffeton	2nd Do	£22	£22
May 27	Anthony Kesser	Sailor	£30	£20
May 27	Thos. Mitchell	Do	£27	£18
June 21	John Simmons	Do	£18	£18
June 2nd	Tobie Arnold	Do	£20	£20
May 1	John Sadler	Boy	£10	£ 8

[6] On July 17 Laurens also sent to the Vernons the final account of the sale of the *Hare's* cargo, £8706 17 8 currency, minus various charges, which left a balance in favor of the Newport firm of £4414 6 10. Here he repeated the account, which he had already written, of Benjamin Yarnold's purchase: "You'll please to observe in the Sale a Negro Girl was sold to Benj Yarnold for £180 and we credit you £150 retaining by guess £30 to cure her of a shocking disorder. It was so managed that the Girl had not the least appearance of any disorder in the Yard and the very next day was unable to stir with the foul disease, the purchaser sends her back to us and we refusd to receive her but thought ourselves obliged to consent to refer the matter to two or three Impartial Judges, these ordered that she should be cured at the expense and Risque of the Owners." The Vernons are mistaken in thinking that the girl is dead when they write on June 18, for on July 24 she is still living, and Laurens is hopeful of her recovery (Laurens Letter-Book, II. 271, 275). On Aug. 31 Laurens reported the net proceeds of the sale of 46 negroes as £5436 4 2; against this he charged £234 19 for coast commission, £1968 10 1 for two bills of exchange, and £230 3 stg., leaving a balance in favor of Messrs. Thompson of £1467 19 1. *Ibid.*, II. 303.

[130] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

Invoice of Cargo on Bord the Sloop "Titt Bitt" Thos. Roggers Mast'r for Affraica on Account Wm. Vernon on[e] half Jonas L. Redwood One quarter and Wm. Redwood Jnr. one quarter and goes Consign'd to Capt. Thos. Teakle Taylor, Mast'r of Our Ship "Cassader Garding" at Annamaboe Or in his Absence to sd Mast'r.

NEWPORT June 18th 1756.

		£	s.	d.
[Details of rum cargo follow, total 5682 gallons at 25/ pr. gal.]		7102	10	
Difference in 64 Cask for 60/		192		
10 bbl. Light Flower wt. Ntt. 15 cw. 2 qt. 21l.	at £11 pr Cw.	172	11	3
1 Firkin Butter wt. 2½	at £8	25		
3 bbl. Tarr	at £7	21		
2 Do. Pitch	at £11/	22		
2 Do. Sugar wt. Ntt. 5 cw. 0 qt. 10l.	at £33	167	19	
1 hhd. Tobacco wt. Ntt. 901l.	at 1/6	167	11	6
4 bbl. Do. wt. Ntt. 519	at 2/2	51	18	
		£7822	9	9
10 bbl. Beef	at £24	£ 240		
2 bbl. Pork	at £40/	80		
4 bbl. Do	at £36/	144		
13 cw. 1 qt. 10 l. Bread	at £13	173	9	
1 bbl. Beens		7	1	
1 bbl. Salt		6		
3 Bush. Corn		5	2	
		656	1	
Invoice of Cargo Brought over		£7822	9	9
Provisions Brought over		656	1	
Charges Their on *Vizt.*				
Trucking	at £20			
Warfage Cooperage Portage	15			
Hire of hands on Land and on board and provisions	100			
		135		
Commissions on £8478. 10 *s.* 9 *d.*	at 5 pr Ct.	423	18	9
		£9037	9	6
4 hhd. For Warter	at £5/ £20			
3 Terces For Do	at £4 12			
4 Gang Cask Iron Bound	at £6/ 24			
Cask For Bread and Tobacco	20			
		76		
		£9113	9	6

Errors and Omissions Excepted
NEWPORT June 18 Day 1756[2]

[*Receipts for Sloop and Cargo.*][3]

Know all Men by these Presents that We Charles Bell of Cape Coast Castle and Richard Brew of Annamboe Esqrs do Owe and are

[2] This bears the note, "Memo pd. John Sadler £36", and on the back "Recd 6 Octobr 1757 of Jonas Lang Redwood Thirty two Pounds Old Tenor in part for Wages due on Board the Sloop *Titt Bitt* Cap Rogers. £32. Wm. Hefferman", probably the Heffeton above. Endorsed: "Invoice of Capt Rogers Cargo".

[3] H. W. Preston, *Rhode Island and the Sea* (State of Rhode Island, Historical Publication No. 4), pp. 77-78, from MS. Notarial Protests, VI. 543, 544.

Indebted to Messrs William Vernon, Jonas and William Redwood Merchants in Rhode Island four thousand three hundred and fifty and three Gallons of Rum payable in Good Men and Women Slaves *Vizt* Men at One hundred and fifteen Gallons each or Women at Ninety five Gallons each To Capt Thomas Tickle Taylor of the Ship *Cassada Garden* now lying in the Road of Anamaboe on or before the eighteenth Day of February next ensuing the Date hereof in Witness whereof we have hereunto set our Hands and Seals this 18th Day of Novr 1756 [4]

Know all Men by these Presents that We Charles Bell of Cape Coast Castle and Richard Brew of Annamaboe Esqrs do owe and are Indebted to Messrs William Vernon, Jonas and William Redwood Merchants in Rhode Island thirty five good young Men Slaves in payment for the Sloop *Titbitt* bo't from Capt Thomas Tickell Taylor of the Ship *Cassada Garden* of Rhode Island aforesaid and now lying in this Road, which Slaves we hereby promise to pay to the said Capt. Thomas Tickell Taylor his Executors Administrators or Assigns on or before the eighteenth Day of February next ensuing the Date hereof in Witness whereof We have hereunto set our Hands and Seals this 18th Day of November 1756.

131. Samuel and William Vernon to George Austin, 1756.[1]

Newp't 15th April 1756.

S'r, By the Time this may reach you we have Reason to expect Caleb Godfrey Master of our Sloop *Hare* will be arrivd at Charlestown from the Windward Coast of Africa (no Misfortune happen'g to him). The last year he went to the Address of Gabriel Manigault Esq but that Gent. declining Business has determind us now to recommend him to yours, in the disposal of his Slaves. The knowledge our W. V. hath of your integrity, joind with the strong inclination Capt. Godfrey expressed of going to your Address, convinces that nothing on your Part will be wanting that can prevent giving us intire Satisfaction. We beg leave to remark that it has ever been the Custom from this Place, when a Cargo of Slaves are sold in any of the West India Islands, that the Master has a part of the Comm. which Mr. Manigault declind allowing to Godfrey, which we was really sorry to find, as his repeated misfortunes had reducd him to low Circumstances, for which he was the more to be pityed as he had a Wife and a numerous Ofspring depending on him for thair Support, which had that Gent. been apprizd of we are

[4] Signed, Charles Bell and Richard Brew. The witnesses were Richard Cook and Thomas Rogers. For further information concerning Brew see *post,* nos. 193, 223.

[131] [1] Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 57. The superscription is, "To Mr. Geo. Austin Merch't Charles Town So. Carolina".

convinced his humane and benevolent Disposition woud have extended to his relief in a good degree, and make no doubt of finding the same inclination in you. Mr. Manigault remitted the Nt. Proceeds of the above Cargo in good Bills of Excha. except the Sloops Load of Rice,[2] what Slaves he Sold on Credit he deducted 6 PCt per Annum Intr't and advancd the Money, which we was content with. And now desire if possible to have the Nt. Proceeds of this Cargo remitted immediately to Messrs. Thomlinson Trecothick and Co. Merch'ts in London for our Acc'ts in good Bills reserving a sufficient to load her with Rice and about 20 bbs. good Pork if to be had reasonable; desire you to take four Bills of each sette two Bills to be forwarded by you to the above Gent. the other two forward to us here, beg all unnecessary Expences may be carefully avoided and that you'll give him all possible Dispatch. Please advise us per all Opp'tntys of your Market for Slaves etc. As [we] have several Vessels gone to Africa whom we have orderd to Barbados, for Instructions where to Proceed, and if your Market will Answer shall Order them thither, its probable one may be with you this Fall and two early in the Spring all from the Gold Coast, be pleasd therefore to be particular and frequent in your Advices. The inclosd Paper is Copy of our Agreement with C. Godfrey for his Comm. and Priviledge to which he will conform, We also inclose a Letter to him which on his Arrival please deliver thus you will Oblige [3]

132. Samuel and William Vernon to Gabriel Manigault, 1756.[1]

Newp't 15th April 1756.

Sir, Your highly esteemd Favour of 12th April Ult. we duly recd. with a particular Account of the Sales of the Sloop *Hare's* Cargo of Slaves also your Remittance for Nt. Proceeds in Bills Rice etc, which gave intire Satisfaction. We have not been so Complaisant in writing to you as might reasonably be expected for which neglect beg your Pardon. Are sorry it is not agreable to you to continue in Business any longer, as we deem it a public Loss. We expect Capt. Godfrey will be at Carolina by the Time this meets you or not long after with another Cargo of Slaves, have recommended him to the Address of Mr. Geo. Austin, hope you will not be backward in affording him your Advice and Assistance, so far as you may think

[2] The invoice of the rice shipped by Manigault on Apr. 10, 1755, amounted to £1599 5 6. N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

[3] The letter to which reference is here made informed Captain Godfrey that Austin had been told that it was customary for him to receive part of the commission, then added, "let the whole of your Slaves be disposed of for we desire no more to be brought here". Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 58.

[132] [1] Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 58.

necessary, for our Interest, shou'd [it] be in our Power to render you any Services by any Commands you may be pleasd to lay on us shall gladly embrace every Oppertunity.

133. Samuel and William Vernon to Thomlinson, Trecothick, and Company, 1756.[1]

Newp't 20th April, 1756.

Sirs, We recd. your Fav. of 10th Dec. per Capt. Warner *via* Boston advising us of your not having made any Insurance on the *Hare* Capt. Godfrey, owing to the extravagant Preemio demanded per the Underwriters. The great length of Time between his Sailing and the receipt of your L[ett]re would not admit of risqueing our Interest any longer without Insurance, as there was a great uncertainty whether you would be able to get it done even at 20 Guineas should we desire it, therefore omitted answering your Letter concluding it would be safer and more for our Interest to get it done here. We this day had Advice of his being safe arriv'd upon the Windward part of the Coast, and that he is likely to do well and make good Dispatch, and dont expect he will be obligd to proceed down to the Gold Coast on which Account imagine the Risque is not so great. Have now to request of you to get Insurd on him £600 (free of the Preemio) at and from the Coast to Charlestown in So. Carolina on as easy Terms as possible. If the Underwriters make any Difference between Slaving to Windward and proceeding down to the Gold Coast it will be best to make the Insurance conditionally altho we are pretty certain he made his Trade to Windward, and suppose he is off the Coast before now.

134. Henry Laurens to Samuel and William Vernon, 1756.[1]

12th June 1756.

Samuel and William Vernon, Rhode Island
per Boardman

Gent'n, Your kind favr. of the 15th of April to our G. Austin did not reach us till the 24th Ult and to which we have not had an opportunity of replying before this which goes for New England. We hope you must have had information long before this how much the price of Slaves has been affected here since People no longer doubt that the present contests between us and France must come

[133] [1] Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 59. The superscription is "To Messrs. Thomlinson Trecothick and Co. London, via N. York Capt. Wm. Richards." The insurance to be placed was £200 on vessel, £400 on cargo.

[134] [1] South Carolina Historical Society, Laurens Letter-Book, II. 245. This letter could with equal appropriateness be placed in volume IV. of this work, "South Carolina", but it has seemed best to combine the material relating to the trade of the *Hare*.

suddenly to an open Rupture, the Rice planter in such case must act with great care and prudence to defray the unavoidable expences of his Family and the Indigo Planter has not any motive now to give a price for Slaves because a War Freight and Insurance must greatly reduce the price of that Commodity and its not at all improbable but that such Quantitys of it will be made in time of War that the European Markets will be reduced to a lower Ebb than has been the case for many Years past. From viewing things in this light, which every considerate person must do, We may without the spirit of Prophecy pronounce that the Sales with us this Summer must become wretchedly bad and we could not wish to see your Vessell the *Hare* with us or one of any of our Friends on any consideration whatever. this we foresaw many months ago and took the most effectual method to stop all the Ships we usually had but it unfortunately happens for us that we have 8 or 900 Slaves absolutely ordered down to us that we did not at all expect and so near at hand that We may every day reasonably look for them all and this at a time when our Planters are so discouraged that there was not Twenty appeared at a Sale of 350 Slaves ten days ago,[2] a large part of which are unsold and another Cargo to be shewn next Week.[3] last Summer they would almost go to Loggerheads for the first choice and let them have such as they liked we might almost fix our own price. but 'tis all at an End and must remain so till the Storm that hangs over us shall be quite dispelled wherefore We say—We hope you would get tidings of this great alteration of things in time to reach Capt Godfrey with a Letter to shape his course for some more promissing Market as it would be of great service to yourselves and infinitely more agreeable to us than to see him now here on the Terms we have fixed as the Standard'd of our Engagements for African Consignments—that is—to give the Vessell a Load of such produce as can be obtained, to pay the Capts. Coast Commission, Mens half Wages, Disbursements and etc. and to remit the residue as the time of payment shall grow due, tis our Interest to sell for the quickest payment we can without prejudice to the Sale, as the shorter the Term the less risque of bad debts. Mr. Manigault is a Gentleman can at all times advance Sums of Money without any inconvenience to himself, but it cannot be done by those who are professedly African Factors. We experimentally know that a large Capital is requisite to negotiate a Trade in this Country for 7 or 800 Negroes a Year in the way we take them but a more material consideration

[2] Probably this was the cargo of the *Benn,* sold by Middleton and Brailsford of Charleston.

[3] That of the *Hope,* William Lugen, to be sold by Inglis and Pickering of Charleston.

with the Factor is this, the probabillity of War affecting the Exchange. Last Year and for many preceeding Exchange was 700 per Ct. in last January it jumpd to £712.10/. suppose it had come to 800 which was not impossible from such an Event, what had he gaind who had sold a Cargo of Slaves and remitted at 7 when perhaps 2/3 of his money was not due before Exchange was 8. As to Mr Manigault refusing to allow Capt Godfrey a Share in his Commission, you must highly commend him for it, he is a Gentleman that does as many Acts of benevolence as any one in this Country and therefore would be the last rather than the first to introduce a Custom bad in its consequencys. It often proves a Bribe of great prejudice to Owners of Ships. We will venture to say some Ships intended for this place have stopd in the West Indias for that perquisite to the Captain to the loss of Thousands to the Concerned. This we know so clearly that no Man should sell a second Cargo for us who should tempt a Master to betray that great trust we reposd in him by that or any such like method.

If Capt Godfrey should touch in the West Indias he must hear that our Markets are over and we hope he will find himself at liberty to embrace that Market that shall promise most for your Interest, every thing would be against him was he now to come here, Rice grown very scarce, most of it of a very ordinary Quality the price 35 and rising daily. If he should come We shall do for you the very best We can and put you on the footing of our old and fast Friends.

135. Samuel and William Vernon to Thomlinson, Trecothick, and Company, 1756.[1]

Newport Rhde. Island 12th June 1756.

Sirs, We just now Recd. a Letter from Caleb Godfrey of our Sloop *Hare* Dated at Sierralon on the Coast of Affrica the 8th of April Informing us of his being Slav'd his Vessel in good order and Clean Tallowd and that he expected to Sail the next for Carles Town So. Carolina therefore Shou'd this Reach you before any Insurance is made by you on S'd Vessel we desire the Sum of £600, *Vizt.* £200 on Vessel and £400 on Cargo may be made for us from Sierralon to Charles Town Free of the Preemio.[2]

P. S. As the Risq. to So. Carolina in Case of a War with France is not so great as to any part of the West Indies we Imagine the Prem'm Will be the easier.

[135] [1] Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 97.
[2] On p. 60 of the Letter-Book is another letter of the same date which duplicates this, save that the order is for £800 insurance, £600 of which was on the cargo.

136. Samuel and William Vernon to Austin and Laurens, 1756.[1]

Newp't 18th June 1756.

Gentlemen, Your Favour of the 22d Jan'ry Ult. wth two Bills Excha. amounting to £568 7 5 Sterling or £3978 11 11 Curr'cy wth your Comm. amount'g to £198 18 7 is £4177 10 6. we recd. and make no doubt of their being duly Honourd 'ere this. You observe to us that the Girl sold Benja. Yarnold is since Dead, that you had prevaild on him to submit the Matter to Arbitration, that is whether he shoud pay for her or not. We dont imagine whether he bought the Girl at a Public or private Sale that you warranted her to be perfectly sound and well—wch is not customary for new Slaves, and whether we are not intitled to as much compassion as he is—or whether he cant afford to bear such a Loss as well as we are we cant say. These things we think are quite foreign from the Dispute. We conceive it in this Light, if you wch we dont suppose, contrary to all Custom of the Sale of New Slaves, Warranted the Girl to be sound and well and she provd to be otherwise in Justice he ought not to pay for her, on the contrary, we are not to lose her for it is beyond all doubt if Slaves were thus warranted, they [would] yeild a Trice in proportion. Upon the whole therefore we expect that he is held obligd to pay for the Negro, and as you was so kind as to consent to pay the Doctor and stopd £30 for that end we willingly consent to it, tho' at the same Time think it unprecedental. Shoud be glad to have the Accots closd and the Ball'ce remitted in Rice if any oppertunity shoud present imediately, otherwise in Dollars.[2]

137. Henry Laurens to Samuel and William Vernon, 1756.[1]

5th July 1756.

Samuel and William Vernon Rhode Island
per Edgecomb

Gentlemen, . . . We are now to inform you that on the 29th Ulto. the day appointed for the Sale of your Slaves We had as many Purchasers appeard as we could have wishd for had we had three times the number for Sale but on taking a transient view of them before they were landed many of them became extreamly angry that we should invite them down from 80 or 90 Miles distance

[136] [1] Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 62, "To Austin and Laurens in So. Carolina."
[2] On June 18 Laurens wrote that the *Hare* had arrived in ten weeks from Sierra Leone, with 70 negroes, and that the sale was advertised for the 29th, the earliest date at which the quarantine law would allow it (Laurens Letter-Book, II. 249). The advertisement for this sale adds to the usual notice, "To be sold upon easy Terms". *South Carolina Gazette,* June 17, 1756.

[137] [1] S. C. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book, II. 259.

to look at a parcell of refuse Slaves as they call'd them and with some difficulty were prevail'd on to wait the Sale. They really were not much out for when Ten or fifteen were drawn out they deserved no better a Character. We were willing to believe Capt Godfrey obtaind the best he could but really they were a wretched Cargo, such a one as we would not have touchd could we have been excusd from it for three times our Com'n.

We have this day sold 42 to the Amt. of £7455.12/. Currency, in which two are included that sold at Vendue for only £35.12/. They seemd past all hopes of Recovery. God knows what we shall do with that remain, they are a most scabby Flock all of them full of the Crockeraws—several have extream sore Eyes, three very puny Children and add to this the worst infirmity of all others with which 6 or 8 are attended (*vizt.*) Old Age—those the Vessell brought last Year were very indifferent but these much worse. Poor Godfrey seems greatly distressed that he should not have been able to do better, his People have all left him except his Mates, they were going to put him into the Admiralty for some treatment that appeard to us a little too rough therefore We recommended that he would give them their discharge as the only thing would pacify them, are in hopes Capt Godfrey will be able to pick up hands in their stead on moderate terms. We laid in a Cargo of our best Rice for the Sloop at 40/ per Ct. as soon as we found it would be higher. This lies ready for him so that he may load away as quick as he pleases and we should wish he may do it soon as we have advice by a Ship in six Weeks from Bristol that War was declared in London the 18th May. We had a Sloop arrivd with 150 prime Slaves from the Factorys at Gambia and Bance Island the Evening before the Sale of your Negroes which would not at all have injurd your Sale had they been good, for we did not discover what a prime parcell they were till the first days Sale was over. We are not much afraid of making a pretty good Sale of this Cargo notwithstanding we are engaged in War if we can but draw down but half the number of Buyers we had on the Twenty ninth Ultimo, 'tho should not wish to receive any more Cargoes the present Year as a few more would make them move very Slowly. All that we can further say is, that every thing has been done for your Interest that was in our power and that we shall continue so to act untill the business is compleated. We hope we shall be able to address you soon per Capt Godfrey who this day takes in 40 Barrels of Rice for a beginning.

138. Samuel and William Vernon to Austin and Laurens, 1756.[1]

Newp't 8th Decr 1756.

Sirs, We have before us you Fav'rs of the 17th and 24th July to which don't know of any oppertunity we have had of Answering until now unless it had been *via* N. York, or Boston. We are not in the least Jealous but that your best endeavours were us'd in the Sale of Capt. Godfreys Cargo of Slaves notwithstanding they were sold so extreme low as renderd it a very bad Voyage to us, therefore we are and ought to be content. Discovered no error in your Acc'tts unless it be 50 *s* overcast in Invo. of Rice. The Ball'ce remaining in our Fav. have wrote Messrs. Thomlinson and Trecothick and Co. of London woud be remitted to them by you in good Bills of Excha. in Jan'ry or Feb. without fail which make no doubt will be punctually executed. The Sum of £30, retaind by you on Acc'tts of a Girl sold Benja. Yarnold, if there be any saving you'll please to add to the Ball'ce. We already desird you to take 4 Bills of each Sett and forward two to London and the other two to us which will be comply'd with by you

If any prospects appears of Slaves being in Demand with you in the Spring pray advis us. . . .

139. List of Captured Slave Vessels, 1757-1758.[1]

The *Success,* Seth Harvey, master, was captured with 96 slaves, May 30, 1757, and carried into Martinico.[2]

The *Marygold,* William Taylor, master, having on board 80 slaves, was captured June 19, 1756, within twelve miles of Antigua. The captain wrote his owners that he left captains James, Hammond (Palsgrave), Pinnegar, Rodman, and Clarke on the Coast of Africa; that Clarke, when he left, had 40 slaves.

The *Sirre Leone,* David Lindsey, master, belonging to Philip Wilkinson, on May 27, 1756, on her voyage from the Coast of Africa

[138] [1] Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 61.

[139] [1] W. P. Sheffield, *Privateersmen of Newport* (1883), pp. 55-56. During the Seven Years' War Newport sent out more than sixty privateers. The French retaliated by attacks on the slave traders, who were in danger both on the African coast and in the West Indian waters. Owing to the nature of the trade, the convoy system was of little service to the slavers. So great became the risks that in January, 1759, the Browns of Providence were asked a 25-per-cent. premium on the *Wheel of Fortune,* Capt. William Earl, which they sent to Guinea (Kimball, *Corr. Col. Govs. of R. I.,* I. xxxvii; *Providence in Colonial Times,* p. 270). For an excellent discussion of the difficulties which the British encountered in protecting the West Indian and North American commerce, see Sir Julian Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War* (1907), I. 351-370.

[2] The manifest of this vessel will be found in Preston's *Rhode Island and the Sea* (p. 74), taken from MS. Notarial Protests, VI. 404. The owner was Benjamin Mason.

to St. Christopher's, was captured and carried into Guadaloupe.[3]

The *Hawke,* Owen Morris, master, on a voyage from the Coast of Africa with 75 slaves, April 4, 1756, was captured and carried into Martinico.

The *Dolphin,* George Nichols, master, was captured on the Coast of Africa, Dec. 3, 1756, carried into Goree, and condemned.

The *Industry,* Thomas Underwood, master, with a cargo of 107 slaves, bound from the Coast of Africa to St. Christopher's, was captured April 10, 1758.

The *Prince George,* John Peck, master, was captured and plundered on the Coast of Africa, Jan. 30, 1761; voyage broken up.

The ship C*aesar,* of Newport, Jeremiah Clarke, master, left the Coast of Africa, Sept. 22, 1761; had on board 116 slaves bound to the West Indies; was captured by a French cruiser, Oct. 30, off Cape St. John.

The *Success,* Nehemiah Rhodes, master, was captured on the Coast of Africa, July 8, 1761, having on board 43 slaves.[4]

The *Two Friends,* Polypus Hammond, master, with 130 slaves and 28 elephants' tusks, was captured June 20, 1727 [1757].

Annamaboo, Walter Buffum, master, with half cargo of slaves, was captured July 23, 1758.

The *Fox,* William Taylor, master, was captured at the same time and near the same place as the *Annamaboo.*

The *King of Prussia,* Joseph Wanton, master, with 54 slaves, 20 ounces gold dust, and 66 hogsheads of rum, was captured July 23, 1758.

The *Young Batchelor,* Samuel Johnston, with 60 slaves, captured Jan. 27, 1757.[5]

Casada Garden, T. Taylor, with 175 slaves, captured about the same time.[6]

[3] Lindsay gives the date as May 27, 1757, in his protest. He was carrying 58 slaves and ten ounces of gold dust. Preston, *op. cit.,* pp. 82-83, from MS. Notarial Protests, VI. 454.

[4] Captain Rhodes's statement was that he sailed from Newport on July 8, 1760, and traded on the coast till Mar. 1, 1761. He was at that time driven on shore by a storm and his vessel plundered by natives. He reached Sierra Leone and embarked for Rhode Island with Captain Peck. Preston, *op. cit.,* p. 82, from MS. Notarial Protests, VII. 340.

[5] The account of the capture of this vessel with 72 slaves on board is to be found *ibid.,* pp. 80-81 (MS. Notarial Protests, VI. 413).

[6] The last two, not in Sheffield's list, are added from the *Boston News Letter,* June 23, 1757. For further references to the *Casada Garden* see *post,* no. 140. Captain Thurston, arriving in Newport late in April, 1757, had with him part of the crews of three English vessels captured by French men-of-war on their way to the Guinea coast. These captures may have been the work of the fleet under M. de Kersaint, which demoralized the African coast for a time (*News Letter,* May 5, 1757; Corbett, *op. cit.,* I. 366). Preston (pp. 83-84) adds an account of the loss of the *Camelion,* Capt. Michael Molten.

140. Accounts of the *Marigold* and the *Casada Garden*, 1758-1760.[1]

[*Portage Bill of the "Marigold."*]

Port of Newport Rhode Island.

It is agreed between the Master, Seamen, and Mariners, of the Brig'tn *Marigold* now bound from the Port of aforesaid to the Coast of Guinea from thence to the West Indies or to Som parts of North America and Back to the Abovesd port of Rhoad Island

That in Consideration of the Monthly Wages against each respective Seamen and Mariners Name set, they severally shall and will perform the above-mentioned Voyage: And the said Thos. Teackle Taylor Master, doth hereby agree with and hire the said Seamen and Mariners, for the said Voyage, at such Monthly Wages; to be paid pursuant to an Act of Parliament, made in the second Year of the Reign of King George the Second, entituled, An Act for the better Regulation and Government of Seamen in Merchants Service. In Witness whereof, they have hereunto severally set their Hands:

[Continuation of *Portage Bill* on p. 176.]

Invoice of sundry Merchandize Shipt on Board the Brig' "Marigold" Thomas Teakle Taylor, Comr. for Africa, three fourths on Account of Samuel and William Vernon and one fourth on Acco't of said Taylor and to him consigned Viz.

				£	s.	d.
[Details of rum cargo omitted]						
103 hhds Rum—9900 gals,		at 60/		29970		
2 Barrels Sugar wt. 4 C. 11 li.		at £34 pr C.		139	6	9
2 Do Turpentine		at £16		32		
6 Do Tarr		at £12		72		
6 Casks Tobacco [details] at 5/			199. 5			
The Hhd. £6. Pack'g and Frt. £7. 10			13. 10	212.	15	
1 Barrel Coffee wt. 161 li		at 13/		104	13	
1 Hhd Molasses 109 Galls.		at 50/		272	10	
10 Barrels Flour wt. 13C 2 qr. 7 li. Neat		at £16. 10/		223	15	7
13 do Pork		at £64		832		
10 do Beef		at £38. 6/6		383	5	
2 do Flour wt. 3 C. 3 qr. 3 li. Nt.		at 16		60	8	
800 feet Pine Boards		at £ 6		48		
1 Bolt Ozenbrigs 99 Ells		at 24/		118	16	
18 C. Bread amounts to			£268. 4			
9 Casks for Bread do.			45	313	4	
10 Iron bound Puncheons for Water		at £21	£210			
8 Iron bound Gang Casks		at £18 7/6	147	357		
Difference in 102 Rum Hhds		at 100/		510		
				£33649	13	4
Trucking 106 Hhds.	at 12/	£ 63	12			
Wharfage	at 2/	10	12	74	4	
				£33723	17	4

Errors and Omissions Excepted
Newport June 18 Day 1756

[140] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

[*Portage Bill of the "Marigold"*—continued:]

	Time of Entry	*Mens Names*	*Quality*	*Advance Wages before sailing*	*G. Hospital*	*Wages per Month, or by the Run of the Voyage*	*Whole Wages*	*Adv'ed on the Voyage in old Tenor*
							£ s. d.	£ s. d.
20 months	September 28 1758	Thos. Teakle Taylor	Master	£45	7/6			
months 15 Days	Febr. 26 1759	James Searing	C. Mate	£45	7/6	£45 per Month oald Tenner	675	10
13 16	April 11th 1759	John Taylor	Sd Mate	£60	6/9	£60 per Month oald Tenner	812	7
1 month lost 15½	Febr. 12th 1759	his John X Hermitage mark	Raw Sailor	£35	7/9	£35 per Month oald Tenner	542 10	43 13 4
5 Days lost M d								
15 5	Febr. 22d 1759	Joseph Heath	Sailer	£42	7/6	£42 per Month oald Tenner	630	59 7 0
5 Days lost 15 5 m D	Febr. 22d 1759	John Brown	Sailer	£42	7/6	£42 per Month oald Tenner	630	97 13 0
15 5	Febr. the 8th 1759	John Stanton and his mother	Boy	£42	7/9	£30 per Month oald Tenner	469	18
	April the 24th 1759	John Welford	Sailer	£88 10		£60 per Month oald Tenner	612	paid off St. Croix
	May the 2d 1759	John Gaezette	Sailer				637	
m d								
18 6	Novr. 21st, 1758	Edward Taylor	Raw Sailer	£35	9/	£35 per Month oald Tenner	637	
	May the 5th 1759	Richard Plumer	Sailer	£50		£50 p Month ould Tenner	533 6 8	paid off
12½	May the 12th 1759	Benja. Deofy[?]	Sailer	£60	6/3	£60 per Month Oald Tenner	750	83 4 0
		Nath'l Parkens	Sailer				21	paid off by T. T.
	Discharged the 28th	May 1760.						

NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND:

Recd. 22d July 1760 of Saml. and Wm. Vernon One hundred forty seven Pounds eleven shillings Ball'ce in full for my Wages on board the Brigantine *Marigold* Thos T. Taylor. JOHN TAYLOR.

[*Sundry Accounts.*]

			Gold	Rum
1759 from August 14th To Novemb'r the 11th	Nausau Senior Esqr.[2] To the Owners	Dr.		
	To 15 Hhds. of Rum at Sundry Times			1464 Gs.
	To 4 Barlls. of flower at 14 ac: Gold	Oz.	3. 8	
	To Hhd. Molasses 93 Galls. at 3/ Gold		3. 8	
			7.	
Sep'br 14 to Novr. 7th	John Baugh Esqr.	Dr.		
	To 1590 Galls. Rum at Sundry Times			1590
Septembr. the 4th to Novr. the 5th	Richard Brew Esqr.[3]	Dr.		
	To 806 Galls. Rum at Sundry Times			806
	To 2 Barlls. flower at 14 ac. Gold	oz.	1. 12	
	To 1 Hhd. Tobbaco 520 lb. at 6*d*. Gold		3. 4	
			5.	
Septr. 16	Capt. Wm. Ayre	Dr.		
	To 131 Galls. Rum at 5/	Oz.	8. 3	131
	To 60 lb. Sugar at 6 lb. for 5/		10	
		Oz.	8. 13	
1759 August the 21st	Mr. Simeon Ellin Chief of Cormenteen	Dr.		
	To 2 Hhds of Rum 194 Galls.			194
	To 1 Barll. Flower 14 Ac: Gold	Oz.	14	
	To 28 lb. Caffey 3 lb. for 1 Ac.		8	
		Oz.	1. 6	

To Sundry Ould Debts Collected on the Coast of Guinea Cr.

1759 Octr. 3d Novr. 27	By One Manboy of Quanoe I allow for him	Oz.	7. 8	
	By One Do. of Jepsons Quannoe		6. 8	
	By 5 accies Gold of John Crantea[4] in Trade		10	
	By 2 Do. of Wm. Ansha		4	
	By 4 Do. of My Lord[5]		9	
	By 10 Do. of Quanoe		1. 4	
	By Your part of a Woman paid By My Lord I allow Oz. 6 in Your part 3/8 is		2. 4	
		Oz.	18. 15	
1759	To Thos. Teackle Taylor at Annamaboe	Cr.		
	By 4 Small Casks of Rum as pr Invoice	Galls.		166

[2] Nassau Senior was acting governor at Cape Coast Castle from 1757 to 1761. The accounts of the *Marigold* are on scattered sheets and have been brought together by the editor. Most of the sheets seem to be taken from the trade-book used on the coast, others are perhaps items set down in preparation for the accounting with the

[*Sundry Accounts*—continued:]

	Of the Brigtn. *Marigold*		Gold	Rum Galls.
1759		Cr.		
from Octr.	By 11 Men and 2 Men boys at 90 Galls. Each			1170
the 11th to	By 1 Woman at 70: 2 Men boyes at 90			250
Novr. 13th	By 12 Hhds. for Water at 2 Galls. Each			24
	By Gold to Ball'n the Rum		1. 4	20
				1464
	By a Corn Mill at 12 ac.		12	
	By Gold of Mr. Grant		6. 4	
		Oz.	7.	
Octob'r 21	Pr. Contr			
to Novem'r	By 4 Men Slaves at 90 Galls. Each			360
the 7th	By 14 Women and Women Garlls at 70 Gs.			980
	By 5 Garles at 50 Galls. Rum Each			250
	Pr. Contra			
	By 5 Men Slaves at 90 Galls. Each			450
	By 2 Women and 2 Women Garles at 70 Galls.			280
	By 6 Hhds. 12 Galls. Rum 12 pr Sheckles for 6 Gs.			18
	By Gold to Ballance the Rum	Oz.	3. 10	58
	By Gold to Ball'n	Oz.	5.	
	Pr. Contra			
	By Gold Recd.	Oz.	7. 13	
	By 1 Bar'll Beef at £4		1.	
		Oz.	8. 13	
Septbr.	By one Man Slave at 90 Gs. Rum			90
the 14th	Due to Ball'ce 104 Galls. Rum and Oz. 1. 6 ac. Gold			
	The Ball'n of the Above Acco't I have Desier'd Mr. John Grant to Receive and Ship to the Owners of the Brig *Marigold* and have Left him a coppy of Said Accot Which he promisses to Do the 28th Novemb'r 1759			

owners. It is possible that, misled by date, form, or paper, the editor has included here items which belong to the trade of the *Casada Garden* or to some other vessel owned by the Vernons.

[3] For some knowledge of the career of Richard Brew on the African coast see this work, II. 537 n., and *post,* nos. 193, 223.

[4] Possibly the John Currantee referred to in this work, II. 489-490 n.

[5] Fragments of a trade-book found among these papers refer frequently to trade with "My Lord Augustus Fitzroy", possibly the same native trader as the one here meant.

Accot. Current for Sundrys Dispos'd of on the Coast of Affrica.[6] *Cr.*

1759 Annamaboe	By Rum as pr. Invoice from Rhode Island	9999 Gall.
	By Rum for Wm. Vernons family	124 Do.
	Rum Made out more than Invoice	693 Do.
		Galls. of 10816 Rum
	By 2 Casks of Tobb'o Waite as pr. Invoice	777 bbl.
		Tobbacco 777 bbl.
1759	By 2 Barlls. Sugar Waite as pr. Invoice	459 lb.
		459 lb. Sugar
1759	By flower as pr. Invoice from Rhode Island	12 Barlls.
		Barlls 12 flower
1759	By 1 Barll. Coffee as pr. Invoice	161 lb.
		161 lb.
	By 1 Hhd. Molasses Contents as pr. Invoice	114 Galls.
		114 Gs. Molasses
	By Six Barlls. Tar and 2 Do. Turpentine as pr. Invoice	

THOS. TEAKLE TAYLOR
in ANNAMABOE RHODE the 28th Novr. 1759

	Dr. the Owners of the Ship *Casada Gardin* with Sundry Debts paid for them etc.					
1759						
Augst	To 7 Galls. Rum to the Water Canoe men			Oz.		7
Octr. 2d	To 13 Galls. Neat Rum and 9 lb. Tobb to the Cabosears				1.	7
3	To 33 Galls. Neat Do. Oold Debts				2.	12
	To 24 Galls. Trade oold Do.				1.	8
Novr. 25	To 31 Galls. Do.				1.	15
28	To 4 Galls. Do.					4
	To 15 Galls. Neat Do.				1.	4
	To 14 Galls. Trade Do.					14½
	To Gold paid My Lord	Oz.	1. 1			
	To Do. Jepsons Quanno		1. 12			
	To Quow aboard for *Tittbitt*		3			
	To Mr. Hipsley[7]		12			
	To Gold to Ball'n		3. 12			
	To Gold to Ball'n		7¾		8.	7½
		Gold	4. 3¾	Cr.	18.	15
	In Trade					
1759	Dr. Mr. Wm. Vernon for Acco't of his family					
	To 1 boy Slave paid Rum				Galls.	42
	To Oz. 6. 5 ac. Gold for					101
	To Wants of Your Rum					15
	To the Docters for Cuting off Your Boys Toe and Curing					8
					Galls.	166

[6] This account is not with other accounts of the *Marigold* but follows an enumeration of the cargo of Captain Rogers.

[7] Possibly John Hippisley who was later governor at Cape Coast Castle. See this work, II. 502 n.

[*Sundry Accounts*—continued:]

	Dr. the Owners of the Brig'tn "*Marigold*" Their [Acco't Current]		
1759 ANNAMABO	To Neat Rum Dispos'd of for Gold Slaves and Sundrys as pr. Acco't	9613	Galls.
	To 1 Hhd. Delivered the Second mate pr. yr order	100	Do.
	To 1216 Galls. in Trade as pr. Acco't ct. is	608	
	To 5 pr ct. Leakage	495	
		Galls. 10816	Rum
	To 120 lb. Tobb'o Dispos'd of for Sundrys as pr Acco't		
	To 520 lb. Do. Sold Mr. Brew for Gold		
	To 137 Do. Exspended amongst the Slaves and Traders		
	777 lb. Tobbaco		
	Sugar Dispos of for Sundrys as pr. Acco't	260	lb.
	To Do. Leakeage Waistage and Exspended on bd.	199	
		459	lb. Sugar
	To Flower Sold for Gold	10	Bar'ls
	To Do. Exspended on board the Brig	2	Do.
		12	Barlls. flower
	Coffee Sold for Gold and to the Sailers	118	lb.
	To Do. Exspended On board	43	
		161	lb. Coffee
	To Molasses Sold for Gold and Sundrys	101	Galls.
	To Leakage and waistage	13	Do.
		114	Gs. Molasses
	3 Barlls. Tar and 1 Do. Turpentine Sold for Gold		
	2 Do. Exspended on bd.		
	1 Do. Tar and 1 Do. Turpentine Remains on board		

Errors Excepted

1759	Gold Dispos'd of for Sundrys *Vizt.*		Gold	
	for Slaves	Oz.	56.	
	for 3 Chests Corn 3 Empty Hhds. and 100 Yams		1.	1
	To my Lord for his Wages cr. 4 and Trade in Gold		2.	
	To my Lord for Ship *Casada Garding*[8]		1.	1
	To Jepsons Qunna for Do.		1.	12
	To Mr. Rissley for Do.			12
	To Mr. Vernons family for 101 Galls. Rum		6.	5
	for 133 lb. Cork at 7 lb. for ac. oz. [*illegible*] the One half for Mr. Isaacks	9½		9½
	My Comisions for the Neats proceeds		3.	11
		Oz.	73.	3½
	for T T T his part of a Woman Slave		2.	8
	for *Casadagardings* Acco't			9¼
			76.	4¾

[8] The *Casada Garden,* also belonging to the Vernons, had apparently been trading on the coast before the *Marigold* arrived.

Sales 112 Negroes.[9]

Dr.

To 112 Negroes sold at £30 Stg.	£3360.	0.	0.
Coast Com'n 5 per Ct.	168.		
	3192.	0.	0.
Com'n on Sales 5 per Ct.	159.	12.	0.
	3032.	8.	0.
To Com'n on £1516. 4 at 2½ per Ct.	£ 37.	18.	0
To Vernon's for Bills of Exchange	1108.	14.	6
To T. Taylor Do	369.	11.	6
	1516.	4.	0
To 100 hhds Rum	£ 1886.	5.	0
15 Do	280.	1	0
19 hhds. Molasses	175.	0.	9
	2341.	6.	9
Com'n 5 per Ct.	117.	1.	4
Com'n on Cask and Boat	5.	2.	0
	2463.	10	1
Bill Disbursements	226.	13.	7
	2690.	3.	8
Ball'ce	17.	13.	9
	£ 2707.	17.	5

Cr.

By 1 moiety of £3032. 8 0 Stg.	£1516.	4.	0	
By Nt. Proceeds of half the Sales Amounting to			£1516.	4 Stg.
Excha. at 71 1/5 per Ct. is	£2595.	12.	0	
60 old Cask £72				
Long Boat 30				
	102.			
Frt. of a Negro	10.	5	5	
	2707.	17.	5	
Vernons proportion of Sterling Money is		£1108.	14.	6[10]
recd. in Bills of Excha.		1105.	13.	0
due to S. and W. V.		3.	1.	6 sterg.
¾ of £17. 13. 9 Sta. Croix Curr'cy is		£13.	5.	3¾

[9] On the sheet containing these accounts a pencilled note adds, "1760 at St. Croix". While this sheet bears no indication that the 112 negroes constituted the cargo of the *Marigold,* it seems likely that such is the case.

[10] This is added in a different handwriting from what precedes it.

Dr. *Owners of Brigantine "Marigold" Acco't Curr't with Thomas T Taylor* *Cr.*

1760		£	s.	d.
March	To Coast Comiss'ns on the opposite half Sales for Bills at 5 pr. Cent Stg.	84.	0.	0
	To St. Croix Comiss'ns on sd Sales at 5 pr Cent	84.	0.	0
	To Comiss'ns on N. Proc'ds of do. £1512 Stg. at 2½ pr.	37.	16.	0
	To my ¼ part of N Proc'ds £1474. 4 Stg. of this half	368.	11.	0
	To And'w Irwins Bill of exch'g on Joost Van Hemert and Son for Balla this half Sales	1105.	13.	0
		£1680.	0.	0
	To Coast Comiss'ns on this half Sales payable in produce £2876. 3. 2 at 5 pr. Cent	£143.	16.	2
	To St Croix Comiss'ns on this half Sales Negroes on Casks and Longboat £2978. 3. 2 at £5 pr.	148.	18.	2
	To disbursments for the brig *Marigold* as pr. Acco't Includeing duty of Negroes etc.	224.	11.	7
	To Comiss'ns on N. Proc'ds of this half Negro Sales and of Casks boat and £2460. 17. 3 at 5 pr Cent	123.	0.	10
	To 100 hhds. of rum 10975 galls at 3/ and hhd 45/ pr Brig *Marigold*	1886.	5.	0
	To 19 hhds. of Mollassees 1995 galls. at 19 *d.* pr and Casks 18 pr. the *Marigold*	175.	0.	9
	To 15 hhds. rum pr the *Industry* Capt. David Glover 1627 galls. at 3/ and hhds. 48	280.	1.	0
		£2981.	13.	6
	Ball'ce due the owners	6.	15.	1
		£2988.	8.	7

1760		£	s.	d.
March	By half the Gross Sales of 112 Negroes at £30 Stg. pr head payable in Bills of Exchg	1680.	0.	0
	By half the gross Sales of 112 Negroes at £30 Stg. pr head payable in produce £1680 Sterling Exchange at 71 1/5 pr. Cent	2876.	3.	2
	By 60 old Casks at 24/	72.	0.	0
	By a Longboat	30.	0.	0
	By freight of a Negroe £6 Stg exch'g 71 1/5 pr.	10.	5.	5
	By a Barll Tar Sold		2.	8
		2988.	8.	7

To Disbursted since 1 Bar'le Beef 15 per 1/8 and pilotage out 8 pr 6. 18.

Errors and Omitions Excepted
pr THOS. TEA'L TAYLOR

Dr. *Mr. Wm. Vernon and Company of the "Casada Gardin" their Acco't Current* *Cr.*

1760	To my Coast Comitions at 5 pC	£3		1760 March 7th	By a Negro man boy Sold Brabner and Gow in St Croix for 200 ps 8/8	£60
	To my Do. for Sailes at 5 pr. Do.	3				
	To Dutyes of Two Slaves 4 ps. 8/8	1.	4			
	To freight of one Slave £6 St.	10.	5. 5			
	To my Comitions for Neat proceeds	1.	1 3			
	To ps. 8/8 138. 1. 4¾ in Gold is cwt. 6/ pr. ps	41.	9. 4			
		£60				

St. Croix April 22d 1760
Errors and Omitions Excepted
pr Thos. T. Taylor.[11]

141. Deposition of Joseph Wanton, 1758.[1]

I, Joseph Wanton, being one of the people called Quakers, and conscientiously scrupulous about taking an oath, upon solemn affirmation say that on the first day of the month commonly called April, A.D. 1758, I sailed from Newport in the Snow, *King of Prussia,* with a cargo of 124 hogsheads of rum, twenty barrels of rum, and other cargo; that on the twentieth day of the month called May, I made Cape Mount on the west coast of Africa; that I ran down the coast and traded until I arrived at Annamibo, where, while at anchor, on the twenty-third day of the month called July, when I had on board fifty-four slaves, twenty ounces of gold-dust, and sixty-five hogsheads of rum, I was taken by a French privateer of sixty guns, fitted out in Bordeaux, called *Le Compte of St. Florentine,* having on board between 500 and 600 men, while my vessel had but three small pieces and eleven men.[2]

142. Captain David Lindsay to his Owners, 1758.[1]

Barbadoss Aug't 19th 1758.

Gentlemen, thank God I have the pleasure once more to Give you a Line or Two in Regard to the Proceedings of my present voyage

[11] Endorsed: "Acct for the Owners of Ship *Casada Gardin.*"

[141] [1] Kimball, *Corr. Col. Govs.,* I. xxxvii-xxxviii. Joseph Wanton, the fourth Rhode Island governor to be drawn from the Wanton family, served in that office from 1769 to November, 1775. The date here given is that of the capture of the *King of Prussia,* not that of Wanton's deposition. It appears from an item in the *News Letter* of Aug. 4, 1757, that Wanton narrowly escaped seizure in 1757. Five Liverpool traders were seized while he was on the African coast.

[2] Sheffield (*Privateersmen,* pp. 28-29) says that Wanton "was left destitute on the coast of Africa, and soon after two other Newport vessels with their cargoes were captured at the same place. One of the vessels was given to a native African prince, and was by him turned over to the three crews, who, after a time returned home in her". See *post,* no. 143.

[142] [1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Mason, *Reminiscences,* II. 125.

I hope these will find you and both yours in Good helth as they Leave me. I Saild from Anamaboe the 28 May[June?] and arrived heare in 51 Days. I Purticost 151 Slaves and I have Shipt from heare a bill of Exc'g for £103 Ster'g I sold [*illegible*] Gould for and Ive got Sum Gould Dust the Jest Sum I cant Tell for I Carryed Nith'r Scails or waits I lost 18 Slaves and Sold 133 Slaves I applied mySelf to Messrs. Mirvile Wood and Simmons the Conditions of our Bargin is that I am to be paid a bill Exc'g one Thousand pound Ster'g and the Rest in produce I sail the of Septemb'r pray my Love to my famely and all frends While I am Gentle'm your Humblest Servt at Command.

143. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1758, 1760.[1]

Newport, Rhode Island, October 16 [1758].

On Saturday last came into this Port, from the Gold Coast of Africa, the Snow *Fox*. Capt. Wanton, who came in her, gave us the following Account: That the *Count St. Florentine,* designed for a Man of War, but purchas'd by some Merchants in Bourdeaux, commissioned for a Privateer, mounted with 60 Guns, mann'd with 550 Men, and commanded by Monsieur Montvit, took Capt. Earle of Providence on the 23d of June, and soon after drove on Shore, at Cape Mount, a ship of 200 Tons which immediately went to Pieces. She proceeded down the Coast to Annamaboa, where she arrived the 23d of June, and took Capt. Wanton in the Sloop *King of Prussia*; Capt. Buffum, in the Snow *Annamaboa* of this Port, and Capt. Taylor of New-London. On the 28th, the *Harwich* of 50 Guns, commanded by Commodore Marsh, in Company with the *Rye,* of 20 Guns, came down, when the Privateer was at an Anchor. . . . We cannot omit the following singular Instance of Benevolence and Humanity in Mr. Brew, Chief of Annamaboa Castle. The Snow *Fox* was purchas'd of the Captain of the Privateer, by the Dutch Chief of Coromantine Castle, of whom Mr. Brew bought her, and after supplying her with Provisions, generously made a Present of her to Capt. Taylor, in order to bring him Home, and the rest, who were taken by the Privateer; all of which, after this Misfortune, were treated with great Hospitality by the Gentlemen of the Coast, particularly by the Governor of the Cape Coast Castle.

[143] [1] *News Letter,* Oct. 26, 1758, June 5, July 3, 1760.

June 5, 1760.

To be Sold By Peleg Thurston, at his Wharf in Newport: A Cargo of choice Gold Coast Slaves, Men, Women, Boys, and Girls.

[Boston], July 3, 1760.

We hear from Newport, Rhode Island, that Capt. Carpenter was arrived there from the Coast of Guinea having had 104 Days Passage, ten Days whereof they were without Meat, but had a sufficiency of Rice and Corn: They lost but 6 slaves out of 69 they brought out with them.

144. Bill of Lading of the *Little Beckey*, 1760.[1]

Shipped by the grace of god in good order well conditioned By Peter James in and upon the good Schooner Called the *Little Beckey,* whereof is Master under God for this present Voyage Peter James; And now Riding at anchor in the Road of Cape Coast on the Coast of Affrica, and by gods grace bound for Newport on Rohade Island To say Ninety Six Slaves on the Proper account and resque of Peleg Thurston[2] merchant in Newport being marked and numbered As in the margin[3] and are to be Deliver'd in Like good order and well Conditioned at the aforesaid port of Newport, the Dangers, Seas, Enemyes, and Mortality Excepted unto the Shipper he or they paying freight for Said Goods, nothing being owners goods with primage and average Accustomed In witness whereof the master or purser of the said Schooner Hath affirmed unto Two Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date: One of which Two Bills being accomplished, the other One to stand Void. And so God send the good Schooner to her desired Port in Safety. Amen

Dated in Cape Cost Road Fabruary 16 1760

145. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1762-1763.

New York, Sept. 2 [1762].[1]

Last week John Howard, arrived here from Virginia, having come Passenger in a Vessel to that Place from the Coast of Africa; and says, that he belonged to the Schooner *Success,* Capt. Nathaniel Roads, of Rhode Island; which Vessel was cast ashore on the Coast.[2] He came from thence the first of May and informs us, that the fol-

[144] [1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Mason, *Reminiscences,* IV. 249. Signed by Peter James.

[2] Savannah correspondents wrote to Peleg Thurston on Feb. 14, 1759, "likely young Slaves will fetch from £37 to £40 pr head." N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

[3] The marginal notation is "P T from 1 to 96."

[145] [1] *News Letter,* Sept. 9, 1762.

[2] See *News Letter,* June 3, 1762.

lowing Vessels belonging to Rhode Island, were at Annamaboa, *viz.*, Capt. Pinnegar, with 50 Slaves on board, Capt. Gardner, with 150 Slaves on board, Capt. Heffernan, with 24 Slaves on board, Capt. Caleb Gardner, with 10 Slaves on board, Capt. Carpenter with 20 Slaves on board, Capt. Peter Allan, in a Brig, just arrived.

John Harwood [Howard] also informs us, That Capt. Congrell [Congdon?],[3] the Capts. Castle and Davis, from Liverpool, and a Brig belonging to Whitehaven, were lately taken on the Coast by a French Frigate; and that he heard a French Privateer had taken 10 Sail to Windward.

NEWPORT, December 13 [1762].[4]

Captain John Gardner, in the Ship *Friendship,* belonging to this Port, arrived at Guadaloupe the 2d of last Month, in 74 Days from the Coast of Africa, with 153 Slaves; he lost 38 on his Passage

NEWPORT, January 10 [1763].

By Letters from Santa Cruz, we are informed of the Arrival of the Brig *Molly,* Capt. John Allen, of this Port, at that Island, from the Coast of Africa. She was bound to Virginia, and arrived on that Coast in the Month of October last; and after beating near a Fortnight, was obliged to bear away for the West-Indies. We hear he has lost 24 Slaves.

NEWPORT, Rhode Island January 31 [1763].[5]

Since our last Capt. Arnold arrived here from South Carolina. The Brig *Greyhound* Captain William Pinnegar, of this Port was arrived there from Africa; also the Captains Freeman, Miller, Dolliver, and Davis from Boston; and Captains Larsher, Durfee, and Carpenter from this Port.

NEWPORT, Feb. 14 [1763].

The Captains Eliot and Carpenter, also of this Port, are arrived on the Windward Coast of Africa.

NEWPORT, September 5 [1763].

By a Gentleman who arrived here a few Days ago from the Coast of Africa, we are inform'd of the Arrival of the Capts. Morris, Ferguson, and Wickham, belonging to this port, who write very discouraging Accounts of the Trade upon the Coast, and that upwards of

[3] In 1762 Captain Congdon of a Newport schooner and Captain Peck of a sloop reached Newport with tales of their capture on the African coast. This same year Captain Wanton successfully carried a cargo into Guadeloupe. *Ibid.,* June 3, Aug. 12, Sept. 2, 1762.

[4] *News Letter,* Dec. 23, 1762, Jan. 27, 1763.

[5] *Newport Mercury,* Jan. 31, 1763; *News Letter,* Feb. 10, Mar. 3, Sept. 12, 1763.

200 Gallons of neat Rum had been given per Head for Slaves, and scarcely to be got at any Rate for that Commodity. This must be sensibly felt by this poor and distress'd Government, the Inhabitants whereof being at this time very large Adventurers in that trade, having sent, and about sending, upwards of 20 Sail of Vessels, computed to carry, in the whole, about Nine Thousand Hogsheads of Rum, a quantity much too large for the Places on the Coast where that Commodity has generally been vended. We hear many Vessels are also gone and going, from the neighbouring Governments, likewise from Barbados, from which Place a large Cargo of Rum had arrived before our Informant left the Coast, of which they gave 270 Gallons for a prime Slave.

146. Bill of Lading of the *Friendship*, 1762.[1]

Newport, April 24th 1762.

Received on Board the Sloop *Friendship*, one Hogg'hd Rum, Marked W. G. No. 2 which on my arrival on the Coast of Africa I promise to Dispose off on the Best Terms and Invest the proceeds in Negro man Slave, and Ship Back the First Convenient opportunity, on the proper Acc't and Risk of William Hunter per me.[2]

147. Samuel Vernon to Samuel Phillips Savage, 1762.[1]

Newp't 22nd Septr 1762.

Sirs, I fully intended before I left you to have inform'd myself at your office, what the Gent'n would write a Policy for upon a new Brig't at and from the Coast of Africa to Rhode Island, or what from the Coast only to Rh'de Island which as I omitted making enquiry Concerning, be pleas'd to do for me and if it is a Reasonable Prem'o Shall order a Policy for £—— Sterling otherwise Shall apply to Some Other Office. Have also to Propose to the Gent'n who wrote Dordins Policy whether provided he Should be so unfortunate as to be taken in his Passage to Guinea by the enemy and Should Ransom

[146] [1] R. I. Hist. Soc., Mason, *Reminiscences*, I. 54. In 1759 Joseph Brown had shipped on the *Charming Polly* 1 hhd. (94 galls.) of New England rum, which was to be exchanged for a negro boy and gold dust. Mason, *Am. Hist. Rec.*, I. 344.

[2] This is signed by William Grant, called by Mason, "Hudson", a young man of Newport, who went to the coast intending to set up a business. There he found seven Rhode Island vessels and "the times very indifferent." After a brief period he secured work with Richard Brew and Company at £60 per annum. Three months later he died of coast fever at Gaboone. Mason states that the hogshead shipped contained 95 gals., while a slave cost 110 gals. The difference was charged to Hunter. Grant's slaves were sold after his death. Written on the bottom of Grant's original receipt is: "Newport July 5, 1764. Received from Mrs. Temperance Grant Eighty Eight Dollars as the full amount and produce of the Above Adventure. Wm. Hunter."

[147] [1] Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, pp. 101-102. Samuel Phillips Savage was the Boston merchant who, it may be remembered, presided at the meeting at Old South Church which decided that the taxed tea should not be landed in Boston. Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, II. 536, 542.

his Vessel and Cargo for a Moderate Sum that they will Consent to his doing it on their Acc't as Suppose he Should be taken and Ransom his Vessel for £500 Sterl'g or eny Sum the[y] Should Limit him to and Should Proceed to the Coast, and during his Trade on the Coast or on his homeward bound Passage Shou'd be again Taken Will they Consent to pay his first Ransom Bill with the money Insured; please to let me know their Resolves in as explicit a manner as Possible so that if Such a Thing Shou'd happen there might be no Reason for any dispute; the Intent of this Proposition is that it is highly Probable that if he Shoud fall into the Hands of the Enemy on his outward Bound Passage he may have an oppertunity Of Ransoming on easy Terms and are willing the office Shou'd reap the Benefits of it if they obligate themselves to pay the money She is Ransomed for, otherwise Shall be Content to take it on our Selves, their relinguishing any Benefits that may arise therefrom. Your answer to these particulars without Delay of Time will Extreamly Oblige

148. Bill of Lading of the *Whydah*, 1762.[1]

Shipped by the grace of God in good order, and well conditioned, by William Vernon in and upon the good sloop, called the *Wydan*[2] where of is Master under God for this present voyage Thomas Rogers and now riding at anchor in the Harbour of Newport and by Gods grace bound for the Coast of Africa to say Thirty five Hogsheads and Tierces New England Rum Barrels Ditto, five Quarter Casks Wine, three Barrels Coffee, two Barrels Sugar, One Hogshead and one Tierce Tobacco Six Barrels Turpentine, Six Barrels Tarr, Eight hundred Bunches Onions, Two Barrels Flour, Twelve pounds Bohea Tea, Four pounds Superfine Hyson Do. Four pounds superfine Chouçon Do Twelve Barrels Beef, Five Barrels Pork, Eleven Barrels Bread, Six Shaken Hogsheads and Eleven Water Casks on Account and Risque of the Shipper being marked and numbred as in margent,[3] and are to be delivered in the like good order, and wel conditioned at the aforesaid Coast of Africa (the danger of the sea only excepted) unto said Master or to his assignes, he or they paying fraight for the said goods Nothing, they being the Property of the Owner of said Sloop with primage and avarage accustumed

In witness whereof of the Master or purser of the said Ship hath affirmed this and more Bils of Loading, al of this tenor and date one being accomplished, the other to stand void. And so God send the good Ship to her desired Port in safety. Dated in Newport Decr 29 1762

[148] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. A printed form with the specific items written in. Signed by Thomas Rogers.
[2] Probably the *Whydah*.
[3] The marginal symbol is "S. W."

149. Newport Custom-House Entries, 1763.[1]

Date	Vessel	Master	Voyage
Jan. 31	*Three Friends*	Carpenter	Cleared for Africa
Feb. 14	*Diamond*	Wickham	" " "
Feb. 28	*Kitty*	Carr	" " "
May 2	*Newport Pacquet*	Hicks[2]	" " "
" 23	*Dove*	Croswell	" " "
July 13	*Rainbow*	Earle	" " "
Aug. 1	*Elizabeth*[3]	Gardner	" " "
" 22	*Friendship*[4]	Morris	" " "
Sept. 5	*Polly*	Knowles	" " "
" 26	*Polly*[5]	Wanton	" " "
" 26	*Endeavour*[6]	Elliot	" " "
Oct. 24	*Betsey*	Remmington	" " "
Dec. 12		Peck	" " "
" 19	*Nancy*	Jenny[7]	" " "

150. Isaac Elizer and Samuel Moses to Christopher Champlin, 1763.[1]

Rhode Island, Newport february 9, 1763.

S'r, As we the Subscribers, being equally Concern'd in the Sloop *prince George* Jno Peck Mas'r from hence to the Coast of Affrica and from thence to New Providence sometime in March; and as we Immagining since Sessation of armes has taken place, it would be to

[149] [1] *Newport Mercury* for the dates given.

[2] In April, 1762, it was reported in Newport that Captain Hicks had reached Virginia, after being captured by the French. *News Letter,* Apr. 23, 1762.

[3] "The Sloop *Elizabeth*, Capt. Gardner, arrived here last Tuesday from the Coast of Africa, in 55 Days, with a Cargo of Slaves. Before he sailed, a Boat belonging to Capt. Remmington, of this Port, with the Mate and 3 Men on board, was overset in going into a River to the Windward of Cape Mount, by which Accident the 3 Men were drowned; but the Mate happily saved himself by swiming. Capt. Elliott, of this Port, sailed before Capt. Gardner, with 160 Slaves, for the West Indies." *Newport Mercury,* July 9, 1764.

[4] The *Mercury,* Aug. 20, 1764, reported the death of Captain Morris on the coast. It is possible that the following item refers to the end of this voyage: "By Capt. Walker who arrived here a few Days ago from Surrinam, we are informed, that he left Capt. James Warner in the Ship *Friendship* belonging to Newport, Rhode-Island, at Brams Point, from the Coast of Guinea, with 104 Slaves on board, and 'tis said the *Friendship* would be there condemn'd, not being fit to proceed [on] her Voyage." *Mass. Gaz. and News Letter,* Apr. 4, 1765.

[5] "Captain Croswell arrived here last Tuesday from the Coast of Africa, but last from Barbados, in 22 Days." Edward Wanton, *Polly,* came with Croswell as a passenger.

[6] "Captain Elliot arrived here last Saturday from the Coast of Africa, but last from Barbados in 30 Days." *Newport Mercury,* Sept. 24, 1764.

[7] "Captains Earl, Carpenter, Edward Wanton, Peter Wanton, and Gardner, from this Port, and Capt. Gardner, from Piscataqua, are arrived upon the Coast of Africa. *Ibid.,* Feb. 20, 1764.

[150] [1] R. I. Hist. Soc., Champlin Letter-Book, I. 125. The letter is superscribed, "Mr. Christopher Champlin, Mercht In New Providence" (Bahamas). Instructions to Captain Peck, Oct. 29, 1762, had directed that he first attempt to dispose of his slaves for cash in New Providence. If this failed, he was to bring them to Newport (*Commerce of R. I.,* I. 96-97). Peck had been seized by the French in his previous voyage to Africa (*News Letter,* Aug. 12, 1762). The Champlins—Christopher, senior, Christopher, junior, and George—continue to appear in Rhode Island slave trade until the nineteenth century.

our Interest to Consign her to some Person upon the Spot and we hereby Consign her to you, and make no Doubt it will be Agreeable therefore we desire you will Immediately on her Arrival Dispose of the Slaves (or her Cargo Consisting of what kind soever) for as much as can Possible be got, and Load the sloop with sugar, molasses, or any produce you shall think best for our Advantage and the Remainder of the Neat produce Remit us in cash or Good Bills of Exchange Unless you Should Receive any further Instructions (how to Lay our mony out;) from Either of us seperately, wch Shall be the same for your Safety as if we had both Sign'd it,[2] But please to observe if Slaves should be in no Demand in Providence but at a very low Rate We therefore should be glad you would order the Vessel Immediately to Charles Town South Carolina and address her to Messrs. Bacot and Far Merchts. there, with a Copy of the aforegoing orders; and if you Should receive no further Instructions from both or Either of us, we hereby Desire you will make all the Dispatch you Possibly can, as the Expence and portage bill will amount to Considerable, and as you are not acquainted with the Expence on such Tedious Voyages or any other Business, we flatter ourselves you will Exert your Self for our Interest, and for yours Accomadating matters with the Capt. we here Inclose you a Copy of his orders, and also a power to Execute the Same.

151. Accounts of the *Little Sally*, 1763.[1]

Sales of 52 Negro's Imported in the Schooner "little Sally" Capt. William Taylor and sold on acct. of Messrs. Sam'l and Wm. Vernon and Co. Merchts Newport Rhode Island.

When sold		*To Whom sold*	*County*	*Men*	*Women*	*B.*	*Girls*	*Sterling*	*Currency*[2]
July	4	Peter Lyon	Hanover	1				£36	£58 10
	8	William Firbush	Albemarle		1			36	58 10
	8	John Ashley	Ditto	1				36	58 10
	8	Thomas Watkins	Henrico				1	31	50 7 6
	9	William Massie	New Kent	2				72	117
	9	Wm. Allen Barton	Henrico	2				72	117
	11	Jos. Woollen	Albemarle	1				36	58 10
	11	Wm. Stone	Henrico		2			71	115 7 6
	11	Sam'l Mitchell	Ditto	1				36	58 10
	12	John Martin	New Kent		1			36	58 10
	13	William Wills	Henrico		1			35 3	57 2 9
	13	Harwood Bacon	Ditto		1			35	56 17 6
	15	Obediah Moore	Albemarle			2		70	113 15

[2] Despite this stipulation, Elizer wrote on Mar. 10 warning Champlin not to allow Moses to change the instructions which had been sent. On Mar 23 Moses wrote that his half of the proceeds, in commodities or bills of exchange, was to be sent to his attorney in Rhode Island, and also reminded Champlin that he was to have a slave for his private venture. Moses seems at this time to have left Rhode Island for New Providence. Champlin Letter-Book, pp. 125, 127.

[151] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. Richard Adams, who sold this cargo, was a Virginia merchant with whom the Vernons dealt for a number of years.

When sold		*To Whom sold*	*County*	*Men*	*Women*	*B.*	*Girls*	*Sterling*	*Currency*[2]		
	15	Robt. Poor	Goochland			1		36	58	10	
	16	John Strange	Albemarle				1	32	52		
	18	Nathl Francis	Hanover				1	28	45	10	
	18	John Holmes	Henrico		1			35	56	17	6
	18	Sam'l Price	Ditto		1 and Child			38	61	15	
	18	John Harwood Junr.	Do.		1 and Child			36	58	10	
	20	Chas. Smith and Garland Anderson	Hanover	4	8	4		544	870	8	
	23	John Hopper	Goochland	1				35	56	17	6
	23	Robt. Gordon	Chesterfield	1				34	55	5	
August	1	Chas. Colley	Hanover			1		32	52		
	1	Robert Spears	Henrico			1		32	52		
	1	Jacob Faris	Ditto		1			34	55	5	
	3	Thos. Harper	Hanover		1			35	56	17	6
	4	Benj. [*illegible*]	Carolina		1			34	55	5	
	4	Jacob Hundley	Hanover			2		64	104		
	6	Thos. Scrugs	Albemarle	2				68	110	10	
Sept.	6	John Wood	Henrico			2		58	93	10	
								1777 3	2870	16	9
	12	To my Commissions at 5 pr. Ct							143	10	9
		To their Acct. for Nett Proceeds							2737	6	0

Sales of 8 Slaves remains of a Cargo Imported in the "little Sally" Capt. Wm Taylor July 1763 and sold by Rich'd Adams on Acct. Messrs. Saml and Wm Vernon and Co. R. Island.[3]

When sold		*To whom sold*	*County*	*Men*	*W*	*B*	*G*	*Sterlg*	*Currency*		
Sepr	28	John Fry	Albemarle	1				£32	£52.		
Oct	3	Ditto	Ditto		1			£32	52.		
	3	Robt. Hancock	Chesterfield		1			34	55.	5	
		William Martin	Henrico	1				34	55.	5	
	27	Benja. Clopton	Goochland	1				32	52.		
Novr	1	William Taylor	Augustine		1			33	53.	12.	6
	23	Benja. Clarke	Lunenburg	1				26	42.	5	
	23	Ditto	Ditto		1			26	42.	5	
		my Commissions at 5 pr Ct deducted							404.	12.	6
									20.	4.	7½
									£384.	7.	10½

Errors Excepted per RICHD ADAMS

[2] "N. B. he writes us of the 4th July he had sold 4 men at £36."

[3] In a later statement of the account of the Vernons with Richard Adams, there appears, "To Provisions etc. furnish'd for 8 Slaves remains of Cargo for the *little Sally* from 12th Sept. last til Sold, 4. 5. 3" (N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI). This sale is not included in the account which follows.

Messrs. Saml and William Vernon and Co. in Acct. with Richard Adams

Drs.

		Sterl'g			£	*s.*	*d.*
1763 July 28 £182 72 213 — £467 returnd	To Messrs Smith and Andersons Bill Ex'a on Robt Bogle London	182					
	60 pr. Ct. Exa.	109	4				
					291.	4	
	To Anthony Winston Ditto on Messrs. Farrell and Jones Bristol	72					
	Exa. 62½ pr Ct.	45			117.		
	To Wm. Taylors Do on Themselves	213	10	2			
	60 pr. Ct. Exa.	128	2	1			
					341.	12.	3
	To Cash pd. Capt. Wm. Taylor for part of Port charges for Schooner				7.	12.	7½
Sepr. 12	To Sundry's furnish'd for the negros from their arrival to this Day				12.	14.	3
returnd	To Wm. Majoies Bill Exa.	38	16	3			
	60 pr Ct. Exa.	23	5	9			
					62.	2.	0
	To pd Pilot for the Schooner				1.		
S. Johnson protested	To James Taylors Bill Exa. on James Gildart Liverpool	100					
	Exa. on Do. at 60 pr Ct.	60			160.		
returnd	To Jno McDonald Ditto on Messrs Rumbold Walner[?] and Tabb	60					
	60 pr. Ct. Exa.	36			96.		
20 protested	To Bowler Coch[?] jr Bill on Robt. Cary Esqr. and Co. London	100					
	60 pr Ct. Exa.	60			160.		
	To 160 Dollars at 6/8				53.	6.	8
					£1302.	11.	9½
	To my Commission at 3 pr. Ct.				39.	1.	2½
	Ballance due				1395.	13.	
					2737.	6.	0

N.B. he has ch'gd 3 pr Ct. Commiss's on 5 Bills returnd, and Protested, amount'g to £605. 12 Virginia Curr'cy and commissions again on replacing it wch 3 pr Ct. amounts £18. 3. 3 Virginia Mo.

Messrs. Saml and William Vernon and Co. in Acct. with Richard Adams *Cr.*

1763 Sepr. 12	By Nett Proceeds of 52 Negro's two [?] pr the *little Sally* Capt Taylor				£2737. 6
					2737. 6
	By the above Ballance				£1395. 13

Errors excepted Pr Rich'd Adams

152. Samuel and William Vernon to Richard Adams, 1763.[1]

Newport 4th August 1763.

Sir, Have before us your Favor of the 4th Ulto. acquainting Us of your having recd. the Slaves per the *Sally* Capt. Taylor in good order, that you had Sold 4 Men at £36 Ster'g and Shoud be able to turn them of[f] on Average at about £34. 10—which is not so good a Price as we expected considering the Quality of them however doubt [not] you will get the most possible for them and for good Pay but are not without hopes of your obtaining a better Price than you expect. your Letter Came to hand but this Day Week and by Capt. Tayler's Letter to us by the Same Vessel he has now been out 18 Days and not arived we are and have been for some time in hourly expectation of him What detains him cant concieve have about 30 young Slaves which Shoud have Sent you per this Vessel, but as Capt. Tayler must if he is well be here in 1 or 2 Days choose to wait some little Time longer altho' we join with you that it is Time they were with you.

153. Samuel and William Vernon to Richard Adams, 1763.[1]

Newp't 16th August 1763.

Sir, Recd. yours of the 25th Ulto. per *Sally* Capt. Tayler with the Inclosed Bills Amount'g to £467. 10. 2 Sterling Passed to your Credit. Bills are so high and the Loss on them So great that we beg you to remit us as much as Possibly you Can in Dollars or Joannes,[2] as Probably Gold is not so hard to be got as Silver. Capt. Taylers being detained so long and his Passages so tedious that before he

[152] [1] Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 109. On pages 102-103 of the Letter-Book is a duplicate of this letter, directed to Messrs. Champion and Hayley of London, apparently a mistaken inscription. Letters had been written to Adams on Apr. 2 and June 15.

[153] [1] Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, pp. 109-110.

[2] The Johannes was a gold coin of Portugal, worth about 36 *s.* stg.; "Joes" and "half-Joes" were in common circulation in the West Indies and were frequently brought to the continental colonies.

Arived the number of Slaves wch we Proposed to Send being So much reduced that think it not worth while to Trouble you with the few that remain Whch you will not Take Amiss hope you have finished the Sales of What we sent you before and that you will not elapse the Time for Payment as limited by you. Shoud we want any of your Country Produce Shall acquaint you in Season. at Present have no occasion for any thing. you may write us as frequently as you Please by the Post but let your Letters to us Come under Cover directed to Mr. Thos. Vernon Post Master in Newpor[t].[3]

154. Nicholas Brown and Company to Carter Braxton, 1763.[1]

September, 1763.

. . . You Mention of being Concernd in the Guine Trade and that the Vessels Return with the negrows to your place. As We Shall be Largely Concernd in Navigation this Fall wich will bring mello. [molasses] in the Spring and we Liveing in a place wair we Can procure a Large Quantity of Rum Distilled Amediately, its Very Likely if it's Agreeable to you to be Concerned that we May Fitt a proper Vessill for Guiney in the Spring. . . .

155. Samuel and William Vernon to Champion and Hayley, 1763.[1]

. . . We now inclose you three Bills Drawn by Mr. Val Jones on Messrs. Allen and Marlar for £1590 Ster'g which we make no doubt Will be punctually paid but what ever may be their fate you will be Pleas'd to give us the earliest advice of. Shou'd they or either of them Meet with nonpayment, we must inform you that this Money arose from a Bill Drawn by Rich'd Brew and Co. on Messrs. Burton and Smith and Co. in London, Which was for a Vessel and Cargo sold on the Coast of Africa to Sd Brew and Co. and Mr. Brew Ship'd a large number of Slaves in Sd Vessel to Barbadoes on his own Acct. to the Address of Mr. Valentine Jones Desiring him to take Sd Slaves and to Cancell his Bills drawn on Burton and Smith, and give his own Bills for the Amo't of the Others, which he did, Messrs. Burton

[3] Thomas was a brother of Samuel and William Vernon. On Sept. 17 the Vernons again wrote to Adams, this time to say that they were sending him a number of fine young and healthy slaves by the *Royal Charlotte,* Captain Taylor (Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, pp. 110-111). This vessel cleared from Newport for Virginia on Sept. 19. In Virginia it was apparently loaded with wheat and lumber amounting to £737 4 10 and despatched to Cadiz. See bill dated Nov. 12, 1763, in N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

[154] [1] Kimball, *Providence in Colonial Times,* p. 271. Carter Braxton was collector on the Pamunkey River, Va. Brown went on to ask whether the collector could send a quantity of tobacco clear of duty, and at what price. This was to be sent to the African coast.

[155] [1] Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 113.

and Smith took Security in London for any Bills Mr. Jones Shou'd Draw for in payment of Slaves Sold for their Accts. therefore Shou'd those Bills be Protested pleas to Apply to Messrs. Burton and Smith and know if the Security taken by them for are not Obliged to discharge them. as we do not know When we Shall have Occasion to Call this Money out of yr Hands whether in Three, Four, or Six Months should be glad to have it employ'd in some safe Hands so as to be gaining some thing but in Such a Manner as to have it When we Call'd for

Oct 4, 1763

156. Carter Braxton to Nicholas Brown and Company, 1763.[1]

Virginia October 16th, 1763.

Sirs: . . . I shall be very glad to be concern'd in the African Trade and will be a ¼ of the Voyage if you Choose it, Tobacco I can send any quan. at 20/ per hund. and I believe free of duty if yr. Skiper will take it. I shou'd choose to be Insur'd, and what ever Expence came to my Share more than the Slaves sent I wou'd remit by the Return of the Vessell that bro't the Slaves. The Whole of the Voyage I shou'd leave to you to Conduct and you may begin to prepare if you please, But you will let me know the Terms and every thing relating to the Voyage before the Vessill Sails. It ought to be forw'ded, so as to have the Vessill here in May, bec'se the Negroes will sell better then, than later. Gold Coast Slaves are Esteemed the most Valuable and Sell best. The Prices of Negroes keep up amazingly. They have Sold from £30 to £35 Sterling a head Clear of duty all this summer and I should not doubt of rendering Such a Sale if the Negroes were well and Come early. I find two or three Vessills have been here this summer from the Nw'd [Northward] and I suppose the Trade will be Carried on with more vigour for the future. If you will undertake to befriend me in soliciting the Consignment of some of them I will give you for your Trouble 1/3 of my Commission which will be a Pritty thing if the Vessill is Consign'd wholly to me. But if she is only half to me, I will give you 1/3 of my Commission's for all that you get and will make my remittance in any manner they desire.

[156] [1]R. I. Hist. Soc., Gertrude Kimball, Note-Book, II. 40. Since the letters of Brown and Company were not accessible the editor has made use of Miss Kimball's copies. These are greatly abbreviated and it is quite possible that at times her abbreviations have been confused with those of the writers of the letters.

157. Accounts of Captain Thomas Rogers, 1763.[1]

Mr. William Vernon acct. with Thomas Rogers

Dr.

		£	*s.*	*d.*
1763 Novr 10th	To 60 hhd. Rum 6584 Gal at 20*d.* and Cask 40/ ea.	£668	13	4
	To Duty 60 hhd. Rum	20	5	
	To freight and Premit 50 hhd. from Speikes at 4/3 Ea.	10	12	6
	To 1 hhd. Sugar 1460 wt. nt. at 25/ Cask 30/	19	13	6
	To 2 hhd. Sugar 2462 wt. Nt. at 23/9 Cask 30/ ea.	32	4	7½
	To Duty 3 hhd. Sugar	4	2	1½
	To Duty and Permit for Landing 29 Slaves	7	10	
	To Cash paid Wages	68	15	
	To Powder and Hospital money	4	14	7
	To Sundry Provition for People and Slaves	6	8	3
	To my Coast Commssn	33	14	
	To my Comms'n hear on Sales and Returns	63	10	
	To Cash in full	2	1	7
		£942	4	6

Cr.

		£	*s.*	*d.*
1763 Nov'r 10th	By 28 Slaves at £30 pr head	£840		
	By 1 Ditto	2	10	
	By the Sloop *Whydah* and Stores	75		
	By 169 wt Coffe at 12*d.*	8	9	
	By 1 Cord fire wood	1	2	6
	By 11 Water Cask	1	13	
	By the freight 2 Slaves from the Coast at 5 Ster'g pr head at 35 pr Ct. is	13	10	
		942	4	6

Barbadoes Novr 10th 1763
E. Excepted pr Tho Rogers

[157] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. Captain Rogers not only sold his negroes but his sloop in Barbados. See also *ante,* no. 148.

158. Papers of the *Othello*, 1764-1766.[1]

Book Containing What the men have Taken upon the Voyage on board the Brigt. "Othello" Thos. Rogers, Comdr.[2]

1764	John Hains	Dr.			
	To advance wages before Sailing brought into Starling	£	2.	10.	7
May 19	To 15 wt. Tobacco at 10*d.*			12.	6
1765	To 4 yds Cks			10.	
Apr. 19	To 2 Pint Tankards			2.	6
	To 19 Galln. Rum at 5/		4.	15.	
Barbadoes	To Cash pd for you		1.	5	
Septr. 26	To Hospital Money			7.	9
	To Cash in full		17.	7	2
		£	27.	10.	6

Contra Cr.

By your wages on Board the Brigg'tn *Othello* from the 8th May 1764 to the 25 Septr. 1765 being 16 months and 16 Days at 33/6 sterling pr. month

Barbadoes Septr. 26, 1765
Settled and Paid
27. 10. 6

1764	John Thomas	Dr.			
	To advance wages before Sailing brought into Starling	£	3.	13	
May 16	To 7½ wt. Cheese		7.	6	
June 4	To a frock and 2 pr Trowsers			10	
Augst 1	To a jacket			15	
	To a pair Check Trowsers			10	
Septr 4	To 2 yd. Tecklingburgh			5	
24	To a pair Cks Trowsers			10	
Octbr 12	To a Hatt			7.	6
Decr 7th	To Cash pd Capt Reads Doctr		2.		
21	To 18 wt. Sugar			15	
1765					
Feby 10	To Cash pd for you		1		
Mar. 12	To 4 yds Checks			10	
April 19	To 4 yds Do. and a knife			10.	6
June 23	To 4 yds Do.			10	
July 19	To 3 wt. Tobacco			2.	6
	To 21 Gall. and 1 Quart Rum at 5/		5.	6.	3
Barbadoes	To Hospital money			8	4
Septr. 26	To Cash in full		9.	5	2
		£	27.	18.	3

Contra Cr.

By your wages on Board the Brigg'tn *Othello* from the 3 April 1764 to the 25 Septr. 1765 being 17 month and 21 Days at 31/6 pr month.

Barbadoes Septr 26th 1765
Settled and Paid
£27. 18. 3

[158] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

[2] The names are Thomas Rogers, James Lewis, Jno. Hammon, Jno. Thomas, John Hains, Wm. Clarke, Ed. Strenthfeild, Geo. Harvey, Wm. Strange, Dick Holmes, Wm. Bourk, John Mason, Thos. Penrigh, Wm. Bonnel. Of these but two are here printed. A note states that William Strange died on the coast. On Mar. 11, 1766, Thomas Brownell, whose apprentice Strange was, signed a receipt for £64 14 4, old tenor, for his wages. He had been paid £6 10 4 before his death. A small manuscript book containing a rough account of the wages paid the seamen on this voyage records the death of James Lewis at Sierra Leone: "Paid the King of Serilion for ground for a grave 2½ gallons. Paid for Digging the grave 1 gallon." *Ibid.*

Thos. Rogers in Cash Acctt. Sterling

Dr. *Cr.*

1764			*Sterl'g*					*Sterl'g*
To 100 Dollars pd him			22. 10. 0	St Jago	£10. 16. 0	Bro't up		£18. 10. 8
To Gold and Silvr. at St. Jago			19. 5. 10	Do 48		4 ps Dimity Bandanas 4		
To do. at Do.			4. 12. 10	Dollars	10 16	for six Puncheons	1	
				Isle de Los	6. 6			
To Gold Dust	*oz.*	*a.*		Anamaboe 6 achs.		6 check Shirts		1. 10. 0
at Lahou	1.					Sterling		£25. 8
To do at do.	6.	10		Lagou oz. 2. 0[3] deficient				
To do. at Commendo	1.	4				1 dn Linen Hank's 12 Dolls.		£2. 14
To do. Cape Coast	5.	10				5 bbl white Bread at 30/ pCw.		9. 2
To do Anamaboe	2.	8				2 Nickannees at 5 Barrs		
Popo		15				1 Ream Paper 3 Barrs		
Anamaboe	6.	8				1 Plain 4 Barrs		
Do.		9				1 Danish Gun 6 Barrs[4]		
Do.	1.	1						
	26.	1						
Ball'ce	27. 18. 0							
Sterling	18. 10. 8							
	£46. 8. 8		£46. 8. 8					

[3] Here follows a list of expenditures at Lagou, amounting to 26 oz. 1ac. Of this 9 ac. was spent for wood, 30 ac. 2 for corn, 26 ac. for yams and plantins, 8 for canoe hire. The remainder of the items are undesignated.

[4] To these fragmentary accounts is added the following, described as "Remarks to be made acco. of in the Action for Breach of Orders."

"By his Letter of 6th Septr. he writes us had then on board 21 Slaves, by the Book he has dd us he gives an Acctt. of but 16 purchased out of which Number he had Bartered away one Man Slave for a Boat wch reduces the Number to 6 less than he had on Board

6 slaves at 80 Barrs is 480 at £28 Ster'g		£168
11 men Slaves lost killed and Drown'd 4 do. he says died with a Flux	28 =	308
these 15 after he left Barbados bound to St Christophers contrary to Orders as you think just		
to Loss on the Sales of 41 Slaves he sold in Antigua wch sold upon an Average at £17 wch is a loss at least of £7 Sterl'g each by his not proceeding to Georgia or So. Carolina according to Orders, wch is		287
		£763

To Sundrys ch'gd in his Bill Disbursm'ts at Antigua wch we require Vouchers for the Pa'mt of Noted thus ◇ amounting to ——"

ANTIGUA Novem'r 1765.

Sales of 9 new Negroe men 6 Women 13 Boys and 13 Girls Imported in the Briggantine "Othello" Thomas Rogers master to put into my hands for Sale by said Rogers on Accompt of his owners Messrs. Samuel and William Vernon Merchants in Rhode Island Viz.

1765		*Purchasers*	*Men*	*Women*	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Price*	£	*Stg.* *s.*	*d.*
October	10	William Young	3		2	2		174	0	0
	14	Christian Barnes				1		23	10	7
	17	Robert Christian			6	4	£14	140	0	0
	19	William George		1				27	0	0
	22	Richard Page			1			22	0	0
		John Finnie				1		22	0	0
		Johanna Slainey				1		25	0	0
Novem'r	9	Elizabeth Gray		1				22	7	0
		William Brackenridge	1					24	0	0
		Cash Accompt		1				17	13	0
		Ceasare Roach vendue master	2	3	4	2		112	3	4¾
		Thomas Marnan	3					55	17	8
		Cash Accompt				2		11	15	3½
			9	6	13	13		£677	6	11¼

Charges on the Above Sales

To Store to sell the Negroes in	£ 6	12	0	
To Bonds and Ticketts	1	0	0	
To Drummers Advertisements and Victuals at sundry times	1	10	0	
	9	2	0	
Exchange at 70 pr Ct is Sterling	5	6	8	
To my Commissions 677. 6. 11¼ at 5/pr Ct	33	17	4	39. 4.
				638. 2. 11¼

ANTIGUA, Errors Excepted Nov. 23, 1765
ALEX WILLOCK

Messrs. Samuel and William Vernon in Acco't Currt with Alexander Willock

Dr.

		£	*s.*	*d.*
1765 Novem'r 23	To Captain Rogers for his Commissions £677. 6. 11¼ at 4 pr £104	26	1	2½
	To Cash paid Captain Rogers to pay the Charges and disbursments on the vessell	87	1	8¾
	To my draft on Messrs. James Keating and Co. at 6 Months sight	500	0	0
	To my Commissions on ditto at 5 pr Ct.	25	0	0
		£638	2	11¼

Cr.

1765 Novem'r 23	By neet proceeds of the within Sales	638	2	11¼
		£638	2	11¼

Errors Excepted
ANTIGUA Novemr 23d 1765
ALEX WILLOCK

Deposition of Captain Peter Dordin.

Peter Dordin doth upon Oath declare That he was in Georgia the latter End of January last when he fell in Company with a Captain of a Snow who arrived there from Antigua (whose name he can't remember) who told him that Capt. Rogers had met with a shocking Misfortune in going down to Antigua in losing Part of his Slaves etc. and that he had bought half a Dozen of his Slaves and (pointing to a Woman Slave then in the House where they were) said there is one of his Slaves which I have sold to the Master of the House: That he the Dept. enquired of the Master of the House what he gave for that Slave who told him fifty Pounds Sterling. And the said Peter Dordin doth further declare that Slaves during the last Winter bore a very high Price in Georgia And that he saw Five Slaves sold there who were picked prime Slaves for Fifty five Pounds Sterling and that good Slaves (Men and Women,) would sell from Thirty five to Forty five Pounds Sterling a Piece.

COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND etc.

NEWPORT Septemb 3d 1766

Personally appeared Capt. Peter Dordin and made solemn Oath to the Truth of this Declaration by him subscribed (Capt. Rogers notified and present)

Before HENRY WARD Just Peace

Cost £. 0. 0. 10 *d.*

Deposition of Capt. Robert Stoddard.

Robert Stoddard doth upon Oath declare That some Time in December or January last he had some Conversation with Mr. Valentine Jones of Barbados Merch't at Barbados when the said Jones informed him that Capt. Thomas Rogers had been at Barbados a little while before with a Cargo of Slaves and that he the said Jones had advised the said Rogers to sell his Slaves at Barbados and that he told the said Rogers that he thought he would do better with them there than to carry them anywhere else and that he did not give him that Advice from any sinister Views but purely for the Benefit of his Owners. And the said Robert Stoddard doth further say That it was generally thought by the Masters upon the Coast that Capt. Rogers's Slaves were a very good Cargo of Slaves and that the said Jones told him that Capt. Rogers' Slaves were in bad Order when he arrived at Barbados.

COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND etc. NEWPORT Novem'r 3d 1766

Personally appeared Capt. Robert Stoddard and made solemn Oath to the Truth of the aforegoing Deposition by him subscribed (Capt. Rogers notified and present)

Before HENRY WARD, Just. Peace

Cost £0. 0. 10

Messrs. William and Samuel Vernon to ——.

Gentlemen, You will observe our positive Orders to T. Rogers, after stopping at Barbados to recruit his Slaves were to proceed to Georgia or So. Carolina unless he shoud meet with counter Orders at Barbados but as it was our fix'd determination that he shoud proceed to one or other of those Ports his Orders remaind in full force.

By his Letter of the 25th Septr. he arrivd at Barbados on that Day and by his Protest in Antigua he sail'd from Barbados on the 28th bound to the Island of St Christophers that on the first Day of Octr. an Insurrection of the Slaves happend (being let out of their Irons) by which he lost eleven Men Slaves [6] and four Slaves afterwards with the Flux as usual in such cases. he then proceeded to Antigua and gave the remd. of his Slaves away for a Trifling Sum— the Nt proceeds of his Cargo amounting to but £500 Ster'g in Bills paya. at 6 months sight whereas had he followed his Orders his Cargo of Slaves in Georgia would have neated us Eighteen hundred Pounds Sterling or more as some part of his Cargo arrivd there during Capt. Dordins lying there some of which sold at fifty Pounds Sterling per head as he informs us. You will be pleased farther to

[5] This letter bears no date, nor is there any clue as to the person addressed.

[6] Mention is made in the Lopez correspondence of a rebellion of the slaves under Captain Rogers in which thirteen jumped overboard, one was killed, and several wounded. See also *Newport Mercury,* Nov. 25, 1765.

observe that we gave him One hundred Dollars to lay out in high Cloths at the Cape DeVerd Islands, what Cloths he purchasd there he purchasd with Goods and the Ball'ce of his Cash Trade there was in our Favor so that the whole of that 100 Dollars and more also he has traded on to his own Benefit, without the least Advantage to his Owners, and indeed is indebted for the Money to this Day.

his Letter Isle de los 5th Sept. he writes he had then on board 21 Slaves bo't at 80 Barrs. By his Book he gives an account of but 16 Slaves purchas'd out of wch Number he had exchanged one Man Slave for a Boat wch is 6 less than he had then on board, and all his Letters to us from the Coast convince us that this Book of Trade he has dd us is not Genuine but a patched up, counterfeit thing

Please to Observe by his Letter Dated at Barbadoes Sepr. 25th 1765 he says had call'd upon Mr. Jones for Letters that he expected we shoud Lodge with him and found our Letter, wherein we persist in his proceeding to Carolina, but he says he will go to the Leward Islands, Implying that we had no right to direct him, his saying his Vessel was Low [?] and his slaves weakly is no excuse. If that was really the case he might possibly have been justified, but he protested against those Articles at Barbados, but then certainly he could not have proceeded to any other Port but must have sold his Cargo at Barbados.[7]

159. Newport Custom-House Entries, 1764.[1]

Date	Vessel	Master	Voyage
Jan. 23	*Shiprah*	Peck	Cleared for Africa
Mar. 26	*Ospray*	Potter[2]	Outward bound for "
Apr. 2	*Othello*	Rogers[3]	" " " "
" "	*Fanny*	Morris	" " " "
" 30	*Jolly Robin*	Heath	" " " "
May 21	*Speedwell*	Congdon	" " " "
June 11	*Spry*	Pinniger[4]	" " " "
July 2	*Three Friends*	Carpenter	" " " "
Aug. 13	*Two Friends*	Carr	" " " "
" 20	*Joanna*	Rodman[5]	" " " "
" "	*Diamond*	Wickham	" " " "
" 27	*Sarah*	Tillinghast	" " " "
Sept. 3	*King George*	Earl	" " " "
" 10	*Sally*	Hopkins[6]	Cleared " "
" 17	*Dove*	Coddington[7]	Outward bound " "
Oct. 15	*Harlequin*	Hallet	Cleared " "
" 29		Stoddard[8]	Outward bound " "
Nov. 12	*Hope*	Mumford[9]	Cleared " "
" 19		Wickham	" " "
" 26		Stockford	" " "
Dec. 24		Carpenter	Outward bound for "
" "		Hanners	Cleared " "

[7] A scrap among these papers contains the following: "7 men, 2 women, 1 girl, 8 Boys, the number of Slaves Thos. Rogers had Bought when I came away as above and had 1000 gal. of Rum left on hand." The other side of the scrap bears the signature, John Fleming, but it is not certain that this note was written by Fleming.

[159] [1] *Newport Mercury,* of dates given.

160. Remonstrance of the Colony of Rhode Island to the Board of Trade, 1764.[1]

[January 24, 1764.]

. . . It is this quantity of molasses[2] which serves as an engine in the hands of the merchant to effect the great purpose of paying for British manufactures; for part of it is exported to the Massachusetts Bay, to New York and Pennsylvania, to pay for British goods, for provisions and for many articles which compose our West India cargoes and part to the other colonies, southward of these last mentioned, for such commodities as serve for a remittance immediately to Europe; such as rice, naval stores, etc., or such as are necessary to enable us to carry on our commerce; the remainder (besides what is consumed by the inhabitants,) is distilled into rum, and exported to the coast of Africa; nor will this trade to Africa appear to be of little consequence, if the following account of it be considered.

Formerly, the negroes upon the coast were supplied with large quantities of French brandies; but in the year 1723, some merchants

[2] "Capt. Nathaniel Potter, commander of a vessel from this Port, lately died on the Coast of Africa". *Ibid.,* Feb. 18, 1765.

[3] See *ante,* no. 158.

[4] "Capt. William Pinniger, of this Town, in the Sloop *Spry,* died on the 14th of December, within 6 Hours Sail of Barbados, from the Coast of Africa" (*Newport Mercury,* Feb. 10, 1766). "To be sold at Public Vendue ¼ of Sloop *Spry,* William Pinniger late master, with all her Guinea Stores, as she came from Sea. . . . There will be sold also at the same Place, a likely young Negro Girl, lately come from the Coast of Africa." *Ibid.,* June 2, 1766.

[5] "Newport, Rhode Island, Dec. 30. We hear that Captain Thomas Rodman and Mr. Daniel Duncan, of this place, lately died on the coast of Africa." *Mass. Gaz. and News Letter,* Jan. 9, 1766.

[6] "William Earl was offered command of the *Sally* but refused being engaged to Potter" (R. I. Hist. Soc., Kimball, Note-Book, II. 42). The *Sally* was owned one-half by Nicholas Brown, and one-fourth each by James and Moses Brown. For references to her voyage see *post,* no. 163 n. The *King George* was owned by Simeon Potter.

[7] When this sloop "cleared for departure" two months later, Captain Tuell was in command.

[8] "The Ship ——, Capt. Robert Stoddard, of this Port, is arrived at Antigua from Africa, with a fine Cargo of Slaves." *Newport Mercury,* Mar. 17, 1766.

[9] "Just imported from Africa, And to be Sold, By Nathaniel Mumford, Very cheap for Cash, A few fine Slaves, All young and healthy." *Ibid.,* June 31, July 8, 1765.

[160] [1] "Proceedings of the General Assembly, at South Kingston, the 24th day of January, 1764", *R. I. Col. Recs.,* VI. 378-383. This remonstrance against the renewal of the Sugar Act the General Assembly voted to transmit to the colonial agent, Joseph Sherwood, who was to present it to the Board of Trade provided any three agents from the other northern colonies would join in the protest. The early paragraphs point out that Rhode Island, a small colony of barren soil, depends entirely on her commerce for subsistence, that she buys from Great Britain yearly in manufactured goods £120,000, and that all but £5000 of that sum must come from her molasses trade.

[2] Fourteen thousand hogsheads, 2500 of which came from the English islands. In the Moses Brown Papers, Misc. (R. I. Hist. Soc., I. 12), is a long paper on Rhode Island commerce, of nature similar to this, in which the author speaks of an importation of 6000 hhds. of molasses from foreign ports. See also F. B. Wiener, "Rhode Island Merchants and the Sugar Act", *New England Quarterly,* III. 488.

in this colony first introduced the use of rum there, which, from small beginnings soon increased to the consumption of several thousand hogsheads yearly; by which the French are deprived of the sale of an equal quantity of brandy; and as the demand for rum is annually increasing upon the coast, there is the greatest reason to think, that in a few years, if this trade be not discouraged, the sale of French brandies there will be entirely destroyed. This little colony, only, for more than thirty years past, have annually sent about eighteen sail of vessels to the coast, which have carried about eighteen hundred hogsheads of rum, together with a small quantity of provisions and some other articles, which have been sold for slaves, gold dust, elephants' teeth, camwood, etc. The slaves have been sold in the English islands, in Carolina and Virginia, for bills of exchange, and the other articles have been sent to Europe; and by this trade alone, remittances have been made from this colony to Great Britain, to the value of about £40,000, yearly; and this rum, carried to the coast, is so far from prejudicing the British trade thither, that it may be said rather to promote it; for as soon as our rum vessels arrive, they exchange away some of the rum with the traders from Britain, for a quantity of dry goods, with which each of them sort their cargoes to their mutual advantage.

Besides this method of remittance by the African trade, we often get bills of exchange from the Dutch colonies of Surinam, Barbice, etc., and this happens when the sales of our cargoes amount to more than a sufficiency to load with molasses; so that, in this particular, a considerable benefit arises from the molasses trade, for these bills being paid in Holland, are the means of drawing from that republic so much cash yearly, into Great Britain, as these bills amount to.

From this deduction of the course of our trade, which is founded in exact truth, it appears that the whole trading stock of this colony, in its beginning, progress and end is uniformly directed to the payment of the debt contracted by the importation of British goods; and it also clearly appears, that without this trade, it would have been and always will be, utterly impossible for the inhabitants of this colony to subsist themselves, or to pay for any considerable quantity of British goods.

[Of the fourteen thousand hogsheads of molasses annually imported, eleven thousand five hundred are brought from foreign plantations.]

The present price of molasses is about twelve pence, sterling, per gallon; at which rate, only, it can be distilled into rum for exportation; wherefore, if a duty should be laid on this article, the enhanced price may amount to a prohibition; and it may with truth be said, that

there is not so large a sum of silver and gold circulating in the colony, as the duty imposed by the aforesaid act upon foreign molasses, would amount to in one year, which makes it absolutely impossible for the importers to pay it. . . .

There are upwards of thirty distil houses, (erected at a vast expense; the principal materials of which, are imported from Great Britain,) constantly employed in making rum from molasses. This distillery is the main hinge upon which the trade of the colony turns, and many hundreds of persons depend immediately upon it for a subsistence. These distil houses, for want of molasses, must be shut up, to the ruin of many families, and of our trade in general; particularly, of that to the coast of Africa, where the French will supply the natives with brandy, as they formerly did. Two-thirds of our vessels will become useless, and perish upon our hands; our mechanics, and those who depend upon the merchant for employment, must seek for subsistence elsewhere; and what must very sensibly affect the present and future naval power and commerce of Great Britain, a nursery of seamen, at this time consisting of twenty-two hundred, in this colony only, will be in a manner destroyed; and as an end will be put to our commerce, the merchants cannot import any more British manufactures, nor will the people be able to pay for those they have already received.[3] . . .

Jamaica is the only English island that now supplies us with molasses (excepting the new acquisition of the Grenades, which affords a small quantity of an inferior quality); and it can be proved by undoubted testimony, that even from thence our vessels have been frequently obliged to bring back money, because molasses was not to be had; and this has happened in the course of a few years, while the trade from the northern colonies to foreign plantations was at the highest.[4] . . .

161. William Stead to Aaron Lopez, 1764.[1]

London the 22 June 1764.

. . . accord'g to your directions have got Insur'd for You £1050

[3] Here follows an ingenious argument proving the trade an advantage to Great Britain and to the British West Indies.

[4] By the time this protest reached England the Sugar Act had been passed.

[161] [1] Lopez Letter-Book, no. 622, p. 26, also on p. 29. The importance of the Jews to the early commercial life of Newport has frequently been remarked. Prominent among them for many years was Aaron Lopez, who came to Rhode Island in 1752 and remained there until the time of the Revolution, when he removed to Leicester, Mass. "He was a merchant of eminence, of polite and amiable manners. Hospitality and benevolence were his true characteristics, an ornament and a valuable pillar in the Jewish society of which he was a member. His knowledge in commerce was unbounded; and his integrity irreproachable. Thus he lived and thus he died; much regretted, esteemed and loved by all." E. Washburn, *Historical Sketches of the Town of Leicester,* pp. 121-124, quoted in *Commerce of R. I.,* II. 52; see also B. M. Bigelow, "Aaron Lopez, Colonial Merchant of Newport", *New England Quarterly,* IV. 757-776.

on the Sloop *Spry* and Cargoe, Piniger Master from New Port to the Coast of Africa and Jamaica for wch Debitt You £82.13. . . .

Dr. Mr Aaron Lopez to William Steade

1764

June 8th To Premium on £1050 on Ship and Goods in the *Spry* Wm Pinniger from New Port in Rhode Island to the Coast of Africa, during her Stay there and from thence to Jamaica at 7 Gs. per Ct. to pay £100 per Ct. in case of Loss — 77. 3. 6

£100 Gildart
100 Jebb
100 Pole
} on the Ship

£ 50 Gildart
100 Scott
200 Russell
100 Hake
100 Clerk
} on Goods

Policy 4. 6

Comm ½ per Ct 5. 5.

82. 13.

162. Joseph and William Wanton to Nicholas Brown and Company, 1764.[1]

Newport Aug. 13 1764.

I have Talkt the Matter over with Mr. Underwood and his Terms are 60 pr. Mo. 4 Slaves Priviledge and you to Board him while fitting out, if these Proposals are agreable he will wait on you immed., it is my Opinion he will suit you from what little Knowledge I have of him. . . . if Esek is willing to Quit, don't believe you can Better yourselves then by taking Croswell which was it my Case should do, for depend upon it such Times as will be when your Vessel gets there, never were before and having a stranger won't make it worse.[2]

163. Nicholas Brown to Joseph, John, and Moses Brown, 1764.[1]

Providence Sep. 12th 1764.

Gentl., This Serves to Inclose Capt. Whipples Permit and Manifest of Cargo we had ented a large Quy [Quantity] Candles as it might prevent others from Supplying that Markets. Jno. Jenckes asks 6/

[162] [1] Kimball, Note-Book, II. 42.

[2] On Sept. 12, 1763, the *Boston Gazette* published a description of the conditions upon the coast, the dearth of slaves, the surfeit of rum, and the resulting price—270 gallons for a prime slave. This has been reprinted in the *R. I. Hist. Magazine* (V. 76) and in *Commerce of R. I.* (I. 96, n. 2). The *Mercury* of July 10, 1765, printed a long account of the state of the trade on the West Coast, taken from a letter from Anamabo to a London correspondent. See this work, II. 526-528.

[163] [1] Moses Brown Papers, I. 60. The three brothers were in Newport, where Esek Hopkins was fitting the brig *Sally* for an African voyage. This vessel in 1757 was the property of Hopkins, George Corlis, and the Browns. Kimball, Note-Book, vol. I.

for his Tobacco perhaps it might be got of the Judge [2] at less, tho' mak'g him an offer while at Newport may put him in mind of sell'g it in Newport where it's much wanted for the Guineamen . . . Inquire of Malbone whither there Brigg Caried Any Qy. Onions—if they did not it may be worth while to get 100 bshl. more at Bristol. . . .

I beleave that if a Stroke was put in the Newport paper Truly giveing a State of the Rum Trade upon the Coast of Guinea it may prevent Meny Vessels from push'g that way this fall, this is a Subject worth our Attention. A Small matter as 2 Dols. will get it from the Newport into the Boston and York Papers or Phila.[3]

164. News Item relating to Slave Trade, 1764.[1]

Charleston, Oct. 5 [1764].

In June last, a sloop named the *Adventure,* Millar, master belonging to Rhode-Island or New-London, was trading at Sierra-leon, on the coast of Africa, and the master, with all the crew except one, being carried off by sickness, a gentleman who lived there sent two white men to assist in taking care of sloop and cargo, till a King's ship should arrive and claim them. While the sloop lay at anchor with her slaves, and these three men on board, the natives came off, hauled the vessel ashore, and barbarously murdered the white men and plundered the whole cargo except two slaves. The sloop was claimed by the factory at Bance Island,[2] and being delivered up to them was valued for the benefit of the owners and taken into service.

[2] Daniel Jenckes.

[3] One would think the discouraging article in the *Boston Gazette,* to which reference has been made, would have accomplished this purpose.

[164] [1] *Georgia Gazette,* Oct. 25, 1764.

[2] The factory on Bence or Bance Island, in the mouth of the Sierra Leone River, was at this time owned by Alexander Grant, Richard Oswald, and Company. See this work, II. 565n.

165. Accounts of the *Betsey*, 1765-1766.[1]

Portage Bill for Sloop "Betsey" Nath Briggs Master on a Voya to Africa and back again.

When shipt	*Mens Names*	*Quality*	*Wages pr Month*	*Adva. Wages before Sailing*	*Adva. on Voya*	*When disch'd*		*Time aboard*	*Whole wages*	*Wages due*
				£ s. d.						£ s. d.
1765, May 15	Nathl. Briggs	Master	£60	56 16 1½		May 21, 1766	is	12 Mo 6 days	£732	675 3 10½
June 10	William English	Mate	60	170		do	is	11 " 11 "	£682	512
July 19	James Gould	Sailor	60	92 15	£38	May 1st, 1766	is	10 " 2 "	£604	473 5
June 18	William West	do	45	132 17 4	56	Jany 31, 1766	is	7 " 13 "	£334 10	145 12 8
July 12	Philip Altimus	do	40	74 19 10	10	Nov. 19, 1765 Died and Wages yet in our Hands only pd Briggs £24		4 " 7 "		24 pd Captn. Brigs his Adva.
July 19	Benjamin Shearman	do	45	90	48	May 19, 1766		10 "	£450	312
July 22	John Dickens	do	30	30	104	Do 20, 1766		9 " 28 "	£298	164
Shipt at Jama	Thomas Wallas	do								61 14 pd him here
	James Hartley	do								
				647 8 3½						2367 15 6½
										18 pd by Captn. Briggs
										2385 15 6½

[165] [1] Mass. Hist. Soc., Wetmore Papers, vol. II.

The Sloop "Betsey" Nath'l Briggs Master, Aaron Lopez and Jacob Rod. Rivera owners for the Coast of Africa.[2]

				Dr.	
To Jacob Rod. Rivera			£	s.	d.
1765	To 11 Barrels pork a 60/		33		
June 19	To 200 li. of cheese a 10/ OT.[3] per li.		4	5	8½
	To Cash for fish for the people 40/		0	1	8½
	To 1389 Galls. Rumm of Wyatt a 2/ L. Mo.		138	18	
	To Differ'ce between Com: and Guinea hhd. 3/5¼		2	16	
	To Cash for 10 li. Mutton at 8/		0	3	5¼
	To Phil: Wanton bils for Medicines £140 5/		6	0	2½
	To Joseph Boss's Bill for a Boat		14	10	11
	To 2 Doz. Razors No. 50 at 5/ 5		0	10	10
	To 2 Doz. Do. 51 5/10		0	11	8
	To 2 Doz. Do. 52 7/ 6		0	15	
	To 2 Doz. Do. 53 8/ 9		0	17	6
	To 12 Doz. uncapt penk'ns 22 2/11		1	15	
	To 6 Doz. Capt. Do. 23 6/10½		2	1	3
	To Constant Wilbour's bill for packing 10½ bb pork		0	6	5½
	Lawfull Mo		£206	13	8¼
206.	13.	8¼			
21.	2.	8¾			
185.	10.	11			

166. Newport Custom-House Entries, 1765.[1]

Date	Vessel	Master	Voyage
Jan. 14	*Three Friends*	Toman[2]	Outward bound for Africa
" 28	—	Kain[3]	" " " "
" "	—	Bardin	Cleared " "
Feb. 4	—	Carpenter[4]	" " "
Apr. 8	*Endeavour*	Crosswell	Outward bound " "
" "	*Africa*	All[5]	" " " "
" 15	*Polly*	Wanton[6]	" " " "
" "	*Kingston*	Kean	Cleared " "
May 6	*Betty* [*Betsey*]	Briggs	Outward bound " "
June 24	*Fanny*	Morris[7]	Inward from "
July 15	*Sally*	Bull	Outward bound for "
" 29	*Peggy*	Moore	Cleared " "
Aug. 26	*Fanny*	Morris	Outward bound " "
Oct. 28	*Queen of Barra*	Elliot[8]	" " " "
" "	*Greyhound*	Thurston	" " " "
Nov. 4	*Polly*	Tillinghast	Cleared " "

[2] The endorsement reads: "Mr. Rivera's Acco't Supplies against Sloop *Betsey* Capt. Briggs £206. 13. 8¼." Rivera was the father-in-law of Lopez.

[3] Old Tenor, of which 10 *s.* are reckoned as equal to 5.1425 *d.* sterling.

[166] [1] *Newport Mercury,* for the dates given.

[2] "Newport, August 11. The Sloop *Three Friends,* Capt. Toman, arrived here last Saturday in 87 Days from Sierraleone. One Mr. Dunfield came Passenger, who was Mate of a Schooner belonging to Bristol, and informs, that last Winter her whole Company, except himself, was killed by the Slaves on board. He escaped by being out in the Boat." *Mass. Gaz. and News Letter,* Aug. 22, 1765, *Ext.*

[3] Doubtless Captain Kean of the *Kingston,* whose clearing appears below.

[4] This is the voyage for which the "outward bound" entry was dated Dec. 24, 1764. Captain Carpenter sailed Feb. 17 (*Newport Mercury,* Feb. 18, 1765). Newport possessed two captains Carpenter, one of whom, Captain Willet Carpenter, died on the coast of Africa sometime in the early spring of 1765. *Ibid.,* June 24, 1765.

[5] "Capt. Abraham All, of the Brig ——, from this Port, in a Letter wrote in September last, at Cape Mount, on the Coast of Africa, says, That the Captains Scoffield, Bardine, and Moore, from this Port and Capt. Bowen of Boston were then at that Place. The two last were about sailing for Annamaboa." *Ibid.,* Feb. 10, 1766.

[6] This was possibly Capt. Edward Wanton, since Capt. Peter could scarcely

167. Benjamin Gardner to Moses Brown, 1765.[1]

Newport May the 15 D 1765.

Sir, I Saw a Letter from Capt. Gardiner to Day and informs us of Capt. Hopkins arrivell on the Coast. His Letter was Dated the 25 December from the baneas and that Capt. Hopkins was up the River gamby and Deserd Capt. Gardner to write word of his arivel the first opertunity and that thear All well on board. I have No other News to write.

Sir be so good as to inquire of Capt Bucklin thats from Suranam wat Guineaman that was he Spoke with bound to South Carliner for it is Reported in Newport that my Brother Carpenter is Ded and I shuld be glad you would inquire into it and Lett me know. . . .

168. Joseph and William Wanton to Brown Brothers, 1765.[1]

Newport, June 26th, 1765.

Gentlemen, . . . We heartily Condole with you over the bad News from Hopkins,[2] had he proceeded down to Anamaboe it would have been no better with Regard to Trade, there was the 6th April 17 Sail there of Europeans and Rum men and the latter could not

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have been ready for a return voyage to Africa by April. "Capt. Peter Wanton, in a Ship belonging to this Port, with a Cargo of Slaves was also arrived at St. Kitts." *Newport Mercury,* Feb. 11, 1765; *Mass. Gaz. and News Letter,* Feb. 21, 1765.

[7] "Newport, June 17. Capt. Owen Morris, who arrived here Yesterday from the Windward Coast of Africa, sailed from thence the 10th of April. A very great Mortality prevailed among the Shipping on the Coast; Capt. Morris was told, that Capt. Spear of Boston, and Capt. Hopkins of Providence, had lost near or quite all their Men, which reduced them to great Distress. Mr. Bennet, Capt. Heath's Mate, of this Place, also died on the Coast. And about 3 Weeks ago, Mr. Edward Belcher, Mate to Capt. Morris, likewise died" (*Mass. Gaz. and News Letter,* June 27, 1765, *Supp.*). That another Captain Morris from Rhode Island was trading in Africa is evident from a letter of Oct. 12, 1765, from Nicholas Brown and Company to Joseph Wanton: "we have Capt. Woodbury Morris's Receipt for 12 Boxes Sp'r Cand. wt. 2/8/4 which he Carried to Guinea on our Acct. Capt. Warner tells us that Capt. Morris' Sold the Cand. at 2/6 Ster'g per C and that he Warner Recd. the pay for the Same in Goold towards purchising Slaves and was all Accounted together without Aney Distinct'n for the Cargo and that the Whole Effects is in Your Hands You May Either give Us the Money at What Cands. Sold for or we will take our proport'n of what the Slaves Sold for Deducting Freight etc." Kimball, Note-Book, vol. I.

[8] "Capt. Robert Elliot, *Queen of Barra,* arrived here last Friday from Jamaica, out 78 days." *Newport Mercury,* Nov. 9, 1767.

[167] [1] Moses Brown Papers, I. 62.

[168] [1] Moses Brown Papers, II. 63.

[2] Benjamin Mason had just reported to the Browns that near the beginning of March Hopkins, with forty slaves on board, had lost all his hands and had been obliged to send to the governor of Gambia for aid. He was at that time trading in Portuguese territory, where he was not allowed to land without the payment of exorbitant customs. It is difficult to reconcile this report with a letter written by the Browns to Capt. Abraham Whipple in July, in which they say that on May 17 Captain Hopkins wrote from the Gambia River that he had lost one man and three others sick (Kimball, *Providence in Colonial Times,* pp. 272-273). On Sept. 24 the owners wrote to a Mr. Relfe that they expected the brigantine to bring off about 140 slaves, for which they hoped to be in cash or bills by January. Hopkins actually lost a portion of his rum cargo from leakage, his mortality on the Middle Passage was heavy (*post,* no. 171), and he was obliged to sell for a low price in Antigua. Years later Moses Brown stated that this firm, as long as he was concerned in it, had lost rather than made money in the slave trade. Kimball, Note-Book, vol. II.

get a Slave at any Price, 750 Hhds. Rum in the Road and the Castles [3] full besides.

169. Aaron Lopez to Captain Nathaniel Briggs, 1765.[1]

Newport Rhode Isl'd July 22. 1765

Capt. Nath'l Briggs, You being at present Master of our Sloop the *Betsey* wch is now ready loaded and fitted for the seas, our orders to you are, that you Embrace the first fair wind wch God Shall Send, and proceed with her to Sea and there make the best of your way to the Coast of Africa, When please God you arrive there, Endeavour to dispose of your Vessel and Cargo,[2] provided you Can obtain at Least One Thousand and one hundred Pounds Ster'g for Both, in Good Bills of Exchange, on England, in wch Case you are to remit (if any oppertunity directly from there to any part of England) the first and Second bills of Each Sett to William Stead Esqr. Merch't in London and advice him that Two Thirds thereof are on Acco't of Mr. Aaron Lopez and the Other one Third on Acct. of Mr. Jacob Rod. Rivera, and git the Bill Drawn Conformable thereto, and the Third Bills of Each Sett bring home with you; But if you Cannot Sell her for Bills, and you Can do it for Slaves to good advantage, and you have a prospect of Shipping Said Slaves on Freight to any port of the West Indias (to wch we would give Jamaica the prefferances,) or Should you on the Coast meat with Capt. Ab'm All in our Brig and he Can after he is Slaved Conveniently take any of those you may receive in pay for your Vessel and Cargo, you may put on board of them as many as you may Judge prudent, on our Acco't and we Shall write to Capt. All to that purpose, and as Several Circumstances may present that we Cannot now provide for, we Leave the whole of this Last Transaction to your Judicious Management as being upon the Spot you may be able to act for the most of our advantage. If you Cannot dispose of your Vessel and Cargo on Either of the foregoing Terms, then you are to dispose of her Cargo at any part of the Coast you may think most to our advantage, and as we have a very high Opinion of your Capacity and Experience in that Trade, we Leave the whole Management on the Coast to you, being persuaded you'll have the greatest regard to our Interest, and we beg it may be done in Such a manner as may Enable you to Quit the Coast as Soon as posible, and When you have finished your Trade on the Coast, proceed with your Vessel and Slaves and what

[3] *I. e.,* the English forts.

[169] [1] Newport Hist. Soc., package no. 183.

[2] On Nov. 11, 1765, Rivera wrote to Captain Briggs: "By a Late Intelligence from the Coast We are in hopes that you have not disposed there of yr Vessel as We had the pleasure to be informed times had alter'd greatly in favr of the Trade at Anamaboa therefore We flater ourselves with soon hearing of your safe arrival to Jamaica." Wetmore Papers, vol. II.

other Effect you may have purchaced, with your Cargo, to Kingston in the Island of Jamaica and there deliver Whatever Slaves you may Carry in, on Acc't of the owners to Mr. Phillip Livingston Jun'r Merch't there, to whom we Shall give our Necessary orders for the disposal of them, and in whose hands we Shall Lodge for you whatever farther orders we may hereafter find Necessary, and we Shall give Mr. Livingston orders to account with you for your Coast Comm's wch is to be four out of Every one hundred and Four, or in the Like proportion from the Neet Sales of the Slaves at Jamaica that you may put in his hands on our Acct.; at Jamaica you are to follow Whatever orders we may Lodge there to Said Mr. Livingston and yourself, that is to Say respecting the dispatching of our Vessel back to this port. We would in the Strongest Manner recommend to you in Case you Sell the Vessel and Cargo, on the Coast for Bills of Exchange, that you take none but what Can be relyd upon as Good, and that the Drawers or Indorsers are good and responsible Men, and that you Leave us no outstanding Debts behind if posible, in your Way from the Coast to Jama. we would not have you put into any port in the West Indias if it Can be avoided; We have no need of recommending to you that in the persuit of your Voyages, you use the greatest dispatch, as Such a Small Vessel cannot Support any great Expen[ce] and that you are Watchfull of the Security of the Slaves; the Priviledge Slaves we have agreed to give in this Sloop is Four and one half to your Self and one and one half to your Chief mate, Mr. Will'm English, and no more, unless you Should purchace any thing with our Nephew Abraham Lopez's Venture for wch he has our Concent, we desier yould not Slip any oppertunity of advicing us with the State of your Affairs as well from the Coast as from any other port you may be at, Specially if you Should Sell your Vessel and Cargo for Slaves and Ship the Slaves in Either Capt. All or any other Vessel with the name of Vessel and Master and the port She is bound to in Case we Should think proper to Insure.

170. Aaron Lopez to Captain Abraham All, 1765.[1]

Newport July 22d 1765.

Capt. Abraham All, We hope you are before this Safe arrived on the Coast and that you may have found a favourable prospect of making a Quick and advantagious Voyage; Reflecting on the orders we gave you, find we Stated the price of Molasses at Jama. at 13 *d.* wch we find is higher then it will answer to bring it to this Market, we therefore refer you to What orders we Shall Lodge in the hands of Mr. Livingston at Jama. hereafter for that purpose. We have ordered Capt. Nath'l Brig in our Sloop, that in Case he Should dis-

[170] [1] Newport Hist. Soc., package no. 183.

pose of his Vessel and Cargo for Slaves, and you Should not have disposed of our Brig to put on board of your Vessel as many Slaves as you Can Conveniently take unboard, over and above What you may purchase with your Cargo on our Acct. wch in that Case we desier youll take them on board and Deliver them to Said Mr. Livingston on our Acco't Seperate from those that may belong to your Cargoe, your wife is well.

171. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1765.[1]

Capt. Henry Tilinghast from the Coast of Africa, but last from South Carolina, arrived here last Friday. He sailed from Annamaboa the first of May, and left there the Captains Thomas Wickham, Robert Stoddard, William Pinniger, John Coddington, and William Earle of this Port; Caleb Gardner, and Samuel James of Piscataqua, Capt. John Perry, from New York, arrived three Weeks before he sailed. Trade extreme dull upon the Coast.

By Letters from Capt. Hopkins in a Brig belonging to Providence arrived here from Antigua from the Coast of Africa we learn That soon after he left the Coast, the Number of his Men being reduced by Sickness, he was obliged to permit some of the Slaves to come upon Deck to assist the People: These Slaves contrived to release the others, and the whole rose upon the People, and endeavoured to get Possession of the Vessel; but was happily prevented by the Captain and his Men, who killed, wounded and forced overboard, Eighty of them, which obliged the rest to submit.

We hear that Capt. Rogers, of this Place, who lately arrived in the West-Indies from Africa, with a Number of Slaves, being bound from Barbados, to Antigua, the Blacks made an Attempt to overcome the Vessel's Company, but were subdued and twelve of them killed.

172. Newport Custom-House Entries, 1766.[1]

Date	Vessel	Master	Voyage
May 26	*Hope*	Mumford	Outward bound for Africa
July 7	*Rabbit*[2]	Briggs	" " " "
" 14	*Nelly*	Bull	" " " "
" 21	*Three Friends*	Toman	" " " "
Aug. 25	*Sally*	Briggs	Cleared " "
Sept. 22	*Polly*	Child	Outward bound " "
Oct. 20	*Africa* (brig)	All	Cleared " "
Nov. 10	*Fanny*	Rogers	Outward bound " "
" "	*Polly*	Wanton	" " " "
" "	*Betsey*	Remmington	" " " "
" "	*Africa* (sch.)	Warner	" " " "
" "	*Ruth*	Fowler	" " " "

[171] [1] *Newport Mercury,* Sept. 16, Nov. 18, 1765; *Mass. Gaz. and News Letter,* Nov. 28, 1765.

[172] [1] *Newport Mercury,* of dates given.

[2] Probably a mistake for the *Sally.*

173. Samuel and William Vernon to Richard Adams, 1766.[1]

Newport 4th Feb. 1766.

Sir, . . . We beg you Wou'd favor us Without any loss of Time with your Acc't Curr't and the Ball'ce due to us including Interest and damages on the Protested Bills Returned you, it is Now upwards of two years and half Since First and largest Parcel of This Cargo of Slaves Was Consign'd you Which is, you are Sensible much too long to Remain u[n]settled and Unfinished more Especially Considering our haveing taken your Produce for So large a proportion of the Money. we beg you Woud not force us to write again for your Acct and the Ball'ce due.

174. William Stead to Aaron Lopez, 1766.[1]

London the 14th Feby 1766.

Sir, . . . niether do I hear any thing of the *Spry* Pinneger or the other Vessells You dispatch'd to the Coast of Africa.[2] . . .

I Observe you had a Letter from Capt Pinneger dated at the Coast the 11th July, that He wou'd proceed to Jamaica as soon as he had taken in his Wood and Water, as yet hear nothing of him. I observe your orders to procure Insurance on £1500 on the Brigg *Africa* Abraham All and £1200 the Sloop *Bettsy* Nat. Brigs, both at and from the Coast of Africa to Kingston in Jamaica all wch shall get done and advise you thereof but cannot by this Opportunity as have just rec'd your Letter, Observe that Mr. Jacob Rod. Riviera holds one third Concern in each of those Vessells, therefore as there are 2 Interests must be done on different policies. . . .

[173] [1] Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 214.

[174] [1] Lopez Letter-Book, no. 629, p. 2. The letter is repeated on p. 6. Stead had written in the preceding September that he had received no request for insurance on the *Betsey* and the *Africa,* and thought possibly Lopez had placed the insurance at home (Letter-Book, no. 622, p. 68). Between writing the first and second paragraphs of this letter he received a letter from Lopez.

[2] On June 20 Stead wrote: "I see with pleasure that the *Spry,* Pinneger, was arriv'd at Barbadoes and was to proceed to Jamaica; the Underwriters have made frequent Enquiry about Her, as they have now taken the Risque upon them near 2 Years" (Lopez Letter-Book, no. 629, pp. 15, 20). Captain Pinniger had died before this was written but the word had not yet reached London.

175. William Stead to Aaron Lopez, 1766.[1]

London the 7th March 1766.

Sir, . . . As yet hear nothing of the Guineamen, therefore expected before this You wou'd have Remitted Me some Bills. . . . at foot Hereof You have an account of what Insurance have done on your Guineaman wch was with great difficulty got any thing done as your order is given very loosely for You do not tell Me when your Ship was at the Coast or when to sail, niether at what Valuation to put the Negroes wch when put down in the Policy there is no occasion for a Proof of Interest wch occasions much delay, there are many Underwriters who will not write these Adventures, as they do not look upon them to be the most Eligible, therefore it is necessary you give as full an Explanation, as also how We are to Value the Cargoe on Board. You never can be too particular in giving your Description of the Quality of the Ships for it cannot be suppos'd Gentlemen will take upon them a Risque wch they can get no Information about, as also what time they are like to leave the Coast,[2] . . .

London the 20th Feby 1766.

Dr. Mr. Aaron Lopez to William Stead

		£	s.	d.
To Insurance on £700. at Four Guineas pr Ct in the *Africa* Abm All at and from the Coast of Guinea to Kingston in Jamaica		29	8	
To Commission on £700 . . . at ½ pr Ct		3	10	
Policy			5	9
£100 Davies	£100 Tempner	£33	3	9
100 Boehm	100 Nash			
100 Crokatt	100 Muelman			
100 Rooke				
To Insurance on £400 at Four Guineas p Ct in the *Betsey* Nathl Briggs at and from the Coast of Guinea to Kingston in Jamaica		16	16	
Agreed to return two Pounds pr Ct in Case this Ship be sold upon the Coast of Guinea.				

[175] [1] Lopez Letter-Book, no. 629, p. 6. In a letter of Mar. 28 Stead repeats the substance of this letter. He places the account of the insurance here mentioned with the later letter. *Ibid.,* p. 8.

[2] Again on June 6 Stead urged Lopez to give the fullest possible information when asking for insurance, since many underwriters refused to meddle with Guinea ventures. On Aug. 8 he wrote: "observe the Guinea Adventures will not answer your Expectations, as they will not produce near what you had reason to expect, observe you are fitting out 2 Guinea Men, the Proceeds of wch You intend for Me when you give your order for Insurance please to be particular therein." *Ibid.,* pp. 15, 20.

		£	*s.*	*d.*
Brought forward		16	16	
To Commission on £400 ½ pr Ct Policy		2	5	9
£ 100 Davies	£100 Crokatt	£19	1	9
100 Boehm	100 Rooke			

176. Joseph (?) Wanton to John Brown, 1766.[1]

June 20, 1766.

. . . P. S. Shall be obliged if you would ask the Favour of Capt. Esek Hopkins for a Sight of his Trade Book at the Coast of Guinea, if not Inconsistant with his and your Interest, with a few Directions with regard to the Customs and the Government of the Captain with such observations as his Inspectious Eye has made, shall Send a Vessel there to Touch at the Cape De Verde first, if his Mate is out of Employ and is a Man you would Recommend to us, please to let us know whether he is willing to go the Voyage again in the same Capacity.[2]

177. William Stead to Aaron Lopez, 1766.[1]

London the 8th Octor 1766.

Mr. Aaron Lopez Dr. to William Stead

	£	*s.*	*d.*
To Insurance on £1000 at 8 Guineas pr Ct in the *Sally* Capt N Briggs at and from Newport in Rhode Island to the Coast of Africa during her stay and Trade there and back to Barbadoes with Liberty to Proceed to any of the West India Islands	84		

[176] [1] Kimball, Note-Book, vol. I. This was one of those rare periods in Rhode Island history when a Wanton was not governor. Joseph came to that office in 1769.

[2] In the earlier portion of this letter a question was asked about the making of Guinea casks in Providence. Nicholas Brown replied on June 28, offering to allow the Wantons to use the trade-book at any time, and stating that no Providence cooper would deliver Guinea hogsheads for less than £15, since to answer their purpose they must be made of the very "best stuff." Captain Hopkins's first mate was at sea, but the Browns were able to recommend his second mate heartily (*ibid.*). This correspondence presents an interesting picture of the relations between Newport and Providence, as well as between one commercial firm and another. The same month in which this letter was written Samuel Nightingale of Providence wrote to Lopez concerning the Guinea casks made by the Providence cooper Mr. Hacker. Lopez Letter-Book, no. 629, p. 18.

[177] [1] Lopez Letter-Book, no. 629, p. 26. This is an enclosure in a letter of Oct. 11: "agreeable to yr Direction have made £1000 Insurance on the Brigg *Sally* and Cargoe Nat. Briggs Master from New Port to the Coast of Africa during Her Stay there and from thence to any of the West India Islands for wch have Debitted your Account £89. 5. 6."

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	84		
Commission ½ pCt		5.	
Policy		5.	6
	5	5	6
Warranted Free of Damage by Insurrection of Negroes under 5 pr Ct	£89.	5	6

100 A Flake
100 E Flake Junr.
100 G Hayley
100 Jos Readshaw
100 G Olive
100 Jno LeBreton
100 T A Lempriere
100 H Mudman [Muelman?]
100 G Harrison
100 A Champion

178. Newport Custom-House Entries, 1767, 1769.[1]

Date	Vessel	Master	Voyage
1767, July 20	*Tryton*	Paul	Cleared for Africa
Aug. 17	*Katy*	Carpenter	Outward bound for Africa
" 31	*Patty*	Peleg Clarke[2]	" " " "
Sept. 21	*Peggy*	Charles Moore	Cleared " "
Nov. 30	*Polly*	Thomas Child	Outward bound " "
1769, Jan. 26	*Charlotte*	Taylor	Outward bound for Africa
Apr. 20	*Prosperity*	Martindale	Cleared " "
" 27	*Polly*	Ferguson	Outward bound " "
June 1	*Africa*	Champlin	" " " "
" 8	"	David Waldron	" " " "

179. Accounts of the *Royal Charlotte*, 1767-1768.[1]

Sales of a Cargo Slaves recd. pr Briga. "Royall Charlotte" William Pinniger Master there being 95 in Number priviledge Slaves Included Vizt. 1767.

1767		£	s.
Decr. 28	By Chrs McEvoy Esqr 20 Slaves at £31 Sterl'g Exch'g at 87¼ pr Ct payable in Rum and Cash	1160	19
	By Johannes Sobothen [?] Esqr. 6 Small Boys at 130 ps	234	0
	By Cornel Kortwright Esqr. 3 Boys at 200 ps 1 Small Ditto 100 ps	210	0
	By Peter Wood Esqr. 1 Boy 200	60	0
	By Thomas Berry 1 Small Ditto 110	33	
29	By Cornel. Hendrickson Esqr. 6 Slaves at 200 ps	360	0

[178] [1] *Newport Mercury,* for dates given. The *Mercury,* Oct. 6, 1766, published a "Letter from Castle Brew, at Annamaboa," warning Rhode Island captains that the West Coast was infested with pirates. This letter may have lessened the number of captains sailing for the Guinea coast. See this work, II. 528-529.

[2] In the notices of clearings the *Katy's* master is given as Owen Morris; that of the *Patty* as Samuel Holloway. *Mercury,* Sept. 14, Oct. 12, 1767.

[179] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. Among these papers are also accounts relating to the trade of this vessel in Virginia in 1763 and 1764.

[*Sales of Cargo of "Royal Charlotte"*—continued:]

				£	s.
[1768]		By Loren Bagge Esqr. 8 ditto	200 ps	480	0
Jany.	2	By Rapsot Hylegar 4 ditto	200 ps	240	0
	5	By Terence McDonald 2 Men Do.	at 210 ps	126	0
	6	By Faugny Farrell 2 wo. Do.	at £62. 10 ps	125	0
	7	By John OGarra 1 Ditto	199 ps	59	14
		By Charles Aitken Esqr. 1 Boy WP	210 ps	63	0
		By Charles Thalbetyer 28	at 145 ps	1218	0
		By Cornel. Durant 1 man	160 ps	48	0
		1 winch	145 ps	43	10
		By Cash 1 Boy WP	195 ps	58	10
	18	By Doc'r Heren 1 Woman with Dropsy etc.	40 ps	12	0
	20	By Doc'r Mears I Ditto Do.	40 ps	12	0
	21	By Joshua Whitehead 1 Winch	180 ps	54	0
Feby	10	By Jonathan Lord 2 Small Girls 1 Do Boy	at 125 ps	112	10
				£4710	3

93 sold
1 man left unsold
1 Girl goes in the Brig

95 Slaves

Deduct 605 ps $\frac{8}{8}$ being the Amount of 3 Slaves sold belonging to Capt. Wm. Pinniger Included in the Above 188 10

£4528 13

To my Commissions on £4528. 13/ at 5 pr Ct £ 226 8 6
Ballance Carried to Wm. Pinnigers Accot Currant 4302 4 6

£4528 13

Errors Excepted
pr CORNEL DURANT

Messrs Sam'l and William Vernon and Comp'y Acct. Current with Will'm Pinniger

Dr.

		£	s.	d.
1768				
March 20th	To the Amount of 40 Hhds Rum Shipt on Board the Schooner *Adventure*, Joseph Tillinghast On your Acct.	553	0	1
May 5th	To the amount of 17 Hhd Shipt on Board the Schooner *Eagle* James Easton on your Acct.	217	4	
12	To the amount of 142 Hhds Sugar on Board the *Royall Charlotte* on your Acct. As pr Invoices	2447	6	11
	to the amount of Mr. Durants Charge for Comisions on £4528. 13*s.* at 5/c	226	8	6
	To the amount of my Comisions on £4226. 5*s.* 3 at 5/c.	211	6	0
	To the Amount of the Bill of Dursburments as pr Acc. Rendered In	346	13	3
	To the Ballance of Acct. Setteled and Left with Mr. Corn'l Durant at St. Croix to be Shipt on your Acct In Sugars	733	9	
		4735	7	9
		4567	16	
	Ballance [due] W. Pinniger	167	11	9

Cr.

1768				
12 May	By the amount of 90 Slaves Capt. William Taylor privi-ladge Slave Included £	4528	13	
	By 15 Bushell Corn at 3/3 and 1 Hhd. Rice at 25	9	15	
	By 206 empty Hhds. Sold Edward Beach at 2½ ps 8	15		
	By Cash Recd. of Charles Henry Talbeze Esq. for the Dutys of 12 Slaves which he Shipt of[f] the Island which we Lost the permission for so much Sugar as he agreed to pay the duty at 4 ps 8 pr head	14	8	
		4567	16	
	Ball. Due Will'm Pinniger	167	11	9
	£	4735	7	9
	By 1 Man Left with Mr. Durant to Sell for your Acct.			

Errors Excepted pr me WILL PINNIGER
May the 12th 1768

Capt. William Pinniger his Acco't Currant with Cornelius Durant Dr.

		£	*s.*	*d.*
1768				
March 25	To Sundrys as pr Acco't Render'd on Another Sheet	312	0	10
30	To Cash to pay the people that Listed in the fort and Charges	25	10	
April 1	To Cash when going to the West End 30/			
	ditto 3/	1	13	
	To Cash paid Nicholas Welch pr Verball order	3	0	
2	To 1 bbl. Bread 48/ 1 bundle Hoops 12/	3	0	
8	To Cash paid you	3	0	
	To 4 hhds Sugar you shiped pr Champlin on your Own Acco't 3651 Neat at 33/ Duty, and [*illegible*] 71/4	63	16	2
15	To Cash paid you	3	0	
18	To Cash paid Andrew Burr Your Order	2	16	9
20	To Cash paid you when going to the West End	3	2	
	To the Amount of Invoice of 40 hhds Rum shipd for Acco't of the owners of Brig *Royal Charlotte* pr Schooner *Adventure* Joseph Tillinghurst Mas'r	553	0	1
30	To 1 bbl port £6 1 bbl. Bread 42/	8	2	
May 5	To Thomas Berry paid him his Acco't dld you	8	13	3
	To 17 hhds Rum Dld you Shiped by Capt Easton at the West End 1866 Gals at 2/ hhds at 36/ [*illegible*]	217	4	
12	To 1 Bbl pork £6 1 bbl Beef 4. 4/ 2 bbls Bread at 42/	14	8	
	To the Amount of 142 hhds Sugar ship'd on board the Brig *Royall Charlotte* on yr Owners Acco't pr Invo.	2447	6	11
	To the Amount of 5 hhds. ship'd pr Do on yr Own Acco't	77	0	9
	To Cash paid the Pilots Bill for Pilotage heav'g Down etc.	10	19	

[*Capt. William Pinniger his Acct. with Cornelius Durant, Dr.*— continued:]

		£.	*s.*	*d.*
	To Ditto pd for Clear'g out the Brig *vizt.* the Collector 10 ps Comptroller 10 ps Searcher 10 ps	9	0	
	To Cash paid James Cradock your Bills of Expence	9	3	9
	To pd Sam'll Stillman yr Order for 2 bbls pork	9	12	
		£3785	8	6
14th	To Ballance due being Seven hundred and thirty Seven pounds 9/ Currency of St Croix which I hereby promise to Ship in produce to Messrs. Sam'll and Wm Vernons and Thos T. Taylor Merchts in Newport they being owners of the Brig *Royal Charlotte*	737	9	
		£4522	17	6

Cr.

1768		£	*s.*	*d.*
May 12	By Neat Sales of 90 Negros recd. pr Brig *Royall Charlotte* as pr Accot Annexed for the Owners	4302	4	6
	By the Amount of 3 negro's belonging to Yr self 1 sold for 200 ps 1 Do. 210 ps and 1 Do. 195 ps is 605 ps	181	10	
	By 15 bushels Corn at 3/ 1 Cask Rice 25 ps sold to Mr. Thos. Durant sold from Brig *Charlotte*	9	15	
	By Edward Beach for 20 Empty hhds sold him for	15	0	
	By Cash recd of Charles Henry Hoxbetzer for the Dutys of 12 Slaves which he shiped of the Island by wch means we lost permission of so much sugar and he agreed to pay said Dutys 4 ps pr head	14	8	
		£4522	17	6

St. Croix May 14, 1768
Errors Excepted
pr Cornl Durant

This Acco't being adjusted and the Ballance due to Capt. Wm. Pinniger on Acco't of the Owners of the Brig *Royall Charlotte* being Seven hundred and thirty Seven pounds Nine Shillings Currency I hereby Engage to ship in produce (Agreeable to his said Pinnigers Orders to me) to Newport Rhode Island on Acco't and Risque of Messrs Sam'll and Wm. Vernon and T T Taylor Merchant, there together with the Neat proceeds of one negro man Slave Left in my hands to sell, when Sold Given under my hand this 14th May 1768

pr. Cornl. Durant

Error of £4 short Cask in Invoice of Sugar makes the ballance only 733. 9/.

180. Aaron Lopez to Henry Cruger, jr., 1767.[1]

Newport Rhode Island Feby 9th 1767.

p. va. Boston.

Sir, Since my Last respects to you Under the 17th Novr per Capt Osborne, your kind favr of the 9th Octor Came safe to hand via Philada advising your having agreeable to my request, Caused Insurance of £500 Strg to be made for my Acct on the brig *Sally,* Nathl Briggs Master to the Coast of Africa, etc. agreeable to the Bill you sent me, Amo[untin]g with Charges to £55.8. which is passed to your Credt. I Cannot Entertain the Least tho't but you used your greatest Influence to get the Premoio on the Easiest terms, but Permit me Sir to tell you the underwriters of your place give us no manner of Encouragemt to order our Insurance in Bristol, unless we Can have it done as low there as in London for when I inform you That Several Insurances were made in London at the Same time on Like voyages and Even on this Same Vessel and voyage at 8 per ct. that 10 Guineas at Bristol you will Certainly think the odds too great. Hope the Insurance on the *Affrica* Capt All has been done on more Moderate terms, wch am in daily Expectations to hear you have Effected.[2] . . . We have Lately reced Letters from Capt Briggs from the Coast of Africa advising his Safe arrival there, and Had begun to trade with tolerable success for the time he had been there wch gives me great reason to hope his stay on the Coast will not be great and that the Voyage if no Great Mortality may prove advantagious. . . .

181. William Stead to Aaron Lopez, 1767.[1]

London 14th Feby: 1767.

Sir, . . . herewith you have an Accot of £800 Insurance on the *Africa,* All, for wch have Debitted you £71.10/wch effected soon after I wrote my last, but Policy being Mislaid cou'd not sooner send you the Particulars wch you have Herewith [2]

[180] [1] Lopez Letter-Book, no. 81. Cruger, a brother of John Harris Cruger, the New York Loyalist, was a merchant in Bristol, Eng.

[2] On July 7 Lopez wrote again to Cruger, having in the meanwhile heard that the *Africa's* insurance amounted to £41 13, the premium being the same as that paid on the *Sally.* Cruger had also informed him that the Bristol merchants were indignant that their rate should be considered too high. Lopez Letter-Book, no. 81.

[181] [1] Lopez Letter-Book, no. 629.

[2] On Nov. 15, 1766, Stead wrote: "Agreeable to your Orders have got Insur'd £750 Ship and Goods in the *Africa,* All, from Rhode Island to Africa during her stay there and from there to the West Indies for wch have Db you £ [*blank*]." *Ibid.,* pp. 26, 32.

1766	Dr. Mr. Aaron Lopez		
Novr. 21	To Insurance on £800 at 8 Gs. pr Ct. in the *Africa* Abm All at and from Rhode Island to all or on any Parts and Places whatsoever upon the Coast of Africa forward and backward, during her stay and trade there and from thence to her Ports of Discharge in British America. Waranted free from Damage by Insurrection of Negroes under 5 perCt and free of Damage that may arise by trading in boats	£67	4
	To Commo ½ per Ct	4.	
	Policy		6
		£71.	10

100 Pole	100 Scott	100 Braunell
100 Freeman	100 Corbett	100 Miulman
100 Berncke	100 Berncke	

182. Samuel Vernon and others to George Hayley, 1767.[1]

Newport 24th Ap'l 1767.

Sir, Rec'd your Esteem'd Fav. of the 3d Jany. 1766 informing us of the dissolution of your Partnership With Mr. Champion and your determining to carry on business your self as usual in your own name which Ask Pardon for our Remissness in not Answering your Letter more seasonably.[2] We now request you to get Insured for us on Brig't *Royal Charlotte* Wm. Tayler Mas'r £1000 Sterling on Cargo and £600 on Vissel from Hence to the Coast of Africa and during her Trade There covering the Prem'm a double bottom'd Vissel and an experienced Captn. one Moity on Acct. Sam'l and Wm. Vernon and the other Moity on Acct. Thos. Teakle Tayler and Wm. Tayler. The Vissel now in this Port and ready to sail.[3]

183. Aaron Lopez (?) to Henry White, 1767.[1]

Newport July 15 1767 per St. Croix

Sir, . . . Wish I knew if you intend to send your Vessel for the Rum so that I might have time to Collect it for as I have said that many distil houses ay [are] Engaged for Sundry Guineamen

[182] [1] Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 130.

[2] This partnership had come to an end at the close of 1765. *Commerce of R. I.,* I. 136.

[3] The letter is signed by Samuel and William Vernon, and Thomas Teakle and William Taylor. See *post,* nos. 191, 192.

[183] [1] Lopez Letter-Book, no. 81.

fitting out and the Drought has been so severe here that some distillers I am told will be obliged to Stop for want of Water.

184. Trade on the African Coast, 1767.[1]

[*Sundry Accounts.*]

Recd from Mr. Brew 25 Cags Soap and one Quire paper.

Sept. 19 Trusted my Lord Augustus Fitzroy five Ounces Gold and has put his Son On board as a pawn and is to pay me a fine young Woman and one Ounce gold

Sept. 21st Sent Old Peter Qua 1 Oz gold and he is to put his Son On board as a pawn and is to pay me gold in One Weak Or a fine young Woman

. . .

July 13	Bonny Wanton To 3 gallons Neate Rum [*illegible*] on your head from Addoe 1 accy.		Oz. 2
July 14	Quomino off Annamaboe To 3 gallns Neate Rum		Dr. oz. 2
July 14	Little Annimer gold Taker To 2 gallns Neate Rum		Dr.
July 14	Baddoe Saltponds To 3 gallns neate Rum Paid 2 accts.		Dr. Octr. 26th 2
July 14 Sept. 3d	Ankinney Gold Taker To 1 galln Neate Rum To 1 galln Neate Rum		Dr.
July 15	Cabbashire Quomino Annamaboe To 6 lb. Sugar To 1 hhd of Rum 89 gallns to pa prime Woman Slave[2]		Dr. Oz. 1

Delivered by Mr. Thos. James to the Seccond off Appam On Acct of Wm. Taylor by Wm. Pinnegar Orders as by his Acct.[3]

1767				
Sept. 30th	For the Salvage off the Longboate oz. 1. 10	Oz.	3	4
	For Attendance on the boate by Canoes 1½ galls. Liquor			
	For Salvage of the Whiteman 5. 4			11
			3	15

[184] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. These items come from a badly torn trade-book of 1767 and from loose papers in the box. There is no reason to think they all relate to the trade of the same vessel.

[2] Similar items follow. On Aug. 20 there is another to "My Lord Augustus Fitzroy," possibly one of the native traders (*ante*, no. 140, n. 5). After several pages recording such trade as this there follows a list of provisions purchased, including fish, plantins, potatoes, limes, eggs, greens. There is also a careful list of other expenses on the West Coast, but no clue to the name of the vessel or the captain whose trade is recorded. The probability is that the vessel belonged to the Vernons, as the bulk of the papers in this box are Vernon papers.

[3] Endorsed, "Thos. James's Acctt. of Sundrys dd."

[*Sundry Accounts*—continued:]

Recovering the Longboate after parting 2 gall.			
Delivered Wm. Pinnegars private Acco't	Trade [4]		
½ a guiney Stufs		1	
3½ Rum		1	
a Case of gin		4	
½ galls Liquor	Oz.	6	
Delivered Thos Taylor and John Faulkner	Trade		
Two blankits		4	
1 Chillo		8	
½ galln. Liquor going up and 1 accy gold		2	4
Gold for their Lodging etc. to Addo Coma and maintanance 1 month		10	
	Oz. 1	8	4
	3	15	
		6	
	5	13	4

1	half say [5]	Oz.	10	1	half say	10	
1	Blew Roma		6	1	Romal	6	
1	Neg'pot		10	1	paeth	6	
1	Red paeth [?]		6	1	Tapseil	8	
2	Accey basons		2	1	chello	10	
1	pan		1	1	Negan'pot	10	
Gold 10 acceys		Oz. 1	1	½	guiney Stufs	1	
				2	Blankets	4	
				1	Brass pan	1	
				2	Accy basons	2	
				1	Case gin	4	
				¾	galls. Rum	1	4
				4½	galls Liquor	6	
				Oz. 1	gold	2	

Dr. *Capt. Will'm Taylor with Rich'd Brew and Co.*

		G. Rum	*Gal. R.*	*Oz.*	*A.*	*Tac.*
1767						
Octob. 16	To 43 Men Slaves	130	5590			
	To 27 Women Do.	110	2970			
	To 4 Boys Do.	110	440			
	To 2 Do. Do.	100	200			
	To 4 Girls Do.	80	320			
	To Ballce Gold Acco't 5 at		8			
	To 28 Empty hheads		56			
			9584			
To Sundrys pd pr Mr. James for the Redemption of your Boat				3	2	6
To 2 hundred wood pr Mr. James						4
To 25 Kegs Soap 5 ac Gold 1 a					6	
To 1 Iron Barr					1	
To 2 Tons Rice				10	0	6
				13	10	2
To 2 Boys 4 feet 2 Ea. for 6 quarter Cask Wine						

[4] Fourteen tackies made an accy, sixteen accies an oz.

[5] The following items may have been memoranda for the account above.

Cr.

1767 October By 93 hhds. Rum [?]	8605			
By 41 Rolls Tobo. at 24 G.	984			
	9589			
By 800 lb. Tobo. at 11 lb. pr 1a.		4	8	4
By 85 Gall. rum on Mr. Wortman Acct. at 24 Gall. pr oz. 1		3	8	4
By 7 Blls. flour 10		4	6	
By 2 C. 1. 18 lb. Bread			14	2
By Ball'ce			5	
		13	10	2
By 6 quarter Cask Wine				

Errors E pr RICHARD BREW AND CO.
ANNAMABOE 26 October 1767

185. ABRAHAM PEREIRA MENDES TO AARON LOPEZ, 1767.[1]

KINGSTON, 1st November, 1767.

Hon'd Sir, . . . I shipped on board Capt. Newdigate 2 prime Slaves, a Man and Wench, which costed me £72 for both. they are young Negroes and very able. . . .

I must now give you a Narrative of my Transactions with Capt. All. At my arrival in this place I heard of Capt. All being here, which gave me great Satisfaction, more so as I heard Negroes was in great demand. he paid me a visit the first day, but being very weak and obliged to receive company could not talk over matters. at the third day, I waited on Capt. All on board his Brig and to my great Surprise, I found the Negroes nothing to what I expected. However I laid down to Capt. All the consequence of his being detain'd, the great Expence his Negroes must be att, his portlage bill running up, and the Vessell receiving damage every day and the approaching Winter, and desired he would deliver the Negroes in my hands and would use all means to procure him 20 or 30 punch (eon)s Rum. He absolutely told me he could not answer the

[185] [1] *Commerce of R. I.,* I. 209-210. Mendes, who had gone to Jamaica, probably from Newport, was Lopez's son-in-law. He went with power of attorney to receive some £600 due to Lopez from Philip Livingston for slave cargoes (Lopez Letter-Book, no. 81). His first letter, of Sept. 28, was written before he had seen Captain All's cargo, at which time he hoped to procure £25 stg. for the negroes. The next day he inspected the *Africa,* and as a result wrote a most discouraging account to Lopez. *Commerce of R. I.,* I. 203, 205.

same as it was against his Orders. I made for answer that nothing but Mr. Lopez and Mr. Rivera's Interest which I have so much at Heart would have prompt(ed) me to purpose that Question. I dare say had he delivered the Negroes to me I could have sold them to good planters for a very good prise. All my means was not wanting in helping to dispose the Negroes but as his orders mentions Cash or Rum could not obtain it. I imagine he must att last yield to my proposition and you may rest yourself contented, that my utmost endeavours shall not be wanting, and hope very soon to give you good Tidings on this head. upon the whole I cannot totally blame Capt. All as his Instructions was so particular. . . .

186. Aaron Lopez to Abraham Pereira Mendes, 1767.[1]

Newport Nov. 6th 1767.

Dear Mr. Abra Pera Mendes, . . . it also gives me no Small Pleasure to find you arrived in Season to Assist Capt. All, in the disposal of his Small Cargo, by what he had wrote us from Barbados and on his arrival at Jama we Expect he had brought off a parcel of Suitable Slaves for that Market, which am sorry to understand by you is Much to the Contrary, I am afraid by the sale of the 11 [2] he had made and the Mortality he had met with Since he arrived there, that his refusing the first offer he had will turn to our disadvantage, however hope that will be made up by your Assiduous Endeavour to promote our Interest wch am well Convinced you allways will have at heart: We approve Much your Resolution of sending her away soon with a Load of Rum and hope by Next week to See him safe arrived here. Capt. Briggs is not yet returned nor have we had any other News then to see by prints he was arrived at Antigua, wish to see him home [*torn and illegible*].

187. Abraham Pereira Mendes to Aaron Lopez, 1767.[1]

Kingston, November 29, 1767.

Dear Sir, The above was wrote 11 days agoe [2] was the time appointed for Cap'n All sailing, but his indisposition has caused his delay. The negroes which All deliverd me was in such poor order, occasioned by their being consignd on board his small Brig, that I was oblige to sell 8 boy and girls at £27, 2 do. at £45, 2 Women £35 each. I gott the Cash for the Boys; but the Vessell having poor

[186] [1] Lopez Letter-Book, no. 81.

[2] Immediately on Captain All's arrival he had sold eleven negroes, pronounced by him to be refuse, for £15 stg. *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 203.

[187] [1] *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 213-214.

[2] On Nov. 18 Mendes had written that Captain All was leaving in his hands several negroes for sale.

Rigging and going on the Winter's Coast would not venture to rimitt by him the money, but shall wait for your forther Orders. Could I got Insurance made here would have rimitted.[3] . . .

188. Accounts of the *Othello*, 1768-1769.[1]

Brigg "Othellos" Book of Trade On the Coast Africa for Acct. of the Owners of Said Brigg

Othello [2] Commencing at Dick's Cove Decem'r 23th 1768

		Galls.	*Oz.*	*Ackies*
	Sold Mr. Willson			
	Viz. 4 Keggs Biscuit at 2 Ackeys Each			8
	2 Ditto Sturgeon at Do. Do.			4
	20 lb. Coffee at 5 lb. pr Ackey			4
	18 lb. Onions at 6 lb. Do.			3
	Recd. in Pay Gold Dust		1	3
Dec'r 25th	Sold at Elmina Castle			
	Viz: 192 lb. Onions at 6 lb. pr Ackey		2	
	40 lb. Coffee at 5 lb. Do.			8
	2 Firkins Butter at 12 Ackeys Each		1	8
	4 Keggs Biscuit at 2 Do. Do.			8
	4 Barrells Flour at 10 Do. Do.		2	8
	Recd. in Pay 14 half Johannesses which is Equal to Seven Ounces Gold		7	
26th	A Man Slave Nt. Paid for him	110		
	Trusted Wm. Archer a hhd. Rum which he is to Pay a fine Girl Recd. the Girl No. 67	95		
	A Woman Slave No. 8	84		
	4 Keggs Biscuit at 2 Ackeys Each			8
Jan. 14th	Sold Capt. Peter Dordin			
	Viz. 25 lb. Butter at 5 lb. pr Ackey			5
	18 lb. Tobacco at 9 lb. Do.			2
	Recd. in Pay Gold dust			7
	Quantity of Rum Sold Carried over[3]	289		

[3] On Feb. 9, 1768, Mendes wrote that he had lost four of the negroes left by Captain All, that four he had sold for £25 each, and two he still had on his hands (Wetmore Papers, 1768-9). This captain was still in the Guinea trade in 1772, when news reached Boston by way of Philadelphia that his vessel and cargo were shipwrecked though he and his crew had escaped. *Mass. Gaz. and News Letter,* July 30, 1772.

[188] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. A small and greatly defaced book contains the accounts of the sailors on the *Othello*: William Duer, Goodman Halverston, George Lambert, John Chace, Michael Keable, George Harvey, and Ezekiel Mitchel.

[2] On Sept. 8, 1768, William Vernon wrote to George Hayley for insurance on the *Othello,* from "hence to Africa while there and to Market." The vessel he valued at £400, the cargo at £1000. He wished to be free to sell the cargo at Barbados, the Leeward Islands, or South Carolina, or to sell the vessel itself on the African coast. Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 144.

[3] The leaves of the trade-book of the *Othello* are not in the order in which the

		Coast Africa	*Gall.*	*Oz.*	*Ackies*
Dr. Decem'r	26th	Governor of Moree Castle[4]			Dr.
		To 6 Cask Rum Cont'g	564		
	30th	Bought Capt. Codingtons Long Boat Paid for Her a Woman Slave			
		David Mills Esqr.[5]			Dr.
	26th	To 3 Hogsheads Rum Cont'g	260		
		John Woortman Esqr.[6]			Dr.
Jan'r	4th	To 8 Cask Rum Landed him Cont'g	745		
	6th	To 8 Do. Do.	731		
	7th	To 8 Do. Do.	719		
	8	To 4 Do. Do.	371		
		To 2 Firkins Butter at 12 Ackeys Each		1	8
		To 200 lb. Onions at 12 lb. pr Accy.		1	0.4
		To 2 Pair Shoes Belo'g to W. W. Vernon			4
Jan'r	14th	To 1 Firkin Butter at			12
	17	To Rum Sent him on Shore	29		
			2595	3	8.4
			289		
		Quantity of Rum bro't from the Other Side and Carried Forward	3708		
Janr.	10th	To Cask Rum Cont'd	78		
		To Rum for Gold	18		12
	12th	To Cask Rum Cont'd	88		
	14th	To Cask Rum Cont'd	80		
		To Rum for Gold	1½		1
	15th	To Cask Rum Cont'd	98		
		To 2½ Ounces Gold Dust		2	8
		To Rum	60		
	17	To Cask Rum Cont'd	88		
		To 12 Galls Rum at 1½ Galls pr Ac	12		8
	18th	To Cask Rum Cont'd	73		

trading was carried on and the editor has attempted, not with entire success, to present the items in chronological order. It is obvious that the accounts are not complete and that in some places the order is questionable.

[4] Moree or Mouree was a Dutch settlement and fort east of Cape Coast Castle.

[5] David Mill was the governor at Cape Coast Castle from Aug. 11, 1770, to Jan. 20, 1777.

[6] The Dutch governor at Cormantine.

		Annamaboe Road	*Galls.*	*Oz.*	*Ackies*
					Cr.
Decr	26th	By 2 Men Slaves N. 2 and 3 at 110 Gall.	220		
		By 1 Man Boy N. 4 at Ditto	110		
		By 2 Girls N. 5 and 6 at 70 Gall.	140		
		By 1 Boy N. 7 at Do.	70		
		By 1 Oz. Gold Dust Equal	24		
			564		
Ma	10th	By 2 Men Slaves No. 77 and 78	260		
Jan'r	4th	By 7 Men Slaves N. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15 at 130 Gallons	910		
		By 2 Men Boys No. 16 and 17 at Do.	260		
		By 5 Small Boys N. 18, 19, 20, 21, and 22 at 85 Galls. Each	425		
		By 2 Girls No. 23 and 24 at ditto	170		
		By 1 Woman N. 25 at	110		
	6th	By 1 Man N. 26 at	130		
	9th	By 1 Woman and Child No. 27 at	110		
	22th	By 1 Man N. 48 at	130		
	24th	By 1 Woman N. 49 at	110		
Ma	10th	By 1 Man N. 79 at	130		
	17th	By 1 Woman No. 80 at	110		
		By 1 Kegg Powder			5
		By 1 Box Pipes for the Slaves			4
		By 6 Empty hhds.			12.6
		By Gold dust		2	2.6
			2595	3	8.4
					Cr.
Janr.	18th	By 1 Boy Slave N. 28	78		
		By Gold dust for Rum	18		12
	12th	By 1 Boy Slave N. 29	88		
	14th	By 1 Woman and Child N. 30	80		
		By Gold Dust for Rum	1½		1
	15th	By 1 Man Slave N. 31	98		
		By 1 Man Slave N. 32	60	2	8
	17th	By 1 Fine Boy Slave No. 33	88		
		By Gold dust			8
	18th	By a Fine Girl N. 34	73		

	Coast Africa	*Galls.*	*Oz.*	*Ack.*
	Thomas Drew Esqr. of Tantum [7]			Dr
Janr. 23th	To 40 Cask Rum Cont.	880		
	To 3 Keggs Sturgeon at 3 Acy Each			9
	To 2 Ditto Biscuit at 2 Do. Do.			4
Feb. 16th	To 4 Cask Rum Cont'g	277		
	To 2 Keggs Biscuit at 2 Ac.			4
	To 1 Barrell Flour			8
	To 60 lb. Onions at 12 lb. pr Ackey			5
	Recd. 1 oz. 8 Acs. Gold for 36 Galls Rum		1	8
		1157	3	6
	Quantity of Rum bro't from the Other Side and Carried Forward	3708		
		5461¼		
Janr. 21th	To a Cask Rum Cont'g	72		
	Mr. Willson			Dr.
	To 1 Hogshead Rum Cont'g at 1½ Gall. pr Ackey	87	3	10
	To 1 Kegg Biscuit at			2
			3	12
22th	To 1 Cask Rum Cont'g	50		
	Mr. James Lane			Dr.
23th	To 9 Cask Rum Cont'g	797		
	To 1 Barrell Flour at			8
	To 2 Kegg Biscuit at			4
		797		12
	Mr. Robt. Johnston			Dr.
Febr. 1th	To 9 Cask Rum Cont'g	725		
	To 1 Kegg Biscuit			2
	To 40 lb. Onions at 10 lb. pr Ackey			4
		725		6
	Quantity of Rum bro't from Other Side and Carried Forward	5461½		
		7192½		

[7] Drew was the English chief at Tantumquerry.

	Annamaboe Road	*Galls.*	*Oz.*	*Ack.*
Janr. 23th	By 3 Men Slaves No. 35, 36, and 37 at 130	390		
	By 1 Woman N. 38	110		
	By 1 Man Lost Out the Boat No. 41	130		
	By 1 Woman and Child N. 42	110		
	By 1 Man Boy N. 43	110		
Feb. 16th	By 2 Men Slaves No. 70 and 71	260		
	By 5 Empty hhd.	11		
	By Gold Dust for Rum	36	1	8
	By Ditto		1	14
	Galls.	1157	3	6
				Cr.
Janr 21th	By 1 Woman Slave N. 39	72		
	By Gold Dust for hhd Rum	87	3	10
	By Do. Do. for Biscuit			2
			3	12
22th	By 1 Boy Slave N. 40	50		
				Cr.
23th	By 2 Men Slaves N. 44 and 45	260		
	By 1 Man Boy N. 46	130		
	By 1 Woman N. 47	110		
Febr 1th	By 2 Ditto N. 50 and 51	220		
16th	By 1 Girl B. 69	77		
	By Gold Dust			12
		797		12
				Cr.
Feb. 1	By 4 Men Slaves No. 52, 53, 54, and 55 at 130 Gall.	520		
	By 1 Boy N. 56	86		
Mar'h 24th	By 1 Woman Girl N. 81 at	110		
	By 2 Empty Hogsheads	9		
	By Gold Dust			6
		725		6

1769	Coast Africa	*Gallons*	*oz.*	*ac.*
Dr.				
Feby 3th	To 2 Cask Rum Cont'g	162		
4th	To 1 Cask Rum Cont'g	50		
5	To Gold Dust		4	
	To 2 Galls Rum House Custom	2		
7th	To 1 Cask Rum Cont'g	45		
	Cornelius Venhorgen Esqr			
	To 4 Cask Rum Cont'g Sent in Our Long Boat	413		
11th	To 1 Cask Rum Cont'g	66		
14th	To 1 Cask Rum Cont'g	70		
16th	To 1 Cask Rum Cont'g	71		
	To Rum	16		
		87		
22th	To Cask Rum Cont'g	72		
Mar. 1th	To Gold Dust		4	1
	To House Customs	2		
5th	To Rum sent to Moree in the Boat	110		
	To Rum for Gold	96		
	Quantity of Rum brot from the Other Side and Carried Forward	7192½		
	Galls. Rum	8367½		
	Richard Brew Esq.			Dr.
Jan'r 26th	To 1 Barrell Tar ddr Capt. Chalmers pr Your Order Which I have his Receipt for			8
Feb. 21th	To 13 Barrells Flour at 6 Ackeys Each		4	14
	To 18 Keggs Biscuit at 1 Do. Do.		1	2
22th	To 3 Barrells Turpentins at 4 Ackeys			12
	To 2 Ditto Pitch at Do.			8
	To 1 Hogsheads Loaf Sugar 423 lb. at 6 lb. pr Ackey		4	6
	To 1 Barrell Brown Sugar 312 lb. at 12 lb. Do.		1	10
	To 6 Casks Tennireff Wine at 1 Oz. pr Cask		6	
	To 4 Firken Butter			12
Mar. 24th	To 4 Barrells Beef at 1 oz. pr bbl.		4	
	To Gold Dust for Palm Oil			13.3
			25	5.3

		Annamaboe Road	*Gallons*	*Oz.*	*Ackies*
					Cr.
Febr.	3th	By 1 Woman Girl N. 57 at	86		
		By 1 Small Do. N. 58 at	76		
			162		
	4th	By 1 Girl Slave N. 59 at	50		
	5th	By 1 Fine Woman No. 60 at		4	
		By 2 Galls. Pd. House Customs	2		
	7th	By 1 Boy Slave N. 61 at	45		
		Contra			
		By 3 Women Slaves N. 62, 63, and 64	330		
		By 1 Woman Girl N. 65	83		
			413		
	11th	By 1 Woman Slave N. 66 at	66		
	14th	By 1 Girl Slave N. 68	70		
	16th	By 1 Woman N. 72 at	71		
		By 8 Empty Hogsheads	16		
			87		
Ma	2th	By 1 Girl Slave No. 73 at	72		
	1th	By 1 Woman Slave No. 74 at		4	1
		By House Custom Pd.	2		
	5th	By 1 Woman Slave No. 75 at	100		
		By 5 Empty Hogsheads	10		
			110		
		By Gold Dust for Rum	96	4	
					Cr.
Mar.	24th	By 4 Men Boys at 5 oz. N. 82, 83, 84 and 85		20	
		By 1 Do. Do. at		4	18
		By 1 Cask Palm Oil Cont'g	20		13.3
				25	13.3

	Coast Africa	*Galls.*	*Oz.*	*Ack.*
25th	To Rum	24	1	
	To 3 Ounces Gold Dust		3	
			4	
	Charles Bell Esqr.			Dr.
	To 1 Barrell Flour at			10
	To 50 lb. Onions at 10 lb. pr Ackey			5
	To 2 Keggs Biscuits at 2 Do.			4
			1	3
	Gilbert Petrie Esq.[8]			Dr.
Dec'r 25th	To 96 lb. Onions at 8 lb. pr. Ackey			12
	To 8 lb. Coffee at 4 lb. Do. Do.			2
Mar. 24th	To 26 Galln Rum at 1½ Galls. pr Ackey	26	1	1.3
			1	15.3
	Quantity Rum bo't from the Other Side	8367½		
	Gall. Rum	8417½		

Account Gold Dust Recd. and Paid on Slaves and Provisions as pr Acct. of Barters

		Oz.	*Ack.*	*Tackies*
	To Gold Dust Paid on 4 Slaves	13	9	
	To Ditto for Palm Oil		13	3
	To Ditto for Provisions	6	9	5
	To Ditto On Board		8	7
	Oz	21	8	7
	Account Provisions Bo't wt Gold Dust			
Febr 4th	By 16 Baskets Corn		4	
6th	By 22 Do. Do.		7	2
7th	By 24 Do. Do.		6	
12th	By 6 Do. Do.		1	6
13th	By 6 Do. Do.		1	4
14th	By 14 Do. Do.		12	6
	By Kenkeys for the Slaves			5
22th	By 83 Baskets Corn	1	4	6
	By 27 Do. Do.		6	6
	By 2½ C. Yams		3	6
	By 2 Goats		1	
	By 4 l. Yams Gobbagobs and Kenkeys		7	5
	By 58 Baskets Corn	1	1	6
	By 241 Yams		3	6
	Oz	6	9	5

[8] Petrie governor of Cape Coast Castle from 1766 to 1769; Bell, in 1756 and 1761.

	Annamabo Road	*Galls.*	*Oz.*	*Ackeys*
Mar. 25	By 1 Woman Girl N. 76		4	
	By Gold Dust		1	3
24th	By Canoe hire to goe to Annamboe			2
	By fill'g and Bringing off 816 Casks Water			10
	By 1000 Billets Wood			10
	By Gold Dust			9.3
			1	15.3

Memorandum of the Mortality of Slaves on Board the "Othello" while on the Coast of Africa and On Her Passage to the West Indies.

Febr. 6th	A Man Jumpt Over Board Out the Long Boat and Was Drowned	No. 1
Mar. 18th	Two Women Lost Over Board Out the Vessell in the Nit By Neglect of Sd. Mate Not Locking them up a bad Wach kept	No. 2 and 3
April 6th	A Man Slave Died With the Flux	No. 4
13th	A Woman Slave Died With the Flux	No. 5
17th	A Boy Slave Died wt. the Flux and Swelling	No. 6
May 4th	A Man Slave Died wt. the Flux	No. 7
7th	A Man and Boy Slave Died wt. a Flux	No. 8 and 9
June 16th	A Man Slave Died at Cape Henry	No. 10
21th	A Man Slave Died in James River wt a Swelling	No. 11
July 5th	A Woman Slave Died with a Fever and Swelling	No. 12
6th	A Girl Slave Died been Sick two Months wt. the Flux	No. 13

	Brigg *Othello* Dr.	Galls.
Decm. 28th	To Paid Customs at Annamaboe 12 lb. Tobacco etc.	86
	To Ditto Agar Custom 12 lb. Do. etc.	44
	To Ditto Annashan 6 lb. Do.	4
	To Ditto Little Cormintine	4
	To Ditto Great Cormintine 12 lb. Tobacco	9
	To Ditto Salt Pond 12 lb. Do. and 6 lb. Sugar	16
	To 1½ C. Plantins	1½
	To C. Yams 3 Gall. and Fish for the Slaves	3½
30th	To 2 C. Plantins 1 Jar Palm Oil 1½ Galls. Pepper 1 Quart	3¾
Jan. 4th	To C. ½ Plantins 1½ Galls. Limes and Pepper 1 Gallon	2½
	To Carriing a Letter to Lagoe 10 Leag's 2 Galls.	2
	To 2 Trips Water 2 Galls, Each	4
5th	To Paid Custom for the Water Pond	24
	To 6½ C. Plantins 6½ Galls. Pepper ½ Galls.	7
6	To 1 Trip Water 2 Galls. Canoe hire 1 Galls.	3
7th	To 2 C. Plantins 2 Galls, 1 Iron Part [Bar] 1½ Galls. Neat	5
9th	To 1 Trip Water 2 Galln. C. ½ Plantins 1½ Gall.	3½
10th	To 1 Tortoise 2 Galls. nt. Limes ½ Gallon	4½
	To 1 Trip Water 2 Galls. 1 Empty Hogshead 2 Gall. Nt.	6
14th	To C. Yams 3 Galln. 2½ C. Plantins 1 hhd. 2 Gall. Nt.	9½
15th	To 2 Empty hhd. 4 Gall. Nt. Limes and Plantins 1½ Gal.	9½
17th	To 1 Do. Do. 2 Do. 2 C. Herrings 2 Galls.	6
21th	To Cloth for the Slaves 1½ Galls. Pepper ½ Galls.	2
23th	To 1 Trip Water 2 Galls. 1 Goat 1½ Galn. 6½ C. Plantins	10
24th	To 2 Jars Palm Oil 5 Galls. 1 C. Yams 3 Galln.	8
26th	To 1 Trip Water 2 Galln. 2 Jars Palm Oil 4 Galls.	6
	To 1 Empty hhd. 2 Galls. Nt. Pepper and Limes 1½ Galls.	5½
Jan. 27th	To C. Pepper 1 Galln. Pepper and Plantins 4½ Galls.	5½
28th	To Pepper ½ Galln. 3 C. Plantins 3 Galln. C. Wood 2 Galln.	5½
30th	To Cloth for the Slaves 3½ Galls. Nt. Yams ½ Galln.	7½
	To 2 C. Plantins 2 Galls. 2 Jars Palm Oil 4 Galls.	6
31	To Pepper and Limes 1½ Galls. 4½ C. Plantins	6
	To 1½ C. Wood 3 Gallns. Pepper ½ Galls. C. Wood 2 Galls.	5½
Feb. 3th	To 4 Jars Palm Oil 8 Galls. Pepper ½ Galls. C. Plantin 1 Gal.	9½
	To 5 Trips Water 10 Gals. 4 Baskets 2 Gals.	12
	To Fish for the Slaves 2 Gals. 2 Jars Palm Oil 2½	4½
4th	To 2 Jars Palm Oil 3 Gals. Fowls and Fish 1½ Gals.	4½
5th	To 1 Kegg Tallow 3 Galls. 2 pr. Irons 3 Gals. Eggs ½ Gal.	6½
6th	To C. Wood 2 Gals. 2 M. Fromfrys[?] 8 Gals. Peppers ½ G.	10½
9th	To 1 Jar Palm Oil 1½ Gals. 2½ C. Plantins Pepper ½ G.	4½
10th	To 5 C. Plantins 5 Gals. 4 hhd. 8 Gals. Neat Rum	21
	To 4 Jars Palm Oil 6½ Galls. Limes 1 Gallon	7½
	To 2 Jars Palm Oil 2½ Galls. and Limes ½ Gallon	3
11th	To Fowls and Eggs ½ Galln. 10 Baskets Corn 6 Galln.	6½
13th	To 3 Trips Water 6 Galln. Yams 5½ Galls. Corn 6 Galls.	17½
14th	To 2 C. Wood 4 Galls. C. Plantins 1 Galls. 1 hhd. 4 Galls.	9
15th	To C. Wood 2 Galls. Pepper and Plantins 1½ Galls.	3½
18th	To 4 Baskets Corn 3 Galls. Trip Water 2 Galln.	5
	To 2 C. Wood 4 Galls. 3 C. Plantins and Yams 4½ Gals.	8½
	To 4 Baskets 1½ Gals. ½ C. Plantins C. Wood 2 Galls.	4
Feb'y 22th	To 8 Baskets Corn 6 Galn. 2 hhd. 8 Gallons	14
Mar. 2th	To 1 hhd. 4 Galln. C. Wood 2 Galls. Fish ½ Galln.	6½
	To Sending a Letter to Lagoe 2 Galls. Canoe hire 2 Galls.	4
	To 6 pr Irons 4 Galls. Grains and Fishhooks 4 Galln.	8
	To C. Yams 3 Galls. 2 C. Plantins 2 Galls. Pepper 4 Galls.	9
8th	To 1½ C. Wood 3 Galls. Building the Caboose[9] 6½ Galls.	9½

[9] The camboose or caboose was a wooden cook-house erected on the deck, or a wooden house to cover the chimney.

[*Coast Africa Trade*—continued:]

	Brigg *Othello* Dr.	Galls.
10th	To 46 Baskets Gobbagobs 23 Galls. Nt. C. Yams 2 Galls. Nt.	50
	To Palm Oil 4 Galls. 6 Empty hhds. ½ Galls. Nt.	28
	To Pepper 2 Galls. Palm Oil 3 Galls. Wood and Plantins 3 Galls.	8
15th	To C. Wood 2 Gals. Pepper and Fish 3 Gallons	5
	To 5 Trips Water C. Coast wt Long Boat 24 Gal. Nt.	48
	To Rum Bro't off the Coast for the Slaves Galls. 33 neat	66
	To Ditto Expended in the Cabin while on the Coast About 45 Gallons Nt. Rum	90
18th	To Paid the Gold taker their Wages in full 34 Galls Neat Rum	68
	Gallons trade Rum	877½

Coast Africa

Brigg "Othellos" Voyage to Africa John Duncan Master

Dr.

		Galls. Rum
Mar. 25th	To 115 Cask Rum Shiped at Rhode Island q'tis as pr Invoice	9411½

Annamabo Road

Cr.

Mar. 24th	By Rum Paid on 86 Slaves Amount to As pr Account of Barters		8417¼
	By Gold Acct. for		22
	By Acct. of Disboursements		438¾
	By Rum Advanced to the People on the Voyage		4½
	By Cask Rum adv. Mr. Halverson pr Yr Order		69
	By Ullages of Cargoe Rum as pr Ullages Amount		459¾
		Galls. Rum	9411½

Brigg "Othello" to Sundrys Disboursments at Barbados.[10]

Dr.

		£	*s.*	*d.*
May 17th	To 21 Yds. Blew Cloth for Slaves at 1/10½ per Yd.	1	19	4½
	To 8 Yds. Green Do. at Do.	0	15	
19th	To Warie hire for Gentlemen to Come off View the Slaves	0	2	6
	To a Jacket for Geo: Lambert Which was due him	0	12	
20th	To Fresh Meat for the People	0	12	
	To Potatoes for the Slaves	0	18	9
29th	To 3 Tierces Rice 1748 C. at 18/9 pr. C.	16	15	3
	To Cash Pd. Ent'g and Clearing the *Othello*	1	8	1½
	To Taking Out a Protest	1	15	
	To hhd. Guinea Rice 7 C.	5		
	To 1 lb. Sewing Twine	0	5	
	To Passes at the Forts	0	5	
	To the Disboursments at Virginia £1. 9. 9 £	30	8	0
	Equal Barbados Currency	1	12	1½
		32	0	1½
	Ball's Due the Owners On 14 half Johanness	2	19	10½
	In Page 1th which is Just £35 Barbados Curr'y £	35	0	0

Brigg "Othello" to Sundry Disboursements at Virginia[11] *Dr.*

1769		£	*s.*	*d.*
June 16th	To Fish for the Slaves		2	6
	To Cash for the Pilot Pd. Magain [McGain?]		4	
19th	To My Board at Williamsbourg and Horse hire		11	
Augt. 8th	To 2 Ounces Blue Stone for use of the Slaves		1	3
15th	To Horse Hire		5	
Sept. 14th	To 1 lb. Sewing twine		2	6
	To My Board at Williamsbourg two Days Wait'g for Mr. Adams		7	6
	£	1	9	9

[10] The items which follow are from scattered papers in the box.

[11] On Sept. 20 the Vernons wrote to Messrs. Adams and Griffin of Virginia: "Recd. your Fav'r of 18th June advising the arrival of our Brig *Othello,* and of your having appointed the 29th of the same to begin the Sale soon after which Time we might expect to see the Brig at Newport.

"We also have your Favour of 31 July informing us of the Sale of 50 Slaves wch average about £39 Stg. and the rem'dr wou'd soon be disposed of, that you had purchasd a Load of Corn and hoped to dispatch her by the last of the next Week. As she is not yet Arrivd you may believe gives us some concern, as we cannot conceive the Reason of her being detaind. We make great dependance on your remitting us a considerable Sum in Octr. agreable to what you wrote us with a farther remittance in Decr. but flatter our Selves you will then be able to remit the whol." Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 171.

[*Sundry Accounts*]

Dr.	*Mr. Richd Adams*	£	*s.*	*d.*
1769 June	To 11 Negro's sold for Ster'g	456	10	0
July	To 31 do. do.	1148	3	10
Augt	To 24 do.	731	0	10
2d Sept	To 6 do.	183	5	6
		2519		2
	Excha. 25 pr Ct.	629	15	0
		3148	15	2
	Deduct Comms. 5 pr Ct.	157	8	9
		2991	6	5
	Ft. 1 Negro	6	5	
	Virginia Currc'y	£2997	11	5
	To New Acctt.	£ 708	19	3
	Intr. from June 1770 to June 1774, 4 year at 6 pr Ct simple Int Currency	171	3	
		£ 880	2	3

Cr.

By Sundry pr the *Othello* with Bill of Disbursemts	£ 230	12	2
By Cash pd Capt. Duncan Coast Comm's	115		
Commis's on the £115 he charges the Owners with	3	9	
By Sundry After Charges	37	3	10
By 6 Bills Excha. with Commiss's 10th Jan'ry 1770	1114	15	10½
By a Remitt'ce in Hemp and Corn in May 1770	247	1	
By a Bill Excha. 200 Stg. in June 1770	239	9	9
By do. £100 Stg. in Augt. 1770	121		6
By so much pd. to Capt. Tanner	180		
	2288	12	2
Ball'ce remain'g	708	19	3
	£2997	11	5

Capt. Jno. Duncan to Brig "Othello" *Dr.*

1769 Octr. To Hosp'l Mo.	£ 13.		10
To your proportion 3 Slaves lost Ster'g 6. 9. 2.	230.		
	£243.		10

G. Halverson *Dr.*

To Adv'cd at Sailing To Ball'ce former acc'tt.	£ 10.		8
Hosp'l mo.	11.		4
To proportion 3 Slaves Stg. £7. 15. 3	276.		
	297.		12
Ball'ce due	£388.		8
	£686.		0

Jno. Bant *Dr.*

To adv'ce Wages	£ 63.		
To Cash	4.		
To Mr. March't 11 Dollars	88.		
Hosp'l Money	12.		12
To proportion 3 Slaves £7. 2. 1	252.		
	419.		12

[*Brigg "Othello," Sundry Accounts*—continued:]

		Dr.				
	Wages	£764.	10			
		419.	12			
		344.	18	To Cash	£200.	

Wm. Duers	*Dr.*	
To Cash Adv'ce Wages	£ 40.	
To Mr. King 7 yds. Chex	17.	10
To Mrs. Kings Order	40.	
To Hosp'l Money	12.	
To proportion 3 Slaves Ster 4. 2. 8	147.	
	256.	10
¼ l. Sugar £11		
Hank'r 8	19.	
1 lb Tea	6.	

Geo. Lambert	*Dr.*	
To Adv'ce Wages	£127.	6
To Eliza Preston pr Order	100.	
To Advc'd on the Voya.	140.	2
Hosp'l Money	11.	8
To proportion 3 Slaves £6. 4	220.	9
	599.	5

Messrs. Sam'l and Wm. Vernon in Acct. with Adams and Griffin

Dr.

		£	*s.*	*d.*
1769	To Sundry's pr Invoice Shipt pr their Brigg *Othello* and her disbursements per acct. render'd	230	12	2
	To Cash pd Capt. Duncan's for Coast Commissions	115		
	Our Commissions on Do. 3 pr. Ct	3	9	
		349	1	2
		2642	5	3
	Ball'ce due	£2991	6	5

Cr.

		£	*s.*	*d.*
1769 Sep'r 1	By Ntt Proceeds 66 Negro's rend pr their Brigg *Othello* Capt. Jno. Duncan	2773	13	8
2	By Ntt Proceeds 6 Negro's remainder Brigg *Othello*'s Cargo	217	12	9
		2991	6	5
	By the above Balla.	£2642	5	3
	By Jno Boul[?] freight 1 negro	6	5	

189. Joseph Wanton to Moses Brown, 1768.[1]

Newport Jan'ry 13th 1768.

. . . We hear a Ship of Smith and Sabins's arrived yesterday from Barbadoes or Grenada, if from either, she may possibly bring some Tidings of our Guineamen, after whom please to Enquire, particularly, the Masters names and Vessels as below. . . .

Peter Want[on], Ship *Polly*
Benja. Bennington [Remington ?], Brig't *Betsey*
Schoon'r *Africa,* James Warner
Sloop *Ruth,* Gideon Fowler

190. Samuel and William Vernon to Alexander Brabner, 1768.[1]

Newport 10th Feby. 1768.

Dear Sir, We Wrote you under Cover to Mr. Alex'r Hume at St. Kitts Respect'g our Brig *Charlotte* Wm. Taylor whom We Orderd to Stop at your Island from Africa to try your Markits; we the Last Evening heard the Unhappy News of his Death on the Passage, and that the Vessel was Arrived at your Island under the Care of his Mate Mr. Wm. Pinniger, this Is Oral News per Via St. Kitts and fear its but too True. as we Recommended Capt. Taylor to Make Application to you make No Doubt the Mate hath Done the Same and that the Whole Management of our affairs have Naturally fall'n into your hands which makes us Perfectly Easy. we Wrote to Mr. Alex'r Hume at St. Kitts Desiring him to Lodge a Letter with you for Capt. Tayler, and therein Make the Utmost Offer he wou'd Give for a Cargo of Slaves, which if he thought it worth his While to Proceed up to St. Kitts Rather than Sell at St. Croix Indeed if it was more for our Interest he was order'd to go up, if he hath been Kind Enough to make an offer, and you have Judged it for our Benefit make No Doubt but you have advised Mr. Pinnigar to Proceed up, Otherwise to Sell with you or Proceed to Jamaica as you Thought Best. We have heard the Dutys of Slaves with you is Near 20 PCt. Certainly it Cant be Expected it falls upon the Seller, that Sum out of £30 St'g will not Do which was Near about the Price we Limited at your Island. Neither Did we think it wou'd answer to take Produce as the Sugars are too high and Ordinary for our Markits, Dutys being 5/ St'g P. C. Rum Prohibited and the Risque therefore Very Great more than Equal to the Advantage which

[189] [1]Moses Brown Papers, II. 63.
[190] [1] Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, pp. 138-139. The letter is signed "Sam. and Wm. Vernon for Selves and Thos T Taylor."

almost Confindd Capt. Tayler to Sell for Bills Ex'a Only however if Either you or Mr. Pinnegar, hath Sold for part Produce we must Intreat of you to Take but few Sugars and those Very Good, and fill the Vessel up with Rum on which Subject we have fully wrote the Capt. and Pray be Carefull that he Observes his directions which he will Communicate to you.

If this young Man Mr. Pinnegar has been so indiscreet as to Take the sole and Intire disposition of his Cargo and Affairs, we Beg and Intreat Sir upon the Rec't of this youd Just do for us, as the Affair was your own, not Doubting of your Candour we Submit Everything to your Better Judgment.

We only Beg Leave to Mention That the 2nd Mate Mr. Edward Taylor is Son to yr Old Fr'd T. T. Taylor your Best Advice to him will Be Acceptable, we wis[h] you mor Perfect helth Than our above Friend who is Now Confined with the Gout.

191. William Vernon and Company to William Pinniger, 1768.[1]

Newport 10th Feby. 1768.

Sir, Last Evening we heard the Malancholy News of Cap Wm. Taylors Death by way of St. Christopher. We make No Doubt but that he had Rec'd our Orders upon the Coast, to stop at St. Croix and try the Markets and that you have Rec'd our Letters which we Lodged there for him in the hands of Mr. Alex'r Brabnor and also a Letter from Mr. Alex'r Humes from St. Kitts, to whom We Wrote desireing him to Lodge for Capt. Taylor at St. Croix, to Care of Mr. Brabner, Saying What he Wou'd Give for his Cargo of Slaves, if he wou'd Proceed Up to St. Kitts, which offer we Expected woud be Near £30 St'g per head, by this Meens Capt. Tayler woud be Informd at which of Those Places it wou'd be most Advantagious to Sell at. We Flatter ourselves that you have Rec'd all Those Letters directed to Capt. Tayler, and Made the Best Advantage of Them For our Interest and your own Reputation, we further Wrote Mr. Brabner Requesting him to Assist Capt. Tayler in All Things Respecting his Sale or Proceeding further which he was to do if the Markits did not Suit him *vizt.* To Jamaica Stopping at the Mount in his Way Down, where Perhaps he might get about £30 St'g per hea[d]. We are Rather Inclined to think that you have Contracted for your Slaves at St. Croix, and must Naturally Conclude you have Put yr Business into the hands of Mr. Brabner our Friend, in which we Shall be best Satisfyed, and that yr Slaves

[191] [1] Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, pp. 136-137. This was signed by "Wm. Vernon For Self and Comp'y."

ar sold free from Dutys to the Seller, as we are Informd the Dutys are 20 PCt. which you well Know will by No Means do upon a Sale of £28 or £30 St'g. We further have Said in Our Letter to Capt Tayler that it wou'd not do to Sell for Produce As the Dutys of Sugar is Very high,[2] and an Utter Prohibition On Rum in Any of the English Colonys. however if your Slaves are Sold for Produce its best to fill your Lower hold with Rum Take a few Cask of Very good Sugars, (as Ordinary will not Sell) in your hatch way and Proceed here, go in the Backside of the Island at Either End and Give us Intelligence there of as soon and Privately as Possible, if you Meet with any Man of Warr or Cutters as there is two In this Port at Present, you must say you Put in in Distress, for Want of Provisions, Water or Some thing Absolutely Necessary, and that you are bound to Fyal one of the Western Islands, for Which Place your Invoices and Bills Lading must Absolutely be made out for and your People Shipt to Proceed there, for which Purpose we have Given you Orders to Proceed There, and Inclosed herewith which you are to Produce and Insist upon if Met with, concealing Every Paper, that may give the Least Intimation of your Stopping here, these Measures if you Take Rum on Board you are Strictly to Observe. we shall send a Small Vessel from hence in a few Days to St. Croix that will want about 40 hhds. Rum, if you meet with her she may be supply'd out of your Cargo. we Cannot be More Particular than Above, but Must Trust to your Discretion, Fidelity and Candour, Advising and Consulting in Every thing with our good Friend Mr. Alex'r Brabner, making all Possible dispatch, be frugal of yr Expences on the Vessel, Preserve harmony and Agreement among Your Seamen.

192. William Vernon to Captain William Pinniger, 1768.[1]

Newport 10th Feby. 1768.

Sir, You are become Master of our Brig *Royal Charlotte* by the Death of Capt Wm. Taylor and hearing that you've Sold yr Cargo of Slaves at St. Croix, for which if you are to Take Produce you are Sensible it will not answer to Bring Sugars the Dutys are so very high, Neither Can you Bring Rum as there is an Utter Prohibition thereof in Any of the Colonys.

We Order you therefore to Load your Vessel in the Lower hold with Rum and Proceed to Fyal one of the Western Islands, where

[2] By the Sugar Act of 1764 the duty on sugar was raised to £1 7 *s.* per hundred weight. It will be seen by *ante,* no. 179, that Pinniger had not dealt with Alexander Brabner but with Cornelius Durant.

[192] [1] Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 140. The preceding letter, inscribed to Mr. Pinniger, was intended for his eyes alone; this one, addressed to Captain Pinniger, was for whatever cutters were encountered on the voyage home.

we have Lodged a Letter for you, its our Intentions that you there Ex'a Your Rum for Wines, and Either Bring them here or Proceed to Wind Ward Island with them, as you will Find by our Farthere Instructions at Fyal, make all Possible dispatch as the Markets Depend upon a few Months Only, we wish you a good Voyage and Safe Return and are your Friends and Owners

193. Trade of Richard Brew, 1769.[1]

Dr. Richard Brew and Co. to Capt. Stockford — Cr.

To twelve loaves sugar 128 ll. 1/	£ 6. 8			
three Barrells flower 40/	6.	By a Man Slave	£20.	0
Sixty four pounds onions	2.	By a Blew Baft	1.	18
To a Balance of 45 Gs. Rum at 3/4	7. 10		21.	18
	£21. 18	By 3 Men and 2 Women	610.	
To 610 Gallons Rum	610.			

Annamaboe Feby. the 10th 1769
Errors Excepted pr Richard Brew and Co.

194. Brown Brothers to Benjamin Mason, 1769.[1]

Providence Decem. 12, 1769.

S'r, . . . Our Jno. Brown is Concernd in a Vessill bound for Guiney will Sail in 15 or 16 Days, he will want abt. 2000 Gallons of Rum more than Can be Got here Within time, please to Advise us, Lowest Price this Quan. May be had for with You Either with or without Guiney hhds. the pay to be Either Gallon for Gallon in Good Suranam Mells. and the Distillery in Sper. Cands.[2]

. . . Yr perticuler Answer as Soon as May be will Much obloige our Jno. B.

P. S. If it Sutes you to Recommend the Gentlemen in West Indes who Sold your Last Cargo of Slaves,[3] plese to Give us Their Names,

[193] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. This is from a loose leaf folded into the trade-book of the *Active*. On the same day John Grossle, governor at Cape Coast Castle from Apr. 21, 1769, to Aug. 11, 1770, signed a receipt for 210 gallons of rum received from "Mr. John Stockforth on Acct. of Mr. Thos. Drew Chief of Tantumquerry." *Ibid.*

[194] [1] Kimball, Note-Book, II. 53. The *Polly,* Captain Malbone, made a voyage this year. Captain All and Captain Briggs both reached the West Indies early in 1770, so must have been on the African coast in 1769.

[2] Meaning apparently that the distillery charges for turning the molasses into rum might be paid in spermaceti candles. Newport at this time was said to have twenty-two distilleries (Field, *State of Rhode Island,* II. 400-402) and was called upon to supply rum to vessels from distant ports. On June 28, 1768, James Lucena of Savannah, Ga., wrote to Aaron Lopez that Capt. Nathaniel Waldron was about to come from Georgia to Rhode Island with molasses, sell this, and buy rum for an African voyage. *Commerce of R. I.,* I. 242.

[3] Mason had written from Newport the year before that he had a brig in Barbados with 130 slaves who would average £27 per head. Kimball, Note-Book, II. 30.

as its probable, if Mr. Smith Who Goes in the Ship Should git Safe Round to the West Indias he may Value on Your Friends.

195. Thomas Lanwarn to Aaron Lopez, 1770.[1]

Crutched Friars, 12th January, 1770.

Sir, In consequence of the application of Mr. Robert Sorsbie to us for that purpose, we hereby engage that any Agreement that Messrs. Lovell Morson and Co. of Dominica may come to with any person, for Negroes consigned to them for sale by Messrs James Clark and Co., shall be punctually performed; and we hereby undertake also to accept and pay any and all Bills they may draw on us in pursuance of such Consignments, in all cases but that of the Island wherein such sale shall be made, or they reside, being invaded by an Enemy.

We are respectfully, Sir, Your Most Humble Servants,

Kender, Mason and Co.

Messrs. Lovell and Morson sell as well to the French and Spaniards, for whom they have large orders to execute, as to our Planters of B.Bs.[2] Antigua and Dominica; so that under these circumstances, Dominica seems to bid fairer to render you advantageous sales, than any other Island.

London, 29th Aug., 1770.

We agree that the withinmentioned Guaranty shall subsist not only for such Negroes as may be consigned Messrs. Lovell Morson and Co. by Messrs. James Clark and Co., but also for such Negroes as may be consigned to them by Messrs. Butler and Brown or Robert Brown Esqr.

Kender, Mason and Co.

196. David Beekman to Aaron Lopez, 1770.[1]

St. Croix, 12 July, 1770.

Sir, I arriv'd here after a tedious passage of 40 Days and found Times at present prety low owing to the Crops being near off. since last fall they have had two or three Guineamen in and they sold from

[195] [1] *Commerce of R. I.,* I. 343. These guarantees were sent with the following letter: "Above I send you a Copy of the Guaranty for Messrs. Lovell Morson and Cos. House at Dominica which you will please pay proper attention to: You will immediately after the close of your sales remit to Mr. Brown an Account thereof, and all such Bills as you receive on Account of such Sales. I am (in Mr. Browne's Absence), Sir, Your Most Obedient Humble Servant, Thos. Lanwarn—Abingdon Street, 29th Aug., 1770." Endorsed: "To Captain Jno. Clark, Captain Saml Haycraft or Captain Mich'l Dove of the *Mary,* at Messrs. Lovell Morson and Co., Dominica. Memo. N. B. recd. from Capt. James Clark at Newport, March 6th, 1772."

[2] Barbados.

[196] [1] *Commerce of R. I.,* I. 338-339.

£30 to £34 Ster'g per head.[2] the last Cargo sold at £33. they wil always I think fetch the prices above, provided the Negroes be good and Gold Cost slaves are taught (thought) to be best. you may depend that shou'd you or any of your friends have any Command this way no one will serve them on Better Terms then I shall, and take more care of their Interest. . . .

197. Samuel and William Vernon to ——, 1770.[1]

Newport 17th Decr. 1770.

Sir, . . . we recd. a Line from our Capt. a few days past upon the Coast of Affrica, Times are dull, which will delay him a great while upon the Coast, our Orders are that if he gets off Coast so as to be at Virginia before the beginning of April, to Stop at some of the Windward Islands and recruit his Slaves, with fresh Provisions and even to lay Six or Eight Weeks rather then to attempt your Coast too soon and we were in hopes you wou'd keep us advised frequently of the State of your Markets.[2] . . .

198. Daniel and Lytcott to Jacob Rodriguez Rivera and Aaron Lopez, 1771.[1]

Barbados Jany 26: 1771.

Gentlemen: Your esteem'd favor of the 10th Decr came safe to hand the 21 Inst, and is now before us the Contents of which we only note. Our worthy and mutual friend Mr. Stocker [Hocker?], had 'ere receipt yours kindly advised us his interposition with you in our behalf, and your kind intentions to'ards us in the sale of Captain Briggs and Englishs Cargo of Slaves, for which you have our most

[2] "Gold Coast slaves sell from 35 to £38 Ster. and bring the Cash imediately, as mertinico, gordilupe, and grand Torre [Grand Turk], and many to the Leward french Islands are supply'd at that Isle, being a free port where numerous Cargoes of Slaves and superfine flour and salt fish is yearly sold." Isaac Werden to Aaron Lopez, Grenada, Sept. 12, 1770, *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 346.

[197] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. This is on the same sheet on which is written Captain Dordin's deposition (see *ante,* no. 158), with no signature and no address. It was in all probability written by the Vernons to Adams and Griffin, though it may have been sent to John Thornton.

[2] Trade was not flourishing on the African coast in 1770 and the material for that year is meagre, yet some Rhode Island vessels were trading or preparing to trade. Hayley and Hopkins insured the *Cleopatra,* Briggs; Captain All arrived in Philadelphia from an African voyage; and news came from Capt. Silas Cook of the death of Mr. Haywood Smith on the coast (Lopez Letter-Book, no. 631, pp. 26, 48; *Mass. Gaz. and News Letter,* Jan. 11, and Dec. 7, 1770). The Wetmore Papers and those in the Shepley Library (Providence) contain lists of stores for the sloop *Adventure,* bound for Africa under Capt. Thomas Rogers, now in the service of the Champlins. They heard on Feb. 16, 1771, by way of Messrs. Stevenson and Went, that on Nov. 28 Captain Rogers was trading at Anamabo. N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

[198] [1] Lopez Letter-Book, no. 631, p. 62. A letter of Feb. 19, 1771, from Captain Briggs of the *Cleopatra,* contains the same information. *Ibid.,* p. 67.

hearty thanks. Captain Briggs in the *Cleopatra,*[2] (quite unexpected so early) arrived here the 11th Currt. with a Cargo of 96 Slaves; as soon as his Vessell was safely anchor'd he waited on us, and informed us his intention was to value himself on us, and that we had the preference to dispose of his cargo provided we wou'd take him up, upon as good terms as any other good and safe house here would; and in consequence thereof, and from the advice of our good friend Mr. Stocker, we went off and viewed his slaves, which appear'd healthy, but rather a great proportion of privelege [3] and male slaves; we however made Capt Briggs the offer of taking him up, to make the most we cou'd of his Cargo, and to sell his privelege free of Commission, but for such to take the Bills we might receive in payment without our guaranteeing them, this he objected to, tho seem'd desirous we shou'd sell him and thus circumstanced one or two days past, after which we recommended to him to try what Messrs. Jones and Moe wou'd do, and we make no doubt their terms were more agreeable, so he struck with them, tho' those gentn behaved very politely, and were tender of having anything to do with the Cargo untill we told Capn Briggs he had best try them, and that for the last Cargo of Slaves we sold, we had Bills to a considerable amount protested, that were taken in payment; and we assure you Gentn. we never knew so many bills protested in one year as was the last, that we think there is the greatest risk in trade we ever knew. We are truly sorry we could not in this second attempt commence a Correspondence with you, but are hopefull times will mend and a future day establish a lasting connexion between us. Capt. Briggs has no doubt wrote you [as] well as Messrs Jones and Moe.

P. S. We deliver'd your Letter to Capt. Briggs immediately on receipt of it.[4]

[2] For this voyage the *Cleopatra* was insured for £1500, at a cost of £133 15*s* 3*d*. (Hayley and Hopkins to Lopez, July 24, 1770, Letter-Book, no. 631, p. 26). "NEW PORT, March 11. The Captains Pease and Harrison arrived here last Week, from Barbadoes, and advise, that the Captains Clark, Briggs, and English, all of this Port, were arrived at Barbadoes, from the Coast of Africa; by all Accounts from the Coast, the Trade there was extremely dull, several Vessels having sold their Cargoes on 6 and 12 Months Credit, and then to take a Slave for 190 Gallons of Rum; while others were obliged to leave their Cargoes consigned to the Factors there, and run the Risk [of] getting Something or Nothing for them." *Mass. Gaz. and News Letter,* Apr. 4, 1771.

[3] That is, slaves belonging to captain, doctor, and mates. The usual proportion for the captain was four out of every 104 carried.

[4] Endorsed: "Messrs. Jacob Rods. Rivera and Aaron Lopez, Rhode Island. Philad. March 2d 1771 recd. under cover and forwarded by gent yr Servt Stocker and Wharton. Messrs Jacob Rods Rivera and Aaron Lopez. Merchts Newport Per Capt. Steele. Rhode Island."

199. Samuel and William Vernon to Captain John Duncan, 1771.[1]

Newport 8 Ap'l 1771.

Sir, We recd. yours of 13 Ulto. from Barbados, and find that you had purchased 71 Slaves for Cargo and Bro't them all in, being in perfect Health and Shou'd Sail in 10 or 12 days for Virginia, as you well remark if cou'd possably be there between the Months of March and Septr. it was our Possitive orders that you proceed to Virginia and therefore if you cou'd obtain our Limitt of £30 Stg. Round, it was not in your power to Sell at Barbados in which you was certainly right; therefore upon your Arrival at Rappahannock you'l address yourself to Col. Jno. Thornton to Whom we have Wrote on the Subject and desired him to dispatch your Vessel as Soon as Possible with about 150 bbs. of good fresh Flour and 2 or 3 Tons of good Hemp and fill her up with White Oak Staves and heading if to be had readily or you may even take 200 bbs. Flour if Cheap not to exceed 12 pr Ct. if you think it is absolutely necessary to tarry untill all your Slaves are Sold and your Vessel can be dispatch'd sometime Sooner its best to Send yr Cheif Mate Home with her, if you do not Load your Vessel bring as many of your Water Casts [casks] home as you can Stow, better than leaving them behind, without you can Sell them there.

If you have more hands than is necessary and can discharge them upon good Terms its best to do it and avoid all expences upon your Vessel that you can, we have Recommend to Col. Thornton to Sell part of your Slaves upon Credit provided it will make a material diff'ce in the Price of them taking care to have good Security and not a long Cr.[2] . . .

200. Threlfal and Anderson to Christopher and George Champlin, 1771.[1]

Grenada April 22nd 1771.

Gentlemen, Agreeable to promise of our R:T: when at Newport, we embrace this first Opportunity, (after his arrival here) of advising you of the State of our Markett for Slaves, which we are sorry to say is not quite so good as it has been or might reasonably be expected from the small number that has been sold lately, out of seven-

[199] [1] Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 203. Addressed "To Capt. Jno. Duncan, Virginia," who was one of the signers of a protest against the administration of the African Committee. Captains Silas Cook, Charles Moore, and Thomas Rogers of Rhode Island also signed this protest. See this work, II. 543 n.

[2] On the same day the Vernons wrote to Col. John Thornton of Fredericksburg, Va.: "We hear Virginia slaves sell for £45. We recommend our Friend Richard Brew Esq. at Annamaboe to your House who perhaps ships more slaves than any one man in the Kingdom." He added that Capt. John Duncan, then in Barbados, had 71 slaves on account of the Vernons and 19 on his own account. Letter-Book, no. 77.

[200] [1] Newport Hist. Soc., *Reminiscences,* I. 62.

teen Cargoes, say abt 3750 Slaves, that came in full expectation of selling at this Market in the space of 5 Months last past, only six Cargoes say abo't 1320 Slaves, has been sold, all the rest gone to Jamaica or Carolina but believe mostly to the former place, those that sold here all averag'd a tolerable good price, say from £35 to £37, Slaves being still in demand, but the disappointments the Factors have met with from having the Planters Bills proteste[d] makes us cautious of drawing on our Correspondents besides having reduced many of them to the greatest difficulties and of course not in a Capacity to purchase Slaves, yet we can still with propriety say that this is the best Market of any of the windward Islands, and we are in great hopes we shall be able to keep up the Price of Gold Coast Slaves, especially when they come in small Cargo's. two days ago arriv'd here Mr. Mason's Brig *Polly,* Capt. Elliott with Ninety odd Slaves including Priviledge of which we have agreed to sell, altho' we have lately refus'd at least a dozen Cargo's that was offer'd us on any terms, being determined to strain every Nerve for the Interest and good Opinion of our Newport Friends.

Capt. Elliott tells us your Sloop arriv'd at Annamaboe about the first of February, had sold before Capt. Elliott left the Coast the 8th Febry and was gone down Widan to land his Rum, from which account we presum he will be in the West Indies sooner than you imagind. Capt. Elliotts Slaves are good we expect to turn them out abt £38, when any alteration in our Markett, (which we hope will be for the better) you may depend on being advised.

We sell Mr. Morson's Slaves on the same terms we sold Mr. Hazards say Bills at a Medium of 12 Months, and Shorter it will be impossible for us to give them this Year. If your Sloop calls on us you may depend on our acting in every respect as if the Cargo was our own, will lodge letters at Barbadoes for your Captain which may be some government to him if he calls there, will write you again pr Capt. Elliott who leaves this in about a fortnight, he tells us Slaves are very high on the Coast.

201. Samuel and William Vernon to Hayley and Hopkins, 1771.[1]

Newport 24th Augt. 1771.

Sirs, . . . please to make Insurance on one half the Schooner *Active*[2] £150 and on Cargo £300, Robt. Elliot Master from hence

[201] [1] Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, pp. 207-208. For an account of the formation of the partnership of Hayley and Hopkins see *Commerce of R. I.,* I. 251-253. Hayley married the sister of John Wilkes, who after her husband's death is said to have purchased the frigate *Delaware,* taken from the Americans, and come to this country to collect his debts in Boston and Newport. She landed in Boston in the summer of 1784, and remained long enough to marry an American suitor, but soon after her marriage returned to England. *R. I. Hist. Mag.,* V. 71.

[2] A small trading-book of the *Active* is to be found in the New York Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. This relates to a voyage of 1769, in which year the vessel traded

to the Coast of Affrica, dueing her Trade there, and to Market with her Slaves wch may be at the Windward Islands, or to the Continent of North America—its the Same Schooner of Dordins wch Mr. Benja. Mason and our Selves have bot. She is a good one and well fitted for such a Voyage an old experienced Master, we Shou'd chuse to have provision made in the Policy for a return of Premium if Sold on the Coast, as we have given the Capt Orders to Sell her at Seregal [Senegal]—Serelion we chuse where. . . .

202. Hayley and Hopkins to Aaron Lopez, 1771.[1]

London 29th August 1771.

S'r, . . . The premium for a Winter Voyage from Jamaica is never less than 8 per Cent and upon Vessells not known in the Trade can Seldom be done under 10. . . .

first for the *Cleopartra's,* We have made £2150 on her for Your Acco't: the Cost of wch: being £144:7:3 as per particulars herewith is to Your Debit; This is Exactly Conformable to the orders rec't from Mr. Rivera. The return of p'mo on her last Voyage we have not been able to gett settled, Mr. Rivera has sent us an Accot of what She left behind on the Coast, but this is not what the underwriters will be satisfied wth; they think it not improbable that if she had Carried the whole of the Effects they would have amounted to more than the Sum wch was Insur'd and therefore they require an attested Invoice of what she had on board and whatever that amounts to less than the Sum Insured they will return the p'mo upon, wch Invoice You'll please forward us. We would just lay it before You for Your Consideration whether in your future Affrican Insurances it would not be better if the Slaves were valued in the Policy at some rate per Head; it would in case of Loss be of some use of facilitating wth the Insurers. the Alteration in the *Charlotte's* Ins'ce is done at the additional P'mo of 1 gn: Per Cent wch: is lower than we Expected when we last Mentioned it to You. We Debit You for this Alteration £12:12. . . .

203. Samuel and William Vernon to John Thornton and Charles Yates, 1771.[1]

Newport Octr., 1771.

Sirs, Your much esteemd favors we received in course, the last of wch advised of your having remitted Messrs. Hayley and Hopkins

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with Gov. Thomas Drew of Tantumquerry, Capt. John Duncan, Captain Dordin, and Richard Brew.

[202] [1] Lopez Letter-Book, no. 632, pp. 49, 52.

[203] [1] Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 210.

five hundred and Ten Pounds, Stg. the 9 ulto. for wch we are obledg'd. We are now to remark on our Account Curr't Transmitted to us. The Charges of Stanton, Fairbanks, W W. Vernon and S and W. Vernon In'rs.[?] are right, but we think that of Capt. Duncan is not, as we wrote you and Capt Duncan of the 8th Ap'l that we expected his Slaves to be averidged with Two Thirds of the Cargo, (or at least one half,) and its being a general Custom, his agreeing thereto when you made the proposal, as by yours of the 1st May, we think the adjustment of the averidge on the first 28 grown Slaves to be wrong; Please to Settle his Eight Slaves on the first half (being the least part proposed to him) and we are content, we Say Eight, as their appears to be a Small Boy of his Sold for £30, but if a proportion of our Boys are taken into the Averidge we also are content with, wch we Submit to you to adjust. . . .

Please to remitt to us, W W. Vernon's and S. and W Vernon In'rs Ballance in a good Bill of Exchange.

204. John Fletcher to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1771.[1]

London 16th Octo'r 1771.

Sir, I Wrote the 7th June Accquainting You of My Safe Arrival in England; since Which I received Your Favr of the 12 June, and Observe what you menthion about the Times on the Coast of Guina, Which I find Continues still bad, Yet several of Your Merchants have fitted out again this Summer. I had likewise a letter of the 29 July from Mr. Malbone who enfirms What you wrote and gives but poor encouragement about sending to Gunia At present, as by the last Acco'ts they was giving from 200 to 220 Gallons Of Rum for but indifferent Slaves so there is but little prospect of doing Any thing on the Coast till next Summer.

Mr. John Peatt came up with me from Hull afew days ago and since We have been in London We have taken some pains to get a Vessel to send You out as I proposed, but cou'd not meet with any thing for sale to Suit Our Purpose. What are sent Home for sale from New England, are not found and at presant are both scarce and Dear, therfore We have declinerd purchasing one here. And at this time of the year no Freight to be had for your port so that

[204] [1] Newport Hist. Soc., Peleg Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A. There are two letter-books of Captain Clarke, covering the years 1771-1782. He and his London principal, John Fletcher, who had himself spent some time in Newport, were both given to long and frequent letters, in which they reported to each other many details of their trade. They had been considering a joint African venture since the beginning of June, 1771.

had we met with a Vessel it never wou'd have Answered at any rate to have sent her out in ballast as the Out fits And Port Charges are very high from hence.

Mr. Peatt and self have now come to this resolution to leave it to you to Purchace a proper Vessel either at Rhode Island or Providence, Boston Or the Eastward or any where in your Neighbourhood, *Viz.* A good Brig or Snow from 110 to 130 Tons Burthen but not to exceed the Latter, to Get her Sound and as well found as possible, and not above 3 or 4 years old, Mr. Peatt recommends you pay regard to a long floor, easy Draught Water, and Clean Run as likely to Sail Well which is very Meterial for a Gunia Man and We suppose such a Vessel well found with two Suits of sails may be purchaced from £400 to £500 Sterling at most, as we wou'd not have you go much higher than that. I suppose the most likely place to get a Vessel at will be Boston, Salem or Nebury, as the winter is coming on may be met with there Cheap, but this I leave to your Self. If you can meet with one at Rhode Island desire you will take Mr. Fran's Malbone's Advice in that matter, Who I have wrote to by this Oppertunity, to give you his Assistance as well as to indorse Your Bills on Me for the Purchase of the Vessel. But if you are oblig'd to go to Boston, or the Eastward you must Apply to Mr. Ralph Hinman [2] of Boston on that Account, as I have likewise Wrote him a Letter on the Occasion by this Oppertunity to serve in Case of Need. You will have time enough to look about you for this Vessel between this Time and March next as it will be a good time to fit out in all the month of April and to sail for the Coast by the begining of May, which from the present Appearance of things will be early enough to follow those already gone to the Coast. I am willing to make this further trial to Gunia on yours as well as Messr. Peatts Aco't who at any rate must both be benifited by the Voyage. For my Own part I have no grat Expectation of Profits, If you are Succesful and lose but few Slaves may make a saving Voyage and do well for the Conserned. I need not hint to you if you purchace the fewor if but good Slaves they will always Command a price at Kingstown, and M'rs Peatts and Westmorland will have the most of them engag'd long before you get there to Good Men. As soon as you have Purchased this Vessel you will get Mess's Malbone to be purchasing about 15,000 gallons of Rum to be ready at the time I have mentioned or Sooner. if you have any Encouragement to do any Thing at Windward, the above Quant'y of Rum We think full enough for

[2] Ralph Inman, Boston merchant and Loyalist, was a brother-in-law of John Rowe, in whose diary he makes frequent appearance. On July 2, 1776, his name was returned to the Committee of Correspondence among those inimical to the United States. *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, XXX. 442.

you to get off those dull times as laying long on the Coast is what ruins every thing in small Vessels.

If you Purchace a Vessel at Boston or Eastward wou'd have you get her Insured round to Newport as there is some risque to come Cape Cod and so forth in the Winter. If you are not Acquainted with the Coast you will no doubt get some person with you that is. Also Write me as soon as you have a prospect of geting a Vessel as Above and any other late Acc'ts from the Coast. My Ship *Affrica* Arrived at Hull the 26th July after 8 weeks passage from Jamaica, and made a pretty good Freight, and finding She wou'd want A great repair her Sheathing Rotten and Rudder bad thought it best to get quit of her and accordingly sold her for £370 Sterling Which was the most She wou'd fetch. Capt. Stocford [3] was very Sickly and not able to come upon Deck most of the passage but is now hearty and as well as ever again, is still in London and says he is in some hopes of geting a Vessel if not returns home soon. It was very lucky that Mr. Peatt came Passenger in my Vessel as he was oblig'd to take the charge of her most of the voyage on Aco't of Stockfordes Illness also being better acquainted with the English Channel.

Your Bill on Mess's Allen Marlas and Co. for £400 Sterling will be Due next Month, and when paid will advise you. I suppose you will Want abt £150 Sterling more to make up your Third share of this proposed Vessel and Cargo etc. which no Doubt you'l be able to make you Up in Rum etc. amongst your Friends at Newport, as it will be best for You to hold a third as first proposed. But if not you must take Only A Quarter part and Mr. Peatt and self must hold the rest. But this I leave to your self as it may suit you, Mr. Malbone and you must fix that. I have purchased a Guinea Furnace and Hearth here, which shall be sent you by the first Vessel for Rhode Island which I suppose will be Capt. Gilbert. The Swivel Guns, Chains, Hand Cuffs and Sheckles etc. at Mr. Malbones must be valued when Delivered you, and shall send a Box of Midicenes from this with a Barrel of Gun Powder, some Beans etc. so that nothing of that sort will be wanted to be purchased at Newport. . . .

205. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1771.[1]

Newport Decr. 8 1771.

Sir, By Capt'n Gilbert I have this Oppertunity to Acquaint you of our now latest accounts from the Coast, which was by Capt. Remington in Mess's Joseph and Wm. Wanton's Brig, Which is

[3] Probably the Captain Stockford who traded with Richard Brew in 1769. See *ante,* no. 193.

[205] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A.

When he left Annamaboe there was only Capt. Hicks and Capt. Hanners and they were almost Slaved off and was a giving to the Gent'n of the Castles One Hundred and Sixty Gallons. I wrote you last by way of Boston, when I then made you Accquainted with what Vessels where a going and gone and I now further Inform you who are a going and will Sail soon, Capt. More, Capt. Rogers, Capt. Bordine from this port, from Boston a Snow belonging to So. Carolina. Mr. Hazzard and Capt. Champlain's Vessels Are lying by till next Spring, the above are all that I know or hear talked of are fitting out for Gunia. I should be excessive Glad to hear from you to know wether or not you had carried your plan into Execution which I do not doubt but you have for I assure you being out of Buisness so long makes me like A Fish out of Water, However I doubt not but in good time. I must beg that whatever Interest You send out, my part of the Vessel of Mine you will Insure, for Our Winter is set in very Cold, and it is a bad Season to come on the Coast. I saw Mr. Malbone yesterday and asked him if he would Write to you, and he said he could not tell you any more than he had Said before he heard from you. . . .

206. Samuel and William Vernon to Adams and Griffin, 1771.[1]

Newport 16th Decr. 1771.

Sirs, We have now before us your two last fav'rs *viz.* 8 Feb'ry and 3d April, since wch we are intirely deprived of a single line from you. We are really at a loss to suggest a sufficient reason; but imagine you have taken umbrage at our adressing the Brigg't *Othello* Jno. Duncan to Mr. John Thornton at Rappahannock, its very true by our Letters you might reasonably expect her to your adress; but we had the greatest encouragement imaginable from the above Gentle'n of his making the Remittance in the bottom for the whole amount of the Cargo of Slaves, and the prospect appearing equally good to us of obtaining great prizes[prices] were strong motives to us, of Ordering her to Rappahannock, wch we had only just Time to countermand our Order, to the Master. When Gentle'n you reflect upon the remittance made us for the Two Cargos of Slaves that you sold you cannot but suppose we wou'd close with such an offer, as the difference of the advantage of having so large a sum to improve and of its laying dead for several years is very great and besides our being so vastly disappointed in your promise made us in Feb'ry of depending upon our Ballance, at the Riseing of your Genl. Court *viz*

[206] [1] Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, pp. 217-218. Addressed, "Messrs. Adams and Griffin per Capt. Martindale."

in April, and then say *no Time shall be lost in making the most speedy remittance* for your Ballance. To pass by every thing that has happened, without one more complaint, we must say in justice to your House that your sales have ever been satisfactory to us, as any we have received, and can truely wish your closeing this Acct. may be a meins of soon opening another.

207. John Fletcher to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1772.[1]

London 24th February 1772.

Sir, . . . I cant say more than what I have before About Purchasing a Vessel, which have no doubt but you have Accomplished or[ere] this and is geting ready for the Voyage and if you can get your Cargo of Rum and every thing on Board to sail from Newport about the last of may to get on the Coast by the Time the Rainy Season is Over will be early enough to follow all those Vessels that gone before, and in Case you should think propper to call at windward as you go down to get afew Slaves before you come to Anamaboe shall leave that to your self to do as seems best. As your Cargo will be but small you'l the sooner get it off and if you can get Slaved in time to get down to Jamiaca in all the month of Jany. Will be a good Time for Sale of Slaves, of which I know you will be as particular in the Choise of as the Times will admit of. Good Slaves always sells high at Jamaica, they now Avarage £40 Ster'g pr head there at Least in Bills or Cash.

When you are ready to Sail from Newport Write Mess's Peatts and Westmorland of Kingston Jamiaca as also by every Oppertunity from the Coast that they may know when to expect you to be prepared accordingly, As I make no doubt of their engageing all the Cargo by Orders amongst their Friends in the Country long before you get there. I desire you may write Me as soon as you have got the Vessel ready and made a begining to take in your Cargo of Rum, by Boston or Newyork that I may get the Insurance made here on Vessel and Cargo from Newport to the Coast Guinea and Anchord to Jamaica and your part of the Consern I shall get done with my own. You will take a sufficciant Quantity of Rice from Rhode Island to serve the Voyage and not depend on getting it on the Coast as before, the fatal Consequence of that Disappointment We have experienced, also get some black Ey'd pease which may be had from Philidilphia or New york. On the other side I have given an Estimate of what provissions etc. I wou'd have you take, But as Mr. Malbone and you are better Judges than I of what is Nessary to

[207] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A.

Serve the Voyage may add or Deminish as you shall think best. I have now shipped by the *Tristram* Capt. Shand to Mess. Malbones Care a new Cable with 6 Coils of Cordage of Different Sizes which Mr. Peatt and self Judged wou'd in Course be wanted for the Vessel you may purchase, as those for Sale are seldom well found, I have also sent a Liverpool Guine Furnace with Hearth etc. with a Box Medicenes which was put up by order of a Doctor here, a Friend of Mine who has given a Little Directions (here inclosed) how to treat Negroes in the Flux, If you should ever be so Unluckey as to have it again Which I hope not and you know how to Use the Difft Medecines and Dressings the same as Doct'r Hunter Charged. I think you have some left in the Old Box which if good may be put Altogether, you'l Observe the Charge of those sent, does not Amount to a Third of what Doct'r Hunter Charged. . . .

Estimate of the provisions for Guinea Voyage
16 bls. Beef, 10 Do. Pork, 15 Ct. Weight Bread
2 Tons Rice at least. 1 hhd. Black Ey'd pease. 1 hd. Tobacco

Other Nessaries for Ditto
1 New long Boat, 20 bls. Flour and Naval Stores if you call at Windward, under the Care of Mess's E and F Malbones to be Valued and Charged the Owners

Bost } 6 Swivel Guns
} 150 hand Cuffs and Shackles, Chain etc. 12 d. Plank, O. T. Arm Chest. rs
6 Guns and 2 Cutlashes, 1 Corn Mill
Some Coopers Tools

P.S. I shall not send any powder, you can get a little at Newport as its not worth while to send so small a quantity from here now nor Beans you must get Black Ey'd peas in room of them.

208. Captain Peleg Clarke to Ralph Inman, 1772.[1]

Newport 29th April 1772.

S'r, Your Fav'r per Post I recd. Acknowledge my Neglect of not writing before, I intended as soon as I hd. Purchased a Vessel but since that time I have let the post slip throu'h hurry of buisness. I have shew'd your Letter to Mr. Malbone and he has given Mr. Fletcher Cr. for the £1.8.8 and now send you the Ball'e by Mr.

[208] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A. Inman had written to Clarke on Jan. 13 offering his assistance in finding a satisfactory vessel. Clarke replied on Jan. 16, and on the 27th Inman wrote recommending the *Bristol,* Boston-built, belonging to John Hancock, which could be had for £700. Clarke evidently went to Boston to see this vessel but nothing came of the negotiations. *Ibid.*

mumphord which is £2.7.4 L M.[2] and am much oblig'd to you for your favour. After several Tryals of Purchasing a Vessel since my return from Boston, I at last have taken an old Vessel of Mr. Malbones that was rebuilt about 2 years ago.[3] She will carry the Cargo that Mr. Fletcher Ordered and is a good Sailor and is well found and will answer for the Voyage, But I am very Sure Mr. Fletcher cou'd have Suited himself and me much better in London or I cou'd have had I not been Limitted. I gave Mr. Malbone £450 St'g for her and I expect it will cost £50 St'g more to fix her for a Guinea Voyage, as I am Oblig'd to make some Alterations in her, Mr. Fletcher very well knows her as she was rebuilding when he was here. I heare there are Several Guinea man fitting out of Boston, I shall take it a favour you'l let me know by the next post if it is so and in what forwardness they are. I write this day to Mr. Fletcher by way of Liverpool and if any Oppertunity presents from Boston and you write him I beg you will Acquaint him that I expect to Sail in a fortnight for the Coast, and shall transmit all the Acco'ts by Capt. Shand who will Sail in about three weeks. . . .

209. Ralph Inman to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1772.[1]

Boston 11th May '72.

Sir. . . . Thos. Boylston has one Vessel bound to Guinea. She don't begin to load till the beginning of June and will take at least a month after that to get away. He has made a purchase this week of a Brig for Mr. Carty[2] about 180 Tons, he gave £1000 Stg. for her and going to make her into a Ship. She will not get to Sea as soon as the other, So you will have Six Weeks start. I hear there's one going from Newberry but cannot Learn what forwardness she is in. . . .

210. Christopher and George Champlin to Captain Samuel Tuell, 1772.[1]

Newport, May 12th, 1772.

Sir, We flatter our selves this will meet you in safety upon the Coast in a fair way of making us a Voyage, as from the accounts

[2] Lawful money.

[3] Professor B. M. Bigelow in his "Colonial Merchants of Rhode Island" (unpublished manuscript) refers to Clarke's agreement of Feb. 6, 1772 (in the Lopez papers), for the purchase of the *Africa.*

[209] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A.

[2] Daniel McCarthy.

[210] [1] *Commerce of R. I.,* I. 398-399. Captain Tuell's vessel was the sloop *Adventure,* insured by Hayley and Hopkins for £1400, at a premium of £125 2 *s.* 6 *d.* The terms of the insurance were "at and from Newport to the coast of Africa, during her stay and trade there, and from thence to her port of discharge in British America or the Island

up to January, and the price Capt. Gardner in Mr. Wickhams Ship obtained for his rum Slaves was much lowered, At the Castles with whom he traded. Colo. Wanton's Brig, Mowit Master, is arived here, cleared his owners £500 Stg. Capt. Brigs carried to Barbados 230 Slaves sold 210 of them at £33 Stg. round, left 40 on the Coast will make a good voyage. We don't doubt of your giting the same price if the Slaves are good in kind which without doubt you will endeavour to procure. Capt. Clark will deliver you this. Capt. Hicks in the Ship will not sale till June.[2] Mr. Hazards brig not till August. these are the only vessells we kno of that can follow you from Newport and before they git down flatter our selves you will be near finishing. Lin Martin is gone to Philadelphia to fit, cannot sale from thence 'till July. We have wrote to London for a Guarantee on a House at the Granados and St. Kitts,[3] from both which places we shall be informed the price of Slaves before we lodge our orders at Barbados for you which will enable us to limit the price at Barbados. you'll write us by all occassions. keep your Business to your self. there is two vessells will leave Boston in (a) month for the Coast, that in June and July 3 or 4 vessells will sale near together.[4] Capt. Gardner informs his owners after laying two months on the Coast alone he could not make any trade with the blacks, and finally sold to the Castles at 130 to 150 for women and 140 to 160 for prime men. Is likely to make a fine voyage. therefore we earnestly recomend to you as soon as you receive this to sell all the rum you may have on hand to the Castles on the best terms you can for prime Slaves, and make all dispatch of, for when those vessells I mention to you git down the Castles will be filled, which will be within a month after this letter or 6 weeks at most, and shoud you tarry 'till they git down the chaunce will be lost. in this you'll act as things appear as we cannot judge how the trade is at this distance,

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of St. Croix. If the vessel is sold on the coast, the risk on cargo to be continued on such other vessel or vessels as may carry the slaves to market, and 4 per cent. in that case to be returned on the £400 insured on vessels and freight." The sums were £400 on vessel and "freight valud" and £1000 on cargo; the rate "eight guineas per cent." (*Com. of R. I.*, I. 397). The expenses incident to the outfit of this voyage of the *Adventure* are to be found in detail in the Wetmore Papers (vol. V.), along with the advances to the seamen and the sources of the cargo of rum carried. The captain had received when the vessel sailed £112 18, the first mate, Robert Champlin, £487 14 4, the total advances amounted to £1570 19 10. The total cargo of rum, amounting to 13,688 galls., came from Whitehorne, Cranston, Overing, Cooke, Coggeshall, Malbone, Mayson (Mason?), and Thurston. Champlin seems to have carried goods amounting to £591 15 for private trade.

[2] Word had reached Newport in February that the *Fanny,* Capt. Benjamin Hicks, had arrived at Barbados, where he had found an excellent market. He was evidently preparing for a prompt return to Africa. *News Letter,* Feb. 13, 1772.

[3] *I. e.,* for papers similar to those received by Aaron Lopez. See *ante,* no. 195.

[4] Six Boston vessels are recorded as sailing for Africa in 1772.

but to lay a long time on the Coast to piddle with blacks must be against the voyage. keep it an entire secret what vessells are coming down on the Coast, as it may make the Castles indifferent about buying if they kno it.

211. William Snell and Company to Christopher Champlin, 1772.[1]

London, 25 June 1772.

Sir, Our mutual good Friends Messrs. Hayley and Hopkins, Informs us you intend Sending your Vesell the *Adventure* Cap: Tuell with a Cargoe of Slaves to the Grenada Market. If you will please to address them for Sale to our friends Messrs. Threlfal and Anderson at St. Georges in that Isle, we hereby guarantee the performance of any agreement they may make with Captn. Tuell for the Sale, also to pay all Bills they Draw or Endorse for the Produce being confident they can serve you in this way as well as any House there.

Robt. Coningham and Jno. Tatham of St. Vincents and Richd. Milford of Dominica, are also in this way of Business as well as in Sale of North American Cargoes, should any of your Vesells go that way they are safe men.

212. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1772.[1]

D L'Mina Castle 25th July 1772.

S'r, This by Capt. Charles More will Acquaint you of My Arrival at this place after a passage of two Months all well. Since my Arrival have made but small progress in trade I have Disposed of twenty hog'ds Rum, part for Gold for 34 gallons for [an ounce?] and part for Slaves for 160 and 140, 2 Mo. Cr.[2] I find all the Vessels Which I expected was gone of the Coast Still on, at Annamaboe is Capt'ns Rogers, Barden, Jonhnson and Tawell [Tuell] all Rum Vessels. there Detention, is Occasioned by a Disturbance that broke out between the Fantines and Shantines which has Stop't the Slaves, as that Trade comes Chiefly threw their hands, And the Gentlemen that has taken Rum of them cannot gitt Slaves to pay them.

By what I can Learn from Capt. More of the preasent times is if there was any Slaves Stiring I believe it very Easy to Dispose of my

[211] [1] Wetmore Papers, vol. V.

[212] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A. On May 2 Clarke gave to Fletcher a detailed account of his search for a vessel and of his purchase. On May 19 he wrote that he was ready to sail from Newport and asked Fletcher to obtain £400 stg. insurance on one-fourth the vessel and cargo, in the same manner that he placed his own, and to advance the premium. It is evident that Clarke owned one-fourth the vessel.

[2] *I. e.,* two months' credit.

Rum, at what they gave, which was 170 for men and 150 for women, but as times is I Cannot tell how it will turn with me.

I shall leave this place for Cape Coast tomorrow and am Determin'd to Dispose of the Rum as Soon as possible, knowing of a large Quant'y on its passage from Rhode Island and Boston. . . .

213. Samuel and William Vernon to Richard Adams, 1772.[1]

Newport 8th Aug't 1772.

S'r, We have your fav'r of the 30th June before us, owning the receipt of ours of the 16th Decr. last. We observe that the reason of our balla. not being remitted was the distress of the Country by the Floods in May 1771, and not to what we suggested. You may be Assured we did not adopt those sentiments so fully, but that we Ordered Capt. Robt. Elliot, in our schooner *Active,* who called at Barbadoes in May last from Affrica, where if he did not obtain our limitts for his Cargo of Slaves, to proceed directly to James River and adress himself to you. His slaves becoming sickly thought best to sell something under our directions, and, arrived here about four Weeks pass.

*We have a Vessil just ready to sail for the Coast and that of Elliots will soon follow, wch perhaps, may fall in with you, except the Price of Slaves are high at Barbadoes; and hope you'll keep us advised of your Markets. . . .

*we never made any doubt but that our Balla. wou'd be remitted, with full Interest thereon as the purchasers was to allow it by the conditions of Sale, agreeable to what you wrote us.

214. Captain Samuel Tuell to Christopher Champlin, 1772.[1]

Annamaboe, Sept. 26th 1772.

Sir, I have wrote you by Capt. Boules the 16th June which wase the first opportunity, I had to right to you sence I left home,[2] which at the same Time I wrote This Letter, That is Enclosed in This, To

[213] [1] Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 229. Addressed, "Mr. Rich'd Adams at Virginia."

[214] [1] Roderick Terry, "Some Old Papers relating to the Newport Slave Trade," Newport Hist. Soc., *Bulletin,* no. 62, pp. 29-30.

[2] On June 16, Tuell wrote: "I maid no stop to windard as I thought it best to perseed down the coast as soon as possable. We had six weeks passage from land to land Cape Verd. I sold 10 hhd. of Rum at the mines [Elmina] for gold; I maid no traid at Cape Coast. We arrived heare 24th day of May. Capt. Morse sold his cargo at the mines and Capt. Roggers sold his at Cape Coast. Capt. Bardine has sold all his cargo so that there is no Rum heare at preasant to sell but what I have. I have sold 45 hhd. I give but 160 for slaves as yet. I should due very well if there wase any black traid, but there is none and they are about going to war which makes it worse. I saw Mr. Brew But we had no talk about the sloop." This letter and that to which Tuell next refers are to be found in *Commerce of R. I.,* I. 401-402, 411-412.

send by This Same Man, Capt. Johnson of Boston who was to sail the 20th June and has ben Detained by the Castles By Reason of The Trade being Stopt Till now. I Wrote To you, Sir when I wase to Leward, by Capt. Brews, but had not Time to keep a copye of the Letter, as The vessail wase under sail when I wrote It, I received yours Sir by Capt. Clarke the 4th August and By Capt. Hicks the 8th of this month, my Rum wase all Gone before Capt. Clarke Came Down, and have maid My Trade mostly with the Castles, as There wase no Black Trade going, I give 160 Gallons for men, and 140 for women as I cood not git Them for Less, I Have but 15 Slaves on board yet, and cant tell you Sir When I shall sail, but as soon as I can git my slaves From the Castles, if the Trade Groes better I shall git Them soon, if not I must Stay Longgar. I have seen Mr. Breese [Brew ?] but he says nothing To me about bying The Sloop, and I beleave it Dont Lie in his powers to buy Hur at preasent, I have met with Som misfortungs Sence I have ben on the Coast, I bought as Long boat and Lost hur, in a hard Squall of wind, She Drove a Shoare and when I wase to Léwerd, Capt Roggers boat came down and came on bord of me, and in the Night Two of his people and John Hardy and John Hammond,[3] took his boat and runaway With hur, and They never have ben heard on sence, this hapned The 2nd August, people will Think I suppose it was for ill uasceg but I say not, for my own people. the 2nd of August I buried Mr. Whyet [4] he dieed with the Feaver so That I am but Poorly mand at present. It has bene very sekly heare, I have bene sek my Self, and mr. Champlin has ben very ill, and is poorly now. I Shall Ship a hand or two if I Can Git Them.[5] . . .

215. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1772.[1]

[Cape Coast Castle, Oct. 3, 1772.]

Sir, . . .[2] I now further add, that, I Wrote you from D E L mina by Capt. More the 25 July where I acquaint'd you of my

[3] John Hardy was Tuell's cooper, John Hammond a sailor. They had received before sailing £102 19 and £48 respectively (Wetmore Papers, vol. V.). Much of the matter of this letter is to be found in a letter of Aug. 7, probably the one of which Captain Tuell kept no copy. *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 411-412.

[4] David Wiat was the second mate.

[5] On Oct. 6 Tuell wrote from Anamabo: "I wrote you by Capt. Johnson the 26th Sept. and this comes by Capt. Roggers, the next that sails from heare will be Capt. Bardine . . . . Trade never was none to be so dul as it is now, not heare. I have but 15 slaves on board yet, I got one hande out of Capt. Johnson before he sailed" (*Commerce of R. I.*, I. 419). On Nov. 6 Stevenson and Went wrote to the Champlins by Captain Moore, who was then in the Barbados and was soon to be in Newport, that Captain Tuell had sold his rum and might leave the coast early in October. Wetmore Papers, vol. V.

[215] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A.

[2] Clarke enclosed in this letter a letter of the same date to Messrs. Peatt and

safe Arrival on the Coast after a passage of 2 Months and that I had Sold about 20 Hhgd. Rum, and two or three Days after from Cape Coast I wrote a line over to Capt. more with a line or two for you Acquainting you I had Sold 50 hogd. to Mr. Mill and Bull [Bell] at 160 and 140 for 3 Months Cr. wich was all the trade I had then made. All the rest of the Rum I sold at the same price Except 35 Hogd. to Leward for 150 and 130. My purchase will Amount to 96 or 97 Slaves but as I have not got my provisions and water yet on board I cannot Justly tell, I am now at Cape Coast a filling up my water. When compleated, shall do my endeavour to Collect my Slaves as Soon as possible, and doubt not I shall be in Jamaica by the time I wrote Messr. Peatts and Westmorland, I have this further to add that the wants and Leakage of our Cargo Amounts but to 318 gallo's which I think we have been very Successful in, I cannot help adding that had it not been for this Unlucky P[a]laver I should not have been Six weeks on the Coast. . . .

216. John Fletcher to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1772.[1]

London 24 Novr. 1772.

S'r, Your Fav'rs of the 2 and 19 May are now before Me, And note the Contents, and am well Satisfyed with Every thing done at Rhode Island About Purchasing the Brig *Fletcher* and her Cargo etc.

And hope this will meet you safe and well Arrived at Kingston, After a Successfull Voyage, on your Arrivel there you will deliver your Cargo of Slaves to Messrs. Peatts and Westmorland, Agreable to Former Instructions, who will dispose of them to the best Advantages for Bills of Exchange only; at as Short a Sight as they can obtain them; And as this Voyage finishes at Jamaica, on Closing their Sales and paying your bills of Disbursments etc. they are then to remit each party their respective Share of the neat proseeds *Viz* to send me bills for my half and deliver you the same for your Quarter part, as it will be best for all Concerned to make as short work of it as possible, otherwise it will by no means answer to carry

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Westmorland, in which he stated that his purchase was to be 96 slaves. These he had bargained to receive by Nov. 10 but since slaves were scarce on the coast he hardly expected to be slaved before the last of November. From Anamabo on Nov. 3 he sent a letter to the same firm by Captain Bardine, telling them that he had forty slaves and still hoped to complete his cargo in November, though trade was very dull. A copy of this letter he sent to Fletcher, adding: "I can asure you the Oldest Man on the Coast never new Such a Scarcity of Slaves as there is at Present, for there is Goodsmen here 6 Months and hass not got fifty Slaves on board, and are agiving 8 and 10 oz. for the blackmen and the Rum men 130 gal. to witemen. Our few Slaves is in good health and I hope will continew so." Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75A.

[216] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A.

on this Trade to any Advantage; And in regard to your as well as the people Priveledge Slaves I think it will be the fairest way for the Concerned to Avaredge them with the Majorety of the Cargo; this matter I have mentioned to Messrs. Peatts and Westmorland, And is Commonly what is done out of Liverpool. However shall leave it Intirely to your self to do what seems most agreable, as I want nothing but the Just thing. When the Slaves are sold and Vessel clear, you must pay off the people their wages, and Ship new hands as you want them, Or gitt as many of the old as will stay with you and come the Voyage to England.

After which you will in Course, heave down and clean your Vessel, and put her in Proper order for that purpose. And be as frugal as possible in your Disbursments, And not run us to any Unnecessary Expence at Kingstown where every thing for Vessels Comes to Dear (which I Experienc'd with the *Affrica*) but As was so well found in every thing am in hopes little will be wanted new. I have desired Peatts and Westmorland to assist you to get a Freight, for London or Hull and to Dispatch you if possible in about Six weaks, with what they can get, Sugar, Rum, and a little mahogany. Being but a small Vessel I make no doubt they will do it in that time, as I would not have you lay longer even if you should get but 2/3 full as the Sooner you get to England the better, that if this Voyage Answers another may be Struck out more Considerable (in a larger Vessel). I mentioned in my former Letters, to the house, not to take produce on Account of the Slaves but rather than not help the Vessel with a little Freight, I have now order'd them to Ship for my Account from 10 to 15 punchions of Rum and Suppose you'l have no objection to put 8 or 10 on board on your Account, which with as many of theirs, will be some help to fill her up! Rum has been lower here this year but must answer next year if can be purchaced lower at Jamaica, (Strong proof and good flavor'd). I have desired Peatts and Westmorland to forward the first Set of my bills, by the next Vesel that offers after Recieving them, and not to keep them, till you Sail that no time may be lost here in Recieving, and if you think proper may send the first Sett for your Share, by the Same Oppertunity, to me and shall do the Same with them as my Own to get them Excepted. And the Second Set of yours and mine you may bring along with you and the third Set to be put on bourd some other Vessel before you Sail; you will also write me what Insurence you would have get done for your Account and direct to me at Mr. Hodgsons as Usual. I have paid all the bills you have Drawn on me from Rhode island, and as you Desir'd I get £400 St'g Insured for your Acc'nt with my own, round to Jamaica, the Expence of premium paid here etc was £35:17, which sum is all you debt. . . .

217. Rivera and Lopez to Captain William English, 1772.[1]

Newport, November [27], 1772.

Sir, Our Brig'n the *Ann*,[2] of which you are at present the Master, being loaded and ready for the Seas, Our orders to you are, That you Embrace the first fair wind and make the best of your way to the Coast of Africa; and as we have no opinion of the windward Coast trade, we think it advisable, That as Soon as you procure the necessary rice that you proceed without delay to Anamaboe road; When please God you arrive there safe Convert your cargo into good Slaves; on the best terms you can; You are not insensible that lying any considerable time on the Coast, is not only attended with a very heavy expense, But also great risk of the Slaves you may have on board. We therefore would recommend to you dispatch, even if you are obliged to give a few gallons more or less on each slave. . . . We here inclose you David Mill Esq. of Cape coast Castle's receipt for twenty seven men and thirteen women Slaves, left in his hands by Capt. Briggs the last voyage on our accounts payable to his or our order, which we have made payable to you; When you have finished the sales of your Cargo, apply to the said Mr. Mill and receive from him the above mentioned slaves, which from his universal character, we are confident he will not only immediately comply but will also deliver you slaves to your satisfaction; To these slaves we desire you'll put some particular mark that may distinguish them from those of the Cargo, so that their sales in the West Indies may be kept by itself, for the Insurance on these is not blended with the Cargo.

You are to be particularly careful, that as soon as you have got your slaves on board, and before you leave the Coast you are to fill up two Sets of bills of lading; The one mentioning the number of Slaves you have on board, bought with your Cargo, which are two-thirds on acct. of Aaron Lopez, and the other third on account of Jacob Rod Rivera; And another set for the forty slaves you receive from Mr. Mill, those are one-half on each our Accts, and remit us by Two different Opp'ts, One of each of these bills of lading, and the third carry with you; for in case of accident (which God forbid) we have no other way of proving our Interest than by a bill of lading.

When thus you have finished your trade on the Coast, you are to proceed directly to the Island of Jamaica when if you arrive in any time between the first of December and the first of July, you

[217] [1] Terry, "Newport Slave Trade," Newport Hist. Soc., *Bulletin,* no. 62, pp. 15-17.
[2] The Cargo of the *Ann,* a brigantine of 113 tons, consisted of: 98 hhd., 14 tierces New England rum, 8¼ casks Lisbon wine, 3½ bbl. Madeira wine, 19 kegs cordial, 2 tierces loaf sugar, 2 bbl. brown sugar, 1 bbl. molasses, 1 bbl. vinegar, 30 sheep, 39 turkeys, 28 geese, 21 ducks, "and provender." Terry, *Bulletin,* no. 62, pp. 13-14.

are to goe directly to Savanah La Mar, and there deliver your whole quantity of slaves on our Acco'tt to Capt. Benjamin Wright, in whose hands we shall lodge whatever future orders we may have occasion to give you; But if you arrive off of Jamaica in any time between the month of July and the first of December, then you are not to proceed to Savanah La Mar, but to Kingston in that Island, and there apply to Mr. Thomas Dolbeare merchant there, to whom you are to deliver your slaves on our Accts and in whoes hands we shall also lodge, whatever orders we may find necessary further to give you, and if on inquiry you find when you arrive at Kingston, that Capt'n Wright is in any part of the Island, you are desired to send him immediate intelligence of your arrival, But this is not to prevent the delivery of the Slaves to Mr. Dolbeare as aforesaid, and should Cap'n Wright not be at Savanah La Mar when you arrive there, nor in any part of Jamaica, in that case dispatch an express to Mr. Dolbeare at Kingston, and follow what orders you may receive from him. Either Capt. Wright or Mr. Dolbeare will have orders to load our Brig with the produce of the Island if the season of the year will permit it, Therefore as soon as you have delivered your slaves, and your vessel ready, proceed directly back to this port.[3] . . .

217A Captain William English to Rivera and Lopez, 1773.[1]

Anamaboe Rd Mar. 10th, 1773.

Gentlemen: I arrived att Cape Corse Castle on the 12th of February, where on my arrival apply'd to Gov'r Mill and gave him the offer of my Cargo on Various Terms from one hundred and eighty gall'n to Two hundred for men and in proportion for women but would not take itt on any terms his answer was that he could not pay me Slaves in Eighteen Months he owing a great many Slaves and Every Ship to take their turn to be paid according to their Contract. I handed the Stock that I had for Mr. Mill being 27 Sheep 16 Geese 12 Ducks and five turkeys which was all that I had left. I also acquainted Mr. Mill that I had his obligation for forty Slaves Left by Capt'n Briggs in your favor. these Slaves Mr. Mill told me he would Deliver when I was ready to Sail. Here is very poor times for every fort and private house is stocked with Rum that

[3] During 1772 the following vessels owned or loaded by Aaron Lopez cleared for Africa: *Royal Charlotte,* Benjamin Wright, *Cleopatra,* Briggs, *Ann,* English, *George,* Peleg Greene. In 1773, the *Charlotte,* Shearman, the *Africa,* Briggs, the *Active,* Taggart, the *Cleopatra,* Bourk, were apparently loaded for Africa by Lopez. (Lopez Bills of Lading.) For this item the editor is indebted to Professor B. M. Bigelow of Brown University.

[217 A] [1] Terry, Newport Hist. Soc., *Bulletin,* no. 62, pp. 18-19. The first letter from English to his owners was written from "Deloes road," Jan. 14, 1773, after a voyage of forty days. He had already learned that the price of slaves on the coast was 150 iron bars, the equivalent of 200 gallons of rum. *Ibid.,* pp. 17-18.

there is Noe Selling of Rum Nor anything else. I have Not Been five Nights on board since my arrival but Continually Cruising from one fort to another Striveing to Sell my Cargoe, after I had tryed the South of the Gold Coast and finding itt impossible to Sell to advantage, I struck with Mr. Henrick Woortman for four thousand Galln. att Two hundred Gall'n for man and one hundred and Eighty for women payable in Three months. I also sold Three Thousand Galln. more to Various Private Traders att 190 Gn. and 195 for men and in proportion for women. These are the only terms that I could sell any part of the Cargoe and I find that the Market grows worse instead of grown better for this day has been Given 210 Galln. to the Gentlemen where I Dine for men Slaves and three months Credit. Gentlemen, I have but five Slaves on board and God knows when I shall have five more for the Country Trade is so Dull and Slaves Scarce that itt puts Every Man to attend that has the Command of a Vessel here at present. What time to appoint that I should Gett off itt is nott in any power for there is noe man att present comes up to his engagement. But I have hopes of Gett my pay according to Contract as Henrich Woortman, Esq., has the most to pay and the Longest Credit, and he Reconed to be the Best pay and Least in Debt of any Governor on the Gold Coast at present, therefore I am in hopes of Getting off Sometime in June.[2]

218. Accounts of the *Adventure*, 1773.[1]

Sales of 81 Slaves received by Stevenson and Went from on Board the Sloop "Adventure" Samuell Tuell Commander from Affrica on Account and Risque of Messrs. Christopher and George Champlin Merchants In Rhode Island.

Dr.

1773		£	*s.*	*d.*
March 19	To Duty on 81 Slaves at 5/ ea and Permit 5/.....	20	10	
	To Captain Samuel Tuell for his Coast Com'ns on £3685. 10 at 4 in 104 pr. Cent.....	141	15	
	To our Commissions on £3685. 10 at 5 pr. Cent.....	184	5	6
	To Mess's Christopher and Geo. Champlin Account Current for Neat proceeds.....	3338	19	6
		3685	10	

[2] On Mar. 22 he wrote again. With but fifteen slaves on board he was much discouraged over the prospects for trade. His rum found no market as neither English nor Dutch governors would take it, and his Lisbon wine was unacceptable on the coast, where Madeira was preferred. A Boston ship recently arrived was offering 200 gallons of rum per slave with five months' credit. Terry, pp. 19-20.

[218] [1] Newport Hist. Soc., package no. 182. Another copy of these accounts is to be found in the collection of Mr. George Plimpton, who generously allowed the editor to

[*Sales of 81 Slaves*—continued:]

Cr.

	Purchasers	No. Slaves	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Price	£	*s.*	*d.*
1773 Feb'y 19	Philip Lytcott and Co.	81	32	24	23	2	at £35 St'g ea £2835 St'g at 30 PC	3685	10	

BARBADOES March 20th 1773[2]
Errors Excepted
STEVENSON and WENT

Messr. Christopher and George Champlin

Dr.

		£	*s.*	*d.*
1773 March 20	To Amount of Disbursments for the Sloop *Adventure*.....	100		
	To our drafts on Lascelles and Daling.....*Viz*			
	at 8 Months Sight.....£1581. 18. 4 Stg.			
	at 8 Months Sight..... 395. 9. 8			
	at 8 Months Sight..... 395. 9. 6			
	Exchange at 30 P C.....£2372. 17. 6 "	3084	14	9
	To our Commissions on Remitting Do. at 5 PC.....	154	4	9
	£	3338	19	6

Account Current with Stevenson and Went *Cr.*

		£	*s.*	*d.*
1773 March 19	By Nt. Proceeds of 81 Slaves reced per the Sloop *Adventure* Samuel Tuell Commander as per the above Sales.....	3338	19	6

BARBADOS March 20th 1773
Errors Excepted STEVENSON and WENT

examine his manuscripts relating to the slave trade. Many of them pertain to the voyages of the *Adventure,* as do many of the papers in the Wetmore collection in the Massachusetts Historical Society and the manuscripts in the Shepley Library in Providence.

[2] On Jan. 7, 1773, Stevenson and Went wrote to the Champlins that Captain Tuell had not yet arrived. They had at that time just sold the cargo of Captain Rogers at £36 and £35 stg. Tuell reached Barbados Feb. 13 with 94 slaves, from a purchase of 95, which Stevenson and Went took at £35 per head. There are 13 slaves unaccounted for in the sale, part of whom may have been the privilege slaves of the captain and mate. *Commerce of R. I.,* I. 428, 429.

219. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1773.[1]

Kingston Jamaica 24th March 73.

Sir, I omitted writing you on my first Arrival by the Oppertunity of the Manawar [man of war] by being at the Palasaids aheaving down the Brig. I now make you Acquainted that Every thing that is Nessesary of that Kind is done and we are a loading as fast as possible for Hull, And shall Sail in ten Days or a fortnight at which place or at London I hope I shall have the pleasure Of seeing you. As to our African Voyage Messrs. Peatts and Westmorland has mad you fully Acquainted with and likewise their Transactions at Kingston All of which I hope may meet you Approbations.

I am Excessive Sorry you have Order'd the Brig home as I must forego some Advantageous Ingagements I had made on the Coast, which where to be fulfild in August, or then Voy'd. It gives Me great Happiness to have my Transactions at Rhode Island meets your Approbations which I hope may be the fate of Every Other on this Voyage. I noted your paragraft in your letter where you intended going more largely into the trade I am ready to Join you as far as my ability will Allow, and shall be glad if you will make all the Preparations in Your power as I do not want to Stay longer in England.[2]

220. Samuel and William Vernon to Brewton and Smith, 1773.[1]

Newport 15 April, 1773.

Sirs, We have taken the Liberty to Order Cap John Duncan Master of our Brigg'n *Othello* who Sail'd from hence the 23 August last for the Coast Affrica, to purchase a Cargo of Slaves and to proceed from thence to Charlestown, and to address him Self to your House; we beg pardon in not giving you notice thereat before this Time, as we might probabilly have bin advised of the generall prices of Slaves at your market from time to time.

We have not heard of the *Othello* since she Sail'd yet we think it most likely she may be with you early in May.

We have been induced to Order this Vessil to Charles Town, from the high prices Slavès have Sold for there[2] we have been solicited

[219] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A.

[2] On June 19, 1773, Fletcher wrote, as he had probably written in some earlier letter also: "I do not in future propose to be conserned in a Copartnership in the guinea way but take the whole on my Self, Except such a part as you may chuse to hold yourself, say a Quarter part, the same you have at present." Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A.

[220] [1] Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 244. For further information concerning the trade of Brewton and Smith see this work, vol. IV.

[2] For the state of the South Carolina market in 1772 and 1773 see this work, vol. IV. Nathaniel Russell had written to Lopez on July 14, 1772, that negroes were selling in Charleston for £52 stg. on credit of three, six, nine, and twelve months.

by severall Houses for the Consignment of Affrican cargoes and by Some persons who have visited every Capitol Town in the Northern Colonys for the Same purpose, and whose Credit was guarranteed in London, but we have rather prefer'd your House, from the recommendation of Severall of our Friends, and make no doubt if our Slaves arrives of having Satisfactory Sales and return for the Cargo in good bills of Exchange upon Great Britain except Sixty bbls. of Rice and about Two or Three hund'd Pounds Ster'g in Cash. You will observe Cap'n Duncans Priveledge Slaves are to be Sold upon an averidge with the Cargo its what Every Cap'n complys with out of this Place and what we Expect, his Com'n is 4 on one hundred and four an establish'd Custom.

Please to dispatch the Vessil home as Soon as possible as we Shall want her Immediately.

Inclosed is a Letter for Cap'n John Duncan which Please to deliver him upon his arrival.

(pr Cap'n Earl)

221. Miles Brewton to Samuel and William Vernon, 1773.[1]

Charleston So Carolina May 3d 1773.

Gentlemen: I am favr'd with yours of the 15th April advising me that you have ord your Brigt. *Othello* for Africa to my address for Sales, for which Confidence you'l please to accept of my Sincere thanks, and you may rest assur'd that every endeavor of mine shall be exerted to obtain you the best prices, and from my extensive Country acquaintance I think I have it in my power to do as well for you as any other House here. I wish she may appear in this month, as I am apprehensive we may have a large Number of Slaves imported here during the course of the summer, tho' I do not know that a very large quantity are expected; You may depend that every part of your directions respecting the trading, dispatching, and remiting for the *Othello's* Cargo shall be duly observed.

Two Cargoes of Slaves have been already sold and aver'e £42 and £44 Stg. from Gambia and Senegal. I have now a Small Cargo just arrived, and there is another from Gambia now for Sale.

222. Bill of Lading of the *Cleopatra*, 1773.[1]

Shipped by the Grace of God, in good Order and well conditioned, by Jacob Rods. Rivera and Aaron Lopez on their joint Acco't and

[221] [1] Newport Hist. Soc., Letter-Book, no. 652, p. 52.

[222] [1] Newport Hist. Soc., Misc. Bundle, 1770-1779, no. 155; a printed form with the matter pertaining to the vessel written in. Other material relating to this voyage is to be found in the Wetmore Papers, vol. VI. The signature of this bill has been transcribed as "James Bourn", but the master was probably James Bourk.

Risque in and upon good Ship called *Cleopatra* whereof is Master, under God, for the present Voyage, James Bourk [Bourne] and now riding at Anchor in the Harbour of Newport and by God's Grace bound for Africa To say, Two Hundred and Thirty four Hogsheads New England Rum, Two Barrels Wine, Six Barrels Tarr Six Barrels Pitch, Six Barrels Turpentine, Two Half Barrels Powder, Sixty-four Kegs Water Bread Six Casks Indian Corn One Tierce Gammons, One Thousand Hogshead Hoops, six hundred and seventy feet White Oak Boards, Three Hundred and Thirty feet Red Oak Boards, Eleven Hogsheads and One small cask Calavants, Two Hogsheads black ey'd Peas, Six Tierces and Two Hogsheads Rice, Twenty Barrels common Flour, Ten Barrels superfine Flour, Thirty Sheep and Provender, Eight Casks common Ship Bread, Six Hogsheads and Four Tierces hard baked Bread, Twenty-eight Barrels Beef, Twenty four Barrels Pork, One Firkin Butter, and Two Cases Window Frames and Shutters, Two Masts and Two pieces Timber, One bundle Sailors Cloaths, twelve pounds chocolate and half a hundred Weight Sugar Being marked and numbered as in the Margin;[2] and are to be delivered in the like good Order and well conditioned, at the aforesaid Port of Africa (the Danger of the Seas only excepted) unto Captn Nathl Briggs there or to his Assigns, he or they paying Freight for the said Goods Nothing they being the property of the Owners of said ship with Primage and Average accustomed. In Witness whereof the Master or Purser of the said Ship hath affirmed unto Three Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date: One of which Three Bills being accomplished, the other Two to stand void And so God send the good Ship to her desired Port in Safety. Amen. Dated in NEWPORT June 30, 1773.[3]

223. COURT ORDER CONCERNING RICHARD BREW, 1773.[1]

Rhode Island
Kings County } ss. *George the Third by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc.*

To the Sheriff of our County of Bristol or Newport in our Colony of Rhode Island, etc. and to his Deputy Greeting.

[2] There is nothing in the margin.

[3] During this month a somewhat questionable item appeared in the *Gazette*: "Newport, June 7. Capt. Dagget, who arrived last week from a whaling cruise upon the coast of Africa, informs that in March last, at the Island of St. Thomas, he met with the ship *Liberty*, Capt. Richard Crump, of this port, with between 3 and 400 slaves on board, bound to Barbados" (*Gaz. and News Letter*, June 17, 1773, *Supp.*). While the editor hesitates to make the positive assertion that no Rhode Island vessel of this period had such capacity as is here indicated, such vessels were certainly unusual.

[223] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. The editor has come upon nothing which would throw further light upon this order or its outcome. It is signed by D. Rodman, clerk.

Whereas Richard Brew of Anamaboa in Africa Merchant commenced an Action of the Case (*sur Assumset*) against Sion Martindale of Bristol in Our County of Bristol Mariner . . . at an Inferior Court of Common Pleas, held at South Kingston within and for our County of Kings County on the third Monday of February Last past where the said Sion recovered Judgment against the said Richard for his Cost Expended the same Being Taxed at Twenty nine Shillings and nine pence From which Judgment the said Richard appealed to our Superior Court of Judicature, held at South Kingston within and for our County aforesaid, on the first Monday of April Last past at which Court the Judgment of the Inferior Court Appealed From was Affirmed with Further Cost to the said Sion Taxed at thirty nine shillings and six pence half penny which sums amount to Three pounds Nine shillings and three pence half penny of which the said Richard is Convict as of Record of Said Superior Court Appears for which Execution Remains to be done.

Therefore we command, That of the Goods and Chattels of the said Richard Brew within your Precincts, you execute and levy the said Sum of Three pounds Nine shillings and three pence half penny Lawful current Money as the Law directs, together with eleven pence for this Execution and the Return hereof; as also the lawful Fees that shall be due for the Serving hereof, and therewith satisfy and pay the aforesaid Sion Martindale And for want of sufficient Estate of the said Richard Brew to be by you found to satisfy and pay the same as aforesaid, We further command, That you take the Body of the said Richard Brew into your Custody, and him safely secure in our Gaol in Bristol or Newport aforesaid, till that he satisfy and pay the aforesaid Sion Martindale the aforesaid Sums, or be by him therefore discharged. Hereof you are not to fail, but make true Return of this Writ, with your Doings thereon, to our next Superior Court of Judicature to be held at South Kingstown for our County aforesaid, on the first Monday of October next,

Witness Stephen Hopkins Esq; at South Kingston this Thirtieth Day of June in the Thirteenth Year of our Reign, Annoq Dom 1773

224. Bill of Lading of the *Ann*, 1773.[1]

Shipped in good Order and well conditioned, by William Einglish in and upon the good Brigantine, called the *Ann*, whereof is Master, for the present voyage, said Einglish, and now riding at anchor in the Road of Anamaboe, Africa, and bound for the port of Kingston in the Island of Jamaica;

[224] [1] Terry, Newport Hist. Soc., *Bulletin,* no. 62, pp. 22-32. The *Bulletin* publishes letters from Captain English of May 16, June 6, and July 15, in the last of which were inclosed two bills of lading, one of which follows. *Ibid.,* pp. 20-24.

To say: 19 men slaves, marked "O" on the right thigh, also 11 women marked ditto. Being part of the ship *Cleopatra's* cargo left by Capt. Nath. Briggs the last voyage to Africa.[2]

Being marked and numbered as in the margin, and are to be delivered in the like good order and well conditioned at the aforesaid port of Kingston in Jamaica. (mortality, insurrection, and the danger of the seas only excepted) unto Mr. Thomas Dolbeare.

In Witness whereof the Master of the said Brigantine hath affirmed this Bill of Lading, dated in Anamaboe, Africa, July 14th, 1773.[3]

225. Samuel and William Vernon to Thornton and Yates, 1773.[1]

Newport, 21 Sep, 1773.

Sirs, We this moment reciev'd a line from Cap'n Duncan of 6 Int. acquainting us, that from the commencement of the Sale of his Slaves to that day, an [one] only of the Cargo was sold, and that a small Boy for £38.10 Cur'y [2] that the Men you held up to £55. We are truly sorry to find your market so extream dull and indeed low, to what they are in almost all the West India Islands, and upon the Southern Continent of America. If the price woud be inhanc'd by giving some Cred't upon intrest with good security we have no objection, but as to taking Produce it will not answer our purpose—except it be for a few Tons of good Hemp if to be had at £35 pr Ton and twelve or fifeteen hhds of good Mountain Tobacco, as we are well inform'd it can be bought from 10/ to 12/ P.C. Cap'n Duncan tells us his Corn is ready to take on board we in our first Letter inform'd you, it would not do to ship it, we have not more to add than to beg you'd dispatch the Vessil.

226. Thomas Dolbeare to Lopez and Rivera, 1773.[1]

Kingston, Jamaica, 22d October, 1773.

Gentlemen, My last was under the 8th Current per Captain Forrester, acquainting you with the arrival of the Brigantine *Ann,* Captain Einglish from Annamaboe;[2] this will acquaint you with the

[2] Governor Mill had written to Rivera or Lopez on July 12, that he was at that time able to pay for but thirty of the forty slaves he owed. Terry, p. 22.

[3] The bill of lading for the remainder of the cargo listed 33 men slaves, 2 boys, 27 women, and 3 girls. *Ibid.,* p. 23.

[225] [1] Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 264. Apparently Captain Duncan failed to reach the South Carolina market but instead attempted to dispose of his cargo in Virginia, with the results here described.

[2] In 1767 the rate of Virginia currency to sterling was 125.

[226] [1] *Commerce of R. I.,* I. 457-458.

[2] The letter of Oct. 8 reported the arrival of Captain English with 104 slaves.

sale of her Cargo. 57 were sold the first day averaging £63 and 4 *d* ½, clear of duty, 14 the third day at £51, 22 the fifth day at £32, the remainder at £8 only. had there been five times as many, and the Negroes good, they would have sold at the price they did the first day. there were a number of old men, but the Boys went off very high. I find there are 14 Privelege Slaves which I think is large, and will take from the Cargo considerably. I shall conform to the terms accepted, tho' the decease of Mr. Winn and the uncertainty of the goodness of the Negroes laid me under some disadvantage. I have acted from principle, Gentlemen in the sale of this Cargo, and I hope it will be satisfactory, my intent has been that it should. I am now at Port Royal dispatching a Vessell, that I am much in haste, but hope in a few days to be at leisure when I shall write you.

We have this day accounts confirming the Negro Contract with the King of Spain, but we find the 27/6 is not to be taken off.[3] . . .

227. Captain William English to Rivera and Lopez, 1773.[1]

Kingston Jamaica, Nov. 14, 1773.

Gentlemen, . . . Gentlemen I buried one man slave since my Last and the Swelling Begin to Rang so Voilent among the Slaves that Nine of them was Sold for a mere trifel and had not the whole Being sold in a few Days I beleive I should Lost one half of the whole and yett when I arrived there was But Two Slaves that had the Least Sign of Swelling. This Disorder first Begun in their feet and worked upward when Gott as far as their Stomach they Dyed in a few hours. There has been Three ships cargoes of Slaves sold since my arrival and none of there Averages exceeded the Brgantine's not five shillings in a slave therefore I doe not think that this markett is as Good as the Merchants here says itt out to be.

Here is Lately arrived some Spanish Gentlemen which I am informed has brought one hundred Thousand Dollars to Buy Slaves

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The sale was set for Oct. 13; the terms were credit at four, eight, and twelve months. *Ibid.,* I. 455-456.

[3] On Oct. 8 Dolbeare had written: "We have authentic enteligence of a Contract being made between the Kings of Great Britain and Spain whereby it is settled that the Spaniards are to be supplied with Negroes, at Kingston in the Island of Jamaica for Cuba and the Main at £60 per head, to be continued for 5 years, that they are allowed 3 bbl. flour to every Negro, that the duty of 30/ Currency to be taken off and 2/6 only to be paid on importation, when it is to commence and other particulars is not yet transpired. The planters here are much disgusted" (*ibid.,* I. 456). This contract called forth from Bryan Edwards the suggestion that the navigation acts of Great Britain ought to be lightened in favor of Spain. He believed the increase in trade would require twenty more vessels to bring negroes from Africa to the West Indies.

[227] [1] Terry, Newport Hist. Soc., *Bulletin,* no 62, pp. 25-26. Captain English arrived at Jamaica on Oct. 7, after a passage of eighty-five days, during which he had buried five negroes from the cargo of the *Ann* and one from that of the *Cleopatra.* The remaining eighty-nine were in good health at the time of his arrival. *Ibid.,* p. 24.

and here is att present but one Vessell with Slaves and Yett they will not Give as Good a price as the planters Gives, For this Day I have bein informed by a Gentleman that belongs to the house that this Vessell is addressed to that they offered But a hund'd and fifty Dollars and have Refuse Thirty out of a hundred and thirty. Therefore any further particulars Relative to this Spanish Contract and the Average of the Brigantine Slaves I refer to Mr. Dolbeares Letters. Here is a King packett which will Sail for falmouth the 22d Inst. on board of which If Mr. Dolbeare fulfill's his agreement I will be able to Dispatch one Sett of Bills for the Cargoe on your acc'ts. Should Mr. Dolbeare fall short in his promise and the Packett should sail Before the Bill is Drawn the next opportunity will Be in the Ship *Nancy* Capt. Brown for London which is to Sail by the Last of this month.

As for the Cash to load the Brigintine, Mr. Dolbeare has told me he had Riddy, this Day we have Received News that Mollases in the Mole [2] has fell from 26 Sous to 21 which if Mr. Dolbeare Dispatches me to the time agreed upon I may have a chance to Load the Brigintine on Reasonable terms.

228. Thomas Dolbeare to Rivera and Lopez, 1773.[1]

Kingston, Jamaica, November 20, 1773.

Gentlemen, Since my last, I have yours covering a Letter to Captain Einglish, who I purpose dispatching for Mole Cape Nicola with the £800 about the 13th of next Month, as I told him when the Cargo was deliver'd me. I find the £800 on Cargo, with the nearly £800 privelidge, the Captains Coast Commissions, and the Duty of 30/ per head there will be £1900 at least, to pay Captain Einglish in Money. I think there are generous Priveliges allowed out of your port. The gross Sale of the 102 Negroes per the *Ann,* is £5187 this Currency; out of which the 14 Privelige are to be taken. Negroes continue in demand, the Spaniards are now here on purchase, one of them bro't 100,000 Dollars, but they appear to expect them at low rates, for they as yett, have offered but £38 Sterling, to have the first choice, which will never do, for if I recollect right, the *Ann's* Cargo averaged the first day, with the Duty £45.15/ Sterling. It appears by what I have been able to collect, that England and Spain's Monarchs have adjusted and concluded the Contract for a number of years; what number we have not yet understood. they are to send their ships to what of the English West Indies they may chuse, and not to be limited to this Island as was reported, that they can give from 270 to 290 Dollars per head, but about £25

[2] Mole St. Nicolas, Haiti.

[228] [1] *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 461-462.

Currency per head. They will be obliged to pay their Priests for Baptising. They purchase them to sell per feet and inches, so many feet and inches making a piece, as they term it; how many, I have not yet learnt. they have 3 Barrells flour to every Negroe which will be a great cover to large quantitys of Contraband Goods. the Factury at Port Rico is to be thrown up. the Spanish King has lent the Company £60 m.[2] Dollars on certain conditions, this is all I have yet been able to gather. as new matter arises I shall be informing you. prime Negroe Men £64 and Duty, Women £62 and duty. . . .

£3687.		74	Negroes of Brig. *Ann*
72.	for 8 refuge [refuse] at £9.	28	do. of Ship *Cleopatra*
		102	
£3759	Brig. *Ann's* gross Sale	14	Privelige deducting
1428	Ship *Cleopatra's* do. one refuge of £9 included	88	Negros of the two Cargoes
£5187	the Gross Amount		

229. Nathaniel Russell to Aaron Lopez, 1773.[1]

Charlestown 27th Novr. 1773.

Dear Sir, I Recd. your favr. of 2d Inst. wherein you acquaint me of your sending a Negro wench which upon Enquiry I find you was Disappointed in sending I have frequently Requested Capt. Durfee to Desire every person that Ships Negroes to address them to some other person as they are a very Disagreable Commission they being Generally sent for some Capital Fault, which occasions the Purchasers to be very Cautious of Buying them, but if your wench is Honest and not adicted to strong Drink I Doubt not but I can obtain a Tolerable price for her, the duty is £60 Currency. . . .

Bills of Ex. 3-5 pr ct. above par.

230. Nathaniel Russell to Aaron Lopez, 1773.[1]

Charlestown, 1st December, 1773.

Sir, You have herewith Account Sales of your Negro sent me by Earl, Nett Proceeds £296.15, which I would have sent you by this opportunity but cannot possibly get it chang'd into hard money. Bills

[2] £60,000.

[229] [1] Newport Hist. Soc., Lopez Letter-Book, no. 636, p. 29.

[230] [1] *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 466-467.

of Exchange has been so very scarce that all the Dollars and Heavy Gold has been sent to Great Britain for Remittance. if you can draw on me or order it in produce, if that will not suit you, I will desire Capt. Durfee to pay it you when he is in Cash on my Account.

Sales of a Negro man received per the *Nancy,* Capt. Earl, on Account of Mr. Christopher Champlin of Newport.

1773. August 1. By Wm. Johnson for I Negro man £325.

Charges

1773. To Cash paid his passage	£12.		
To my Commission 5 per Ct.	16.	5	
Nett proceeds to your Acct. Currt.	296.	15	
			325.

Errors Excepted
NATH'L RUSSELL
Per Capt. Munro.

231. THOMAS DOLBEARE TO RIVERA AND LOPEZ, 1773.[1]

KINGSTON, JAMAICA, 7 December, 1773.

Gentlemen, Here with you have the Account Sales of Brigantine *Ann's* Cargoe with the 29 of the Ship *Cleopatra's* Disbursements, etc. as I could not determine the proportion of Disbursements due from the Ship *Cleopatra* I have carried the whole to the Debit of the Brig *Ann*; leaving the Proportion to be settled by you. when I wrote you via Hispañola, my meaning of the Negroes averaging £63 the first Sale, clear of Duty, was, clear of the Sale Duty of 20/ the Import Duty of 10/ per head youll find debitted in the Account of Sales. the inclosed is Captain Einglish's Receipt for the £800, and the Bills of Exchange for £1983.5.11 Sterling or £2776.12.4 Currency.[2] Your directions to me were to send Spanish Doubleloons of 13½ dwts and Johannes to the Mole, but, a few days since, receiving a letter from Mr. John Dupuy of Mole Cape Nichola that no Money but Johannes and Dollars would answer, there being Difficulty in passing Doubleloons, I concluded on sending Dollars, as 2½ Currency was to be gained, Dollars passing here at 6/8 and there at 11 Bitts or 6/10, which noncomplyence I hope youll not construe to an inatention to your Interest, but a disposition towards it.

The restriction under which you laid me with respect to the Security and which I cant but think any more than a prudent Act, obliged me to gett Messrs. Peatts and Westmoreland of the place to draw the Bills giving them half the advantage, which they did on

[231] [1] *Commerce of R. I.,* I. 467-468.
[2] The summary of the transaction gives total receipts for the sale of slaves £3620. Newport Hist. Soc., *Bulletin,* no. 62, p. 26.

the Condition of this Cargo of Negroes being carried on under the Firme of T. D. and Co. which is the reason of the Accounts being under that Signature. Negroes continue at £64 and Duty for Men, Women at £62 and Duty of 20/. Two Ships have arrived this week with 700 Negroes from Annamaboe. endeavours on my part have been that this Voyage should be successfull. How far I have been an Instrument towards it doubtless youll form a Judgement.[3] . . .

232. Accounts of Trade on the African Coast, 1774-1775.[1]

			Bars		
1774 Gorea Nov the 2d	A Sinara	Dr.			
	To 50 Galls. Rum a 5/		50		
			£	*s.*	*d.*
Gambia Decem 2	Mathias M. Lamara Esqr.	Dr.			
	To three bbls. Naval Stores at 50/		7	10	
3d	To 220 Galls. Rum at 3/		33		
	To 2 half bbl. Flower at 30/		3		
	To 1 bbl. pork at 70/		3	10	
	To a boats Grapple 30/		1	10	
	To 28 lb. Onions at 7½			17	6
		£	49	7	6
Gambia Nov. 14	Wm Stevens Esqr Collt James Fort	Dr.			
	To 100 Galls. N Ed. Rum at 3/		15		
	To 60 Galls. Jamaica Rum 5/		15		
	To 50 lb. Brown Sugar at 10*d.*		2	1	8
	To 100 lb. Onions at 7½*d.*		3	2	6
		£	35	4	2
1774 Gambia Nov. 17	Capt. Thomas Pratt	Dr.			
	To 197 Galls. Rum at 2/		19	14	
	To 1028 lb. N. Ed. Tobaco at 3*d.*		14	19	7
	To 30 lb. Brown Sugar at 10*d.*		1	5	
	To 6 Galls. Jamaica Rum at 5/		1	10	
	To 1 Kegg Crackers at 7/6			7	6
	To 3000 Flints at 5/8 [per m.]			17	
	To 13 Ropes Onions		1	6	
		£	39	19	3
Nov. 18	Mr. Thomas Sharpless	Dr.			
	To 100 Galls. Rum at 3/		15		
	To 40 lb. Sugar at 10*d.*		1	13	4
	To 12 lb. Onions at 7*d.*			7	
		£	17	0	4

[3] From the Mole Captain English wrote two letters before he completed his cargo of molasses (*ibid.*, pp. 27-28). These and other letters of the period bear witness to the fact that the British ports which received the negroes were often unable to supply return cargoes.

[232] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. The captain whose trade is here recorded is so far unidentified.

[*Accounts of Trade on the African Coast*—continued:]

			£	*s.*	*d.*
1774 Nov. 22d	Capt James Sewell	Dr.			
	To 120 Galls Rum at 2/		12		
	To half bl. Flower at 30/		1	10	
	To 3 Keggs Conchons[?] at 7/6		1	2	6
	To 6 Ropes Onions at 2/			12	
	To 20 lb. Sugar at 10*d.*			16	8
	To 6 Do Coffee at 1/6			9	
	To 6 Galls Jamaica at 5/		1	10	
	To 320 lb. N Ed Tobaco at 3*d.*		4		
		£	22	0	2
Gorea Nov 2	Contra	Cr.			
	By Ten Gorea Cloths at 5/3				
			£	*s.*	*d.*
Gambia Decem 7th	Contra	Cr.			
	By a Bill of Exchange on Robert Brown Esqr. in London Contracter for the Troops at Senegal and Gambia at 60 days Sight		49	7	6
			49	7	6
Gambia Decem 7th	Contra	Cr.			
	By a Bill of Exchange on Robert Brown Esqr In London Contracter for the Troops at Senegal and Gambia at 30 Days Sight		22		
	By Custom house fees		7	2	6
	By Gold		6	1	8
		£	35	4	2
Gambia Nov. 17	Contra	Cr.			
	By Two Men Slaves N 1		20		
	N 2		20		
		£	40		
Nov. 18	Contra	Cr.			
	By four Ounces and one Quarter of Gold at £4 pr ounce		17		
			17	0	0
Nov. 22d	Contra				
	By One Man Slave N 3		18		
	By One Kental Wax		4		
		£	22		

[*Accounts of Trade on the African Coast*—continued:]

			£	*s.*	*d.*
1774 GAMBIA Nov. 22	Contra	Cr.			
	By one Man Slave N 4		18		
	By one Woman 5		17		
		£	35	0	0
Nov. 23	Contra	Cr.			
	By One Woman Slave N 6		18		
		£	18		
Nov. 24	Contra	Cr.			
	By three men Slaves N 7a		19		
	8		19		
	9		19		
	By Two Women 10		19		
	11		16		
		£	92	0	0
GAMBIA Nov. 26	Contra	Cr.			
	By Two Woman Slaves N 12		16		
	13		16		
	By one Girl 14		12		
	By one Boy 15		12		
		£	56		
1775 ISLE DELOS Decem 25	Contra	Cr.	*Bars*		
	By one Boy Slave N 16		55		
January 12th	Contra	Cr.	*Bars*		
	By one Girl N 17		150		
		Bars	149	2	6
15th	Contra	Cr.	*Bars*		
	By one Boy Slave N. 18		68		
		Bars	68		

[*Accounts of Trade on the African Coast*—continued:]

			£	*s.*	*d.*
1774 GAMBIA Nov. 22	Mr. James Mince	Dr.			
	To 230 Galls. Rum at 2/		23		
	To 48 lb. Sugar at 10*d.*		2		
	To 2 half bbls. Flour at 30/		3		
	To 4 Keggs Crackers at 7/6		1	10	
	To 10 lb. Coffee at 1/6			15	
	To 6 Galls. Jamaica Rum at 5/		1	10	
	To 2 Gorea Cloths at 30/ Each		3		
	To 3 Ropes Onions at 2/			6	
		£	35	1	
Nov. 23	Capt. John Ansley	Dr.			
	To 120 Galls. Rum at 2/		12		
	To 1 half bbl. Flower 30/		1	10	
	To 30 lb. Sugar at 10*d.*		1	5	
	To 10 lb. Coffee at 1/6			15	
	To 4 Keggs Crackers at 7/6		1	10	
	To 10 Ropes Onions at 2/		1		
			18	0	
Nov. 24	Mr. Thomas Parken	Dr.			
	To 810 Galls. Rum at 2/		81		
	To 4 Gorea Cloths at 30/		6		
	To 6 Keggs Crackers at 7/6		2	5	
	To 48 lb. Sugar at 10		2		
	To 8 Ropes Onions at 2/			16	
		£	92	1	
GAMBIA Nov. 26	Sinara Leaser	Dr.			
	To 560 Galls Rum at 2/		56		
			56		
1775 ISLE DELOSS Decem 25	Harry Pintard	Dr.	*bars*	*s.*	*d.*
	To 60 Galls Rum at 3/9		51		
	To 2 Keggs powder		4		
			55		
January the 12th	Mr. Lewiss Posson	Dr.	*Bars*		
	To 146 Galls Rum at 3/9		109	2	6
	To 4 Gorea Cloths at 10 Bars each		40		
		Bars	149	2	6
15th	Mungo Chico	Dr.	*Bars*		
	To 80 Galls Rum at 3/9		60		
	To 4 Keggs Powder		8		
		Bars	68		

[*Accounts of Trade on the African Coast*—continued:]

1775					
Isle Deloss	Mr. Thomas Hereford	Dr.	*Bars*		
January 19th	To 427 Galls. Rum at 3/9		320	1	3
	To 4 half bbls. Flower at 6 Bars		24		
	To 106 lb. Sugar at 10*d.*		17	3	4
25	To 1 half bbl. Flower		6		
	To 22 lb. Coffee at 1/3		5	2	6
	To 16 lb. Onions		2		
Febry 6th	To 66 lb. Sugar at 10		11		
17th	To 528 Galls. Rum at 3/9		396		
	To 2 Hogsds. Tobaco Cont'g 2258 lb. at 10*d.*		376	1	8
	To 71 Keggs powder		142		
	To 60 lb. Coffee at 1/3		15		
28th	To 3 half blls. Flower		18		
	To 144 Galls. Rum at 3/9		108		
	To 48 lb. Sugar at 10		8		
	To 24 lb. Coffee at 1/3		6		
	To 48 lb. Onions		6		
		Bars	1461	3	9
Isle Deloss	Mr. Richard Roberts	Dr.			
January 25th	To 118 Galls. Rum at 3/9		88	2	6
	To 240 lb. Tobaco at 10*d.*		40		
	To 1 half bbl. Flower		6		
	To 3 Keggs powder		6		
	To 16 lb. Coffee at 1/3		4		
	To 24 lb. Sugar at 10*d.*		4		
	To 12 lb. onions		1	2	6
		Bars	150		
Febry 3d	Capt Robert Champlin	Dr.			
	To 234 lb. Tobaco at 10*d.*		39		
		Bars	39		
Feb. 17th	Capt Thomas White	Dr.			
	To 105 Gallons Rum at 3/9		78	3	9
	To 500 lb. Tobacco at 10*d.*		83	1	8
	To 1 half bbl. Flower		6		
	To 6 Keggs powder		12		
		Bars	180		5

[*Accounts of Trade on the African Coast*—continued:]

1775							
Isle Deloss		Contra		Cr.	*Bars*		
January	19th	By Six Slaves					
		5 Boys	N 19		110		
			20		100		
			21		100		
			22		100		
			23		70		
March	19th	By one Girl	24		100		
		By one Boy	36		120		
Apr.	10	By Two Girls	48		120		
			49		100		
		By one Boy	50		120		
	19	By one Do	51		80		
		By one Girl	52		100		
		By one Do	53		70		
May	10th	By one man Boy	63		171	3	9
				Bars	1461	3	9
Isle Deloss		Contra		Cr.			
January	25th	By one Man Slave	N 25		150		
Febry	3d	Contra		Cr.			
		By 1 Box Spermaceti Candles 30 lb. at 2/6			15		
		By 1 firkin Butter			10		
		By 72 lb. Brown Sugar at 10*d.*			12		
		By 1 Loafe white Do.			2		
				Bars	39		
Feb.	17	Contra		Cr.			
		By one Girl Slave	N 26		120		
		By one Boy Do.	Do. 27		60		
				Bars	180		

[*Accounts of Trade on the African Coast*—continued:]

1775					
Isle Deloss	Mr. John Hollman	Dr.	*Bars*	*s.*	
Febry 22d	To 1 box Spermaceti Candles 30 lb. at 2/6		15		
	To 60 lb. Sugar at 10		10		
	To 24 lb. Coffee at 1/3		6		
	To 32 lb. Onions		4		
	To 2 half Blls. Flower		12		
May 8th	To 1 Hogsd. Tobaco Cont'g 1068 at 10*d.*		178		
	To 3 Keggs powder		6		
		Bars	231		
I D	Mr James Mackmillin				
March 2d	To 1 Hogsd. Tobaco Cont'g 1175 at 10*d.*		196		
	To 1 ½ Bll. pork		24		
	To 1 bll. Flower		6		
	To 60 Galls. Rum at 3/9		45		
		Bars	271		
Repongo River	Mr John Norman				
March the 9th	To 528 Galls. Rum at 3/9		396		
	To 4822 lb. Tobaco at 10*d.*		803	3	4
	To 4 Keggs powder		8		
Is Delos	To 492 Galls. Rum at 3/9		369		
27	To 244 Galls. Rum at 3/9		183		
April 17th	To 83 Galls. Rum 3/9		62	1	3
	To 4 Hogsds. Tobaco		400		
	To 80 lb. Coffee at 1/3		20		
	To 2 half blls. Flower		12		
	To 480 Galls. Rum at 3/9		360		
		Bars	2613	4	7
March 12th	Mr. Lewiss Posson	Dr.			
	To 206 Galls. Rum at 3/9		154	2	6
	To 1114 C. Tobaco at 10*d.*		185	2	6
29th	To 87 Galls. Rum at 3/9		65	1	3
April 17th	To 106 Galls. Rum at 3/9		79	2	6
	To 1 half bll. Flower		6		
			490	3	9
Riopongo	Mr. Stephen Hamond	Dr.			
	To 1 Hogshead Tobaco Cont'g 1003 lb.		167		10
March 15	To 371 Galls. Rum at 3/9		278	1	3
	To 1 Bll. pork		16		
Deloss 24th	To half bll. Flower		6		
	To 200 Galls. Rum 3/9		150		
April 17	To 23 Galls. Rum at 3/9		17	1	3
		Bars	634	3	4

[*Accounts of Trade on the African Coast*—continued:]

1775							
Isle Deloss		Contra	Cr.	*Bars*			
May	8	By one Girl No. 28		80			
		By one Woman Girl 60		150			
			Bars	230			
Isle Deloss		Contra					
April	22	By one prime Girl N 54		150			
		By one Boy 55		120			
			Bars	270			
Rispongo River		Contra					
March	9	By three Tuns and 14 Quintals Rice		370			
		By Two Girl Slaves N 29		80			
		30		70			
Deloss	24th	By one man Do. 37		150			
		By Two men Boys 38		150			
		39		150			
		By one Woman 40		150			
		By one Girl 41		100			
		By one Boy 42		100			
	28th	By one man 43		150			
	30th	By one man boy 45		150			
April	22d	By 1 Boy 56		120			
		By one Do. 57		80			
May	11th	By one man 58		170			
		By one man boy 59		170			
		By one Woman 64		170			
		By one Girl 65		130			
		By one Boy 66		100			
		By an Order on Capt. Willding		54			
			Bars	2614			
March	12th	Contra	Cr.				
		By one prime Girl N 31		150			
	15th	By one Boy 32		90			
	29th	By one Woman 44		150			
May	9th	By one Girl 61		100			
			Bars	490			
Riopongo							
March	21	By Two men Slaves N 33		167	10		
		34		150			
Deloss	24	By one Woman Slave 35		150			
May	9th	By one Man Boy 62		167	2	6	
			Bars	634	3	4	

233. Accounts of the *Othello*, 1774-1775.[1]

Dr. *Messrs. Samuel and William Vernon*

			£	*s.*	*d.*
1774 April	28th	To Brigg *Othello* for Acco't of Disbursements	145	1	5¾
		Cargo pr the Schooner *Susanna* Capt. Obed. Buttler pr Invoice	644	9	9¾
		Capt. John Duncan for Coast Commission on £2020. 11. 0 Sales of 52 Slaves £4 on £104 is	77	14	3

Cr.

1774 April	21st	By Sales of 52 Slaves pr *Othello* Capt. John Duncan	2020	11	

Virg'a Fred'burg April 30th 1774
E Excepted Jno. Thornton and Co.

Messrs. Samuel and William Vernon To Samuel and James King Went Dr per Disbursements supplied the Brig'e "Othello" Geo. Sweet Commander from Africa. Viz.

			£	*s.*	*d.*
1775 June 15	To Cash pd Clearing at the Powder Office	5			
	pd Clearing at the Secretarys	10			
	pd Clearing at the Treasurers	5	1		
	To 2 bbls. of Bread 300 C. at 25/ pg and Ca.		3	17	6
	To Cash pd. Clearing at the Fort			6	3
			5	3	9
	Coms. at 5 Pr Cent			5	2¾
			5	8	11¾

Barbados June 15th 1775

I acknowledge the above Accounts to be Just and Right amounting to Five Pounds Eight Shillings and Eleven pence farthing Curr'y having reced the sd Sum for the Use of the Briga *Othello* whereof I am Commr and Signed three receipts of this Date. G. D. Sweet

[233] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. These two items refer to two successive voyages of the *Othello*. See *post*, no. 241.

234. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1774.[1]

Newport 10th February, 1774.

Sir. . . . We have had no accounts from Affrica Since the 9 July then as Usual Complaints of bad times. There is Sailed Since I Arrived from the Coast two Schooners from Salem belonging to Capt. Darby And a brig Belonging to Jo' and Wm. Wanton and a Sloop belonging to John Collins from this place.[2] . . .

N B I saw a Guare[n]tee to Mr. Lopez wherein Gabriel H Ludlow, Nicholass Hoffman, and Charles Shaw of New York Guarentee The house of Alexr: Gillon and Co. of Charles Town South Carolina [3] To him or his friends as far as one Thousand Slaves the Bill to be Pd. at 3, 6 and 9 ms. Slaves Averidging now there about £45.

Febry 24th 1774.

I now Add that Since I wrote the foregoing Capt: Sebury arriv'd from the Coast, Left Anamaboe the 16th October and says that they where giving from 210 to 220 Gallons at that time which I assure you is very Discouraging. . . .

235. John Fletcher to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1774.[1]

London 22nd February, 1774.

Sir, If you Remember we had Some Conversation Before you left London Relative to a Dry Good Cargo for Guinea, and if your Stay on the Coast Should be so long as the Rum Men Now meet with, you will have Sufficient time to make your Self Acquaintd with that Trade and if you Should find you Could Engage with any of the Goveners or Factors to take from you on your Return there in about Nine Months after your Departure £2500 or £3000 Sterling worth of Dry goods properly assorted According To Memorandum and Pattern of the Sorts of Cloath Wanted, etc. You are well Assur'd that I could on your Arrival get you Such a Cargo put up in a Month or Six Weeks Time and most of the Guinea Goods on 12 Months Credit, which I think will be making the most of Time Provided you Can be Well Assur'd of Getting of the Cargo Without much Delay.

[234] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A. On Jan. 13, 1774, Clarke urged Peatt and Westmorland to hasten the despatch of the *Fletcher* under Captain Stockford, as he expected her to sail for Africa three weeks after her arrival in Newport. He added a caution concerning the money to be given the captain since doubloons and pistoles were difficult to pass in Rhode Island.

[2] Evan and Francis Malbone, of Newport, had asked Clarke to procure for them in Boston 14 bolts Russia duck and 8 or 10 pieces of "Ravens" duck for sails for a vessel which they were outfitting for Guinea. Nov. 5, 1773, Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A.

[3] For Alexander Gillon (afterwards Commodore) see D. E. Huger Smith in *S. C. Mag. Hist.,* IX. 189-219, and C. O. Paullin, *The Navy of the American Revolution,* pp. 435-440.

[235] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A.

But this must Depent upon Circumstances and According as you may find Trade on the Coast, as Nothing Can be Determined on till your Arrival there and Shall leave it to your Self to make Such Engagments as Shall Seem most for our Mutual Advantage. But if the Rum Trade is like to Continue any thing Tollerable and you Can Engage another Cargo at your Return to the Coast, (as Mentiond in my former Letter), you must in Such case Keep on the old Track with Molasses from Jamaica or the Moles and Return to Rhode Island. Only as we have now Peaceable times, and Don't know how long they may Continue, I Shall be glad to make the most of the Time present As war will Frustrate all our Guinea Schemes. Upon Setling for the *Thames* and her Disbursments you will Send me Duplicates of the Several Accounts With Reciepts which may be put up In aparcel and Sent by Shand or Rogers to be Deliver'd by themselves, and keep Copyes of the same by you at Newport for your own Satisfaction, you will also give me timely advice when you Draw the Bills, and Mention in the Body of the Bills for what Account, and where you have alarge Sum to Pay as may be the Cause at Messrs. Malbones you will Divide the Sum into Two or three lesser Bills not of the Same Date, to prevent Mistakes, which will be more Convenient for me here.

As to the *Fletchers* Disbursments, etc. you'll Observe the Directions given in the Joint Letter, the whole to be Divided into Fourths and a Bill on each owner for their Share to save Trouble and any further Account here. I have Requested the favour of Messrs. Malbones of a Creditt of £200 or £300 Sterling in part of the Rum you may take from them provided it is not Inconvenient, as I can with more ease pay it at the latter end of the year or Send them out Hemp in the fall.

Our Liverpool Tender *Andromack* not yet Arrived in the West Indias to Bring Round any Bills to Attest me from that Quarter will make things Rather heavy—so many Payments Coming about the Same time. This favour I have Some Right to Ask of Messrs. Malbones but if Should not Suit them I have no Doubt of Getting through it one way or an other, and Do not let them hinder you in the least in pursuing the Instructions Given. I am now making preparations for you by Lodging Money with my Friend P Hodgson and A Peatts to answer your Bills.

I have made no Insurance On the *Fletcher* from Jamacai to the Mole, and Rhode Island if you Chuse to get any thing done on her at Newport Can act in that Respect as you Please for your Share as you will have much earlyer Advices from Capt. Stockford and

when to expect Him than I can, which as Soon as you hear from him give me a Line.[2]

236. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1774.[1]

Newport 22 April 1774.

Dear Sir, . . . Our Schooner *Nancy* has on Board for Cargo 5665 Gallons Rum, 6 Barrels Flour, 12 Barrels Pitch, 6 Barrels Tarr, Six Boxes Soap, Provisions and 2500 feet Boards. She and her Cargo and out fitt will stand in about 750 £ Sterling the nearest Calculations. . . .

Now for the Brigg *Thames* I have her Grav'd and Shall begin to load to Morrow or Monday having 150 Hhds Rum ready to take on Board, and hope to Sail in all May. Molasses is and has been very Scarce all this Spring But what I have purchas'd has been at 35 / per Gallon and I See no likelyhood of getting it Cheaper. . . . And I have purchased of Saml Johnson one hundred Hogshead of Rum. . . .

N.B. If you insure I Shall be obliged to you to Insure about 125 on Schooner *Nancy* on my account to the Coast and while there before Sold and 300 on Snow *Fletcher* enough to make you whole in case of Accident

237. John Fletcher to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1774.[1]

London 30th Apriel 1774.

D'r Sir, I have now before me Your Favours of the 10th and 20 Feby, with Copy's Inclosing Accot Sales of *Thames's* Cargo with Your Accot Currt, a Ballance due the Owners of £714. 4. 8 which Acco't I have not had time to examine, but make no doubt its wright.

I obsarve what You Say about the price of Molasses which I hope you have been able to purchase on Easyer Tirmes and that You have finish'd all your Business at Rhode Island to Your mind and Sail'd from thence Long before this Letter reaches there, as well as the Snow *Fletcher,* Captn: Stockford who I hope came in time with his Molasses.

As I wrote you fully in my late Letters concarning the *Thames* and *Fletcher* have nothing new to add. I observe the advance of Slaves on the Coast per Latest Accounts from 210 to 230 Galls, which to be Sure is high, all I can Say is You can afford to give as much as an

[2] A postscript added on the 26th states that the balance in Clarke's favor is £316 7 1.

[236] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A.

[237] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

other and my Desire is that when You Arive on the Coast You Strike immeeditly for Your Cargo of Rum (for Dispach Sake) and not higgle about it too Long as generaly the first offer most likely will be as much as You will gitt after from the Number of Rum Vessells going on the Coast. Am glad to find you have Declined thoughts of any further alterations in the *Thames* at preasant, as we have been at a deal of Expence already without any Profit, I hope we shall be more able after this Voyage, to do anything to her may be thought Necessary.[2] . . .

238. An Act for Prohibiting the Importation of Negroes, June, 1774.[1]

An Act prohibiting the importation of Negroes into this Colony.

Whereas, the inhabitants of America are generally engaged in the preservation of their own rights and liberties, among which, that of personal freedom must be considered as the greatest; as those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others;

Therefore, be it enacted by this General Assembly, and by the authority thereof it is enacted, that for the future, no negro or mulatto slave shall be brought into this colony; and in case any slave shall hereafter be brought in, he or she shall be, and are hereby, rendered immediately free, so far as respects personal freedom, and the enjoyment of private property, in the same manner as the native Indians.

Provided, nevertheless, that this law shall not extend to servants of persons travelling through this colony, who are not inhabitants thereof, and who carry them out with them, when they leave the same.

Provided, also, that nothing in this act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to any negro or mulatto slave, belonging to any inhabitant of either of the British colonies, islands or plantations, who shall come into this colony, with an intention to settle or reside, for

[2] Endorsed: "Reciv'd at Annamaboe by Captn. Borden Brig *Hope,* October 10th, 1774."

[238] [1] "Proceedings of the General Assembly," *R. I. Col. Recs.,* VII. 251-253. On May 17, at a town meeting in Providence, the following resolution was agreed upon: "we are of opinion that an universal stoppage of all trade with Great Britain, Ireland, Africa, and the West Indies, until such time as the port of Boston shall be reinstated in its former privileges, etc., will be the best expedient in the case; and that a proper time should be generally agreed on for the same universally to take place.

"Whereas the inhabitants of America are engaged in the preservation of their rights and liberties; and as personal liberty is an essential part of the natural rights of mankind, the Deputies of the town are directed to use their endeavours to obtain an act of the General Assembly, prohibiting the importation of negroe slaves in this Colony; and that all negroes born in the Colony should be free at attaining to a certain age." Peter Force, *Archives,* fourth ser., I. 334. See also Arnold, *Rhode Island,* II. 336-337.

a number of years, therein; but such negro or mulatto, so brought into this colony, by such person inclining to settle or reside therein, shall be, and remain, in the same situation, and subject in like manner to their master or mistress, as they were in the colony or plantation from whence they removed.

Provided, nevertheless, that if any person, so coming into this colony, to settle or reside, as aforesaid, shall afterwards remove out of the same, such person shall be obliged to carry all such negro or mulatto slaves, as also all such as shall be born from them, out of the colony with them.

Provided, also, that nothing in this act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to any negro or mulatto slave brought from the coast of Africa, into the West Indies, on board any vessel belonging to this colony, and which negro or mulatto slave could not be disposed of in the West Indies, but shall be brought into this colony.

Provided, that the owner of such negro or mulatto slave give bond to the general treasurer of the said colony, within ten days after such arrival in the sum of £100, lawful money, for each and every such negro or mulatto slave so brought in, that such negro or mulatto slave shall be exported out of the colony, within one year from the date of such bond; if such negro or mulatto be alive, and in a condition to be removed.

Provided, also, that nothing in this act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to any negro or mulatto slave that may be on board any vessel belonging to this colony, now at sea, in her present voyage.

And to prevent any slave or slaves from being clandestinely brought into this colony, in order that they may be free, and liable to become chargeable.

Be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all persons, so offending, shall be liable to, and pay, a fine of £100, lawful money, for each and every one so brought in, to and for the use of the colony, to be recovered in the same manner that other fines and forfeitures usually are, by the laws of this government.

And also, all persons, who shall be convicted of receiving, harboring, or concealing, any such negro or mulatto slave, within this colony, he or they, so offending, shall be liable to the like penalty, to be recovered and applied in the same manner; and such negro or mulatto shall be sent out of the colony, as other poor persons are, by law.[2]

[2] Du Bois (*Suppression of the Slave Trade,* pp. 35-36) calls attention to the care with which the act, while it forbade the importation of slaves, protected the slave trader. In 1779 the Rhode Island Assembly took a further step by forbidding the exportation of slaves from the state, but nothing was done which actually restricted the commerce in slaves. *R. I. Col. Recs.,* VIII. 618.

239. Hayley and Hopkins to Aaron Lopez, 1774.[1]

[London] 20 July, 1774.

Sir, . . . The *Deborah* proved a very unsaleable Vessel for this place, as her dimensions were very unsuitable for any European Trade, the smallness of her Hold in particular was a heavy objection; We wrote down to Liverpool agreable to your directions and two of the Merchants there who are concerned in the African Trade have since her arrival been to view her with thoughts of purchasing her, but they both declined taking her, assuring us that though she was constructed in the manner usual for the Trade from Rhode Island to Africa, she would by no means suit for the Trade from Liverpool.[2] . . .

We are glad to see Captain Wright had made you a satisfactory Sale of the *Cleopatra's* Cargo of Slaves: We hope he did the like with that of the *Africa,* who we find was arrived there and her Cargo sold; There can be no doubt he must have done well with that Cargo as you had given him a limitation of price. . . .

240. John Fletcher to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1774.[1]

London 30th July 1774

Dear Sir, . . . From the non Import and Export Agreement Which is like to take place in general through North America whch you wass advised of before you left newport it will be a Circumstance at preasant in Your favour, in that case the rum Trade will be Knock'd up and no guinamen fitted out from Boston or Rhode island etc. till the Boston Port Bill is Repealed which may not be this Some time as his Maj'y and his Ministers seem Obstinant in the Affair. However do not [let] those Uncartain matter cause you to over Stand your market but Accept of the first good offer for the Cargo And gitt Dispach'd as Soon as you can

I hope on your Arival at Annamaboe you found the *Nancy* and *Fletcher* safe and well, and the former had disposed of her cargo as she came along down the Coast, And the latter Capt: Stockford in a fair way of geting off his Cargo, And as its most likely he will be able to leave the Coast first, And in Order to bring Bills round to me here Sooner, I would have you in Such case Send 20 or 30 Slaves on Freight by the *Fletcher* of the *Thames* and *Nancy* Cargo Purchasd as the former will have plenty of room for more Slaves than

[239] [1] *Commerce of R. I.,* I. 500-501.

[2] Nevertheless, Hayley and Hopkins succeeded in selling the *Deborah* for £480, but £20 below the price they asked.

[240] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76. Omitted paragraphs complain of the unexpectedly large expense of outfitting the *Thames* and repeat the advice offered in the letter of Apr. 30, for a speedy bargain with the factories on the West Coast.

her Cargo will Purchass, and will be a help to the Vessell, and ameans of Dispatching her Sooner, as a month or two Saved in time is a considerable object at preasant, as should be glad the *Fletcher* may gitt to Jamaica in the Month of Jany and your Self these Soon after as you can, the Slaves on Fright to be Sold by Messrs. Peatts and Westmorland upon a Average with the rest of the Cargo. In regard to the Place of Sale of your *Thames's* Cargo Slaves I mentiond in my former Montegerbay [2] and the two houses that would be Guaranteed to me are Eqully good. Mr. Clarke am told is clever and has Sold a number of Slaves this Year. However am likewise Informed that Mr. Montague is no wayes short of him and if you Should go to that Port and he will take you up which I rather wish may be case as Hibberts and Co. Bills are as good as the Bank and will tell well here, which is very Material in our Large Concarn, but in case you should have a fine Cargo of Likely Coramantees,[3] as last Voyage, I don't know if Kingston would not be the best Market. Am told Mr. Hibberts hass Sold all his prime Cargoes of Bonny and Gould Cost Cargos in Town, and the bite and Calabar Ships he hass sent to Montegua bay. However I shall leave this Matter to you to Act as shall seem best, if you Should go to Kingston you will give the preference to Mr. Hibberts House to Sell your Cargo, with whome you will make the best Shortest termes you can, without Mr. Ford will give you Shorter sighted bill's, in which Case he is to have the Preference but not otherwaiss, but if Your Cargo should prove but Indiferent you must then take a Country Sail and go to Montegubay as before directed. And as the Terms are left to Your Self, you will no doubt Enter into in writing as to the len[g]th of your bills and time of Dispatch etc. before you put the Slaves in their hands. I shall write Mr. Hibberts on the Occasion Aquainting them of your being a part Owner and have the liberty to make the Termes with whom you please and that Offers best which may be of Service.

You will find a letter for you at each of Mr. Hibbert's Houses with any further Instructions that may Occur for Your further Government.[4] . . .

241. Samuel and William Vernon to Hayley and Hopkins, 1774.[1]

Newport 11th Augt. 1774.

Sirs, . . . Pray get Insurance made on the Brigt. *Othello* George Sweet Mast'r at and from hence to the Coast of Affrica

[2] Montego Bay, on the northwest coast of Jamaica.
[3] For the character of the Cormantines see this work, I. 398 n.
[4] Endorsed: "Rece'd the above and foregoing Letter at Cape Coast Castle under Cover to D. Mill the 3 Jany 1775."

[241] [1] Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, pp. 281-282.

duering her Trade there and to Markit with her Slave Value on Vessil £400, on Cargo £1000. She will leave this Harbour in about 10 Days. The Capt is an Experanced man, hath Orders to Sell upon the Coast if can obtain our Price, therefore please to make provision for return of Premium if that shou'd hapen.

We have never made enquiry, if an Insurrection of the Slaves shou'd hapen, and a Loss arise thereon more or less if your Underwritters pay in that Case please to let us know. . . .

242. David Mill to Lopez and Rivera, 1774.[1]

Cape Coast Castle 30th Septr [17]74.

Gentlemen, I recd. by Capt. English of yr Brig *Ann*[2] your favr: but have not setled with him the Affair relative to the Slaves formerly due the *Cleopatra,* when Capt. Braggs comes I shall settle it to your Satisfaction

The 50 Ankers Capt. English bro't me were charged me 2/6 Sterl'g each, which is double the Sum I ever paid for many hundreds I have had from America; therefore it is my desire that you do not ship the remainder of my order per Capt. Burke unless they can be laid in at 1/3 Ster'g each.[3]

243. Christopher and George Champlin to Captain Robert Champlin, 1774.[1]

Newport Novemb. 21th 1774.

Capt. Robert Champlin, You being Master of our Sloop *Adventure* are hereby ordered to observe the following Instructions, *Viz.*

With the first fair wind proceed to Africa touching at the Windward Coast, and purchase what Rice may be necessary for your voyage and proceed to the Gold Coast, Stoping in your way down, at such places as you can make Trade at, purchace what good Slaves you

[242] [1] Lopez Letter-Book, no. 638, p. 25.

[2] The *Ann,* having returned to Newport after obtaining her cargo of molasses at the Mole, was again despatched to the African coast in the spring of 1774. For this voyage we have the report on her insurance from Hayley and Hopkins: "The Insurance desired on the *Ann* for Africa, etc., (is) effected and herewith you have the Account thereof, your 2/3 of premio, etc., thereon being £89. 6. 4 is to your debit. The premio on these Voyages has for some time past been only 7 Guineas several have been done at that rate both by Mr. Lane's house and ours, the first of which was as you observed Mr. Mawdsleys Brig the *Mary,* in doing which our two Houses went hand in hand, and by so doing effected that which neither of us could have accomplished any other way. The great success which the African Vessels have had was the inducement." Hayley and Hopkins to Aaron Lopez, April 29, 1774. *Commerce of R. I.,* I. 494.

[3] Endorsed: "Sepr. 30th 1774 from David Mill Esqr. Cape Coast Castle Lopez and Riveira, Merchts. Newport, Rhode Island. Barbados the Twenty Novr 1774 Forwarded by——*Via* Philad'a Wm. Moore junr."

[243] [1] Champlin Letter-Book, no. 135. Between this voyage and that referred to in no. 218 the *Adventure* had completed another, the trade-book of which is in print, edited by Professor Verner W. Crane, *A Rhode Island Slaver* (Shepley Library, 1922).

can at 140 to 160 Gold, when you arrive at Annamabo, If the price of Slaves given to the Factories exceeds 140 to 160 Gold, It is our advice you endeavour to make what Trade you can with the blacks for a month or six Weeks, untill you find what price the Castles will finally lower their Slaves too. If you find the black Trade brisk so that you may git of in three or four months, we advise that you finish your Trade with them, but shou'd it be Slack and no prospect of giting of in a reasonable time, then we recomend your selling what Rum you may have on hand to the Castles on the best Terms in your Power. in this you must act as circumstances and things appear, not being too much in haste, as no Ruin can come on your back. When your Trade is finished, proceed to Barbados, call on Messrs. Went and Son with whom you will find our further orders lodged, also at M'rs Crawfords. Enquire at both those Houses for letters from Thredfal and Anderson of the Granados,[2] but if you find no letters from either of us, We then wou'd have you sell your Slaves. to Went and Son at thirty Six pounds round good and bad or for as much more as you can git provided they will give their own bill on London at Eight months Sight for the neet proceeds of your Cargo or pay you half in money and bills for the other half. If they will not comply with this price, then proceed to the Granados and aply to Tredfal and Anderson. If they will assure you of o[b]taining £38 Stg. round or more for your whole Cargo and give their own bills on London for the neat amount of the same at six, Twelve and Fifteen months sight, then put your Cargo in their hands upon them Terms. If they will not take you up upon those Terms and your Slaves in health and Spirits, then proceed to Kingstown in Jamaica, where Aply to Mesrs. Joseph and Eliphalet Fitch and put your Cargo in their hands to be sold on the best Terms in their power remitting us by you in bills on London at three months sight or on NYork the same, and the Exchange Dollar for Dollar Sell your Sloop if Possible. take five hundred Dollars for her if you can git no more. be frugal in expences, Studdy Peace in your Vessell and make Dispatch, give M Bell the refusall of the 40 Kegs Rum. If any Misfortune happens either to Vessell and Cargo make a protest at the first English port you git too.[3]

[2] On Nov. 18, 1774, Messrs. Threlfal had written to the Champlins: "We are in great hopes our late Act will be soon repealed, when she [we] shall be enabled to sell Slaves as usual" (*Commerce of R. I.*, I. 521). This probably refers to the duty act against which the English merchants were protesting in 1773. Lillian M. Penson, *Colonial Agents of the West Indies*, p. 111.

[3] The request for insurance on the *Adventure* specified £320 on the cargo and £130 on "Sloop and Outfits," for George Champlin. Hayley replied: "I have also made £800 Insurance on 11/16 of the Sloop *Adventure* to Africa and America, the Account of which is likewise enclosed premio etc. being £86. 12. 3. I sincerely wish she may make you a successful Voyage. I have also made £450 Insurance agreable to your

I Acknowledge the above to be a Copy of my orders recd.
ROBT. CHAMPLIN.

244. WILLIAM MOORE, jr., TO AARON LOPEZ AND COMPANY, 1774.[1]

BARBADOS Twenty Seventh Nov. 1774.

Gentlemen: This, via Philadelphia, just Serves to advise that your Brig't *Ann* arrived here the Evening before last from Cape-Coast wth One hundred and twelve Slaves consisting of Thirty five Men, fifteen Men Boys, Twenty one Boys, Twenty Nine Women, Two Women-Girls, and nine Girls, and I assure you 'tis as good a Rum Cargoe as I ever Saw, for in the whole parcell 'tis impossible that any Person can object to more than five. Capt. English [left] the Coast in a poor State of Health [the] third Ulto. and died the Twenty-f[irst] Inst, so that the Vessell is now Com[manded] by Charles Davis, who applied to me for [*torn*] to purchase Necessaries which I shall [supply] him with, and, in case he can get his [*torn*] fill'd he will Sail early this afternoon [for Ja]maica. Enclosed is a Letter [from] him to which I beg Leave to refer [you] for further Particulars.[2]

245. JOHN FLETCHER TO CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE, 1774.[1]

LONDON, Decemb. 22th 1774.

Sir, I wrote you several Letters to the Coast Some of which may have come to hand, my last Was the principal dated the 3th Inst: much to same purpose as this which was forwarded by Capt Darling per a Vessel his owners ware sending to Annamaboe with Govrs Stores, He being lately arrived from Montego Bay, whare he offer'd his Gold coast Cargo To Mr. Clarke to sell for him. But he refused taking him up on which Darling was obliged to Dispose of them him self, and give Credit till Next crop, And is shortly to return to

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desire for account of Mr. Geo. Champlin as above on the Sloop *Adventure,* for premio of which debited your Account £35. 11. 9 as per Account herewith" (C. Champlin to George Hayley, Nov. 24, 1774, Champlin Letter-Book, no. 135; Hayley to Champlin, Feb. 10, 1775, *Commerce of R. I.,* II. 7). The Champlin Invoice Book in the Shepley Library contains the invoice for this voyage.

[244] [1] Lopez Letter-Book, no. 638, p. 51. The letter is badly torn. The information here given is repeated in a letter of the same date by Captain Davis.

[2] Endorsed: "Messrs. Aaron Lopez and Company By Cap Wilkinson Owners of the Brigt *Ann* Via Philadelphia Merchants in Rhoad Island."

[245] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76. This letter with slight alterations is repeated in the Letter-Book under the same date. The letters between Clarke and Fletcher which follow illustrate clearly the difficulties which the approach of war and the actual outbreak of hostilities imposed upon merchants attempting to pursue their usual trade. The frequency of Fletcher's letters and the minuteness of his instructions indicate great anxiety on his part, an anxiety which was justified, since, in spite of his care, Captain Clarke did not receive his instructions until after the cargo had been disposed of. It is noticeable that the captain has carefully inscribed upon the owner's letters the date of receipt, that there might be no suspicion that he had failed to carry out orders.

Jamaica To collect his money, which may be a work of Time and disagreable Circumstances to the Owners. Since I came to Town I wrote to Mr. Dalpratt of Bristol for a Guarantie for your Cargo, which he refused as he says he has Mr: Fords orders not to do it for any more at present by which youle see What you have to Depend on. your Chief reliance Must now be upon Mr. Hibberts house And I have had some talk with Mr. Purrier, one of the Houses hear, to whome is of opponion that as yours will be a Gold Coast Cargo that there will be no Doubt but that Mr. Hibbert will take you up at Kingston which he thinks the most likely place to go to, whare if such Slaves are not in demand which is Seldome The case you have several ports at leward under Your command to, you are therefore on receipt of this letter to make the best of your way for Kingston in Jamaica whare you are to apply to Mr. Thomas Hibberts, Senr: and Junior for the Sale Of your Cargo, either at Kingston or Lewarde as they shall think best. And as to the Terms, shall Leave that to you to make the best with them you can. Mr. Purrier says the last Bills That came upon them for a Guinee Cargo wass at 12 15 and 18 Months sight which is a grate lenth in Deed. However you must be governd by whatever is customary at the time of your arrival with them. And this we are Certain of whatever that House Engages to do will be safe, which is meterial Affair these times, thairfore do not stand out upon triffels or a little more time on Bills. These Difficultys about taking up Guineamen arises From the Greate quantity of Negros sold at Jamaica this last year and that in Order to keep up the price The marchants now are Obliged to give a Long Credit to Planters.

When you have fixt'd with the house for Sales of your Slaves it then requires no Consideration What Voyge you are to take Next. As the New York Packet lately arrived has brought us a Confirmatison of the Resolves of the Congress at Philadelphia which is a non importatison is to Take place immediately,[2] which not only Excludes all manner of Good from England and Ireland But molasses or Surrups from any of the West Indee Island. This intirely flustrate any Further rum Cargoes from America at present Except that article would do to be carried directly from Jamaica to the Coast but that you are Better able to Judge of. But in that case 240 Galls rum at 2/4 *d.* Jamaica Currancy per Galln With punchins would stand in about 22 Sterling Which is more than given in Goods for a Slave, the Above news you must of heard before you left the Coast.

You are tharefore to take in on Account of your Cargo abt 50 Hhds of Sugars and 30 or 40 punch. rum And as much Frieght to

[2] The Association was signed Oct. 17, 1774, to take effect on Dec. 1.

fill your Vessell with as you Can git which the house that sells your Slaves is to Assist you with and to come home to London as soon as possible and be purticular that the sugars you take for our Acct: is good Colourd and well Cured and rum strong proof and well flavourd And let every 10 punchn. be under Diff't Marks for Convaniances of Sales hear Say B T: F F P C etc.

Upon your arrival hear if you should have any Encouragement for a Good Cargo we Can soon fit you out with one for the Coast as most Part of the Guinia goods heare are at 12 months Credit and some longer. And the produce which You may Bring on sure account will be sold to raise Cash for the outfitts, I find the Gold Coast goods men have dun very wel Lately and I make no doubt with assistance of a good Mate to be got hear that has bin Used to the trade You will be Able to make out a Small Cargo as Well as Others. As matters now stand you see there is no other way left, if you mean to make another Voyage to Africa in the *Thames,* which I much wish you to do rather than Dispose of the Vessell which must be the Case on her arrival hear if you do not make another trip in her.

You will take Care to forward the 1 and two setts of Bills of Exchange for Neat proceeds of you Cargo By difft Vessells whome you leaves the Island before you wch inclose to me at Peter Hodgson As usuall that the same may be comeing round.

If Mr. Hibberts house should not agree to take you up to which I hope will not be the Case you are Next to call upon Mr. Ewd Ford whome may have alterd his mind and make him an Offer to sell your Cargo which if he refuses then you are to Put your Slaves in the hands of Peatts and Westmorland to do the Best they can for. Jos: Peatt is come home Sickly and John Peatt of Hull is going out immedeatly again to Jamaica and I have no doubt he would sell a Cargo at as high a price as any Body and take as much pains But wants a good bank hear. He indeed has apply'd for Sale of the *Thames'* Cargo which I told him I Could not promise that as I had Engaged the preference to a house Guaranteed to me hear And I immagaind they would have enough to with the *Fletcher's* Cargo to get her Dispatched And make good remitances hear in due time.

246. John Fletcher to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1774.[1]

[December 22, 1774.]

Sir, . . . That our Concern in the *Thames* was large And a Deal depended upon a certainty of the Bills Being paid whin they

[246] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76. The earlier paragraphs of this letter duplicate the substance of the first one. Here Fletcher is continuing the answer he made to John Peatt.

Come home as both you And my self had straind a point to Carry it through. However if you should be Obleg'd To get Mr. Peatt's house to do this Business I should prefer Selling at Leward either Savanlimeer or Lewsea,[2] where you have the greatest chance Of a higher price for the Slaves as well as produce Cheaper Then in Kingstown. And they must be very Cautious Whose Bills they take to remitt me on that account as such numbers of Bills go Back protested dayly And youle Observe the same both in regard to Quantity and Quality of produce as if Hibberts house had done The Business but youle further Observe with Peatts house onely that the planters long sightd Bills taken in payment are to bear Intrust at 60 or 90 days after sight which must be Specifide in the Bill. I mentison this as you may not be Acquainted with the Custom. Whare no Bond is Given for the negros its But right the owners should have that benifit for all risques, But you are not to require this of Mr. Hibberts house as all thair Bills are Guaranteed and no fear of thair returning. And I would have Peatts people to remit Bills for the whole Ballance of Net proceeds, if possible to make an end of the Voyage, Even if you take a Little more Sugars—not rum—And thair Own Bills on Arthur Peatt of London On different periods of being due at as short time as you Can get and as little to Exceed 12 month With them as possible. And I hope they will exert Them selves on the Occasion if they Expect anoth[er] Guinea man from us. When I mentisond in regard to the Intrust on the Long Bills you are to get Allown if you can Haveing wrote you so Fully as above you cannot be at a Loss how to act both as to Selling your Slaves and future Voyage and Cannot say more on the Occasion but Leave the rest to your own prudent Management for our mutual Benefit.[3] . . .

247. John Fletcher to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1774.[1]

London 24th Decem: 1774.

Dear Sir, Inclosed you have a Long letter in which I have been as full as I can in regard to Jamaica. And in Order to give you as

[2] Savanna la Mar or Lucea. Both are in the western part of Jamaica.

[3] Endorsed: "Received the 12th April 1775 at St. Lewsea Jamaica." On Jan. 12, 1775, Fletcher repeated much of the matter of these letters in two others, adding: "I desire you will Also reserve a likely man Boy out of your Cargo and git him sent to Mr. Wm. Clarke of St. Elizabeths for my Edw. in the same manner you did Last Voyage as the one sent Turn out very well, which charge me with as will settle for him whin you come home" (Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76). These letters are endorsed: "Receiv'd the 2th April 1775 at St. Lewsia Jamaica." The reason for the two letters on each of the above dates seems clear: one was to be shown to the West India houses to which Clarke was to go, the other, intended for the captain's eye alone, contained more specific details as to terms, the standing of the firms, the relative advantages or disadvantages of the various houses mentioned, and the caution that might be necessary in some cases.

[247] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76. This was probably in the nature of a postscript to the letters of Dec. 22, and sent with them.

many Chances as possible of a market for your Slaves—if they should Bear any price at Barbados, which is sildum the Case, I have taken a Guarantee from Allen Master[Marlin?] and Co: for thair friends House Jones and Ewing of Barba's: As well as for Thompson and Hunter at St. Kitts. And if Jones and Ewing will Engage to sell your Cargo and Average 40£ 10 *s.* Sterling round and give Bills at 4, 8 and 12 months, longer time you Have liberty to sell thair if you approve of it but Not otherwise. I have likewise taken another guarantee from Wm. Snell and Co. for thair friends Houses, *viz.* Robt. Cunningham and Jos. Tatham of St. Vincents and Thulfall and Anderson at Granado. Therefore if you should not succeed at Barbados it is But calling at those Island and not much out of your way to Jamaica.

And if either those houses will take you up and engage To average your Cargo 41£ Ster'g round, Bills 9, 12, 15 and 18 Months which linth I understand they have got thare, But what ever is Custumery on your arrival thare, You have Liberty to sell thare on those terms, But not otherwise. And take the same quantity of Sugars on Account of the Cargo thare as limited at Jamaica But windward Island rum on Our account, and the house that sells your Slaves to Assist you with Some Freight to London. But if you should not succeed at Either of those Islands and Could with conveniance fetch St Kitts Without loosing much time you may try thare and Make the same Offer to Thompson and Hunter to take 41 Ster'g Avarage. But if you do not Meat with success thare, then you are to make the Best of your way down to Jamaica as before Orderd. I think if your negros are helthy And a tolarable likely Cargo thare will not be the least doubt of thare Avarag 42£ Ster'g at Jamaica Whare small slaves and even Mangie Ones sells better than in any other Island. The only advantage of selling at Windward is saving som time on the Bills as well As ships provisions and portage Bill etc., By being home With me sooner in London. But all this I leave To your owne Consideratison discretison and we must Not make too large allowances for that.

When you come to any of thre[these] Island you must Lay off and on, and send your mate on shore to those Gentlemen mentisond who will come on board and give thair answer. But do not by any means go Out of the Ship your Self. In case of selling at Barbados your not to take any Shugars on oure own Account of the Cargo, as at those Other Islands But to make the best of your way home to me with the Bills, Incloseing the Other Letter by two difft Ships That Sails first, And the Bills at Short sight Must answer the End of produce, when you come Heare if we should fit out again immedi-

ately But if the house can help you with a little freight will be better than Comeing in Ballace which you are not to waite for.[2]

248. John Fletcher to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1774.[1]

I have duly Considerd the diffecence betwixt Selling at Windward Islands and Jamaica which you can Judge of your self. I think the average I have fixd on at those Islands is near the matter and would not have you Abate, Except at Barbados the Odds 10/ per head and that in Consideratison the Bills are given at 4, 8 and 12 Months or Shorter Sight if you Can, as 6 months Intrist on each Bill is Equal to 20/ per head on each Neagro. And 41£ Sterg at Granada and Co is not Equal to 42£ Sterg at Jamaica as the Bills are Now much the same linth at time—only as I have said a Little time saved in your being Earlyer with Me. And in case of a Bargin you can come with in 10/ per head of the 41£ sterg at those Islands and you shall think well of it I shall not tye you Down but leave that tō your self—for dispatch Sake but I would not have you abate Otherwise.

249. Charles Graves to Stephen Ayrault, 1775.[1]

Cape Coast Castle January 5th 1775.

Sir, I have perused your last Letter to Governor Mill, and am sorry to acquaint you that the sudden death of the Register of this Castle has absolutely prevented any remittance being made to you (by Captain Clark) of what is due to your Son Edward Wanton, by the Estate of the late Thomas Drew, untill the affairs of the defunct Register are examined and settled, then your request shall be punctually complied with and the dividend remitted to you, in the meantime I entreat your patience.[2] . . .

250. Christopher and George Champlin to Threlfal and Anderson, 1775.[1]

Newport Jan'y 17 1774[1775].

Gent'n, We wrote you in haste a short time past, as it may not reach you, we now repeat that our Sloop *Adventure* Robert Champ-

[2] Endorsed: "Received at St. Lewsea Jamaica the 6 April 1775."

[248] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76. This letter, undated and without place, follows in the Letter-Book one of Apr. 6, 1775, but since it was endorsed by Captain Clarke, "Reced the 2th Apr. 1775 at St. Lewsea Jamaica," it may have been written about the time of the one just preceding this.

[249] [1] Newport Hist. Soc., Misc. Bundle, 1770-1779, no. 155.

[2] Signed, "Charles Graves, Register." To "Mr. Stephen Ayrault, Newport, Rhode Island. Per favor of Captain Clark, Q. D. C." Endorsed, "1775, 5 From the Coast Affrica relating Slaves due on Capt. Hick's voiage." On June 26, 1774, Stevenson and Went had consigned to Ayrault a cargo of rum, the proceeds from which were to be credited to their account with the estate of Edward (?) Wanton. Ayrault Letter-Book, no. 651, p. 16.

[250] [1] Champlin Letter-Book, no. 135.

lin ma. sailed for Africa 21 Novr. We have order'd him to stop a[t] Barbadoes and call upon Messr. Went and Son and M'rs Crawford's for Letters at both which please to lodge your incouragements to him, if agreeable, he will visit you once more, if not, he will go to Jamaica. If you can promise him near £40 round or upwards, should much rather he would sit down with you, than to proceed any farther, upon which head please to be very explicit to him, with your Advice, that he may know how to proceed, as we much rely upon your Candour in this matter, and if your act is annulled by the King, or not, We flatter ourselves you can sell 70 or 80 Slaves with Safety among your good Planters for £40 or near it, as they may be in want by that time. by the Resolves of Continental Congress all Trade is Stopd from this Continent to Africa 1st December last, since which no Vessel has sailed for thence, nor will any till our Troubles are Settled,[2] for which Reason we apprehend our Sloop may meet Dispatch, and be with you by the end of June. a line from you will be agreeable.

251. Christopher and George Champlin to Murray and Wright, 1775.[1]

Newport March 8 1775.

Gent'n, We now acknowledge the favr. of Captain Benjamin Wright of your house Decr. 1st 1774 and January 18 1775. in Consequence We are this day forwarding Orders to Capt'n Champlin,[2]

[2] Committee of Correspondence of Newport, R. I., to the Philadelphia Committee. "Newport, January 5, 1775. Gentlemen: Being informed that it is reported at New-York and at other parts of the Continent, that the inhabitants of this Town are fitting out vessels and determined to carry on their trade in violation of the Continental Association; and as the propagators of this infamous falsehood can have no other intention than to weaken the bands of union between the Colonies, we think it our duty to acquaint you, that several vessels designed for the coast of Africa, which could not be got ready by the first of December, have been actually laid up . . . . and that so far as we can learn, the Association hath been strictly adhered to by the Merchants in this Colony, who declare their intention to abide by it." Force, *Archives,* first ser., I. 1098-1099.

[251] [1] Champlin Letter-Book, no. 135.

[2] On Feb. 20, 1775, the Champlins wrote to Messrs. Samuel and James King Went, successors to Stevenson and Went, enclosing directions to Captain Champlin meant to supersede those of Nov. 21, 1774 (*ante,* no. 243). If he found letters with the Wents from Threlfal and Anderson assuring him of £40 he was to go at once to Grenada. If not, he was to offer the cargo to Messrs. Went for £38, half cash, half bills on London, at 8 months' sight, or if necessary, all bills. If the Wents refused these terms he was to proceed to the Grenadas and there make the best possible bargain with Threlfal and Anderson. If they would not agree to an average price near £37 and his slaves were "in heath," he might next try Thomas and Eliphalet Fitch of Kingston, Jamaica, from whom he was to accept bills on Nathaniel Marston and his son Thomas, New York merchants, exchange dollar for dollar. If possible the vessel was to be sold; if not, and no desirable freight could be obtained, he was to return in ballast. If however he should find letters at Barbados from Threlfal and Anderson, telling him not to come to the Grenadas, he might then accept £36 at 8 months' sight from Messrs. Went. If they refused to give that he might then try Fitch at Kingston, then Murray and Wright at Savanna la Mar. On Mar. 8, under a covering letter to Messrs. Went, a third set

with our Limits to Windward, if he cannot obtain them, to proceed to your address, upon the terms you propose to sell our Cargo of Slaves at, by which Method the Sales must be greatly advanced in our fav. If Bills could be sent us at 12 Mo. Sight for the Nt. amt. it would be more agreeable, provided they would be accepted in London when demanded; but if not to be complied with without injuring the Sale greatly We must then be content with having the bills remitted to us at the periods you fix, which we conclude will be in Bills of 30 or 40 days Sight, otherwise sell here at a Disct. by our original Orders Capt Champlin was to call upon Messrs. Fitches at Kingstown. We are now countermanding them, to proceed direct to you, If possible sell our Sloop for us, or get a Freight to NYork or Philadelphia. We flatter ourselves you will render us a sale equal to Mr. Lopez' Cargo. not a single Guineaman has left the Continent since 1st Decr. In Confidence you will promote our interest in this Sale

252. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1775.[1]

Montegobay 17th March 1775.

Dear Sir: By this I acquaint you of Safe arival At the above place, after a passage of 68 Day's and am Sorry to aquaint you I am but in a very poor State of Helth such a one as I am afraid will put me a[t] one Side for a Long time if not for ever. I arrived hear four Day's ago and to my great Disapointment found no Letters from you as you wrote me you would Leave for me At the Hous of Mounteger and Barnard, but agreeable To your Order in yours of the 30 July 1774 which reced Under Cover to Mr. Mill at Cape Coast 2 Day's before I left it, I Made applicatison to those gentlemen And they wound not at any rate or terms take me up. I then Next made applicatison to Mr. Clarke and [he] refused Likewise and said it was out of his power to take Hur if he Could pay in Bills at 3 years, And likewise had received no advise about such a Vessel. I then

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of instructions was sent to the *Adventure*. If on Captain Champlin's arrival at Barbados he found no letter from Messrs. Threlfal and Anderson, he was to offer his cargo to the Wents, accepting £35 if necessary. If they would not assure that price he was then to try the Grenadas, where he was to receive £36 or sail for Savannah la Mar, where he was to offer his cargo to Murray and Wright. On Mar. 21 the Newport firm wrote to Captain Champlin that they had just learned that 1600 slaves had been sold in the Grenadas in December and January and that 2000 had gone to Leeward. Because of this news the captain was directed to accept £34 from the Wents rather than quit Barbados (Champlin Letter-Book, no. 135). The Letter-Book also contains a letter dated Mar. 23, 1774, which probably belongs to 1775. At the time of writing the house had received news that Joseph and Eliphalet Fitch had sold De Wolf's cargo at a price averaging £42. 10 (*post*, no. 258), and Captain Champlin was directed to disregard previous orders and, if he could not obtain £35 from Went and Son or £37 from Threlfal and Anderson, to proceed at once to Kingston and place his cargo in the hands of the Fitches.

[252] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76. It is to be remembered that when Captain Clarke wrote the following letter he had received none of Fletcher's numerous directions.

Offerd my Slaves to Mr. Jackson and Co a house hear which would not take her nither after to Mr. Moger but thair is not one in this place would Or could take me up. Not even Bills at that Monstrous price of 12, 18 and 20 Mont. From the foregoing I would not have you think I have Brought off a bad Cargo of Neagroes For I assure you not, for it is alowed by Mr. Clarke Who is thought to be a good Judge of Slaves and Sells as many As any hous in the Island, Sayes they are five pound Better than any gould Coast Cargo that ever he saw. And had it not bin for my freight Slaves I Should have gone to Kingston from a paragraft of your's Of the 30 July, at before menchond for as Mr. Clarke And the Other Gentlemen that has Seen them Say, they never Saw so many Cromitins [Cormantines] as now on Board Her, And I am sure I never Brought of so many nor in so good Order. I come now to tell you what I have Done with them. I have this Day agreed to put them into the Hand of Malcum and Nevinson Marchts at St. Lewsea, Malcum you know was at Rhode Island with you, Upon such tirmes as wass given by several Vessels now in port and tirable, they are *Viz* 12, 18 and 20 month, Intrust on the 2 Last Bills after 12 mounths, which Will Bring my ninepence to nothing and will not releave you. However my state of helth is such And the times so bad from the Large quantity of Negros being Brought hear that this is the only And all the Chance I have to make any Tolarable Dispatch or in fact git rid of them at all, And they are very Expencive and provisions scarce and Dear. to-morrow I shall [go] with the Brig [to?] Lewsea and our Sails will be Appointed that Day weak and am to be Dispatched in 6 Days after the Sailes is Compleated. whare to go and What to do After, I am sure I Cannot tell, as it is Impossible to git a fright hear or at Lewsea or I believe in any Part of the Island for Mr. Malcom and likewise Clark and Barnard all says that not to flatter me with Hopes for it is not to be done. Nither is thair Money to be got Hardly to pay Disbustments it is as bad hear as was at Barbados on that Account.

I Obsarve in yours of 30 July you take notis the *Fletcher* is more Expencive in Cargo and Outfitts than before. I beleave when you Deduct the Loss on Her Voige for Molasses you will find her very little More, her provisions was Cheaper and not one farthing was laid out on her but what was Necessary and the Schooner likewise. I had her to Sheath which is Expenceive. I am Confident I took every prodent method that I was Capable of but the Expences would and did Arise, as you Obsarved that Expences would arise At Hull as well as London and now I may say, at Rhode Island as well thair But that you have Experinct'd before. All I can say I am Clear

as to myself of laying one farthing that I Could avoid in fiting out any of the Vessels.

I have not the happiness of knowing how you find the *Thames* Account and disbustments but I hope Satisfactory not with Standing they are so much higher than Expected When we Left London. I am hartily sorry if it has put you to any Inconvence that will prove Disagreeable to you, but we was Imbarcht and Could not go back, Thairfore I pushed on with all my power for to Compleat it. notwith Standing Every thing that has Before past I am now the Mist [Least ?] pleast with what I have don this Day than with any Ac'tt of past Conduct, throughout my hole Trancactisons since I left you for it is Damnable to have Suit Bills. I have heard nothing about the *Fletcher* but hope you have the Bills are [ere] this for our part, and likewise for the 15 Slaves sent in her on the *Thames* Acct. I Brougt Off the Coast 100 Slave Freight for Mr. Bell at £5 Sterling per head and have Deliverd them all in good Order, have Lost on our Voyage 7 Slaves Otherways and Excepting one or two more have a Cargo of picturs, And as Mr. Clarke Observes Cannot help making grate Avarage. I was taken sick about a month Before I left the Coast down to leward Collecting my slaves and have never got the better of it yet and Wheather ever I shall or no I Cannot tell.

How about Comeing home to you in the Brig I do not know What to say but if I gro better I will but shall [be] intirely Directed by My helth and the Advise of the Docters for at present I can hardly keep an hour of the Bed At a time. And have been much Oblig'd to Capt. Anderson in a Ship belonging to Mr. Morstons House whome is bin about for me and likewise Mr. Clarke whom Has kindly Assisted me in makeing the Contract. So bad as it is it wass very hard to make, Esspechly in my bad State of helth, for the planters are so Much in Debt from the grate quanty of Neagros that has bin imported that the Guine Factors Do not incline to take up Guinamen at any rate indevour to git out as fast as pasable and will take none but what thair friends Contracts for in England and of which they have advise and are Desired by thair friends to sell, so you may see what tarible times we have fell in with. We have Brought in for Cargo 188 Slaves for Schooner and Cargo and Brigs Cargo. from Illness I have not settled the Acct: yet but hope to be able before the Vessel Leaves this wheather I come in her Or not to London, Which I should be very Sorry if I cannot. Thair is about 20 slaves more freight that I Brought, Belongin to Several persons, which will make the Freight amount to about 600 £ Sterling which had it not have bin for these Crewel times Might have Maid a saving Voige. Capt: Thurston the Schooner *Nancy* Captn. is sick Likewise and some

of my people So that I never had such a Sickly ship before Among My officers and Saylors tho I have lost none But two of the Schooners is ded. as thair will be Oppertunityes now of writing I ad no more. . . .

253. Agreement on the Cargo of the *Thames*, 1775.[1]

Agreement between Messrs. Malcolm and Nevison and Peleg Clarke Commander of the Brigantine "Thames."

1st That they Malcolm and Nevinson do as soon as dispose of the Cargo of Negros on board Said Vessell to the best advantage and that they (M and N) do remitt the Neat proceeds of Said Cargo of Negros after Deducting Charges in good bills of Exchange at the following rates and *vizt* One third of the Amo't of Said Cargo in Bills at Twelf Months Sight One third in Bills at Eighteen Months Sight, and one third in bills Twenty four Months Sight and also they (M and N) do agree to allow Interest to Commence on the Two Last bills meaning 18 and 24 Months Bills after 12 Months Sight

2d that they Malcolm and Nevinson do pay to the Said Peleg Clarke Commander of Said Brig *Thames* the Amount of Six negroes to be on the Average of the Cargo as previledge and also his Coast Commission in the following manner Viz To give him the Said Peleg Clarke A bill of Exchange for one Hundred and Fifty Pounds Sterling at Ninty days Sight and for the remainder amount of Said Six negroes and Coast Commishions to give him a bill of Exchange at Twelve Months allowing Interest to Comme[nce] on Said Bill at Six Months after Sight, And [as] the Said Peleg Clarke hath fourteen more negroes a remaining part of his Privilidge and seven Negroes upon freight making in all twenty one They (M and N) do agree to give the Said Peleg Clarke Bills of Exchange for amount of Said Twenty one Negroes to be on the Average of the Cargo at the Same rates as Cargo Bills are to be at *Viz* one Third of the Nett Proceeds of Said Twenty one Negroes in bills at Twelve months Sight one Third At Eighteen months Sight and one Third in bills at Twenty-four Months Sight, And to allow Interest on said Bills (in the Like manner as they do the Cargo) to Commence after Twelve months Sight, and they the Said Malcolm and Nevinson do further Agree That the Said Brigantine *Thames* Shall not be Detaind above Six dayes after the Sale of her Cargo of Negroes, is Compleated but that they will Dispatch the Said Capt. Clarke w'th Bills as Aforementiond, This Agreement both Parties haveing read

[253] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

are Sufficiently Satisfied with and have in Consiquence thereof hereunto Intercheangeably Sett their hands and Seals this 17th March 1775 [2]

254 Peatt and Westmorland to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1775.[1]

Kingston Apriel 1st, 1775.

Dear Sir, We recived Yours by Yesterdays Post from Lewsea and are Exetreemely Sorry that continud so much Indisposed. god Send a Speedy Change for the better. we wrote you by our Clark Mr. Austin about Six days ago mentioning that Fletchers Orders had come to Mr. Hibberts House dereccting you to Sell with them at Montegu bay. no doubt long 'ere this, you have recid these Instructions and Seen Mr: Bernard relative the Disposing of your Cargoe.[2]

Such long and Tedious detentions must Occation you great Uneasiness, and be rather Dessagreeable to Malcolm and Nevison after Consenting to rest with them. The Guinaman Sold at Kingston lately have been taken up at 12, 15 and 21 Months, Except those Sold to the Contractors for Dollers, and they give no more then 36 £ Ster'g per head for prime men Slaves so that none of the Cargoes Sold to them Average more than about £34 Ste'g which is amaterial difference indeed. Gould Coast Cargos Sold for the Islands Consumption, open on the day of Sail at £66 and Duty and Priviledge £70. we mention'd in our last that poor Stockford departed this life last Sunday after lingering in a deliurous Setuation for Six days. he left in our hands about 400£ Four Hundred pounds this Currency as per Acco't Settled with him before he wass taken with a Relapse, likewise Close, watch, Buckles, buttons and etc. Pray give us your advice what to do with his Effects. Mr. Hill the Chief Mate went home Master and Sail'd from Port Royal the 24 Int: bound for London, after waiting Upwards of Six days in hopes of a change in Stockford favor but alass it proved in Vain. we Ship'd Eighty Cask Sugar and Rum on the Oners Accot: agreeable to Mr. Fletchers Orders, and procured Indigo and other Light Frieght within twenty or twenty five Cask of a full Loade. For the Balance of This Cargo we Sent Bills at Six and twelf Months Sight, and closed the Voyage with Yours and all the Oners different Accounts, which

[2] Clarke had asked that his terms might be those afforded to a Captain Mill then in the harbor: "bills at 9: 12: 15 and 18 Mo'ths with Intrest after 12 Mo. on the two Last Bills. A fair Sale to be made without picking any Slaves before the day of sale, my Privilege to be paid in Bills at 3 and 6 Mo'ths Sight, the Officers at 90 days or in produce." Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

[254] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

[2] The letter of Mar. 26 to which Peatt and Westmorland refer was written as soon as they received news of Clarke's arrival but it reached him on Apr. 4, after he had made his bargain with Messrs. Malcolm and Nevinson. The information contained in this letter was given in that one also.

were transmitted to Mr. Fletcher. The Slaves Averag'd £40.17.11 Ste'g The 14 had from Brew was ameans of Reduceing Avarage inconcievably, as they turnd out mere Rubbish. Stockford onely Lost on[e] Slave in all.[3] . . .

255. Captain Robert Champlin to Christopher Champlin, 1775.[1]

April 2, 1775.

This lines will Forward by Capt Mowet. I rote by Capt. Stanton. I have on board at this time 20 Slaves and have lent 6 more to mr. woortman a Dutch Governor. I sold 30 Hoghh. of Rum To one Mr. Riches and that is all the Rum I have Sold to the whits But Could pllace My Carg any time If I would give 210 and 190 But I think To Stand It out sumthing longer[2] I Have Sold 20 Hogh to the Blacks most of which I have Good Sumes for and if times Dont alter I dont dought in the Least But I shall get of most of my Rum that way in three munths. that slaves that I get of the Blacks Stands me in 160 sum more and sum less. I cannot Pertend to say what Time I Shall Get off For trad Is very on Stidy, Sum Days I Get 2 or three slaves and then for a Weake not see one. Gardnier is sold all His Rum at 200 and 210 So Remington and me Has Got the Roade to our selves, But I dont no How long we Shall Remain so For Dunking[3] Came to the mines yesterday, we Look for Dewoulfe Here Every moment. I believe Capt Dunkin Dont Entend to Come Down Here and I am in Hopes that He will come of that mind For two is Full a nuf to Trade with Blacks and the Costoms is so Hie that I Dont think He will Pay them. I have on Board at this time 80 Hoghead of Rum and sum small Casks. Mr. Bell Did not take the Casks for He is a going of the Coast in two or three weakes. . . . Capt. Bardine Sails in two or three Days I shall Rite By Him I had the misfortune to Get the Measels amung my slaves lost one Boy with it and Have a nother of my won that is very bad, all the rest hef Got Well. I have Had No Leakage only Nathan millers Hogshead leake all out to 45 Gallons the three Bottom Staves Broke in tirely off.

[3] Endorsed: "Recd. at Lewsea 6 Apr. 1775." In Captain Clarke's answer to this letter, written Apr. 16, his comment is: "I wass much Supprised when I arived on the Coast to find Stockford had Trusted Brew knowing that times wass much alterd with him for the worse which he cartainly wass told before he let him have the 20 Hogsd. Rum, As I wass informed by Mr. Hill."

[255] [1] Terry, Newport Hist. Soc., *Bulletin,* no. 62, pp. 30-31.

[2] In December, 1774, Peleg Greene, then at Anamabo, wrote to Aaron Lopez that the whites were selling prime men for 190 and 200 gals. of rum, prime women for 170 and 180 gals., and that the black trade was very good. *Commerce of R. I.,* I. 524.

[3] Captain Duncan. The De Wolf mentioned in the next sentence was doubtless one of the Bristol (R. I.) family whose slave-trading activities continued into the next century. See *post,* no. 302 n.

. . . I Hope to Get of Sumtime in June If Times Dont Alter. Mr. Mill and I Is on Good Tarmns. He ofered To Take all my Carg if I would Land It at whidough [4] but the time of yearel will not sute. . . .

256. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1775.[1]

St Lewsea April 7th 1775.

Dear Sir, Haveing but Short notice of Capt. Mill Sailing I take this Oppertunity of Aquainting you that this Instant the Gentleman Compleeted the Sail of the Negros and our Avrage will be about 45£ Ste'g not farr Under or Over. They call it grate here, I think it but Middleing concidering the Quality of the Slaves. your Orders for Barbados and Jamaica came to hand the 2n Instant by the post but Unhappily two late for our Sale came on the 3r Otheways I belive Mr. Barnard and Co. would have taken me up by what I can larn from Messrs. Peatts and Westmorland but have not heard from them and am Sorry they had not been more timely as I Candidly belive it would have been for the Advantage of our Voyage.[2]

I have Comunicated to Malcolm and Nevison your Orders about taken Some produce; they have not given me Any Answer weather they will Comply with it or not, as we made no Agreement for Any part to be paid in produce and am rather Apt to Think they will not give any as for Fright I cannot git a Cask altho I have Offerd to take in at 3/6 P.C. there is Somany Ships here that Some of the Annual Ships will go home not full. . . .

257. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1775.[1]

St Lewsea 21. Apr. 1775.

D'r Sir, I have put of Writing till the Last mominut in hoopes of gitting my bills to Send home on[e] Sett this Oppertunity, but not haveing the bussness Compleeted by a delay in Indeavouring to gitt Sugars and Rum agreeable to Your Orders I have lost time but am in hoops by Capt. Hambleton at Montegu bay who will Sail in afew Days to Send on[e] of Each of the Setts. You have inclosed a 2d a bill for five Hundrd pounds Ste'g Drawn by Messrs. Foard Clark and Co. at 6 Mo. Carrying Interest 5 PCt after 90 days on Mr.

[4] Whydah. The Champlin Letter-Book does not contain the captain's letters to his brothers, but from a letter of the Wents, June 9, we learn that on Apr. 15 Captain Champlin had purchased about fifty slaves, and that he expected to sail for the West Indies in six weeks from that date. *Commerce of R. I.,* II. 21-22.

[256] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

[2] On Apr. 14, Clarke received from Messrs. Hibbert, Bernard, and Montague, Montego Bay, a note saying that had they received Mr. Fletcher's instructions earlier they would have been glad to sell the cargo. *Ibid.*

[257] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

Samuel Delpratt in Bristol, it being the Contents for one Hundred Slaves Fright in the Brig *Thames* from Annamaboe.

I now add that our Sales are Compleeted And thers Sold on Acco. Brig *Thames* and Schooner *Nancy* 180 Slaves and Averag'd £62.16 *s.* Stg Currency, wants 4/ to be 45£ Ste'g I think but a poor Averige Conceedering Curcomstances, However its thought grate here. I wrote you before that we had Brought in for Cargo 188 Slaves I then thought they did not no of the Death of three and one after at Lewsea from my Ill State of helth they did not make me Aquainted with 2 Likewise Sold on the Coast Sold for Provishons and 2 beloning to Cook and Cabinboy, Small ones which ware not then Dedutchd when I wrote You, So our Mortallity is now a Eleven which had it not have been for my Illness I dare say would Not have beèn So many. I have Discharg'd all my mates and people and they have all left me, none of them will come to London. Have Ship'd Another Mate beloning to RhodeIsland who has been in Mr. Brews Sarvis and came of with us and Brought of with us Some Fright Slaves And is Some Little Aquainted with Goods. . . .

I cannot tell the Reason there is been 5 Capt. Guinaman that hass died on the Coa[s]t this Year Voyages, 4 beloning to Rhode Island and one to Boston Including Capt. Stockford. . . .

258. Christopher and George Champlin to Joseph and Eliphalet Fitch, 1775.[1]

Newport 4th May 1775.

Gent'n, Your fav. 14 Feby. we have recd. noting the average of Col Potters Slaves at £42.10 Stg. We have forwarded our Orders to Barbadoes, for Capt'n Robert Champlin, of our Sloop *Adventure,* to proceed to your Address, if cannot obtain our Limits, infull Confidence you will promote our Sale equal to any other, Quantity may not exceed 90, a higher average may be produced than from a large Cargo. We have directed Capt'n Champlin to take your bills on Mess. Marston and Son Thomas, in Conformity to their Letter lodged in the hands of Messrs. Joseph and William Wanton of this Town, for the Nett Am't of his Cargo at 6 or 9 Mo Sight, you furnishing as much Money as his Port Charges, and for Payment of such Seamen as may want their Wages, Assist the Capt'n in the Sale of the Sloop, if possible, as we cannot fit any more to Africa 'till our Troubles are settled, giving all dispatch in your power, and advising us of your Market.[2]

[258] [1] Champlin Letter-Book, no. 135.

[2] On the same day the brothers wrote to Capt. Robert Champlin confirming their instructions to sell through Messrs. Fitch, and to dispose of the sloop, since, "by the

259. Francis Maires and David Cooper to Samuel and William Vernon, 1775.[1]

Montego Bay August 8th 1775.

Sirs, We now enclose you Account of Sales of the *Othello's* Cargoe of Negroes Amount Neat £2462.8.2 Jam: Currency to yr Credit in Accompt Current.[2] There is at foot of said Sales an additional Sale of 12 Neg's the Capt. had on freight and 5 his own privelege, the Average tho rather small is greater than we had a right to expect from the Indifferency of the Cargoe and which coming at a very unseasonable time near the middle of July was too late for us to expect any payment this Crop. And as a further damper to our Endeavours a large Gold Coast ship with 280 very choice Slaves arrived at this port 4 days after Yours, what few Bill of Exchange men there were they picked up, but for the farr greater part they have given the usual Credit as well as us.

Your payments will be in the Month of May next, and in the Month of May 1777 and we flatter Ourselves there is not a Negroe sold but what will be paid for. It gives us much Concern that nothing eligible has offerd for the *Venus,* had you not limitted us to selling her or loading her for London or New York we might have served you by loading her for Bristol, which there is now a pretty tolerable chance of doing had you been pleased to have favoured Us with a discretionary power we certainly should have used it to the best of our Judgement for your Interest, but nothing favourable offering compatible with your Instructions you must expect to see her soon in Rhode Island, and we are sorry to say an Empty Vessel.

[P.S.] We also enclose your Acco't Current ballance due you when the debts are received two thousand two hundred and sixty two pounds 15/11 Currency.

P.S. to Guard as much as possible against any disaster attending the Vessel in Case Government shoud think proper to make Reprisals Capt. Sweet has alterd his Regis'r and made a nominal Sale to Us. The Expence attending it is but trifling in Comparison to the use it may be of, if matters are drove to the Such Extrimities that appear unavoidable.[3]

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act of Parliament now expected out no vessell can return here from any part of the world after the 1st of September, except from Great Britain, Ireland, or any of the English Islands, no coasting vessels can go from one Colony to another, with wood or Provisions. NYork, NCarolina and Georgia are not included in this act, nor the one for the Southern Colonies . . . perhaps Mess. Fitches may buy your Sloop and freight her to NYork . . . . forget not your Seamen must be paid Currency for Sterl'g." Letter-Book.

[259] [1] Newport Hist. Soc., package no. 145.

[2] See *ante,* no. 233.

[3] Endorsed, "To Messrs. Samuel and Will'm Vernon, Merchants, Newport, Rhode Island." An unsigned and undated fragment among the Vernon papers of 1779-1784

260. Christopher Champlin to Captain Robert Champlin, 1775.[1]

Newport 17 Aug. 1775.

Capt. Robert Champlin, Of [y]our letters from Anambo 2d and 14 April We recd. and flatter our selves you are at least a month on your Passage to the Islands. As Slaves are low to Windward have no expectation of your selling there for our Limits and of course will proceed to Mesrs. Fitches of Kings Town Jamaica, who from their letters to us have agreed to sell your Cargo and give bills on NYork. Our particular Instructions to you has been heretofore lodged with them; we can only ad that nothing but Wars is here, and orders may soon come to the men of Wars to seize all Vessells without Distinction, being 3, of 20 Guns here, besides cutters and Press all they can. If there is a Possibility of selling the Sloop do it at all events—nay even take £100 Sterling for her rather than bring her home, tho I think £200 might be obtained for, but if you are obliged to bring her home, head up all your Swords and other arms in a Tight hhd. and Stow in a Tear among your hhds. of Water for Ballast or the man Wars will take them from you lay out no money on your Sloop. Tuckers must not be paid his Wages, Dick Lamb I have for him to Jack Scott £64 old Tenor or 8 dollars to be Stoped from his Wages. Make all the Dispatch home you can wishing you Success.[2]
per Munro

261. John Fletcher to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1776.[1]

London 29th Jany. 1776.

D'r Sir, I take this Oppertunity, by the *Constantine* of Bristol, C't Robe, of a few lines, (wh Mr. Coghaline has inclosed to him to be delivered you) hoping they may meet you Safe and Well at Annamaboe and in a fair way of leaving the Coast Shortly. . . .

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is interesting as indicating the writer's implicit belief that once the war was over the slave trade would be resumed: "We may perhaps derive a benefit from the Spaniards opening their Port of New Orleans provided they admit the Sale of Negros, which will promote the Guinea Trade, from these States, that labours under the prohibition of bringing Negro's into the United States." Vernon Papers, package no. 60.

[260] [1] Champlin Letter-Book, no. 135.

[2] The accompanying letter to Messrs. Fitch requested that they assist such seamen as chose to come home, "except those who Demand their Wages, they must look out for them Selves." *Ibid.*

[261] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76. Fletcher's instructions for this voyage were dated Oct. 19, 1775, about which time Clarke again sailed for the coast, with a cargo valued at £6129 11 *s.* 2 *d.*, with which he was instructed to procure 300 slaves, to be sold by Malcolm and Nevinson or Hibbert, Bernard, and Montague. On Jan. 2 Clarke wrote from Sekundi of his difficulties on the coast. He had at that time obtained 10 slaves and 20 oz. of gold. *Ibid.*

make the best of your way for Montegoe Bay in the Island of Jamaica, without calling at Any Other Island, And on your Arrival there give Mr. Hibberts House (say Barnard and Montague) the preferance of Selling your Slaves, And wt whom you will Make the best terms you can. as to the length of the Bills, You Must be governed by what is Customary when you Arrive there, And I make no doubt from what I have wrote Messrs. Hibberts but they will take you up, if not you are next to Apply to Messrs Malcolm and Nevinson of Lucie,[2] to do the Bussiness as before, but to observe that either of those Houses that may Sell your Negroes must give you at least 100 Punch's Rum in part payment of Neat proceeds of Sales and to Assist you with a Freight to fill your Vessel up if possible for London and Bristol, But reither the former. But in case of those Houses declineing to do this Business, You are then to Dispatch your Doctor or one of the Mates, Express to Kingston to Messrs. Peatt and Westmorland, And get one of them to come down immediately to sell your Slaves, which no doubt they will readily comply with, And do the best for you they can, and procure you the Above Produce, as well as a Freight for the Vessel to London, And their Bills on Our Friend Arthur [3] I make no doubt will be Honoired, but to take none of the Planters Bills by Any Means, Such is the difficualtys of the times at presant that no body will Engage here or give a Guarantee, however I am in hopes that either One or Other of the before Mentioned Houses do your Bussiness, without your being oblidged to Send to Kingston, And Only Mention that in case of need, that you may not be at any loss how to Act, As youle Observe I give the preferance to Peatts People of Any the Other Houses at Montego Bay, who I know nothing of.

I Shall be glad to hear by first Opp'ty how your Brandy turns out, I hope it will prove a Commanding Article to forward your purchase. The *Fletcher* remains as before, not Sold, what think you of Sending her with a Cargo of Brandy Only to the Coast.

As to News Must refer you to the Bearer of this, in regard to America their Seems No likelyhood of coming to Any Accomodation at presant, the late act of Parliment pass'd will Stop up all their Ports, And Men of Warr to take All their Shiping will put a finishing Stroke to poor America, A great Navy and Army going Over in the Spring, they must submit I think at last, tho' I fear Not with out

[2] Of Malcolm and Nevinson, Clarke had written after his previous voyage, "I do not like the Gentl. that hass Sold my Cargo and they never Shall have another that I can keep out of there hands," and also, "They are 2 Dam Disagreeable people to have any thing to do with and I now sware my Intrest shall never come into there hands again . . . for they are Scotch peddling Jews not Guina Merchants".

[3] Arthur Peatt.

a great loss, The Americans has fitted out several Cruse'g Vessels and have taken Some of our Transports, and people here Are Affraid of the West Indies Men coming home, wh has Advanced the premium of Insurance Double. I wish you had a few Carriage Guns if it was but 4, for Self deffence, perhaps you may get Some off the Ships on the Coast to spare you that Number, every merchantman now carrys Guns the Same as in time of Warr. . . .

P.S. If you have Any Oppertunity before you Sail, write Messrs. Hibberts and Nephews the time you expect to leave the Coast, that they May give the necessary Orders at Montego Bay.[4]

262. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1776.[1]

Annamaboe, Feby. 8th 1776.

Pr. the *Whym* Capt. Butler

D'r Sir, In my last from Seccondie Pr. the *Friendship* C't Dunn, I gave you a Small Scetch of the times here, which I am Sorry to inform you are full as bad or worse than represented. before my Arrival in the roade, I call'd at all the Castles in my way down, but could make little or no trade, they all being engaged or full of goods which at presant is a Drug all over this part of the Coast. I before Acquainted you to what a disadvantage we disposed of goods for gold, and without which there is no such thing as geting a Slave, Sute Romall 1½ Accey, Yellow Ells 3 and 3½ Do., Ancors of Brandy 3½ and 4 Do., Deans Guns 2 and 2½ Do., Tallow I Do., Bejutapotts and Nijanapouts 3½ Do., Barragore romalls 2 Do. and indeed every thing else we Sell in order to raise gold are oblidged to Sell at the like discount, Callawaypours, Allejarrs, Sestracoundy romalls and blew Ells they will not take on a Slave, Stripe Taffity and Cottonnee I am oblidged to buy as they term it, and give 12 Ackys Gold, (wch goes for 1 oz. Trade) Notwithstanding I have Stripe Taffitys I can't get them to take one, English Chints that before was the Commanding Article is now Nothing they hardly will take a piece on a Slave, India Chints they will not look at, In order to Acquaint you as fully as possible of the Manner of Trade I send you Account of the goods I trusted for a Man Slave this day,

		oz.	*Ack.*	
Viz:	1 half Says 2 Romauls	1	6	Trade
	1 India Chilow, 1 English Chints	1		
	1 Cotton, ½ plain Taffity	1		
	1 Patch, 1 Callawaypour		14	

[4] Endorsed: "Reciv'd at Cape Cost Castle 10th June 1776 Pr. *Constantine,* Capt. Robe of Bristol."

[262] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

	oz.	*Ack.*	
12 Ackys gold in the roome of Stripe Taffity and Cottonnee w'h goes for 1 oz. in trade whereby we lose 4 Acceys gold	1		
4 Ancors Brandy	2		
4 Iron barrs, 1 Keg Tallow		11	
6. 2 qt. Bassons and 4 Brass pans		8	
¼ bbl. Powder and 1 birding Gun		14	
4 Siliscas, I Brawl, 1 Ga. Stuff		12	
1 Barragora B'or and Gold taken Accy		7	
	10.	8	Acc
The 4 Accys lost in the Stripe Taffity and Cottonnee is 8 Accys trade,		8	
Makes the Slave	11.	0	

Amount to 11 oz Trade, this is the black trade, and the White trade is 12 oz,[2] in Short by what I can find out By all the Captains here there Slaves Stands them in 24£ Ster'g and upwards round. The Vessels now here are the *Swallow* Nelson her purchase Compleeted, will Sail in a Short time, *Marquis of Rockingham*, Charles, wants 90 Slaves, the *Britania* Hughes has About 50 Slaves, *Juno,* Eagles just arr'd, (all of L'ple [Liverpool]), The *Unanimity* Chambers wants 40, The *Peggy* Martin, about 20, on board, *Sophia* Bold taken up by Mill and Miles (all of London), The *Phenix* Taylor wants About 80, The *Tom* Nicholson wants 50, The *King George* Williams Contracted wt the Whites for all his Cargo, (all of Bristol,). There is Several Vessels to windward Among Whom C't Farrar from Liverpool who we heere has 1700 Brass pans and 1000 Shantee romauls, if so will when he arrives carry all the Trade for without a Shantee Romal and 4 Brass pans you cannot think of purchasing a Slave. Since my Arrival have done but little, raised about 70 oz. gold and have made barters with the Whites about 50 Slaves and if Mr. Mill Complies with his promise have 20 More from him, but as he is a realiseing and intends Coming off many Obstacles may Arrise that he Cannot Comply. As to the black trade I have purchased two Women and trusted About 8 Slaves goods which is the Whole of the bussiness Since I came down in the roade, being Selling a little Brandy for Gold, which by no means is liked equal to our rum, A few days ago arrived here a Small Vessel from the Granads with about 6000 Gs. rum, was taken up by Mill, Miles and Brew, at 140 and 160 Gs. per Slave.

[2] These prices should be compared with those prevailing about fifty years earlier. See this work, II. 372-383.

A few days ago Capt. Hill returned from to windward very Sick, but are in hopes is Something better now. My Cooper came out with a Pox on him and as yet the Doctor has not been Able to remove it, and for the want of him we are much distrest and in a little While Shall not have an Ancor to give on a Slave. And as one Misfortune does not come Alone, the 3d Instant our boatswain lost our 2d boat After landing 2 Punch'n Brandy at the Saltponds, lost in her 1 Empty Punch'n 1 do. Ancor and 1 Swivil Gun. Mr. Carr is to windward in the 1st Boat wth a Cargo of brandy, Goods etc. etc. after Gold. In my barter for 20 Slaves with Mr. Miles I gave him 40 oz Gold for 70 oz Trade, which is 10 oz. trade loss on the Stripe Taffity and Cottonnee. I endeavoured to let you know how matters are a going, and like to go, for there is no hopes of any alteration like to happen Soon for the better. . . .

263. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1776.[1]

20th Feby. 1776.

Per the *Swallow* C't Nelson

D'r Sir, Since the above I have not purchased a Slave by that you may See trade is Excessive dull, I have Sold a few Punch'ns of Brandy for Gold which is all the trade I have made, times never was duller than at presant, I have had Some trouble wt the Man of Warr on Acc't of my Register being part of the property of an American was detained one day and a night but delivered me again and returning on board from the Man a warr I unfortunately lost it over board and shall proceed to C. Coast tomorrow in order to protest and get a Certificate 'till I can get Another register which will Answer equal the Same with my other papers, and Save a great dale of trouble, as the Men of war has orders to take all property belonging to any American. They have Several Vessels now with them that they have Already taken that has come out of America, and are in pursuite of a New York Vessel that is in Gaboon river, wh I do Suppose they will take, Mr. Carr returned f'm to windward not well, but he is gone to leeward in the boat. . . .

264. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1776.[1]

Annamaboe Roade, 8th April 1776.

Per the *Marquis of Rockingham* Capt. Charles
and the *Tom* Capt. Nicholson

D'r Sir, My last was by Capt. Nelson in the *Swallow,* where I made you Acquainted wth the Dull times here, and likewise that I had lost

[263] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.
[264] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

my register, And that I Should go to Cape Coast and make a protest, The next Morning I went up and when I came there the Secretary said it was not in his Power to grant one that would be of Any Service and so Said the governor. At the Same time the *Weasel* Man A Warr Capt. Warren was there and he Seem'd to be very much exasperated against the Americans, and was determined to take All he found, from What I could learn from the Masters at Cape Coast he Examined the Vessels very Closely to See if there was Any American property. I was advised by Friends that it would be better to go out of Sight for a Week or 10 days 'till he pass'd, and the next day I run out of Sight a land and Stay'd 'till he pass'd, and before I could return to the roade Again the *Pallas* C't Cornwallace [2] Arrived, and as I had left the roade I thought proper not to come in Again untill he pass'd by. I then Staid on Shore and Sent Capt. Hill out in the Ship to Stay 2 Weeks and then return, Which he did, but the Man a Warr had been detained by having Some Palavers to Settle wth the Dutch forts, that the Ship was Oblidged to go off again and stay a week longer. She this day returned to the roade, and I am bound down to Accara to deliver the Deans Company [3] an hundred or 150 Slaves goods, which I agread for Whilst the Ship was at Sea if the goods Suted. The *Weasel* I Saw returned on the Coast whilst I was at Accra last, About 5 days ago, and the *Attalanta* is likewise to come back, Whether to Stay on the Coast or not is not known, So that I am determined to get All the goods out of the Ship as Soon as possible, that they may have only an Empty Vessel to take if they are determined to bring of the Coast, which I am Affraid will be the Case, if the *Weasel* is to be Stationed here. It is a very unhappy Circumstance for Our Voyage, for it has keept me this 6 Weeks from Bussiness. However trade has been excessive dull and those in the roade All the time has not purchased 20 Slaves. If it was not for the longtime of payment wth the Deanish Company (which is to be the Middle of August) I Should think I have done more than if I had been in the roade, but I have been So harrased ever Since the Arrival of the Men of Warr that I am glad to get the goods out of the Vessel at Any rate, Esspecially where the payment has always proved good, if no farther Accts. of this Men A Warr Shall Set out in the Morning for Accara in the Ship. As I now have given you A full Account as I possibly can at presant, Must beg of you if Any thing can be done with you towards the preservation of the Intrest

[2] Afterward the celebrated admiral Sir William Cornwallis, younger brother of Earl Cornwallis. For the activities of the *Pallas* and the *Weasel* on this coast, under his command, see Cornwallis-West, *Life and Letters of Admiral Cornwallis,* pp. 49-54.

[3] The Danes at this time held Christiansborg, at Accra, and a small fort at Ningo.

that you will do it. I don't think that any part of the Intrest is in danger of being Confiscated except my part, and that is because the Register Mentioned me belonging to Rhode Island, but to be brought off and leave the Cargo behind will be a great disapointment to you, which is the greatest part of my uneasiness at presant. I hope to return in time to give you farther Accounts of our Barter to leeward by the Companys Ship. After Setling of that barter can give some near gues of our purchase, which I am Affraid will be far Short of What was expected when I left you, for the price is now 10 and 12 oz to the Whites for Women and Men, and do not imagine I Shall be at Barbadoes till Novr.

I imagine you Will have time enough to Send Any Orders there that may be of Service to me After the receipt of this and I Sincerely hope the Affairs of America will be Settled. . . .

265. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1776.[1]

Cape Coast Roade, 6th May 1776.

Per the *Sophia* C't Bold

Sir, In my last per the *Rockingham* Capt. Charles of the 1st Ult. I acquainted you I was about to barter with the Deans Company at Accra for 100 or 150 Slaves, provided the goods Suited, On the Ships return I proceeded with her to Accra and there Compleated the barter for 147 Slaves, which are to be All paid by agreemant by the Middle of August, And at the Same time delivered All the goods, I have now dissposed of All my Cargo Except 10 punch's of Brandy and the Jamaica Rum, great part of which I Shall want for Wooding, Watering and other expences, We are now Returned with out Ship to Cape Coast from Accra, in order to fill our Water, get our Wood and provisions, and to Collect our debts here and at Annamaboe, to Compleat which it will take 6 or 8 Weaks, When done here Shall return to Accra to be ready when our Slaves there becomes due,

By the nearest Calculation I can Make my purchase will amount to About 275 Slaves, but as my Stay on the Coast will be this Some time yet and of Course more Expencive I cannot justly Assertain the number, but it will be near what I before Mentioned.

The purchase Runs Short of Expectation when Sail'g but the prices is Much More than I expected when I left you, for All the Slaves is at 12 oz for Men and 10 oz for Women thats purchased from the Whites, and from my Unhappy Situation, and the Excessive dull trade I have made very little other trade than with the Whites, So that I labour under every disadvantage in point of profits to the Voyage,

[265] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

However I hope if we get Safe to Markett, with our Short purchase that we Shall not lose Money.[2] . . .

266. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1776.[1]

Cape Coast Roade 6 July 1776.

D'r Sir, In my former letters Pr Capt'ns Bold, Smith and others, I fully informed you in what manner I had disposed of my Cargo, and time agree'd on for payment was the middle of Augt. And Expected to be at Barbadoes in Novr and I Should purchase About 275 Slaves. I now add that Trade has been entirely Stop'd for this 6 Weeks pass'd, Owing to the Chief of the people a going back against the Asshantees to Warr, and are not yet returned, but there is no likelyhoods of comeing to battle as the Asshantees is returned back to their Country again, and it is not likely their will be any great matter of trade for this some time again, (as the Chiefest of our trade comes through the Asshantees).

Everything Seems to contribute to our disapointment, About 3 weeks ago the Deans and Dutch Governors at Accra, and likewise their towns people, went together at Logerheads and fought for 3 or 4 days, from Which Accident has Stop'd all trade that way, and have just reason to think from that dissturbance it will put it out of the power of the Deans Governor to pay us agreable to contract, And am affraid shall not leave the Coast in all September, If so, cannot be at Jamaica 'till Decr.

Your favour Pr *Constantine* Capt. Robe of the 29th Jany. came to hand the 10th Ult. I observe your further orders about not Stoping to Windward, which Shall comply with, all my Letters before to you I have desired to have your orders at Barbadoes, and for fear you Should have Sent any there I have desired Messrs. Jones and Ewing if any letters Should be lodged with them for me, that they would forward them under cover to Messrs. Hibberts and Nephews at Kingston, and if the North side to Messers. Barnard and Montague, at Montego Bay, as I should not stop at Barbadoes. I shall agreable to your orders proceed immediately to Montego Bay, where I hope it will be agreable for the Former house to take me up, or our Former Friends, but Should I be oblidged to call on Our Friends, P and W. Shall Observe your note About the Planters Bills. [You] mentioned the *Fletcher* was still unsold, I wish we had been lucky enough to have

[2] In the last paragraph of this letter Clarke recorded the uprising of the slaves on the *Phoenix,* Captain Taylor, the night before the vessel left the coast. In Clarke's next letter, May 21, he reiterated much of the information in this, adding that he had learned from Captain Absome (?), who had just arrived on the coast from Lancaster, that by act of Parliament all American property was to be confiscated wherever found.

[266] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

fited her out with Brandy when I Sail'd for at that time Brandy was much wanted, as there was no rum at Markett, and She might by this time have been with you Again, with part of my Cargo and her Own, which as things has turn'd out would have been greatly to Advantage, Dutch Brandy has the preferance to English Brandy, and rum before both.

There has been here since my Arrival 6 Rummen from the West Indies, two of Which is gone off, So that the Coast has been very well Supplyed with rum, and the *Hawk* and *Apollo,* two Ships belonging to London, has Brought from Holland 70,000 Galls. of Gin and Brandy. The latter has not sold any yet, She has been Arrived but a few days. The Former has sold I believe near all amongst the Dutch Castles. If you should determine to send the *Fletcher* with Brandy, Dutch Brandy would be the best, and I believe by farr the Cheapest.

I am excessive sorry to hear there is no likelyhood of matters being Accomodated between Great Britain and her Colonies, and likewise that such Acts of Parliament pass'd, to take All the American Vessels, for I assure you we had like to have been taken off the Coast, from the orders the Men of Warr had dated Octr. 11th 1775; had I not keeped out of the way All the time the Menawar were on the Coast. And I have been in the greatest Dilemma Imaginable About the Acts, and what to do with the Vessel, As I never durst take Any Slaves on board not thinking the Intrest safe to be brought off in her, Untill a few days ago I found Some Exemtions from Acts pass'd to take All Americans, in the publick Ledger of Feb'y 7th (*Viz.* Exemption 4th) is Ships cleared out from any port of Great Britain or Ireland before the 1st Jany. 1776 for Any of the British Sugar Colonies in the West Indies, and Ships cleared out from the Said British Colonies and bound to Great Britain or Ireland, Provided 2/3 of the owners of Such Ships as[are] his Majestys Subjects Residing in Great Britain or Ireland, or Some of the Said Sugar Colonies. The Above Act entirely Acquits us, as we are cleared out for Jamaica, and Coppy of Our Register Sent to Montego Bay, will entirely Acquit us from farther trouble.

Your paragraph Concerning geting a few Guns on Account of the American privateers, there is none to be gott, Every body that has any do not chuse to part with them for the Same Reasons, And for my part I do not think but that the American Privateers are So large that 4 or 6 Guns would be of little use, if to be had. You better know what danger there is of privateers than I do, So beg you will Insure my Intrest, [f]or as much as you think prudent, but as our Stay on the Coast will be so long, I am in great hopes Every thing

may be Setled before we Reach the W. Indies, and That Great Britain and her Colonies may be Unitted in a Everlasting Union, Is my Sincere Wish. . . .

Shall Acquaint Messrs. Hibberts and Nephews as near as possibly I can the time I expect to leave the Coast,[2] The Vessels now here are *Viz:*

From London, The *Peggy* C't Martin, Almost Slaved, at Annam'e.
St. George C't More, About 20 Slaves, Returning from Accra.
Hawk, C't Clieland, at Appam, Sold the Chief of her Cargo to the dutch
Harriott, Wilson, at Accra, Tender to *Apollo,*
Apollo, C't Smith, at C. Coast, just Arrd all of London,
Juno C't Eagles, Annamaboe, About half Slaved,
Will C't Taryer, Do Do.
Hope, C't Fletcher Do. About 50 Slaves
Fly C't Blundle, *Brooks* C't Noble } About Appolonier, all of Liverpool
Martha, late C't McDonnah, who was drowned About 8 weeks ago, at Amanda, About 1/3 Slaved,
Constantine Robe, just Arrived, both of Bristol
Capt. Leeds from Dominica, C't Hawkins f'm Barbadoes, C't Hammond, f'm St. Cruix } Rum Vessels at Annamb'e

I have been as pertickeler as I can how matters Stand with us, I only add that I Shall Use my best Indeavours to Collect my Slaves as Soon as there is any trade. . . .

267. Captain Peleg Clarke to Richard Miles and Jeremy B. Weuves, 1776.[1]

Gentlemen, There is a debt due to Capt. Caleb Gardner in behalf of the Estate of the late Robert Johnson from late Richard Brew of Annamaboe,[2] Amounting to thirty Eight Slaves, which I am empowered to receive, as will appear by the Power's which were lodged Some time ago in the Secretary's office at Cape Coast Castle, I there-

[2] The letter to Messrs. Hibbert, which was also written on July 6, stated that Clarke did not expect to leave the coast before the middle or the end of September.

[267] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

[2] On Oct. 1 Clarke wrote: "The Death of Mr. Brew you will doutless here of before this comes to hand. He Died much in Debt in the roade to the Shiping and they are in alikely way of being grate Sufferers, it is the Onely troble that hass been going that we have Steard clear off, the Capt'ns he ow'd mony to *viz* Capt. Leads a rumman 110 Slaves, Capt. Eagles 56, and Capt Robe 32, and in Short all the Road more or less." *Ibid.,* no. 76.

fore lay in my claim as a creditor on the Estate of said Rich'd Brew, And hope to receive my devidend as every other creditor,
ANNAMABOE ROADE, 4th Septr 1776.[3]

268. CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE TO JOHN FLETCHER, 1776.[1]

CHRISTENBORG CASTLE ACCRA Decem'r 1 1776.

D'r Sir, I dare Say You'l be Supprised as well as Dissapointed when this Letter Informes you I am Still on the Coast Acation'd by the Danish Company not paying me Agreeable to Contract, The reason of there noncompliance is there falling into a palaver with there Duch Nabours which for along time Stop'd there Trade.[2]

However, trade has taken arun here for this last month and I have recived all my Slaves to about thirty Six or Seven which I hope to gitt Very Soon and dout not of Sail'g of the Coast by Chrismas.

I am Sorry I have So dissagreeable a Story now to tell, which is about the 8th of Last Month our Slaves rose on board and a large Number of them jumpt overboard, out of which twenty Eight Men and two woman whare Drown'd, Six men taken up by the Moree Towns people which Mr. Klearck the Governor of the Foart, at that place,[3] took out of there hands and has them in his Foart I indeavourd to gitt them, but the Towns people Ask Eleven oz. pr head for takeing them up, So I could not Settle it with them, and being Oblig'd to return to Accra again in Oder to Settle, I have beeg the favour of Mr. Mill to Settle it for me and i dout not he will do it much Sooner and on more reasonable'r termes then I can.

Thare is likewise apawn boy Mising which for a woman Slave, and was not heard of when I Left Cape Coast, and if not found will add one More to our loss. I am Sorry to Say that the Insurrectison on board happen'd not by Accident Somuch as through avery grate Neglect in Mr. Hill, in not Chaining the Slaves that day as Usual and agrater peace of Misconduct in going out of the Vessel and takeing all the Chiff Officers with him that knew whare any thing wass, and Leaving the Slaves out of the Chain, (and on deck). The reason

[3] "To Rich'd Miles and Jer: Ber'd Weaves, Esqrs, Executors of late Rich'd Brew, Annamaboe." Richard Miles, not long after this, received an "ad interim" appointment as governor in chief of the British settlements on the Gold Coast. He was superseded in March, 1780. In 1782 he was made governor and held the office two years. J. B. Weuves, probably the second executor, was governor in 1781. George Macdonald, *The Gold Coast,* p. 346.

[268] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

[2] Clarke had written on Oct. 1 that the Danes had disappointed him. At that time he had on board 109 slaves, his boat had gone to the Danish factory for 12 or 15 more, there were 10 awaiting him at the English factory at Prampram, and some due to him at Anamabo. He had sent two slaves off by Captain Champlin, for the benefit of his family in Rhode Island, which was cut off from receiving any funds directly from Fletcher.

[3] R. A. Klarck was the governor of the Dutch fort at Mouree.

he gives for going on Shore wass about three of the people he had differ'd with that Morning and had Stop'd there Alowance of adram for gitting Drunk with the rum Sent in the boate for the people that Swims of the water, and when the boate returnd again In shore for More water the people wood not Come of, So he went on Shore after them and in the time of there being a Shore the Slaves took the Oppertunity to rise and jump over board, they being well Secured in Irons, they could not[swim?], Nor did they any mischiff Otherways. Dissapointments, Crosses and Losses has closely attended us this Voyage, whare and how they will end God only knows, We have lost three Ancors, 2 boats with them there Sails, Oars etc. besides 2 Swivel guns.

I am hartily Sorroy I had so Dissagreeable a Story to wright you, However we will now leave it, and aquaint you that our Slaves on board are all well and we have About 200 on board, and I dout not of Compleating my purchass of 275 Slaves not-with-Standing the grate Exspence that attended our long Stay on the Coast. Our beef and other provishons runs very Short and not a bar'l of any kind to be purchast at any rate whatever, but as Long as we have Slaves provishon plenty there is no dainger of Starving. We heave had no late Arival on the Coast, and there is but Very few goods, and no rum, there will be agrate Opening in avery Short time for Some fourtanate parson or other, wharein he may Make a very grate Voyage. The Coast is now in want of allmost Every Necessary both for trade and Every thing Else. The last rum Vessel that wass here is Capt. Stanton Hazard in a brig of Mr. Romes and had it not have been for his Uncommon Leakage he wood have made avery grate Voyage. he has lost on forth part of his Cargo, he Sold at 140 g'l for men and 120 for woman he is now at Cape Coast. If the *Fletcher* wass here She wood turn out a Cargo of Brandy Excessive well, for I assure you Lichcure never wass more wanted then at preasant.

I have fully Aquainted you in my former letters of our Situation and dout not you have taken Every precaution Necessary to gard against the Worst, and Every Dainger that thretten's us, and that a Coppy of our Regester is Loged at Monteagu bay, whare I hope to be in Feby. I have left orders with the Dochter to Write you, if any of the Vessels Sails from windard while I am Down here, Therefore if any thing new hass Transspired he will let you no. . . .

269. John Bell to John Fletcher, 1776.[1]

Cape Coast Roade, 15 Decr. 1776.

Sir: Agreable to Capt. Clarkes desire, I take the oppertunity of the *Hope* C Fletcher sailing from hence to write you a few lines, in order to acquaint you how your affairs is situated here, but am exceeding sorry it is not in my power to send you more agreable Accounts, for, as Capt. Clarke has from time to time Observed to you, the Voyage has been attended with nothing but losses and disapointments, so to compleat the whole, on Friday the 8th Inst. we had the misfortune to lose 36 of the best slaves we had by an Insurrection, this unlucky affair happened about a mile to leeward of this roade, when there was only the Boatswain, Carpenter, 3 White people and myself on board (of white people). Capt. Clarke Mr. Carr and boats crew were on there passage up from Accra, 3 of the white people had that morning left the boat when a watering and Capt. Hill was gone ashore wt Mr. Risle and boats Crew in order to get them off again, We had 160 Slaves on board and were that day lett out of the Deck Chains in order to wash, about 2 OClock They began by siesing upon the Boatswain (luckly the only white person upon the main deck) but he soon got disengaged and got abaft the Barricade, after receiving a wound on his breast and one under his Chin, both well again. They Continued to threw Staves, billets of wood etc., and in endeavoring to get down the Barricado, or over it for upwards of 40 Minutes, when finding they could not effect it all the Fantee and Most of the Accra Men Slaves jumped over board, in my opinion with an intend to get up abaft, but the Currant running to strong to leeward very few of them could fetch the Ship again. At last we got a signal hoisted for the boat to come off (having none alongside). Sometime after the boat and a Cannoe came off and picked up 6 men and M. boys after being upwards of 2 hours in the water and got far to leeward. When all was a little setled we found 32 Men and Men boys w't 2 women a mising, the best Slaves we had. We only fired 2 masquets amongst them, one wt Powder only and one wt a little dust in it, had we fired more almost every one of them would have jumped over board, a few got cut wt cutlasses, but are geting well again, no white man excepting the boatswain got hurt, had the women assisted them in all probability your property here at this time would have been but small. The women having no hand in it was owing to their having no time to consult about it, as their rissing at that time was entirely owing to there being so many white people out of the Vessel, (which they said themselves) though

[269] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76. Bell is the doctor to whom Clarke refers in the preceding letter.

they had 2 or 3 times before been going to attempt it. The only reason we can give for their attempting any thing of the kind, is, their being wearied at staying so long on board the ship. Those left will give no reason for their riseing, but lay the blame entirely on those that lost. There is 4 Men and 2 Men boys now in Mauree fort (a dutch fort about 4 Miles to leewd. of this) which was picked up by the natives, who the Gov'r sent off in cannoes for the purpose. They at presant insist upon the full price for them, but Capt. Clarke is in hopes of geting one half for the other, being the Common Custom of this Country. There was a rum brig lying at C. Coast, but could see nothing of the affair, by reason of the ship rideing right head too her. You will probably think I have been too particular for so disagreable a Subject, therefore shall say no more of it

Capt. Clarke arr'd the 9th ult. from Accra wth 11 Slaves, Mr. Carr has Since brought up 44, so that we have now recd. 114 Slaves from the Dainish Company. They have had a good dale of Shantee trade lately, but their factorys to leeward has had little or none. Capt. Clarke went down to Accra the 26th Ult. and I believe will not return till all is setled there, as Mr. Carr went down the 8th ult. in a large boat he bourowed in order to bring up all or most of what is due so that we have *Some* hopes of sailing in all this month. There is 4 or 5 Slaves due here and at Annamaboe yet, one of which I'm affraid will be lost, as a pawn ran away from the boat at C. Coast the 8th ult. and they deny his ever geting to Annam'e. He had been back and forward in the boats all the while we have been upon the Coast, by desire of his Father. Capt. Clarke ordered the Ship up here as there is no wood or water to be got to leeward of this, and the boat brings up the slaves as fast as they are purchased. the Ship is now full wooded and watered

We have now 192 Slaves on board, in pretty good health, but have had the misfortune to bury a boy of a Dropsy. That unlucky accident has hurt the looks of our main deck much, and men slaves is very scarce wh is a jeneral Complaint. . . . There has been no fresh Arrivals letely, excepting a rum brig from Granada, who immediately disposeded of what rum he had to the whites at 120 and 140 G. pr slave, that article begins to be very scarce here.

The trade here begins to come in and most of the Vessels are out of goods. The *Constantine* C't Robe of Bristol, The *Fly,* Blandle, of Liverpool, are done purchaseing, and only wait for some debts. The *Gascoyne,* Thoburn, of London is nigh done, so that the *Brooks,* Noble, of L'ple is the only one purchaseing in Annamaboe, never theless the prices never were so high, being got to 9½ and 11½ oz. Pr. Slave to the blacks. C't Noble has keep't up his good, in order

to lower the price, but 'am affraid will not succeed. The *Hawk,* Mill (lying here) has got very few goods. Gov'r Mill intends going off in her, from Whydah, the begining of the year.

The most Commanding articles here at presant is Rum and Tobacco. There has been no Portugee Vessel down lately, so that what little Tobacco there is sells for 5 and 6 oz. trade Pr roll, which since we arrived has sold for 1 and 1½ oz. trade.

Powder is at presant much wanted all along the Gold Coast, many of the beech towns being at Warr amongst themselves, or wth their Gov'rs.

Mr. Watts late chief of Tantun [2] has resigned his place on account of disputes he has had with the natives, and is going off in a brig belong'g to Granada, which Arr'd last July.

The Assortment of Goods upon a Slave is much the same as when we Arrived. . . .

270. Accounts of the *Thames,* 1776.[1]

A Coppy of Account, of ther Monthly Exspence of Ship "Thames" and Damages Sent the Deans Company at Accra.

	Account of the Monthly Exspence of the Ship "Thames" as She now lies on the Coast of Africa Viz.	£	*s.*	*d.*
1776				
27 Aug. to 27 De'r	Wages Pr month as Pr portage bill	49	16	
	Provishons for Ship's Crew Pr month	21	15	
	Rice and Beens 1 Ton 5 C. 0 qr. 0 at 25 Pr Ton	31	5	
	16 Chest Corn at 15*s.* Pr Chest	12		
	100 Gan Cask water at 1*s.* Pr Cask	5		
	500 Yams at 10*s.* p. Hd. 3000 plantings at 2/6 p. Hd.	6	5	
	125 bil'tt wood Pr Day is 3750 Pr month at 5*s.* p. Hd.	9	7	6
	fish, peper, Salt, Limes, Tobaca, pipes rum, etc., etc.,	3	11	3
	Ships Charter party, 184 Tons at 5*s.* Pr Ton amount	46		
	Interest on Vesel and Cargo as She Sail'd from London Value £8500 Ste'g at 6 Pr Ct Pr annum is Pr month	42	10	
	Wresk of Mortallity and Insurrection of 220 Slaves Value 9000£ Ste'g at 5 Pr Ct is Pr month	37	10	
	£	264	19	9

	The Danish Government on Coast of Guina To Oners Ship "Thames" Dr.	£	*s.*	*d.*
1776				
Decem'r 27	To Detention of Ship *Thames* from 27th August to the 27 Decem'r 1776, is 4 Month at £264. 19*s.* 9*d.* Pr Mo. as Pr Ano	1059	19	
	Damages Sustaind by Your Detaining the *Thames* by Insurrection, Loss of 36 Slaves at £25 Ste'g Pr Head is	850		
	To Damages, by not being at Markitt agreeable to Contract, by Your not fullfiling your Contract, in time	1000		
	£	2909	19	

Errows and Omishons Except'd of the above amounts,
Pr. Peleg Clarke

[2] Tantumquerry.

[270] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

271. Captain Peleg Clarke to the Danish Company, 1777.[1]

Gentlemen, I have Stated to You the Monthly Exspence of the Ship *Thames,* and Damages Sustaind by Insurrection, and Likewise our Damages we may have Sufferd by not being at Markitt with our Slaves, Agreeable to my Contract with You, And I dout not on Examonation You will find them just, and will Emeditly do justis to the Oners of Ship *Thames* by makeing good those damages they have Susstain'd by Your not fullfiling Your Contract the Time Agree'd on

Ship *Thames* Cape Coast Roade 3 Jan'y 1777

To the Respectable Danish Company Residing at Christenborg Castle, Accra.

272. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1777.[1]

off Cape Coast 8th Jany. 1777.

This morning finish'd all my Busness an am now Under Sail Acoming of the Coast. I have Settled the Slaves that wass at Mouree at the prices of one half, which makes our Loss to 31 Men and 2 women in the Insurrection. I have procurr'd Some Stock, with a little Salt provishons, Capt. Mills and Some other Frinds Spard, which I dout not of being Suffishant for the passage. we have avery healthey Ship at preasant, and have not bured but one Slave by a Naturrel death, and hope we Shall not have much Mortality. My Next I hope will be from Jamaica, at preasant there is nither goods nor Licure to be had on the Coast. There is Onely Capt Thobourn and Capt. Noble in Annamaboe Roade, a plenty of Slaves, I am Inform'd, I belive there purchass Near Compleated. I have got the Slave for the pawn boy, by panyaring[2] awoman. . . .

There wass so many Small ballences to pay Ocation'd by our Long Stay, when I was a Settleing I was Obg. to Draw abill on You in favour of Mr. Miles for £22 Ste'g or Sell on of my Slaves of Deck PC Capt. More Via Garnards

273. John Westmorland and Company to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1777.[1]

Kingston 8th Jany. 1777.

Dear Sir, . . . The very best Gold Coast Cargoes have been opened at £59 and duty Pr head, and such Cargoes did not Average

[271] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.
[272] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.
[2] Kidnapping.
[273] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

more than 35 or £36 Stg. Eboe Slaves 32 or £33 S'g Pr head, Bills for the payment are drawn 1/3 Payable in 12 M'ts, 1/3 in 24 M's, and the Remainder 30 or 36 M'ts after date. Mr. Fletcher wishes to engage a freight for the Vessel, but it will be impossible to make any such agreement wt the Guinea factors, in the presant temper of the times. If you come wth your Vessel to Kingston (wch is contrary to our presant expectations) we may possibly be able to give you some assistance in selling the Negroes, or making the most advantageous terms wth others for the benefit of yourself and Owners, but it will be out of our powers to go to any out port to sell the Cargoe. . . .

274. JOHN FLETCHER TO CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE, 1777.[1]

LONDON 10th Feby. 1777.

D'r Sir. . . . I apprehend f'm all Accts. you will find the times much worse at Jama. than ever you expected for Sale of your cargo, owing to the great glut of Negroes carryed down to that Island of late, has reduced the price Much, and payments they are got to immoderate lengths, so that no trade can possibly Support the credit given, besides those Jama. houses here that has stop'd and got time to pay (wch I advised you off in my last) must Effect many of the planters at Jamaica very much. The House of Sericold and Jackson was the beginners and occasioned all this mischief. I hope you have Steared clear of any of there connexions at Montego Bay. Many house here, Morse and Smiths, has lately Stop'd owing to the formers connexions, all which makes the times here very Alarming, and no body here will scarce accept bills without Value in hand. I cannot say more than I have in my former on our concern, being well Satisfied you will do everything for the best that tends to our Interest wth Safety. If you have been Oblidged to Sell your Slaves on the plan Mr. Hibberts has lately adopted (wch I fear other houses will too Soon follow,) *Viz*: Selling the Cargoes on the Owners Acct. and risque, I would recomend, if not too late, to get the Houses own bonds that Sells the Cargo preferable to the diff't Planters Bonds, by wch means we have but one house to look to, instead of so many diff't People, and in such case to take more produce on our own Accts. than before ordered, esspecially dispatch sake, so as to Sale wth the *1st Convoy,* which I take for granted you will not fale to do, and give me timely advise by the Man of Warr and Packet, that I may make the necessary Insurance. If I had thought the times had been so bad, I should have recommended to you, if cou'd have been done, to rented Ab't 60 Negroes on our joint Acct. upon lease for 3 years to 4 differ-

[274] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

ant people, good Safe Men, to make good the Valuation, or Selling price at the usual rent given for New Negroes, Say f'm 8 to 10 Pr Cent on Value, And at the end of the lease to pay the Amount or else deliver up the Negroes and pay for the difficiency, but I suppose it will be too late to think of it and only mention this as it occurs to me, as it might have been for our benefit. I must inform you that an act of Parliament will soon pass, which Empowrs the Admiralty to grant Letters of Marque to Merchant Ships, to make Prizes of any *Amerrican Ships or Property*—wch as you have been so harrased on that Acct. and to prevent any future troubles, I am to desire you will make over a deed sale for your quarter part of the Vessel to me or Mr. Barwell Evins, or any other friend in trust, after wch you can with safety make an affidavit and get a New Register made out for Ship *Thames* in my name and Mr. Evins only of London as Sole owners, and cargo to be Ship'd on owners Acct. Marcked 8 T and to let no part appear in your Name, which will entirely put it out of the power of any Busy person giving trouble. And upon the Ships Arrival here, all matters will be properly adjusted between us as before, as I think you may rely on *my honour,* on the Occasion, this I before hinted in my letters of 7th Feby. and 25th Novr. Was you to mention yourself of London in the Register I think will not be so Safe as the other way, you being so well known f'm R. I. might give room for Ill natured people to make a handle off, and if you Should have Already got a Register made out before this comes to hand, you can Assign your reasons to the Collector, *that you have Sold out,* in order to get a new Register in the name of the Sold Owners of London etc., what I have before hinted I think will be Sufficient for your government on that head. I am likewise of opinion it will be for our Mutual Intrest your comeing home to England in the Ship, as we can then adjust and Settle all Matters between us, after wch if you chuse it you can go home to your family, in some of the Transports, or Store Ships, otherways we may perhaps get a Freight for our Ship that way, and in case Matters are Setled wth America this Summer their will be a good opening for trade f'm hence thither. I Shall Honour your bill on me as advis'd for £36 Stg. when due, and have pd. Mrs. Clarkes bill on me for £100 S'g both wch are charged to Your debt. I am Sorry to find you have lost the S. Bower Anchor, and that the Old Cable proves so bad, if you should be oblidged to get either at Jama. you will do it in as Cheep a way as you can, Mr. Westmorland can Assist you in this Matter f'm Kingston, old Cordage used formerly to be had at Greenwich Kingstons etc. I must inform you I have Sent out a power of Attorney to Mr. Westmorland, and to Mr. Delarach of St. Eliz'bs Jama. to transact any affairs of mine in

future, So that any papers or Bonds of our Concer[n]s may be left in their hands if Necessary when you leave the Island.

275. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Westmorland and Company, 1777.[1]

Montego Bay 25th Ap'l 1777.

Much Esteemed Friends, I Received your kind fav'r wch you lodged in the hands of Messrs. Bernard and Montague, and am much obliged to you for your Information how slaves sell at Kingston and likewise the mode of payment. I have agreable to Mr. Fletchers orders applied to Messrs. Bernard and Montague but there terms are such that I cannot by any means think of complying with, which is to have our slaves sold for Bonds on Account of the Owners, those payments I am sure never will be agreable to Mr. Fletcher, for I am very confident they will cut but a poor figure in purchaseing a Guinea Cargo in London. I am now a treating wth Malcom and Neveson to take me up. Mr. Malcom is at presant here, I expect Mr. Neveson up to day from Lucea, at presant no terms are offered as agreed on, but wait the Arrival of Neveson. I was sorry to see it was not agrable to you to sell a Cargoe of Negroes any where but at Kingston, for it was my orders from Mr. Fletcher that if the House of Hibberts would not sell for such payment as would sute to dispatch my doctor to you, and that he did not doubt but you would do the business. Mr. Fletcher ordered me down on this side as imagineing Slaves would sell higher than at Kingston and I had much reither it had been agreable for you to have come over and Sold the Slaves, for it is entirely out of my power to come round to Kingston. My Ship is a compleat wreck for the night after I left Cape Coast I lost my Fore Mast, Fore top Mast, Fore top G'n Mast, Main top Mast and Sprung the head of my Main Mast, in a tarnado, So that in 2 Moments I was a compleat Wreck, and Considering my cargo and the place where I was it was truely to be said we were in a deplorable condition, such a one as I never before saw, nor never wish to see again. But this Voyage has been a Compoun of Losses, Crosses and disapointments, which I assure you so close attended us that we Scarce ever was clear of one 'till plunged into Anot'r and our evil genius has not yet left us, we have not been Successful in any one thing the Voyage, except in having lettle or no mortality, burying but 4 Slaves all this long disagreable Voyage, and keeping out of the hands of my Countrimen and arriving safe here after a long Passage of 15 Weeks and 12 Mo'ts Stay on the Coast. But have brought in my Slaves in very good order and healthy 240 of them, but as you justly observe

[275] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

the temper of the times are Such that there is nothing to be hoped from them towards Releaving a Short purchase and a large loss by Insurrection of 33 Slaves, wch you have heard of before now. I am informed that letters have been Returned from this place back to Kingston. I beg that if there is any in your hands or in the Post-office you will desire them to be sent back.

276. Agreement between Peleg Clarke and Malcolm and Nevinson, 1777.[1]

Montegabay 26th April 1777.

Agreement between Capt'n Peleg Clarke of the Ship "Thames" and Messrs. Malcolm and Nevinson March't at St. Luciee. That the Said Malcolm and Nevinson are to Sell the Said Ships Cargo of Slaves on the following Condition Vize.

Bills are to be Drawn on John Fletcher Esqr. for the Nett proceeds of Said Cargo of Slaves on the 20th July Next

One third in Bills Pay'e at 24 Months Sight
One third in Bills Pay'e at 36 Months Sight
One third in Bills Pay'e at 42 Months Sight

Malcolm and Nevinson further Agree to give Captain Clarke One Hundred and Fifty Punchions of Rum the Amount of which to geather with the Ships Desbursements are to be deducted from the first payment at 24 months Sight as above menchond.

Also to give the Said Capt. Clarke Bills on John Fletcher Eqr. at fifteen Months Sight or the Amount in Rum as may be most Convenient for the Said Malcolim and Nevinson in Payment for his Coast Commission and payment in rum to four officers belonging to Said Ship *Thames* for one Slave each at the Rate the Cargo Averages at. The Preceeding Agreement each party is Satisfied with as Witness our Hands.[2]

Malcolm and Nevinson

277. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1777.[1]

[May, 1771.]

Dear Sir, . . . I have had an offer f'm a New house, Messrs. Parkinson and Hill, and had it not been for the uncertainty of these Bills, I should have sat down wth them, but from the late great falair [failure] of the Guinea houses, I was a little susspicous as they

[276] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

[2] Despite this statement Captain Clarke was far from satisfied with the agreement. His comment to Fletcher was, "those two here are Jews."

[277] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76. The first paragraph of the letter reports the terms of the agreement with Messrs. Malcolm and Nevinson.

are not thoroughly established. There Characters here is very good, but are not known the other side the water, and it is a long time untill 42 M'ts comes round, many Accidents may happen in that time, therefor thought it best to be sure, or at least the surest of any house here except Hibberts and Co. Aour friend Mr. Westmorland let me know by a letter it did not Sute him to sell a Cargoe in the Country and the Situation of our Vessel I could not get to Kingston.

. . .

Our Sales comes on the 8th May

278. Protest on Board the *Thames*, 1777.[1]

Coppy of the Minutes of the Protest taken on board "Thames", Viz.

March 19th 1776 Lost our Kedge Ancor About 250 t. wt. and 45 fathoms of 5 Inch Hawser, a heaving Up.

Aprill the 16 1776 Split our four topSails in a hard Squall of wind etc.

Septr. 17, 1776. Lost two Small bowers Ancors in a hard Turnardo in Accra Roade, and never wass able to purchas them.

Fryday the 8 of November at Ancor in Cape Coast Roade, at half past two Aclock in the After Noon An Insurrection begun on Board By the Men Slaves, and Indevouring to Surpress them almost all of the men jumpt Overboard but by the Assistance of the boate and a Conew from the Shore we Recoverd all to thirty three, that whare Lost and Drowned, haveing on board at that time one Hundred and Sixty Slaves and 3 pawns.

Wednesday 8th of Janu'y 1777, at 7 Aclock in the Evening in a voialent gust of wind from East we Lost our fore Mast, fore top-mast, fore topgallentmast, and Maintopmast and Sprung the head of our Mainmast and Damaged a Quantity of our Small Rigen in gitting our Sails clear, which Recived much Damage Likewise, in the water before we Could gitt them on board again. Lost our jib-Stay, Split our Miz'n TopSail, Carred away our four top in the fall of our Mast, and wass Oblig'd to Cutt much Rigen in Order to clear the wrack, and Lost out the foretop two Quiles Stud'g [?] Sail Halyards. The foregoing of the Minutes of the Losses Sustain'd on board the Ship *Thames* on her Voyage to Africa and Jamaica.

Sworn before me this 7th June 1777
Charl's Barnard

[278] [1] *Ibid.* A "protest," in maritime law, is a formal declaration of damage, in this case by storm and insurrection. The protest was signed by Peleg Clarke, Robert Hill, and Tiddiman Carr.

279. John Fletcher to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1777.[1]

London 12 Sept. 1777.

Dear Sir, . . . I mentioned something in my last of a Guinea schame with Rum from Jamaica in Comp'y with Mr. [*illegible*] Malcolm Esq. he to hold a Quarter part of Vessell and Cargo, but without he Guarantee the Sales of Negroes on Ships return and give Bills at 1, 2 and 3 years with Intrest on said Bills after 6 Months, Otherwise I will not be concerned, and Mr. Malcolme At same time to Supply the Cargo Rum and Outfitts for the Other owners 3 Quarters to be paid out of the Second Bill at 6 Months now sent Me home, allowing them the Difference of Interest the bill has to run, but not to Draw any Bill on me for an Adventure on that account, for reasons already Assigned. If you go to Jamaica you will turn the matter in your mind, and should think it will answer and is agreeable to Mr. Malcolm you have my Liberty for Self and other Owners to proceed on it provide you go the voyage your self to Guinea Otherwise I will not be concerned—which is my full Instructions on that mattr which you will abide by. If any certainty of Getting Slaves for Rum in a Short time at 140 or 150 Galls pr Slave it might Answer, but not otherwise as Insurance will be high, and it depends on Vessells are already gone on the Rum Trade from Jamaica or Windward Islands. All this I shall leave to your prudent consideration.[2] . . .

280. John Fletcher to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1778.[1]

March 10, 1778.

. . . Mr. Bell has got a Birth in a Ship for 600 Slaves from Liverpool for Affrica, which goes for 600 Slaves. I have settled with him for Ballance of his wages as well as for his Priviledge and hard money, so that the Bill you sent for £47.16.9 answers the Two Latter. He has allowed me for the money received of yours of Mr. Westmoreland £52.0.3 Jama. Currency, which is at your Credit he also has delivered me your acct with Mr. Westmoreland with an Order on Mr. Jno. Peatt for Ballance say £171.31 4 Jama Currency.[2] . . .

[279] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

[2] Endorsed, "Received at Providence the 9th March 1778." What led Clarke to return to Rhode Island instead of embarking on the Guinea voyage which Fletcher here suggested one can only conjecture. It may be that in Jamaica he learned enough of the state of affairs to be convinced that a profitable voyage at that time was impossible.

[280] [1] Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

[2] Fletcher wrote again to Clarke on Apr. 16, 1779, probably concerning the voyage of 1777, that the underwriters refused to pay for the losses of the voyage, on the ground that Clarke had deviated from his course. They later paid £400 (Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76). The absence of material for the years 1779 to 1783 indicates that the Revolution for the time destroyed the American trade in slaves.

281. Receipt of Isaac Gorham, 1783.[1]

Warren February 6th 1783.

Then Received of Roby Whitting a Negro Man Slave in good Order which I am to Carry at her Risque in the Good Sloop *Patty* to the West Indias there to Dispose of him for her on the best Terms I Can and there to Ship the Net proceeds to her on board the Said Sloop or Some Other Bottom in West India goods if a good Oppertunity presents and if not to purchase Bills or make the Returns in Cash so that I do the Best in my Power for the Benefit of Said Roby Whitting She paying for the passage of Said Negro and Commissions as Customary.

282. James Bourn to Mrs. Robey Whiting, 1783.[1]

Newport Febr. 15th 1783.

I have acording to your request Enquired Concerning of Insurance on your Negro. I dont find any body hear that cares to underwrite upon him till Yesterday Capt. Caleb Gardner told me he would insure him the first passage onley Clear of the Enemy for thirty pr. Cent. So that you can think on it and if you would chuse to have it Done Let me know. I would get it Done. . . .

283. Deposition of Isaac Gorham, 1783.[1]

The Deposition of Isaac Gorham of Warren in the County of Bristol etc., Mariner On Oath saith that I the deponent on the 13th day of February AD 1783 Sailed from the port of Warren Master of the Sloop *Patty* bound to the West Indias and having on board a Negro Man about Eighteen or Twenty Years Old a Healthy Active Lad, the Property of Rhoby Whitting of Said Warren Widdow, and that on the Seventh day of March in the Same year being about four Leagues to windward of Monto Christo was taken by a Brittish Sloop of Warr Called *Le Gatroon* Command by Benjamin Hulk Esqr. and that Said Negroe was taken on board the Ship whereby he was lost to his Said Mistress and further saith not.

[281] [1] *Publications,* R. I. Hist. Soc. (new ser.), VIII. 192-193. Mrs. Whiting, widow of Nathaniel Whiting, had leased the slave Fantee to Edward Jones for twelve months, in return for 54 Spanish milled dollars. A few months later Jones complained that Fantee had stolen from him and his friends and had then run away. After his capture, on the road to Boston, Mrs. Whiting disposed of him (*ibid.,* pp. 190-192). The law of 1779 forbidding the exportation of negroes probably allowed for the sale of refractory slaves, otherwise this transaction would have been illegal.

[282] [1] *Ibid.,* p. 193.

[283] [1] *Ibid.*

284. Moses Brown to Clark and Nightingale, 1783.[1]

Providence, 26th 8th Mo. 1783.

Respected Friends, Being informed yesterday that you had in Contemplation sending a Vessel to Africa for the purpose of getting Negroes and selling them as Slaves in the West Indies;[2] and as I have ever entertained a respectful opinion of your humanity, as well as integrity as Merchants, and remembring how it was with me, when our Company were engaging in that Traffick, that altho' the convictions of my own Conscience were such as to be averse to the Voyage, yet in reasoning upon that Subject with those who were for pursuing it, my holding Slaves at that time so weakened my arguments, that I suffered myself, rather than break my Connexions, to be Concern'd, but as I have many times since thought, that if I had known the Sentiments of others, or had their concurring Testimonies to those Scruples, I then had, I should have been preserved from an Evil, which has given me the most uneasiness, and has left the greatest impression and stain upon my own mind of any, if not all my other conduct in life; and it appears particularly so when I am favoured with a quiet retrospection and arraign it before the righteous judge of all men; Under these considerations I felt some engagement for your preservation from so great an evil as I have found that Trade to be, and with a view to dissuade and discourage your pursuing the Voyage, That you may avoid the unhappy reflections which I have had I am induced to Write you and desire your serious consideration on the Subject, when you feel your minds calmly disposed for pursuing such a course of life, as will preserve your Characters as Men of Humanity and feelings for the distresses and afflictions of others, which I have observed with much Satisfaction, on some occasions to be very Conspicuous. . . .

you are Men of Feelings, and abilities to live without this Trade, why then should you be concernd in it against your own—against the feelings of your Friends. I rest in hope, that my last has been a mistaken information, for when I delivered Clarke the Pamphlet, on this Subject I understood your intention was not to Trade in Slaves, but in Ivory, Wax, Gold dust etc. If this be the Case and you should give

[284] [1] Moses Brown Papers, IV. 297. This is a "fair copy," so pasted into the volume that but one word of the superscription can be read—this is "Clark." The next manuscript is a much-corrected draft of the same letter, initialed "M. B.," and endorsed, "Copy to Clark and Nightingale, 26 8th mo. 1783." This house had offered Aaron Lopez a schooner suitable for the Guinea trade, ten years before. There was in their letter at that time no indication that they had used this vessel, or any other, for that trade themselves. Lopez Letter-Book, no. 634, p. 33.

[2] For references to the importation of slaves into Havana in American vessels after the Revolution see Paullin and Paxson, *Guide to the Materials in London Archives for the History of the United States* (1914), pp. 404, 408; for a general discussion of the New England trade see Donnan, "The New England Slave Trade after the Revolution," *New England Quarterly,* III. 251-278.

Orders to the Captn. not to Suffer any Negroes on Board, it would be grateful to many of your Connexions in Town, as well as your Friend.[3]

. . .

285. Dr. Samuel Hopkins to Moses Brown, 1784.[1]

Newport, April 29, 1784.

Much esteemed Friend: I am much pleased with your zeal, and persevering, assiduous attempts to discourage and abolish the slave trade and the slavery of the Africans among us.[2] Though I have a degree of the same zeal, yet I am apt to sink under discouragements which you seem easily to surmount. I have dared publicly to declare that this town is the most guilty, respecting the slave trade, of any on the continent, as it has been, in a great measure, built up by the blood of the poor Africans; and that the only way to escape the effects of divine displeasure, is to be sensible of the sin, repent, and

[3] That Clark and Nightingale were not deterred from entering the slave trade is indicated by a note to them on July 27, 1790: "Capt. Oliver Boreen, of the Sloop *Providence,* from the Coast of Africa, arrived here some few days since, but finding it impossible to dispose of his Slaves, left us for the Havannah. We enclose a/c of necessaries supplied him." Briggs, *Cabot Family,* II. 478.

[285] [1] Samuel Hopkins, *Works,* I. 119-120. Many of the letters which follow are in part printed in a "Memoir" by E. A. Park, contained in the first volume of the *Works.* Dr. Hopkins had become pastor of the First Congregational Church of Newport in 1770. From that time until his death he took an active part in the movement to abolish the slave trade and to improve the condition of the blacks. In many of his projects he was aided by Dr. Ezra Stiles, pastor of the Second Congregational Church of Newport 1755-1776, and throughout his life he and Moses Brown of Providence were in close sympathy on questions pertaining to the negro. He at one time wrote of Moses Brown: "Moses Brown is a man of a respectable character, as an honest, sensible man. He is a man of interest. He was not educated a Quaker, but joined that sect some years ago. He is a brother to the famous John Brown, the rich merchant in Providence. This Moses was once concerned in the slave trade; but for many years has been convinced of the iniquity of it, and his sin in practising it has lain heavy on his conscience. He thinks it his duty to do all in his power to put a stop to this traffic, and an end to the slavery of Africans, and to assist them to obtain their freedom, in all the ways he can. And he is active and unwearied in his endeavors to promote these ends. And I must say, that he and a number of his brethern, who join him in this matter, have acted a judicious, faithful, and honorable part. We have no men of any other denomination in these States, who appear so conscientious, discerning, faithful, and zealous, in this matter, as these Quakers do" (Hopkins to Levi Hart, Nov. 27, 1787, *Works,* I. 123).

[2] The February (1784) session of the General Assembly had passed an act authorizing the gradual abolition of slavery in Rhode Island, and repealing that clause in the act of 1774 which gave permission to bring into the state negroes that could not be sold in the West Indies (*R. I. Recs.,* X. 7-8). This was a substantial gain. Dr. Hopkins need not have felt so much discouragement. Early in March Brown had written of the failure to obtain the act for which he and his friends had worked, at the same time sending to Dr. Hopkins copies of articles which had been published in the Providence papers: "the Influence of the Mercantile Interest in the House was greatly Exerted, and the Justice of the Subject thereby Overbourn and I am sorry I have it to say my Brother John was deep in the Opposition, yet I am apprehensive without the E'tions of the Speaker he would have fail'd of his Views . . . . If I understood the Attorney General Right he told me he had given thee his opinion on the Stoping of the Trade and that he thought by our Constitution the Assembly could not Restrain the members of the State from it." Moses Brown to Samuel Hopkins, Mar. 3, 1784, Moses Brown Papers, IV. 314.

reform.[3] This has greatly displeased a number, and I fear the most are far from a disposition to repent, especially they who have the greatest share of the guilt. This town, I greatly fear, will be the last in the State to do what they ought to do, and be foremost in it, respecting that most abominable traffic, and the consequent slavery that is among us. This gives me a gloomy prospect of our future circumstances. The freemen have chosen a new set of representatives, except one.[4] Though some of them are, in many respects, worthy men, I believe not one of them will vote for any law to discourage the slave trade, or the slavery of the Africans. And I suspect that they who planned this choice had a particular view to this. . . .

The Friends have set a laudable example in bearing testimony against the slave trade, and exerting themselves to suppress the slavery of the Africans; and I must say, have acted more like Christians, in this important article, than any other denomination of Christians among us. To our shame be it spoken! The church in which I preside have agreed to declare, that the slave trade and the slavery of the blacks, as it has been practised among us, is a gross violation of the righteousness and benevolence which are so much inculcated in the gospel, and therefore, we will not tolerate it in this church. But it is thought that present circumstances will not admit of our addressing the General Assemby on that head, so as to answer any good purpose. What I published formerly in the weekly paper here, consisted chiefly in extracts from other authors,[5] all which you have doubtless seen, and most of them have since been printed in the Providence papers. Our printer gave such offence to a number, by publishing those extracts, and was so threatened, if he continued to insert such things in his paper, that he has been backward to do any thing of this kind since. He has, however, consented to print some observations on that head, which I thought proper at this time, next Saturday, a copy of which I shall send to you when I have opportunity.[6]

[3] Dr. Hopkins's congregation was largely connected in one way or another with the slave trade.

[4] The Newport deputies in the next session of the General Assembly were George Hazard, Henry Marchant, George Champlin, John Topham, Peleg Clarke, and Daniel Mason. Those from Providence were Joseph Nightingale, Paul Allen, and Ebenezer Thompson. Brown later wrote, "When I heard of some of the present members of Assembly being Chosen I gave up hopes of Stopage of the Slave Trade at present." Brown to Hopkins, May 14, 1784, Moses Brown Papers, V. 1 (324).

[5] Park here adds: "He published, at this period, various extracts from the writings of the Bishop of Gloucester; and several years afterward, extracts from the works of Clarkson and Paley, on the slave system. He also published, if we may judge from the style of the anonymous essays, more of original matter than came from the pen of any other Rhode Islander on this topic." *Works,* I. 120 n.

[6] This article was printed in the *Newport Mercury,* May 1, 1784, and reprinted in *Works,* II. 745-748. During 1784, 1785, and 1786 a constant correspondence was maintained between Hopkins and Brown over methods of educating the public and

[*Continued on p. 341.*]

When Cleared	Vessels' Names	Masters' Names	Tons	Guns	Men	Owners' Names	General Cargo	Where Bound
1786, May 24th	Brigantine *Washington*	William Gardner	50		8	Caleb Gardner, Constant Taber, Nathaniel Briggs	One Hundred and forty Casks Rum, One Hhd. Tobacco, One Hundred and fifty Kegs Crackers, twelve Boxes Spermaceti Candles, and twelve Barrels Flour Caleb Gardner for the Master	Africa
June 12th	Ship *Louisa*	Robert Champlin	110	2	15	Andrew Spooner	Two Hundred and five Casks Rum, four do. Molasses, Eight do. Tobacco, four M Boards, Sixteen Barrels Turpentine and Tarr and twenty do. Flour Robt. Champlin	Africa
June 21st	Snow *Whim*[2]	Peleg Clarke	60		12	Peleg Clarke	One Hundred and thirty Hhds Rum and Six do Tobacco Peleg Clarke	Africa
July 4th	Brigantine *Hannah*	Benjamin Remington	60	4	12	Jno. Topham, Jno. L. Boss, Augustus Newman[3]	Two Hundred and twenty Hhd. Rum, two and half Hhd. Tobacco, Nine Barrels do. Eight Casks Rice, five Barrels Tarr, two do. Turpentine, One M feet Boards, five Hundred feet Joyce, five Hundred feet Oars, and fifteen Hundred Hoops. Benja. Remington	Africa
August 11th	Ship *Three Friends*	Ebenezer Shearman	105		15	Jacob R. Rivera and Company and Nat'l Briggs	Two Hundred and Sixty Casks N. E. Rum, ten Barrels Flour, two do. Tarr, one do. Rosin, one do. Powder, two Casks Molasses, two Barrels Sugar, twenty Boxes Soap,	Africa

[286] [1] R. I. Hist. Soc., "Newport Outward Entries and Manifests, Nov. 21, 1785-June 16, 1790." The columns giving the place and date at which the vessel was built and the place and date of its registry are omitted. The items pertaining to African voyages have been taken from the entire list of outward entries and manifests for these years.

[2] On Aug. 7, 1787, the *Louisa,* Isaac Carr, owner Spooner, cleared for Massachusetts; on Sept. 11, 1787, the *Whim,* Peleg Clarke, cleared for Massachusetts with a cargo of rum and provisions.

[3] Topham, Boss, and Newman appear in the list of entries as owners eleven times, but this was apparently their only African voyage. Boss may have been of the family to which Capt. Edward Boss belonged, who carried slaves to Charleston in 1786.

[*Newport Entries and Manifests*—continued:]

1786							Seven Boxes Spermaceti Candles, four Hhds. Fish, two do. Virginia Tobacco, One Cask Slops, Three Window Frames with Glass Compleat, Three Hundred Ropes Onions and A Small Quantity Hoops, Boards and Shaken Casks. Ebenezar Shearman	
August 12th	Brigantine *Jennet*	James Brattell	65		7		One Hundred and twenty Eight Hhd. Rum. James Brattell	Africa
1787, June 21st	Brigantine *Washington*	William Gardner[4]	50	2	18	Caleb Gardner, Con't Taber, Nat'l Briggs.	One Hundred and thirty Six Hhd. and Seventeen Small Casks New-England Rum, four Hhd. Tobacco, four do Molasses, thirty Six Barrels and half Barrels Flour, two do. Loaf Sugar, Six Boxes Spermaceti Candles and one Hundred Kegs Crackers. William Gardner	Africa
1787, June 26th	Brigantine *Hope*	John Stanton[5]	40		8	C. Gardner, N. Briggs	One Hundred and Three Hhd and Tierces Rum, five Hhd. Tobacco, twenty Barrels Beef and Pork, Sixteen half Barrels Flour, Six whole do. ten Boxes Spermaceti Candles, Sixty Kegs Crackers and Seven Tierces Bread John Stanton	Africa
1788, July 12th	Sloop *Dove*	Joseph Battey	22		7	Caleb Gardner, Nath'l Briggs	Twenty Hhds. Ten Teirces and Eight half Barrels, N. E. Rum, ten Hhd. West India do, Ten Barrels Beef, Six do. Pork, twelve Hundred Wt Bread, two Barrels Flour, one do. Peas and two Hhds. Tobacco. For the Master Caleb Gardner	Africa

[4] Apr. 29, 1788, the *Washington,* Wm. Gardner, with the same owners, cleared for Massachusetts.
[5] On May 29, 1788, John Stanton, in the *Hope,* cleared for Massachusetts.

When Cleared	Vessels' Names	Masters' Names	Tons	Guns	Men	Owners' Names	General Cargo	Where Bound
1789, Febr. 21st	Sloop *Betsey*	Samuel Lawton	35		6	George Gibbs	One hundred and ten hogsheads, and Twenty Tierces Rum here Distilled, Twenty four Boxes Spermaceti Candles and Six half barrels Beef and Pork, Likewise for stores twelve Barrels Beef and Pork, fifteen hundred wt Bread and One Barrel flour. James Robinson for the Master	Africa
March 9th	Sloop *Dove*	Joseph Battey	22		7	Caleb Gardner, Nathl Briggs	Sixty Punchions, Eight Tierces and four half Barrels Rum here Distilled, Likewise for Stores, Sixteen Barrels Beef and Pork and Six Casks Bread. Joseph Battey	Africa
August 22rd	Sloop *Nancey*[6]	Joseph Huntington	60		5	David Huntington	Seventy hogsheads Rum here distilled, Twenty five half barrels flour, Ten firkins butter, Four hogsheads Tobacco, Provisions, and Stores. Charles Collins[7]	Africa
September 24th	Schooner *Nancey*	John De Wolfe	20		6	Shearjashub Bourne	Seventy Casks New England Rum, Two hogsheads Tobacco, five hundred Ropes Onions, Provisions and Stores. John D Wolfe[8]	Africa
Octob'r 3d	Brigantine *Hope*	John Stanton	40		9	Thomas Briggs	One hundred and forty Nine Casks of Rum, Two hhds. of Tobacco, Six barrels of flour, Nineteen barrels of beef and Pork, Seven boxes of Candles and Six Casks of bread. John Stanton	Affrica

[*Newport Entries and Manifests*—continued:]

1789, Octob 29th	Sloop *Betsey*	Wm. De Wolf	40			Caleb Gardner, Wm. De Wolf	One hundred hhd. Forty Two half barrels New England Rum, Six boxes Spermaceti Candles, Thirty Two barrels of beef and Pork, Eighteen hund. bread, one Thousand bunches of onyans and Fifty bushels of Potatoes [William De Wolf]	Affrica
1790, May 10th	Ship *Polly*	James D Woolf	61		12	James D Woolf	Two hundred and Seventeen hhd. Six Tierce and Thirty Eight half barrel NE Rum, Three hhd. Tobacco, Ten boxes Spermacetti Candles, Twenty barrels Naval Stores, thirty half bll. flour, Forty Six Cannisters hyson Tea, Provisions and Stores for the Voyage. Caleb Gardner for James D Wolfe	Affrica

[6] The nine remaining vessels listed on the page from which this comes have no cargoes and no destination given. One of them, owned by John Cahoon, jr., and George Gibbs, may well have been an African vessel but there is no evidence here to establish the fact.

[7] This Charles Collins was doubtless the brother-in-law of James De Wolf and the son-in-law of Governor William Bradford of Rhode Island. In 1803 he delivered a cargo of Congo negroes in Georgia, on the *Armstadt*; in 1804 he was assured of his brother's safe arrival in Havana on the *Minerva,* with 150 slaves, of whom Collins owned one-fourth. He was at this time collector of the port of Bristol. C. B. Perry, *Charles D'Wolf* (1902), p. 29.

[8] For some account of the De Wolfs' connection with the slave trade see *post,* no. 302 n.

287. Dr. Samuel Hopkins to Moses Brown, 1787.[1]

Newport, March 9, 1787.

My Friend, I wrote you two days ago, But having since received a letter from Mr. Law, dated, Charleston, Feb. 16, I write again to send you the following abstract from it:

A Capt. Moses Smith of Providence, shiped two free Negroes, as seamen on board his vessel; and when he arrived in this place, he, instead of paying them their wages, according to agreement, sold them for Slaves. A gentlemen whom I desired to inquire into the matter, informed me yesterday, that they were redeemed, and set at liberty. But I think such iniquity ought not to go unpunished, if any law will take hold of it; And I wish you to write to Mr. Moses Brown, if nothing more, it may be a means of their preventing others doing in like manner.

You will please to make what use of this you think best. He informs me that the Legislature in N. Carolina had made a law prohibiting the importing Slaves into that State; And that a Senator, member of the Legislature of South Carolina, then sitting at Charleston, had told him that he did not doubt but a law of the same tenor would be enacted at that session.[2]

288. John Brown to Moses Brown, 1787.[1]

Providence, Augt. 18th. 1787.

Brother Moses, not knowing weether I may see you before I go to the Assembly, next Munday, I take this Method to Inform you that

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[*Note 6 continued from page 366:*]

the progress of their favorite cause. In 1786 Brown gave £20 toward a prize for the best essay against the slave trade, moved to this act by the results of the Cambridge prize which had brought forth Clarkson's *Commerce of the Human Species.* The sentiment against the trade was growing but the trade itself still continued—In 1785 Dr. Hopkins wrote that a vessel had recently sailed from Boston for Africa. Nathaniel Russell was selling an occasional negro for the Champlins in Charleston (Moses Brown Papers, V. 21, 55; Champlin Papers, 1786-1788, no. 138). "Providence, January 29 . . . . We hear that a schooner, which sailed about 12 months since from New-Port, for the coast of Africa (belonging to Messrs. Seymour and Company of Grenada) was lately met with at sea, by a vessel bound to Bristol, in England. She was without Sails, had only 15 negroes on board and those in a very emaciated and wretched condition, having doubtless been long at sea. The negroes it is supposed had rose and murdered the Captain and crew; after which many of the blacks must have died. Those found on board were carried into Bristol" (*New York Packet,* Feb. 14, 1785). Capt. Robert Champlin, at this time in the service of the Graftons of Salem, delivered a cargo of negroes in Charleston in 1785. His instructions, dated Oct. 19, 1784, his wage agreement, and several letters relating to his sale are to be found in the Essex Institute, envelope marked "Slave Trade in Salem."

[287] [1] Moses Brown Papers, VI. 2.

[2] North Carolina's prohibitory act, passed in 1786, had gone into effect Feb. 1, 1787. South Carolina passed an act of prohibition Mar. 28, 1787. Du Bois, *Suppression of the Slave Trade,* p. 229.

[288] [1] Moses Brown Papers, VI. 11.

I have it in Contemplation to Fit the Ship *Genl. Washington* to the East Indies in which Case Shall not be any more Concernd in the Guiney Trade. . . .

289. Dr. Samuel Hopkins to Moses Brown, 1787.[1]

Newport, Oct. 22, 1787.

My kind friend: I thank you for your two letters of the 9th and 15th Inst. and for the news papers you have sent me. I have received those which contain the last Part of Crito.[2] Those containing the first part, which you say you ordered to be forwarded to me, have not yet come to hand. Perhaps they have not been sent. Mr. Foster has undertaken to get the transcript you sent me inserted in the *Herald.* I did not receive it soon enough to be inserted last week. I have been hoping for Ramsey's treatise,[3] and am sorry to inform you I have not yet received it. Hope it will come safe. I am hurt by the doings of the convention respecting the Slave Trade.[4] It is as you Suppose. They have carefully secured the practice of it in these States for 20 years, and prevented any Asylum for slaves during that term, unless every individual State, should suppress this trade. They have taken it out of the hands of congress. We cannot determine That the major part of the delegates were pledged with

[289] [1] Moses Brown Papers, VI. 15.

[2] Hopkins was the author of an essay, signed Crito, published in the *Providence Gazette and Country Journal,* Oct. 6 and 13, 1787. This may have been the one which the Newport editor refused to print. Copies of the essay, sent by Moses Brown to the members of the Rhode Island legislature, Hopkins thought helped to bring about the prohibitory legislation. Early the next year he corresponded with Brown over printing it in other places. Hopkins, *Works,* I. 122, II. 613-624.

[3] James Ramsay had before this date published three pamphlets. The one which obtained widest circulation, and to which reference is probably here made, was *An Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies* (1784).

[4] The convention referred to is of course the Constitutional Convention, which had just completed its labors in Philadelphia. "Some of the Delegates appologize for its [the Constitution's] imperfections particularly in respect to that part which appears to give countenance to the Slave trade for twenty one years, tho' the construction they put on those Sections is, that they only limit the power of the Federal Legislature, and are not intended to restrain the Legislatures of the respective States from enacting such laws, or Supplements to laws already in force, as they shall judge expedient for the prohibition of the trade, or the abolition of Slavery within their own jurisdiction, and some of our Lawyers have given their opinion to the same purport; There was a desire prevailed in the Convention to subvert the enormous traffic, which the Representatives from So. Carolina, and the àdjacent States being aware of, vigorously opposed, and is said to be the sole cause of this very inconsistent part of their System professed to be founded on liberal principles, and is given out among other reasons by the Virginia delegates who declined Signing, for their dessent; However should the plan be adopted, which seems not to be improbable; it will be requisite for the advocates for the Enslaved negroes to consider, whether consistent with their laudable desire for their emancipation and the suppression of the iniquitous Commerce to Africa for Slaves, they ought not firmly to remonstrate against those very exceptionable parts of a Constitution said to be intended to hold up a standard of impartial Liberty." James Pemberton to Brown, Philadelphia, Nov. 16, 1787, Moses Brown Papers, VI. 18.

this. Some of the Southern delegates no doubt, insisted upon it that the introduction of slaves should be secured, and obstin[a]tely refused to consent to any constitution, which did not secure it. The others therefore consented, rather than have no constitution, or one in which the delegates should not be unanimous. I fear this is an Action, which will bring a curse, for that we cannot prosper. At the same time it appears to me that if this constitution be not adopted by the States, as it now stands, we shall have none, and nothing but anarchy and confusion can be expected. . . .

It has been objected by some of the ministers against preferring a memorial to the General Assembly respecting the Slave trade, That the present ruling part in the Assembly, have appeared to be so destitute of all principles of justice, or regard to it, and have acted such an iniquitous part, that there is an inpropriety in applying to them for justice; especially for the ministers of the Gospel to do it, whom they hold in the highest contempt, and would embrace any opportunity to pour contempt upon them, which we should give them by laying such a petition before them. This prevents any thing of that kind being done at present.[5]

290. Act to Prevent the Slave Trade, 1787.[1]

An Act to prevent the slave trade, and to encourage the abolition of slavery.

Whereas the trade to Africa for slaves, and the transportation and selling of them into other countries, is inconsistent with justice, and the principles of humanity, as well as the laws of nature, and that more enlightened and civilized sense of freedom which has of late prevailed: and whereas, the General Congress of the United States, in the year 1774, taking the said trade into consideration, agreed and resolved as follows: "That we will neither import nor purchase any slaves imported after the first day of December next; after which time we will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels or sell our

[5] In August Dr. Hopkins wrote: "I do not think it likely that the Assembly will take the matter up, so as to do anything against the slave trade, at the next session. If they do not wholly dismiss the petition I shall be glad. I have pretty good evidence that some of them speak fair words to you and your friends, who yet are determined against doing anything against the slave trade. I enclose to you an Essay which I have attempted to get published in the *Newport Herald.* And the printer promised me that he would insert the whole of it, at the head of his paper, this week, so that it should be out before the sitting of the Assembly. But he has since told me that he cannot print it, and has returned it. He says he has consulted his friends, and they tell him that it will greatly hurt his interest to do it; that there is so large a number of his customers, either in the slave trade, or in such connection with them, or so disposed with respect to it, to whom it will give the greatest offence, that it is not prudent for him to do it." Hopkins to Brown, Aug. 13, 1787, Moses Brown Papers, VI. 11.

[290] [1] "Proceedings of the General Assembly," *R. I. Recs.,* X. 262.

commodities or manufactures to those that are:" Nevertheless, forgetful of the danger which then impended, and inattentive to the principles of justice and sound policy manifested in the aforesaid resolution, a renewal of the African trade for slaves has been entered into by divers inhabitants of this state: For the prevention whereof,

Be it enacted by this General Assembly, and by the authority thereof it is enacted, that no citizen of this state, or other person residing within the same, shall for himself or any other person whatsoever either as master, factor, or owner of any vessel, directly or indirectly import or transport, buy or sell, or receive on board their vessel with intent to cause to be imported or transported from their native country, any of the natives or inhabitants of any state or kingdom in that part of the world called Africa, as slaves, or without their voluntary consent.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every citizen, inhabitant, or resident, as aforesaid, who shall import or transport, or cause to be imported or transported, any of the said inhabitants of Africa, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, and be thereof lawfully convicted, shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds, lawful money, for every person by him or them so imported or transported; and the sum of one thousand pounds for every vessel by him or them employed in the importation or transportation aforesaid, to be recovered by bill, complaint, or information before the superior court, or either of the inferior courts within this state: the one moiety whereof shall be paid into the general treasury for the use of this state, the other moiety to and for the use of the person or persons who shall prosecute for the recovery the same,

Provided, nevertheless, that this act do not extend to vessels which have already sailed, their owners, factors, or commanders, for and during their present voyage.[2]

[2] From the tone of the correspondence between Brown and Hopkins in the months preceding this meeting of the General Assembly one may gather that the abolitionists themselves did not expect the passage of this measure. Indeed, one is puzzled to account for its success. The Newport deputies were the same as those of 1785 and 1786 with the addition of William Tripp, and among the entire body of deputies there had been few changes in the two years past. Christopher Champlin and Esek Hopkins were no longer in the Assembly, which may or may not have had significance; but Caleb Gardner, who sent vessels to Africa in 1786, 1787, 1788, and 1789, had become one of the "assistants," and George Champlin was still among the Newport deputies. As soon as the bill was passed those who had been working for it turned their attention to Connecticut. Within a month Hopkins sent a number of newspaper articles thither for republication, with these comments: "Is it not extraordinary that this State, which has exceeded the rest of the States in carrying on this trade, should be the first Legislature on this globe which has prohibited that trade? Let them have the praise of this; especially as the Assembly were so nearly unanimous, there being but four dissenting voices. If Boston and Connecticut should not join us in this, I fear this law will soon be like some other Rhode Island laws" (Hopkins to Levi Hart, Nov. 27, 1787, Hopkins, *Works,* I. 123). About this time Brown wrote to Hopkins that plans were already on foot to carry on the African trade from Middletown and Norwich. See Hopkins to Hart, *ibid.,* pp. 123, 158.

291. Jonathan Edwards to Moses Brown, 1788.[1]

New Haven, Oct. 20, 1788.

Dear Sir, . . . I inclose a copy of the late act of our Assembly [2] concerning the slave trade. I am mortified, as I dare say you will be, that the bill was so mutilated in the upper house. You will find, there is nothing in this law, to prevent the exportation of slaves, and of servants born since March 1st 1784. I expect that now the poor creatures will be carried out in ship-loads. I have heard since the passing of this law, of one man employed in purchasing Negroes for exportation. The lower house were not pleased with the law as it now stands; It passed it because the upper house would not do better. Mr. Mitchel of Wether[s]field is said to be the chief cause of the mischief. I wish you and two or three of your friends had tarried a few days longer; I conceive it might have answered a good purpose. Or if you will come up with another memorial on the fifth of January when the Assembly is to meet in this city again, I will join with you in another attempt.[3] If you should conclude upon this measure, I wish you to inform me of it and also wish that you would as far as may be, inform yourself of any facts relating to the exporting of slaves or of children born since March 1st 1784, from this State. . . .

[291] [1] Moses Brown Papers, VI. 45. Brown and Hopkins had for some time been sending literature to the Rev. Jonathan Edwards the younger, minister in New Haven, who was a member of a committee of clergy appointed to petition the New Hampshire and Connecticut legislatures for a law abolishing the trade. From both of these states Rhode Island vessels bound for Africa were said to be clearing. No prohibitory law was ever passed in New Hampshire, probably because the evil never assumed large proportions. *Ibid.,* pp. 43, 49.

[2] The Connecticut law was passed in October, 1788. New York had prohibited the trade in February of that year; the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania acts were passed in March. Du Bois, *Suppression of the Slave Trade,* pp. 230-233.

[3] The law was somewhat modified in 1789. *Ibid.,* p. 233.

292. Accounts of the *Pacific*, 1789-1790.[1]

Dr. The Owners of Ship "Pacific," Acct. With Danl. Gardner Cr.

		£	s.	d.		
1789 May 29th	To my Bill of Disburstments	482.	5	3		
	To my Commiss'n on Sales the Amo't 26059 ps at 5 pr Ct.	310.				
	To my Coast Commiss'n on 24749 ps at 4 on 104	960				
	To Cash 251⅛ Joes at 11 ps pr Jo	2817.	2.	3		
	To the following Bills of Exchange on Messrs. Alexander Houstoun and Co. in Glasgow *Vizt.*					
	1 Sett for £300 1 Do. 350 1 Do. 250 1 Do. 200	1100			at 6 Mo.	
	1 Sett for 200 1 Do. 247. 16. 9 1 Do. 300 1 Do. 400	1147.	16.	9	at 9 Mo.	
	1 Sett for 250 1 Do 257 1 Do 300 1 Do 400	say 200 1207			at 12 Mo.	
		£3454.	16.	9		20489
	21112 and odd pieces Exchange at 77½					26059

Memorandum

1000 Dollars of the 251⅛ Joes recd: June 26 by Wm. Vernon Esq. and a bill of £400 Sterling recd: at the same time drawn on the Coast of Africa which sold for 2½ pr Cent above par also 412¾ oz. Gold Dust recei'd at the same time by same conveyance The above Bill for £400 sterling capt. Gardner purchased on the Coast for one hundred Ounces of Gold dust belonging to his Cargo.

St. Eustatia
29th May 1789
Errors Excepted
pr. Dan'l Gardner

1789 May 29th	[Pieces eight] By 139 Slaves at 17 Joes pr Head	25993
	By I Do at 6 Do	66
		26059

Memorandum
300 capt. Gardner by mistake left this sett of his Bills for £300 at nine months and took the Owners for £200 of the same sight.

Memorandum
Capt. Gardner by mistake left this sett of his Bills for £200 at twelve months and took the owners of £300 of the same sight

[292] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

Dr. *The Estate of Capt. Daniel Gardner in Acc't with Owners of Ship "Pacific."* *Cr.*[2]

1789				1789				
May 29	To 139 Slaves sold at St. Eustatio at 17 Joes pr Head	25993.		May 29	By Bill of disbursements in the West Indies	482.	5. 3
	To 1 do. at 4 do.	66.			By commission on 26059 pieces eight a 5 pr Cent. being the amount of Sales of Cargo at St. Eustatia	1302.	7. 3
	To an Over charge to Owners in their proportion of Mortality 134. 6	134.	6		By coast commission on 24756. 0. 3 pieces eight at 4 on 104	952.	1. 1
		26193.	6		By Bills of Exchange on Glasgow for £3454. 16. 6 Sterling at £177. 10 currency for £100 is £6132. 6. 6 at 6/ for a peice eight	20441.	0. 4
	To Ballance p Contra of ps $\frac{8}{8}$ 464. 3 is Dollars 337⅞ Supra Cr			June 26	By Cash paid Owners 1000 dollars	1375.	
1789	Recd by Wm. Vernons Dollars	150			By Bills of disburstments for wages etc. after the arrival of the Ship £253. 18. 10	1163.	7.
Do. May 11	do. by Ditto of Peleg Clark	200			By 5 pr Cent commission on 134. 6 pieces eight overcharge in mortality	6. 5. 5	
					By coast do. on do. 4 on 104	4. 7. 2	11. 5. 1
						25729.	3
					By balance due	464.	3
						26193.	6

BOSTON 13 January 1790
Errors exepted for Owners
SAM (?) BROWN

[2] This adds to the preceding account and modifies it slightly.

293. William Rotch, jr., to Moses Brown, 1789.[1]

New Bedford, 5 mo 6 1789.

Esteemed Friend, Moses Brown, A circumstance has taken place here within the knowledge of several friends as also by their advice, which we should all have been glad had been undertaken by or in behalf of the Society for the abolition of Slavery,[2] but the urgency of the occasion not admitting time to consult or inform them, and not knowing how far individuals not qualified to represent the body might act, favoured the conclusion not to take up the matter in their behalf. The Brig't *Hope*[3] John Stanton master arrived at Westport (Acoaxet) on the 3d inst (after laying several days at Howlands Ferry) late from Africa and West Indies, the Capn with Caleb Gardner came over here to enter the Brig'n from St. Martin's and clear the Cargo for Newport the 4th: and returned the Fifth, and the following particulars having been obtained *vizt.* that she saild from Boston in 6th mo last for Africa thence brot 116 Slaves, and sold them in West Indies, that application was now made for a new Register, to change the name of Vessel, Capn. and Owners and that after Sheathing she was to proceed to Boston for a Cargo Rum to prosecute another Voyage, thus informed Wm. Gorden (Deputy

[293] [1] Moses Brown Papers, VI. 67. William Rotch, jr., was the third member of his family concerned in New Bedford commerce. To them and the group of Friends with whom they were associated may be attributed the strong antislavery sentiment which prevailed in this place throughout the eighteenth century.

[2] This refers to the Providence Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade organized in February, 1789, of which Moses Brown was an active member from the beginning. Its constitution is printed in Hazard, *College Tom,* app. XVI., pp. 256-260; the act of incorporation, with a list of members, including many from Massachusetts and a few from Connecticut, as well as those from Rhode Island, is in *R. I. Recs.,* X. 382-385. A "Citizen," writing in the *Providence Gazette,* February, 1789, objected to the organization since it might injure the reputations of the slave traders, some of whom were "the best citizens of Newport," and also since it tended to prevent the slave trade, which was a real benefit to the Africans, as it saved them from the barbarities of their native land and introduced them into civilized regions. The writer added that the spirit of the society was adverse to the Constitution of the United States, one article of which was made on purpose to prevent the injustice which the society and its adherents were practising (Hopkins, *Works,* I. 126-127). The "Citizen" was answered by a number of writers and a most acrimonious series of letters ensued (*United States Chronicle,* Feb. 19, through March), in the midst of which John Brown wrote to Moses: "Brother Moses, I wish to know weether you are the author of the ps signed 'a friend' tho a [*illegible*] to a Citizen as printed in the Last Saturdays paper. P. S. I might have given up my name as the Author of the Citizen had not the Billet you coate from the printer advised my not gratifying the Inquirer." Moses Brown Papers, VI. 57.

[3] The *Hope* had cleared from Newport for Africa June 26, 1787, registered from that place. She cleared again for Africa on Oct. 3, 1789, this time registered from New Bedford. The *United States Chronicle,* June 4, 1789, contained the following item: "A MAN. An action of debt, on the lately enacted law of Massachusetts prohibiting the African trade, is commenced by William Gordon, Esq. of Bedford, at the Inferior Court to be held in the County of Bristol, in that State, on the 9th day of September next, against Caleb Gardner, of Newport, and Nathaniel Briggs of Tiverton, Owners, and John Stanton of said Newport, Captain of the brigantine *Hope,* lately returned into one of the ports of that State, from discharging a cargo of the wretched inhabitants of Africa in the West Indies."

Sherriff) took out a Writ agreeable to the Slave Trade Law of this State including Caleb Gardner, Nathl. Briggs and John Stanton, with Summons for them to appear before Edw Pope Esqr. the 22d of 6 mo next, which writ was served upon them very unexpectedly this morning after Sun rising, but unfortunately before the Subpoena was served upon the Sailors, they found means to cross the River into your State, and altho it is left in an officers hand to watch their return I have no expectation evidence will be obtained from them. I hope care will be taken to procure sufficient evidence to prove that the said Brigt. brought from Africa *Slaves* either by the people of said Vessel and others that have been there, without going to the West Indies therefor. They obtained a bondsman for their appearance, and told the Officer, "they were not residents in this State and that the Vessel was not owned by them, but by some person in New York wherefore the action could not stand," this was all the plea that was made, if its found either of the three persons were not resident in this State at the time the Brig was fitted out the action will be drop'd with that person, but as this was not ascertained the whole were taken in and the day of trial was put at a distance in order that knowledge might be obtained. The Sum sued for is £6000. Gordon will send to Newport to obtain the depositions of the people who were in the Brign but your assistance will doubtless facilitate. I have recommended his applying to Lyman. I expect to be in Boston all next week, and shall be very glad to hear from thee on this subject by post doubtless proof can be had there of this Vessels carrying Slaves to Martinico.

The Sailors informed they left Rhode Island State to avoid prosecution.

The declaration to the writ will be sent to Boston and if it is not properly drawn our law admits of another being filed any time before the Court.

The Brigs Register is now in the office, Gardner and Briggs Owners.[4]

294. William Rotch, jr. to Moses Brown, 1789.[1]

Boston 5 mo. 16, 1789.

Esteemed Friend, Moses Brown, I was much pleased this evening in finding a letter from thee, as I fear'd a conveyance for my letter was too uncertain to get it to hand in season. I am glad to find thy approbation in our proceedings and that it will be assisted by the society. T Dawes Jr is engaged in the case (sincerely) he has now

[4] This note is added in a different hand from that of the body of the letter.

[294] [1] Moses Brown Papers, VI. 70.

gone to N York and will consult the best Council there, to find if the State law will be any way superceded by the Federal Constitution. I have also engaged Chr'r Gore,[2] an Attorney much approved, who engages from principle, and assures me there is not an attorney in the State, who is not oppos'd to the traffic. I find all orders of men here are averse to it, and seem pleas'd with the effort to suppress it, except a few hot heads, one Sam Brown from your parts a principal, these have made a considerable noise, and have been very severe upon the Quakers and abolition Society. Sullivan is absent at Barnstable Court. I have left a state of the Case with S Eliot who will engage him in it. J. Lowell is also gone and would also be applied to but from a hope he will be app'td judge of the Federal Court is thou't best not to consult him as Councillor as his Candour would not admit of his afterward judging the Case, and if the prosecution continues its likely they may appeal to that Court.[3] No person can be more favourably disposed than himself.

I have got from the Naval Office here a certificate of the Clearance, and inclose thee a list of the hands from the Book of clearances, that they may be known by the society and their disposition taken. The N Officer inquir'd the cause of my application, and offered every service in his way to prosecute the matter. I have not been able to find where the Owners lodged in Town, have had a person to make enquiry, who stopped on being cited to the Quakers who it was supposed had gained the knowledge but it will be easy to find who of them were here. . . . You will pursue the matter with diligence, and will take the deposition of a Capn. Smith just in from Martinico who was there when Stanton arrived.

I agree with thee in sentiment that its not the money that is the object and the prosecutor would willingly relinquish every Idea of pecuniary advantage, but I believe the Cause must be supported and carried to a length that will clearly convince those traders, they are fully in our power before any proposal of that kind be made, as it will be construed as apprehension we could not support the case.

An Israelite from Newport—M S[4] now in Town, has said, he wished to see the operation of this matter, if those persons who have associated and made a great noise, will step forth and shew themselves openly to oppòse the Trafic, and (I also infer) if the case should fail he might venture to engage [a]gain in it.

[2] Greater talent the abolitionists could scarcely have enlisted. Thomas Dawes, jr., was not long after made judge of the supreme court of Massachusetts; Christopher Gore was soon to become the first district attorney for Massachusetts, and later governor and United States senator. Both Gore and Dawes had been sitting in the Massachusetts convention which ratified the Federal Constitution.

[3] John Lowell was appointed United States judge for the district of Massachusetts not long after this.

[4] Moses Seixas (?).

The lawless advocates have pleased themselves with this expectation that when money come to be called for the prosecution would cease, but they have been informed, it will not be the least impediment.

I have engaged a person just going for Martinico, to procure a Certificate of the [*torn*] of the Vessel from there, should any [*torn*] they knowledge it will be well to [*torn*] likewise. . . . Brigs took out a Register in name of his Brother Thos Briggs I think of Pownall Preasant New York, and shew'd our Officer his instructions from him, for the last outfit. C Gore thinks we had best get some of our friends to make some enquiries of him to find if he has any knowledge or concern in the matter before he shall be inform'd by his brother, as I know not where to apply, I wish thou would take some step to find this.

And should thou gain any necessary knowledge please to communicate it to me, also to Thos. Dawes Junr or C Gore. I hope you will be able to get depositions from some of the hands which will substantiate the Fact.[5]

295. Dr. Samuel Hopkins to Moses Brown, 1789.[1]

Newport November 18, 1789.

Dear Sir, . . . I learn that it is a question before the Society, or the committee, Whether any prosecutions shall be commenced against those whose vessels sailed on the slave trade, before the institution of the society; but since the law made in this State took place? It appears to me, and I believe to most of the members in this town, if not all, that if this question should be determined in the negative, the consequence will be very hurtful to the Society, if not fatal. The past neglect to prosecute, and the known hesitation respecting it, has had a great and apparent effect already. The slave traders are more bold and resolute to go on in the trade,[2] and entertain a low and contemptuous thought of the Society. And if the prosecutions in question should be finally droped, I am confident it will sink the Society in the view of the public in general, and we shall lose our influence, and the design of the institution will be, in a

[5] Rotch wrote in July that two sailors from the *Hope* had been summoned but that no information could be obtained from them. They were to be committed for contempt of court, and depositions were to be taken to prove Caleb Gardner's residence at the time of the brig's outfit. Gardner must, as a matter of fact, have been a member of the Rhode Island Assembly at about that time. For the further history of this case see *post,* no. 297.

[295] [1] Moses Brown Papers, VI. 88.

[2] "Since the Restrictions lately laid on the Trade to Africa by the British Legislature, no less than Forty Sail of Vessels have been fitted out for that Coast in the States of New England." Petition of manufacturers, shipbuilders, shipholders, and traders of Bristol, *Commons Journals,* XLIV. 354.

great measure defeated. I think that lenity, in this case, or any thing that looks like irresolution, neglect and dilatoriness, will fix a slur on the society which cannot easily be wiped off; but will sink it into discredit. . . .

Mr. Hart informs me that a number of Merchants in Norwich have lately gone into the slave trade. But it is under such cover that he knows not that such evidence of the fact can be obtained, as to afford ground for a legal prosecution. Perhaps time will bring forth evidence.

296. Benjamin Hadwen to Moses Brown, 1790.[1]

Newport 6 mo. 1790.

Respected Friend, Moses Brown, John B. Thurstin of this Town, who married Molly Denniss has had two offers to go Master of Slave Vessels to the Coast of Africa in C. Gardner and P. Clarkes employ but he is very much averse to the Business would be glad to get a birth as mate on board of a Merchantman but Says if he can't get any Such he is afraid he Shall be done there against his will he has been in John Williams Employ and gave Satisfaction but that Vessle is gone fishing, C G and P C are Continually importuing him to go but he is and all his friends are against it, if he can have a mate's birth at Providence and be diverted from an African Slave Voyage I shall think the pain I have Taken in Writing will be Well bestowed. Please let me know as Soon as possible in haste [2]

297. Case of the *Hope*, 1792.[1]

Gordon vs. Gardner and Others.

. . . The said action was entered at the Court of Common Pleas, at Taunton, in the County of Bristol, in Sept. 1789, and, on account of various objections from time to time made by the defendants to the formalities of the process, was continued to March, 1791, when it was tried.

[296] [1] Moses Brown Papers, VII. 21.

[2] While distilling and the slave trade were closely bound together during these years, not everyone concerned in the former was also engaged in the latter: "I presume you have been Acquainted that Francis Malbone is a Candidate for a Representative to Congress—his opponents may endeavor to prejudice the minds of many of the good People of this State against him as being friendly to the Slave Trade. Mr. Malbone since the War has and now is Concerned in a large Distillery and his Circumstances otherways favourable for prosecuting the Affrican Trade, but those leading motives with the addition of that powerfull Argument the prospect of much gain, have not been Sufficient to Induce him to be concerned in the Slave Trade." George Champlin to Moses Brown, Aug. 15, 1792, Moses Brown Papers, VIII. 4.

[297] [1] *Salem Gazette,* Jan. 24, 31, 1792. See T. C. Amory, *Life of James Sullivan,* II. 15-16, and *ante,* no. 68. Though the case was brought in Massachusetts it concerned a Rhode Island vessel and most of the individuals involved belonged to Rhode Island. It has therefore been placed with Rhode Island material.

Judge Howell, of Providence, President of the Abolition Society, opened the cause, and stated the case: that John Stanton was commander of the brigantine *Hope*;[2] and Caleb Gardner an owner: that in the spring of 1788, she was rigged, victualled and manned at Newport; then went to Boston, where she took in her cargo of rum, etc. which said Stanton and Gardner purchased just before at Medford, in person: that she cleared out at Boston for the Cape of Good Hope, but went to Africa, and took on board more than one hundred slaves, besides one born afterwards on the passage: that the said Stanton proceeded with them in said brigantine to the West Indies, performed quarantine for the smallpox, and then sold them for slaves. Judge Howell then read the various depositions in the case, clearly proving all the foregoing facts; and then applied the Act of the Commonwealth, which he said was an honor to Massachusetts, who indeed had in many instances offered an example for freemen: . . . The Defendants, he said, belonged to his own state; but he knew no distinctions favorable to place, when he was pleading the cause of humanity. . . . It was his opinion, he said, that were they to forfeit the whole sum of 50 *l.* for each unhappy victim to their avarice, and 200 *l.* for the vessel employed, it would be but justice according to the law, and infinitely less than they merited on the principle of natural equality. He enlarged on the particulars of the transaction; but said, as he could not tell what the defence would be, and as that defence would be answered by a gentleman engaged with him, who would close the case, he should leave it to a righteous jury of Massachusetts.

Mr. Channing (Att'y-General of Rhode Island) then opened the defence, and said, that he could not controvert the facts of fitting out the vessel for the purposes described in the writ, nor the fact of her really taking the 100 persons from the coast of Africa, and afterwards selling them for slaves in the West-Indies, in manner declared in the writ. One fact, however he should deny, *viz.* that the defendants were residents of Massachusetts when the crime was committed; and if even it should be found that they were residents, yet if they were not citizens, he should deny the authority of Massachusetts to controul their actions beyond the sea. He thought it hard, very hard, and illiberal, for this Commonwealth, to meddle with the actions or consciences of the people of Rhode island. It was quite enough that they were amenable to the laws of their own State. Rhode island had taken as good care of her citizens' conduct relative to the slave-trade as Massachusetts

[2] The *Hope* was apparently still trading in slaves. On Apr. 16 she was spoken on her voyage from Anamabo to St. Eustatius with 75 slaves, under Captain Millenword. *Salem Gazette,* May 22, 1792.

had—they had a similar Act, and it was almost copied by the one on which the present action was grounded. If Massachusetts were to take this money from his clients, the same thing might afterwards be done by Rhodeisland: For the vessel was fitted as much in the latter state as in the former; and in this way there might be no end to oppression. That a man should suffer only once for an offence was a doctrine he had never heard disputed: But a very different doctrine must be the result of a conviction of his clients in the present action. He was most sanguine, he said, that his defense was on strong and legal grounds. He did not know how the Jury might feel, he was sensible of a great influence against his clients—the action was nominally the action of Gordon, an individual—but it must be evident to all, who were the patrons of the suit—the number of the Society of Friends and of the Abolition Society, that always attended the cause at every term, shew clearly the real Plantiffs of the action. But his clients were not to be borne down. He inveighed against the constitutionality of the statute; and said, that such an one was never heard of before in any part of the globe. If it meant to controul the actions of a foreigner done in Africa or the West-Indies, because that foreigner once passed through Massachusetts, it was absurd, and so far could not be a law, but a dead letter. He apprehended, however, that the law did not really intend, by the word resident a Rhodeislander, who only touched at Boston to take in or purchase rum and depart; but that the word resident was tantamount to inhabitant; and upon this distinction the law might be better understood and carried into effect; and the inhabitants of each State controuled by their own, and not by a foreign legislation. He conceived, he said, that the same objections would go to the second as well as to the first count in the writ, so far as applied to mere residents; for even in the second count for the 200 *l.* the charge was not only the fitting out at Boston but the actual transporting slaves out of the jurisdiction of the commonwealth.

Mr. Channing was followed in his defence by Gov. Bradford,[3] of Rhode island who on the same side enlarged on the principles before stated. He went particularly into the evidence of his clients' residency at any time in Massachusetts; and dwelt long, with great force, on the danger there might be of a double conviction. He endeavored to demonstrate that however erroneous might have been the conduct of his clients, it would be infinitely better for society, that they should escape the forfeiture, than a doctrine be introduced, subversive of the safety of mankind. This would be doing wrong, that right might

[3] Gov. William Bradford was the father-in-law of Charles Collins and James De Wolf, both of whom were heavily engaged in the Rhode Island slave trade.

take place; this would be establishing the blacks in the present instance, but destroying the rights of both blacks and whites in all cases. He was for the rights of all. The Governor concluded with his usual candor and generosity of pleading and left the case to the jury, who he was sure would intend right in whatever verdict they might give.

Judge Dawes of Boston, then closed the cause for the Plaintiffs. He said it was now near nine o'clock at night, and he should consider the condition of the Court and Jury, who had been so long detained. He did not know what use it could be to the defendants to consider the Abolition Society as the actual Plaintiffs in this prosecution; it was surely not less meritorious on that account and indeed there was less suspicion that the money to be forfeited, was the object of the action. But be that as it may, there was a citizen named in the writ to whom the Law had given the right of action. The wisdom of the Legislature was conspicuous in this circumstance. They knew that what was every one's business was nobody's; And as the principles of humanity might not always be inducement sufficient to bring forward a prosecution; they have set avarice against avarice, and given half the forfeiture to any prosecutor. Though in the present case the plaintiff is not charged with such views, for the defendants say he is only the nominal prosecutor. To establish the Law was the object, not money. To demonstrate this, Mr. Dawes said he should not rely at all on the first count in the declaration which sought the forfeiture of five thousand pounds for the one hundred slaves, and in this he had the support of his client whoever it was. There were two counts: The first alledging that the defendants being only residents and not citizens of Massachusetts, transported slaves from Africa to the West Indies. He should not now consider the question whether the act could or could not controul them, being citizens of another State, for transporting those slaves beyond sea. For he relinquished that first count altogether—the second count in the writ charges those defendants, whilst resident at Boston, with fitting a vessel out for the Slave Trade, by which they forfeit two hundred pounds. On this he should rely, and had not a doubt of success. Much had been said against the merits of the Act. He should leave its merits to other people; as he himself when on the Boston seat, in the Legislation, had, on the request of the Abolition Society, who were now present, introduced the Act, being a copy of the Rhode-Island statute. For this deed he should at least never feel any compunction. As to the power of the Act to controul a Rhode-Islander, whilst at Boston, he thought no man in his senses could doubt. The Act names citizens, inhabitants, residents. The different qualities are clear. The law may punish the first for an act done both at home

and abroad, the two last for crimes committed here whilst resident here. A foreigner coming to Taunton, and abiding only a minute or long enough to commit a theft there, is indictable and is called in such indictment, resident at Taunton. Allegiance is twofold, perpetual and temporary. The latter is what a foreigner owes to our laws while he is among us, be the time ever so short, and he owes it in return for the protection he receives at the same time. No lawyer will doubt this. The second count only charges a fitting out at Boston with an intention to transport slaves. It is true the law is careful that nothing shall be admitted as evidence of such intention but the fact of transporting and selling slaves afterwards in the same voyage. Now all this is proved, and the defendants are afterwards found here and prosecuted on the statute for an act they commenced when among us.

In answer to the other objection that the defendants might be in danger of double punishment, because they had fitted out in both States, Judge Dawes said, if this was true, they must thank their own folly for committing the crime twice. But he apprehended no difficulty on this head, because the only place of fitting was the port where the vessel and cargo were cleared out, and that was Boston.

He said the gentlemen who had spoken for the defendants had managed the case with great address, and had taken care to confess the principal facts of buying and selling the negroes in order to foreclose any observation, on the depositions to that point. He did not wonder they wanted to forget those depositions. The fact proved was a scandal to humanity—above a hundred of the human race, forced from their native shores, husbands from wives, parents from children —handcuffed, and fettered, and crammed into a ship's bottom, and what remained of them carried to the West Indies, after performing quarentine for the small pox, and sold for slaves, condemned to sup sorrow all their days one poor woman among the hundred delivered on the passage of a wretched infant, to add new cries to distress— her husband then in Africa, brooding on his family's woes, and imploring the judgment of Almighty God upon the Christians. But, he said, he should not enlarge, the case was one more in the catalogue of the African slave trade, though it was not so bad as one tried at Guild-Hall, in which case it appeared that the master of a ship selected a hundred and thirty-two of the most sickly of his slaves, and had them thrown to the sharks, in order to recover their value from the insurers.

The Hon. Walter Spooner, for the whole Court, then gave the case to the Jury, in a very impartial manner, and the Jury being about to withdraw, one of them stood up and said, I beg your Honor

will tell me what is a resident? To which his Honor replied, "Friend, you are a resident here while sitting in that seat."

(The Jury then went out and soon agreed in their verdict, which was delivered into Court next morning, *viz.* That the Defendants, were indebted, according to the second count, the sum of two hundred pounds. From which the Defendants appealed to the Supreme Court.)

In October, 1791, at the Supreme Judicial Court at Taunton, the said action was heared on the said appeal, when Judge Dawes opened the cause for the Plaintiff, and stated the same evidence that had been heared at the Common Pleas, relying only on the second count in the writ: Mr. Channing and Governor Bradford then defended the action in the same ingenious and able manner as they had done in the Court below; after which the Attorney General of Massachusetts took upon him the close of this action.

The Attorney-General, Mr. Sullivan closed the cause on the part of the Plaintiffs, with as able and as elegant a speech as perhaps was ever heard at the bar of the Supreme Court. We cannot pretend to follow him through the vast variety, which his ingenuity and ardent and prolific imagination led him. Suffice it to say, that he amply refuted the arguments advanced on the other side. We cannot, however, refrain from stating a few ideas thrown out by that great Lawyer—who is an honor to his profession, and deserves the approbation of his country. He maintained, that if the defendants did not gain a residency, agreeably to the true intent and meaning of the statute, by fitting out their vessel at Boston, (the fitting out at Boston not being denied) and the accomplishment of the design intended by the fitting out, it would be in the power of any man to evade the force of the Act. It was very true, he said, that penal statutes ought in general to have a strict and rigid construction, But the statute on which the action in question was founded, very much differed from all other penal statutes so that the arguments adduced by the defendants counsel could not apply in the present case: For said he, an Act which was made to restrain the inordinent lusts of men—to prevent that havock and destruction, which reigns in one part of the globe—ought to have a more liberal construction—such a construction as to answer the purposes of the Legislature. The Jury, he further contended, ought not to be tender in finding the defendants guilty—and subject them to the forfeiture of the sum sued for—since their minds were so hardened against every feeling of humanity and compassion, as to throw hundreds of their fellow men into perpetual bondage and wretchedness; and since too they have made such a vast sum of money by the inhuman traffic.

The Court were unanimously of opinion, that the fitting out of the vessel at Boston, and afterwards proceeding on her voyage and the carrying into execution the original intent, *viz.* the obtaining of slaves —brought the defendants within the purview of the statute. They said that, as the facts were agreed to—the first question was—What was the design of the Legislature in making the statute? If it was to have the operation as stated by the defendant's counsel, the design of it would be defeated—for foreigners might fit out their vessels among us—our merchants be privately concerned and perhaps reap as much advantage from the barbarous traffic, as if the statute was not in being—and we should not be able to punish them because their being here, and their trading and fitting out their vessels from our ports, would not gain them a residency. Indeed the statute ought to be so construed as to effect the purposes for which it was made. When can a man be said to be a resident? The common acceptance of the word is, that when the place of a man's citizenship is not accurately known—and when he is transiently here and there—so that wherever he is, he may be said to be a resident of that place. This definition of a residency seems to comport with the common acceptation of the term, and is agreeable to the Law.

The Jury found the Defendants guilty and assessed two hundred pounds for the plaintiffs.

After which the Defendants' counsel moved an arrest of judgment, which is to be argued February term, at Boston.[4]

298. Newport Custom-House Entries, 1794-1795.[1]

Date	Vessel	Master	Voyage
1794, Aug. 12	*Abigail*	Rowan	Cleared for Africa
" 12	*Washington*	Hicks	" " "
1795, Apr. 7	*Abigail*	Rowan	Entered from Africa
Sept. 29	*Sally*	Manchester	Cleared for Africa
Oct. 5	*Whim*	Ambrose	" " "
Oct. 13	*Hannah*	Cook[2]	" " "
Nov. 3	*Fair Eliza*	Smith	" " "
Nov. 10	*Blackney*	Gardner	" " "
Dec. 2	*William*	Wood	" " "
" "	*Peat*	Vilett	" " "

[4] The verdict was sustained.

[298] [1] *Newport Mercury* of dates given. The fact that a vessel cleared for Africa by no means proves that it was a slaver, but it does place it under suspicion and makes it worth while to observe all further entries relating to it. A thorough search of newspapers for customs entries during the years 1789-1808 would give considerable aid in compiling a list of American vessels engaged in the trade. On Oct. 20, 1796, Zachary Macaulay wrote to Samuel Hopkins: "You will be sorry to learn that during the last year, the number of American slave traders on the coast has increased to an unprecedented degree. Were it not for their pertinacious adherence to that abominable traffic, it would, in consequence of the war, have been almost wholly abolished in our neighborhood." Hopkins, *Works,* I. 152.

[2] Probably Capt. Joseph B. Cooke, who in 1793 or 1794, on board the *Nancy,*

299. Accounts of the *Ascension*, 1795-1798.[1]

Sales of 283 Slaves sold viz.

			Dollars
33 Sick with the Small Pox Sold at Mozambique for			1320
250 sold at Beaunos Ayres			
199 ———— at	235	46765	
6	180	1080	
8 Sickly	90	720	
33 Died on board			
4 Do at Montevedo			
250			48565
			49885
Charges thereon *viz.*			
Landing House vent etc. at Montevido	168		
Freight to Beunos Ayres	213		
200 Blankets at $2	400		
Land'g at Beunos Ayres etc.	38		
Docter Bill for sick slaves	52		
	871		
Paid Nemesis Palaces 5 pr Ct on the gross sale $48565	2428		
			3299
			46586
3 pr Cent discount on $45325[2]	[*blotted*]		1357.9
Neat sales of 283 slaves			45325
Average Price of Slaves	163.70		
15, Capt. Chases Priviledge	$2455.50		
His Coms. 4 on 104 is	1594.56	4050.06	
4, Mr. Brattles chief mate Priviledge	654.80		
3, Mr. Clarks do. 2d mate	491.10		
1, Baxter	163.70	1309.60	
			5359.66
			39965.34
Bill disburstment at Montvid.			1129
Balance Due To the Owners			38836.34
Remitted by Mr. Clark	$18050		
Ingot of Gold 114½ oz.	2078		
Bill of Exchange on the Havanna	2050		

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suffered an uprising of his slaves in which several of them were killed. *Salem Gazette,* Jan. 28, 1794.

[299] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. The loose sheets from which these accounts are taken give no clue as to the dates of the two sales here included. A memorandum on the trade of the *Ascension,* on paper of 1878, states that between 1795 and 1798 the vessel was owned by Peleg Clark, Caleb Gardner, and William Vernon, and was commanded by Samuel Chace. The vessel cleared for Mozambique in November, 1795 (*Newport Mercury,* Nov. 3, 1795). The captain bought goods at Rotterdam and the Isle de France with which he purchased 283 slaves at Mozambique. These he sold at Buenos Aires. There is no evidence as to the source of the slaves sold at Havana, nor can it be ascertained whether the Havana sale was later or earlier than that at Montevideo. Captain Chace and his vessel were captured in 1798.

[2] How this figure was obtained is not evident. Subtracting the charges from the gross sales seems to leave $45266, three per cent. of which is $1357.98. However the maker of the accounts obtained $45325 and $163.70, he continued to use them.

[*Accounts of the "Ascension"*—continued:]

Brought forward		$25810		38836.34
Disburstments at Dominica If allowed		1582		23760
Remaining Ballance upon the sales at Monte Video			[*blotted*]	15076.34
Amount of Slaves Sold at the Havanna [3]				31847
deduct Duties paid at St. Eustatia				208
				31639
25 Slaves remain Unsold at Havanna				3750
327 Slaves Averidges at the Havanna		108 doll'rs		35389
Received of Mr. Nagle 1/3				
Capt. Chase	13 Priviledge			
Mr. White	2½ do	250		38½
Mr. Brownel	1½ do	150		
Mr. Clark	1½ do	150		
Mr. Price	½ do	50		
Mr. Hudson	½ do	50		
Allen	½ do	50		
Sayer	½ do	50		
	20½			
Mr. Willson	1	100		
	21½	850		
		180 and ¼		
		669 ¾		
Eighty 7 3/5 to be Deducted		142.52		
		38.50		
		181.2		

paid Labour on board Ship *Ascension*			
Sundry people 5 day	£9.	4	
To Wharfage 167 hhd. Molasses at 4	2.	15.	8
To Cash paid for Privilage Slaves	255.		
To Ditto Wages of Ship	343.	4.	6
To Ditto Custom House		5.	14
To Mr. Babcock privilege	75		
To Phillip Burgess bill	3		
To 1 bbl. pitch 15		15	
To bbl. turpentine		18	
To Oakham 52 Oakham at 3½		15.	6
To [*illegible*] bill	2.	0.	6

300. Journal of the Ship *Mary*, 1795-1796.[1]

Journal of a Voyage by Gods permission from Providence in the State of Rhode Island; towards Goree in Africa: on the Good Ship

[3] All the evidence points to a steadily growing trade with Cuba. On June 19, 1792, Captain Camplin (Champlin?) reported that he left behind him at Havana the *Abeona,* Smith, of Salem; the *Willing Quaker,* M'Neal of Boston; a snow under De Wolf of Rhode Island; the brig *Sally,* Sherman, of New York; the sloop *Rebecca,* Ryan of New London; and the schooner *Peggy* (*Salem Gazette,* May 22, 1792). To gain admission to Havana each of these vessels must have carried slaves.

[300] [1] For the log of the *Mary,* which sailed from Providence Nov. 22, 1795, the editor is indebted to Professor W. W. Sweet, of the University of Chicago, who found

"Mary". Captain, Nathan Henry. May God grant success to the Ship and Crew. . . .

Ship "Mary" at Goree.

Thursday December 24th. Had several of the Inhabitants on board but no trade made today. Men Empd seting up the standing Rigging and Sundry Necessaries. Cooper empd making knives. Sail'd for the River Gambia the Snow *Eliza Benedict* Smith had 10 slaves on board.

Friday December 25th. Men Empd. scraping the Main deck and plaining the poop. Do. Dld. Cargo *Vizt:*

S.M. No. 2 and 3
- 2 Barrels of Sugar
- 1 Barrel of Cyder
- 1 Case of Clarret
- 1 Cask of Vinegar
- 1 Box of Musket Balls
- 4 Muskets

Saturday December 26th. Empd. Delivering Cargo

- 1 Barrel of Sugar
- 2 Barrels of Cyder
- 1 Barrel of Tea

} Recd. 2 Men Slaves

Recd. from on board Ship 6 Hhds. of Salt from the——

Sunday December 27th. Carried out the Ketch anchor and tyt [?] however 100 fathoms ahead—to prevent Accidents of striking a Drift. Empd. the remainder of the day Delivering Lumber, 5449 feet.

Monday 28th of December. Empd. Delivering Cargo.

S.M.
- 4 Barrels of Cyder
- 1 Tierce of Rice
- 4 Do. Clarret

} Recd.
- 6 Men Slaves
- 2 Women Slaves

- 4 ½ Barrels of N.E. Rum
- Contg. Gallons 15½
- 15½
- 15½
- 16 =62½

} Recd. 24 raw hides 16 Cakes of Wax

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it in the possession of Mr. James Bridges of Greencastle, Ind. It was transcribed by Mrs. Irene H. Quay. There are here printed only those portions of the log which deal with trade. Much of the omitted matter relates to the charting of the vessel's course, the weather, and the prevailing winds. Such omissions, not indicated by the usual method, may be assumed to occur in each day's record. The place of other omissions is indicated only by the dates. The journal begins on Nov. 22, 1795.

[*Journal of the Ship "Mary"*—continued:]

2 one Gall. Keggs of Butter
1 Barrel of Vinegar
2 Do. Sugar
1 Do. Flour
1 Box of Musket Balls
1 Barrel of Turpentine
4551 feet of Lumber
40 lb. of sugar.

Tuesday December 29th.

Dld. 1st Boat.
' 1 Barrel Flour
' 1 Do. Rum 20G.
' 2 Kegs of Butter
' 1 Barrel Sugar
' 1 Box of M. Balls
' 50 feet of Lumber

Dld. 2d Boat.
' 1 Barrel Flour
' 1 Do. Rum 27½G.
' 1 Do. Sugar
' 1 Kegg of Butter
' 1 Box of M. Balls
' 80 feet of Lumber

Dld. 3d Boat.
' 1 Cask Clarret
' 1 Barrel Flour
' 1 Kegg Butter
' 1 Box Balls
' 1 Kegg Salmon
' 65 lb. Sugar.

4th Boat.
' 1 Barrel of Rum 28G.
' Do. 15½
' 1 Kegg B. 4
' 1 Do. 2½=50.

5th Boat.
' 1 Kegg Butter
' 2 Boxes Balls
' ½ Barrel Rum 15½G.

6th Boat.
' 2 Boxes Balls
' 1 Kegg Salmon

Received.
3 Men Slaves
1 Woman
10 Cakes of Wax

Arriv'd Schooner Capt. Greene
Schooner Capt. Gardner.

Wednesday 30th. Some hands Empd. putting Sinnette[2] on the Shrouds in the wake of the Lower Yards others Discharging Cargo Dld.

First Boat
' 1 Cask of Clarret
' 1 Case Do.
' 1 Barrel of Flour
' 1 Kegg of Salmon
' 1 Do. Butter
' 1 Box Balls

Second Boat.
' 3 Barrels of Rum G. 79.
' To fill up with 1
— 80
' 2 Muskets
' 1 Box Balls
' 2 pieces of Callico
' 1 Do. Chex.
' 2 Keggs of Butter
' 1 Do. pickles
' 10 lb. Sugar

Dld. 130 lb. Sugar. Recd. 1 Man Slave

Arriv'd Schoner Capt. Greene.
Hoisted on board the Long Boat and made some preparations for Sea.

[2] Sinnet was a nautical term for a rope made from hemp or heavy grass of any sort.

Thursday 31st of December. Sail'd for the Leeward Coast. Brig Captain Cooke.

Dld. 2 Casks of Clarret,
1 Barrel of Flour,
1 Do. Sugar,
1 thrs. of N. Rum G. 95.
1 Barrel Do. 28
1 Do. 28½
1 half Do 16
1 Kegg Do 4
1 Jug 1½=173.
part of a Box of Soap
2 Keggs of Butter
1 four Gallon Kegg of Vinegar G 4
1 Jug 2
Took I half Barrel of Rum to fill up with.

Dld. 135 lb. Sugar
1 Tierce of Rum G. 46½
1 Half barrel 15½=62
10 Gallons of Medaria
1 Box of Balls
1 Kegg of Butter
2 half Barrels to fill up 23 G.
N.B. the above Tierce half out by a Worm hole
Recd 5 Men slaves
Saild for River Gambia. Schooner Capt. Greene

Ship "Mary" from Goree bound down the Coast of Africa.

Thursday Jan. 6th. At 3 P.M. between Wm. Island and the Isle of Delop [Delos ?] discovered two schooners One Brig, and One Ship at Anchor, took in Sail and Anchored North point of Wm. Island baring West 2½ Miles Dist. Ship for the Rhode S.S.E. 3′ Distance North Point of the Isle De Lost E 3 miles dist. Soft Bottom. . . .

Friday Jan. 7th. Capt. on Shore purchasing Rice. Men Empd. making Sinnete Mats etc. This Morning arrived the Brig. Capt. Cook.

Friday 8th. Whd. [Weighed] anchor and Ran in between the Island, Land three Hhd.

Dld. Mr. Baptist Long Boat *Vizt.*
Kegg of Butter 10#
Do Salmon 2#
Do. pickles 2#
Do Vinegar 1#
Do Flour 3#
Do Pepper 2#
Do Box of Soap 60 lb. 1
Do Candles 2
Do Cheese 40 lb. 3¼
Lumber feet 500
Small Yawl 1
Dld. King Canto pr. Order
2 pieces of Chex.
2 Mats
Dld. Hhd. of Salt 4

Saturday 9th. Empd. Delivering Cargo. *Vizt,*

6 Hhds. of Salt
4 Hhds. of Tobo. No. 17″ 1000 3 Barrels of Tar
30 1534 3 Do. Turpentine
41 1515

Sunday the 10th. Whd. Anchor and proceeded down the Coast towards Seraloan River at Noon. Island and Delop baring N by E distance about 2 Leagues. Men Empd. Sundry Necessaries.

Monday the 11th. Running for Cape Seraloan in 8, 10 and 12 fathoms. At daylight saw the Cape baring E by S. or 5 Leagues distances. At half past 4 Anchored off Freetown[3] in 15 fathoms. Moved Ship Ketch to the E Small Bower to the flood.

Tuesday 12th. Empd. bringing of Water. *Viz.* 10 punchions and 7 Gang Casks. Captain Henry went to Bens [Bence] Island but no trade.

Dld. out of 1 half
Barrel of Rum for 5 gallons of Oil 5G.
Do. Yams and potatoes 1 "
Do. on my account 1 " =7

Dld. 2 half Barrels of Rum, 1 Kegg of Salmon, 1 Do of Butter, 16 lb. of Soap to a Small Sloop Long Side.

Wednesday 13th. Empd. bringing off 9 Gang Casks of Water etc. Dld. out of the same half barrel breached Yesterday for 6½ Gallons of Oil, for 2 Bottles of Cyan[4] Pepr, 1=7½. Breached a Hhd. of Rum sold and Dld. pr. Order of Capt. Henry.

Dld. to Aaron Morton 8G
Miss Web 2
Hannah Smith 9
James Lustree 6
To fill up barrel etc.
half barrel sold
. . . . York 5
pr. Ships Stores 10 =40
Sld. Sold Rum and Pork as Mention above—
Barrel 1 G. 27
Half Do. 15=42
Dld. Capt. Crownshead a Tierce of Rum 64
Belonging to Wm. Ingram to be replaced (wanting 1 Gallon)
Mrs. Small 1 Barrel of Cyder. Recd. 1 Girl Slave.

Saturday 16th. Steering down West Coast. At Daylight saw the Bananahs baring E.N.E. distance about 3 or 4 Leagues. This Morn-

[3] The chief settlement of Sierra Leone had returned not long before this to the site of the first establishment, made by Granville Sharp in 1788, and had taken the name Freetown.

[4] Cayenne.

ing Began our Barracade [5] which Empd. a Number of hands planing 2 in. boards.

Thursday 21 of January. At 4 Saw Cape Mount South Easterly of us, at 9 anchored the Cape baring S.

Dld. John Siman	1	Hhd. Tobo.
	2	Keggs of Salmon
		Do. Sounds and tongues
		Do. Butter
	2	Barrels Rum
Mrs. Buttle	2	Hhds. Tobo.
	2	Keggs Salm.
	6	Do. Butter
	1	Do.
	1	Barrel of vinegar
	1	Do. Tar.
	1	Cask of Cordage
	15	Gallons wine
To King Gray	3	Hhds. Tobo. }
	2	Keggs }
	2	Do. Butter } Recd. Slaves
	2	Do. Salmon }

Ship "Mary" at Cape Mount.

Saturday Jan. 23rd. Empd. Delivering to King Gray 2 Hhds. of Rum. Broke 2 Hhds. of Tobo. and Dld. Sold my own Hhd. of Tobo. for 3 Small Slaves. To Wm. Goole 2 Hhds. of Tobo., 3 Do. Rum, 3 Keggs of Butter, 1 Barrel of Tar, 203 ft. of Lumber.

Sunday, Jan. 24th. Dld. to Messrs Gomar and Booke.

3 Hhds Tobo.	2 Casks of Cordage
1 Do. Rum	1 Kegg of Lard
2 Barrels of Tar.	3 Do. Wine
1 Kegg of Mackrell	

Monday 25th. Returned with the Long Boat from Shugree and put into her 5 Hhds. of Tobbacco and 2 punchions of Rum and at sunset set her out for the Gullinas.

Tuesday 26th. Empd. shifting the Tobaco from forward in the hold into the fore Hatchway and Sundry other Necessaries. Dld. 1 Hhd. of Tobo.

Wednesday 27th. Long Boat Returned but no Success. Empd. Stowing water in the fore hold. Also Bringing of Water. Dld. to Mr. Gool 1 Hhd. of Tobo.

Thursday 28th. Empd. shifting goods in the Hould to Bring the Ship by the Head. Brought out 7 gang casks of Water. Dld. 2 Hhds. of Tobo.

[5] Defensive barricade between the quarterdeck and the parts of the vessel where the slaves were to be stowed.

Friday 29th. Empd. the same as Yesterday. Dld. for a pawn 1 half Hhd. of Tobo.

Saturday 30th. Recvd. Warter onbord. Deliverd Goods recvd Slaves.

Sunday 31st. Imployd in Shifting things in four hold. Resved Slaves onbord.

Monday 1st February. Receved Warter onbord and Slaves.

Tuesday 2d. This Day Brisk Trade. Bought Eleven Slaves. Imployed in Delivering Goods. All Hands Drink and Disobedient.

Wednesday 3d. This Day Imployed in Stowing Warter in the four Hold and Claring Mens room out. recvd Warter onbord. Bought two Slaves. Deliverd goods.

Thursday 4th. Recevd Warter on bord. Imployd Starting and Stowing. Shifting things in four hold. Bought one slave. Deliverd goods.

Friday 5th Febuary. This Day Bought two Slaves. Recevd Warter. Imployd Starting and Stowing. Deliverd good.

Saturday 6. Bought 3 Slaves. Recevd Warter. Imploy Delivering Good—Starting and Stowing Warter.

Sunday 7. Bought 3 Slaves. Imployd as Yesterday.

Monday 8. Recevd warter on bord. Imployd in Starting and Stowing. Bought two Slave. Deliverd one Hogshead tobacco the Long Boat Returnd from Bamboo Crick. Mr. Johnson very unwell. Docter onbor from Brig that arrivd this Day from Charlestown. Capt. Johnston.

Tuesday 9. Imployd in tending slaves—recevd warter on bord —bought one slave—Mr. Johnston very unwell.

Wednesday 10. Mr. Johnson unwell. Capt. Johnston's Docter attending him. Recvd warter on bord. Imployd in starting and stowing. Overhauling things in the ward room and cleaning it out.

Thursday 11. Bought three slave. Recvd three trips warter on bord. Mr. Johnson no better Docter tending him. Latter part Imploy in Clearing ship to get under Way. Discharged all our Crue men and paid them off.

Friday 12. At Daylight got under Way. Bound down uppon the Gold Cost with 116 Slaves on bord. Imployd in Cleaning Mens Room. No land in sight at Dark, took Longboat in tow.

Saturday 13. Standing down the Coast at 6 pm. Judged myself in the river Junck,[6] at Dark took the Longboat in tow. Mr. Johnston no better. the Boswain rangling and making Disturbance among the people. Broke him and turned him fore the Mast.

[6] The River Junck, slightly southeast of Cape Mount and Cape Mesurado.

Sunday 14. At 10 A.M. Saw the Land Lattd observed in 5.24 North at 6 pm Judged myself of[f] Cape Formoso. Got our onions up to dry. Carpenter imployd in making after gratings. Buried one man Slave. Several others Sick and Complaning.

Monday 15th. Imployd in tending Slaves. Carpenter making after grating. Land in sight all this Day. Standing down the Cost at Dark Judged myself 30 mi. to Windward Cape Palmass, took our Long Boat in tow.

Tuesday 16th February. Imployd in tending Slaves. Carpenter making Grating for after hack and putting up Bulkhead in after Slave room. Mr. Johnson much Better. took the Long Boat in tow at Dark at Cape Palmass.

Wednesday 17. Standing down the Coast. No Land in Sight. Imployd in tending Slaves and putting up a Grating. Bulkhead Womens Slave room.

Thursday 18. Standing down the Cost under all Sail at Dark Judged my Self of Cape Lahood.[7] No Land in Sight observed in overhauling our potatoes and cleaning out Womens Slave room. Mr. Johnson much the same as yesterday. . . .

Ship "Mary" Laying at Cap Coast

Saturday 20. at Daylight of Cape three points. At 2 pm past Seconde an English Ship at ancor, Loaded with rum. At 8 pm Caim to with Stream ancor Commundy Forts Baring North.

Sunday 21. At 9 Am Went Shore in Canoe from English fort to make Trade. Purchast two slaves and Deliverd two punchions Rum.

Monday 22. 8 Am Returnd on bord. Purchast one Slave. Sold one Hogshead rum for Gold. At 11 A.M. Got under Way. Ran Down to the Elmines at 2 pm.

Tuesday 23. At 8 Morning Went Shore at the Mines found Trad Very Dull. Brought on Bord one Slave and purchast one from the Govener of Comenda.

Wensday 24. Laying at Elmines Went on shore, purchast one Slave, Sold 1 pipe Oporto Wine and sum Chease. Imploy onbord in tending Slaves and Over hauling our Arms.

February 25th, Thursday. Imployd in tending Slaves. Sold sum Chease and mad Small trade. . . .

Ship "Mary" in Annamaboo Road, March 1796

Sunday 28. Put 8 punchions of rum into the Long Boat and Sent her to the Mines with the Second Mate, had our stream Cable Cut

[7] This may be Cape Lahou, about half way between Cape Palmas and the Cape of Three Points.

off from the ancor about twenty fathoms. Ship Struck a Drift. Brought tow with our Small Bower.

Monday 29th. At 6 Am Waid at 11 Ancord in Annamaboo Laying at roads where there was Laying three English ships and four Americann. Capt. Comerey, Ambras, Smith and Manches.[8] Grate Number of Blacks onbord Begging or What they Call their Ackeys to make trade for me.

Tuesday March 1st. Grate Number Blacks on bord. Bought two Slaves. Deliverd one punchion Rum. Long Boat Returnd from the mines having discharged her Cargo.

Wensday 2. Imployd in Tending Slaves and Stowing Warter in the four Hole. Bought two Slaves. Discharged two punchions rum.

Thursday, March 3, 1796. This morning a smart Turnado with heavy Showers. Sent the Boat to Cape Course for water. Men Empd. the Remainder of the day tending Slaves. Brought the Kedg Anchor home in the Squall at 5 P.M. Carried it out again. Many Blacks on bord make much Difficulty in settling their custom.

Friday 4th. Men Empd. tending Slaves etc. Unbent all the light sails and Stowed them away. Also the Main sail and Jibb, and launched the Top Gallant Masts. Afternoon the Captain went on Shore and purchased a Boy Slave.

Saturday, March 5th. Empd. tending slaves starting and stowing water. pur[chased] 1 Adult female Slave.

Sunday, March 6th, 1796. purchased one Man Slave. Empd. tending slaves and Loading the Long Boat with 10 punchions of Rum for Almine.

Monday, March 7th. A Great many Blacks on Board. But little trade as they want all Gold for their Slaves, purchased one Man Slave. N. B. The Long Boat set out last Night between 6 and 7 O'clock with squall off the Land for Almina with 10 punchions of Rum and one punchion in a Canoe.

Tuesday, March 8th. A Great many Blacks on bd Who purchased some Cloth; purchased one Slave. Men Empd. tending Slaves, hoisting up Rum for the Cooper to trim and Sundry other Necessaries.

Wednesday March 9th. Men Empd. tending Slaves and hoisting up Rum for the Cooper to trim etc. Purchased 2 Slaves. About 8 O'clock at Night the Long Boat Returnd Brought 4 punchions of Rum.

[8] Captain Ambrose, of the *Whim,* cleared from Newport for Africa Oct. 5, 1795; Captain Manchester, of the *Sally,* on Sept. 29. Captain Smith may have commanded the *Fair Eliza,* which cleared in November. *Newport Mercury,* Sept. 29, Oct. 5, Nov. 3, 1795.

Thursday March 10th. Moderate Land and Sea breezes. Men Empd tending upon Slaves and Sundry other Necessaries About the Ship. Loaded the Long Boat with Rum for Almina.

Sunday March 13. Empd. loading Long Boat and Tending Slaves and Sundry Necessaries. purchased Slaves and dispatched Rum. The Long Boat with one pipe of Oporto Wine and 3 Hhds of Rum for the Elmines.

Monday March 14. Men Empd. tending Slaves, starting and stowing water, Cooper making Water Casks, purchased one Slave. Last Night a punchion of W. I. Rum being [*illegible*] in the Hould it fetch'd and stove so that two thirds of it run out and was lost.

Friday March. 18. Men Empd. tending Slaves and Sundry Jobs about the Ship. This morning Saild the *Sally* full Slaves and bound of the Coast.

Monday 21. Employ the same as Yesterday. Capt. Henry having been on board the Brigg *Whim* to Spend the Evening, Returned between 8 and 9 O'clock, and found John Burges one of the Sailors, Noisy and troublesome, abaft the Barricade [*illegible*]. Capt. Henry Endeavored to Suppress, When Several of the Crew assembled to Burgess' assistance and (Particularily James Power, and Wm. Ingram) Knocked the Capt. down with a Hatch bar and wounded him in Several places, (particular two dangerous wounds on the head) and would have murdered him no doubt, had he not been Relieved by his Officers and some of the more Sober and Considerate part of the Crew. Capt. Ambrose the nearest vessel to us was allarmed at the Noise and supposing that our Slaves had got loose Sent his Chief Mate armd to our Assistance, Who assisted in puting the Ring Leaders in Irons that is John Burgess, James Power and Wm. Ingram.

Tuesday 22d. Men Empd. Stowing Water tending Slaves etc. purchased 4 Slaves. John Burgess and James Power was set on Shore to prevent them making any futer Disturbance in the Ship.

Wednesday 23d. Men Empd. tending upon the Slaves, Starting and Stowing Water etc. purchased 2 Slaves.

Thursday 24th. About 8 A.M. the English Frigate, Boat with Officers came Alongside and the Officer Came onboard with the two men set on Shore Tuesday. They demanded their wages due Which was paid, and he also tok Wm. Scotscher from the Ship whose wages was paid him also. At Night the Ship struck a Drift let go Bow bound Anchor.

Friday March 25, 1796. Men Empd. tending Slaves etc. Bartered 8 Hhds of Rum with a portegue Brig for Role Tobo.

Ship "Mary" in Annamaboo Road April 1796

Friday Aprill 1st. The *Rammilees* friggate Whd. at Cape Course and Run down here and sent for Capt. Henry onboard. Capt. Henry went on bd. and Carried with him the Chest belonging to James Power and John Burgess which settled the Whole Affair Respecting Burgess and Power. Men Empd. tending Slaves etc.

Monday Aprill 4th. Men Empd. Starting and tending Slaves. Starting Water. Arrived the Schooner——from Warren State of Rhode Island, Captain Baker.

Tuesday Aprill 5th. Men Empd. Starting Water and Tending upon Slaves, purchased a Slave. Arrived a sloop from Rhode Island the Captain of Which died a few Days before she Arrived. Sent the Long Boat for Water.

Thursday Aprill 7th. Died a Slave last night having Ben Sick some time. Men Empd. Stowing Water tending Slaves etc.

Friday Aprill 8th. Men Empd. Tending Slaves and other Necessaries about the Ship. Arrived the Ship *Three Brothers* from Boston, Capt. Dunbar, Mr. Simidar Super Cargo.

Saturday Aprill 9th. About 10 A.M. the Long Boat Returned from Elmina with a Load of Water. Men Empd. discharging the Long Boat Stowing Water tending Slaves etc. Arrived a large Portugues Ship from Brazil.

Sunday Aprill 10th. Men Empd. Starting Water, Loaded the Long Boat with Rum, etc. for Sundry places up the Coast. Arrived the Snow——Capt. Smith from Accroe.

Monday Aprill 11th. Men Empd. Tending Slaves Cleaning the hould for water—purchased 4 Slaves today.

Tuesday Aprill 12th. Men Empd. tending Slaves, hoisting up Rum and Sundry Necessaries. Dld. 3 Hhds. of Rum, purchased 3 Slaves. . . .

Thursday Aprill 14th. Men Empd. tending Slaves etc. Purchased 2 Slaves. Cleaned out the Slave rooms fore and aft. Arivd the English Ship *Spy* from Cape Course, a heavy swell heaving on shore which makes a large Surf.

Friday Aprill 15th. Arivd the Brig *Minerva* belonging to Charlestown S. Carolina, Capt. Johnson. Men Empd. tending Slaves etc. . . .

Sunday Aprill 17th. Empd. tending slaves Stowing water etc. Dld. 4 punchions of Rum, 1 Kegg of Salmon. About Sunset the Long Boat Returned brought 4 Men Slaves, som Yams etc. Recd. a Hhd. of Tobo. from the Schooner Capt. Baker.

Monday Aprill 18th. Sold one Hhd. of Rum purchased 1 Slave. Men Empd. tending Slaves, etc. Cooper seting up Shooks. The Long Boat set out for Cape Coast for Water and Indian Corn.

Tuesday Aprill 19th. Dld. 1 Hhd. of Rum Recd. 2 Slaves. Men Empd. tending Slaves and Sundry Necessaries. Cooper seting up Casks for Corn. Recd. the Gang Casks Brot. Capt. Johnson.

Wednesday Aprill 20th. Men Empd. Starting and Stowing water and Sundry Necessaries. Long Boat Returnd from Cape Coast with 11 Gang casks of water and 5 Hhds. of Indian Corn. Lost their Ruder. Sent Capt. Johnson 4 Gang Casks. Arivd a sloop from Capt. James. James Aburn was detected Stealing Rum out of the Retail Hhd.

Saturday Aprill 23d. Empd. shifting our ————————, Moving the Ship, tending Slaves and Sundry Necessaries. James Aburn detected by the Capt. beating one of the slaves with a Rope, Which Capt. Henry went to Correct him for and Aburn turned upon him and struck him four times, also bit his finger. Upon which the Capt. Ordered Aburn to be brought aft of the Barricado tyed his hands to the After Main Shrouds and gave him some stripes with a Codline. Then Calld all hands aft, also told them he would not let Aburn loose unless they would become bound by their word, for his futer good behaviour. And they all Unanimously Agreed too, with their Consent it was done.

Monday Aprill 25th. Men Empd. Tending Slaves and Cleaning out the Slave rooms. Dld. 1 punchion of Rum, purchased 1 man Slave. Arivd an English Letter of [Mart?] which Saluted the fort, had 1 Gun Returnd.

Tuesday 26. Men Empd. Tending Slaves and Sundry Necessaries. Capt. Henry very Sick for several days past and sent for Simidor several times but today Simidor is sick himself. Sent for Capt. Johnson's Doctor, who came and attempted to bleed him and had a small orrifice in a Vein of one Arm when Capt. Henry was so [*illegible*] he was obliged to stop it. Long Boat Returnd with a Load of Water from Cape Coast. Arivd another English Ship.

Wednesday Aprill 27th. Empd. tending Slaves etc. Plenty of Slaves off but want Gold for them. Long Boat set out for Water. Loos'd Sails and dry'd them.

Saturday Aprill 30th. Capt. Henry very Sick has Doctor Simidor to attend him twice a day. Men Empd. tending Slaves and starting water. Recd. 2 Trips water purchased one Girl slave, Dld. 1 Hhd. of Rum, purchased one Girl slave for myself.

Sunday may 1st. Empd. tending Slaves and Sundry Necessaries. Capt. Henry very unwell has the Doctor to attend him twice a day, but gets no better.

Monday May 2d. Long Boat Returnd from Cape Coast tow'd onbd by Capt. Smiths Boat, having been upset at Cape Coast—lost the Main sail and the After hatch Tarpolin, was upset hoisting the first Cask, the Officer having discharged all the ballast before he began to load. Dld. a punchion of Rum for a Slave purchased Aprill 29th. Capt. Henry much the same as Yesterday.

Tuesday 3d of M loos'd Sails to Dry. Dyed last Night a Slave having been sick some time. Recd. and Bt. a Slave from Mr. Whitehead of Cape Coast. Loos'd Sails to Dry and Sundry Necess. Broachd a barrel of beef and pork.

Wednesday 4th of May. Bt. one Slave. Men Empd. tending Slaves breaking out Rum in the hould etc. Capt. Henry much the same. Purchased 1 Girl Slave. In Braking out the Rum found 1 punchion out hoops all broke. Also found a barrell with the bung out, half out. Suppose to be drunk by the Sailors.

Friday 6th of May. Empd. braking out Rum in the after Hould. Loos'd and dryd them, Recd. Trips of Water, Empd. seting the large Iron pot in the Copper frame and Sundry Necessaries. Capt. Henry a Little Better. Am making a Long boat Mainsail out of the Midle Stay Sail. Arivd the sloop Capt. Bennox from Newport.

Wednesday 11th of May. Got the Long Boat a Longside she having Returnd last night, and Examined her Stores found all were Casks etc. Except 2 10-feet Oars. Brought 2 Chests of Corn from Abborde Cape Coast. Sent her in shore for fire wood. At Sunset She Returnd with 7 C Billets. Men Empd. scraping topmasts T.G. masts etc.

Friday 13th of May. loos'd the Top———. Whd. the Stream Anchor and Stowd it. Empd. the Remainder of the day getting provisions for the Ships Crew, Broached a barrel of beef and one of pork. Died a Man Slave with a Dysentery, been sick but a Short time.

Saturday May 14th. Empd. scraping the bottom of the Ship. Empd. tending Slaves and Sundry Necessaries. At Sunset Mr. James More which had charge of the Long Boat as Mentioned the 12th Inst. was brought on bd. by an English Ships Boat. Mr. More having lost the Long boat he says hoisted her Cable and drove off in blowing Weather, he having used every indeavor possible to keep her off.

Wednesday May 18th. Men Empd. tending Slaves, there being only 4 of the Ships Crew on board, 1 of which was tending the Cooper on Centry and the other 2 starting Water etc. Purchased some Slaves and Received 2 Trips of Water, very unwell my Self with the fever and Ague. Saild for America the Brig *Whim* Capt. Ambrose.

Thursday May 19th. found dead a Man Slave having been in a Consumtive State a Long while. The Boats Returnd at 1 O'clock Safe. Empd. braking out Rum in the hould which we finnished. Stowed down some Empty Casks. Dld. 3 punchions of Rum, Tending Slaves etc. Bought of Capt. Ambrose a 4 Hhd. Boat which should have been Entered Yesterday, found a Punchion of Rum laked out by two broken staves about 5 Staves from opposite the bung.

Friday May 20th. Men Empd. Tending Slaves etc. purchased Several Slaves, about 10 A.M. I was at work in the hould and was taken very sick at my Stomach, from the hould Retired to my Cabin Where I lost about a pint of Clear Blood, after this a Sever fit of the Ague and fever.

Saturday May 21st. Men Empd. the same as Yesterday. Many small traders on bd. purchased Slaves 4. Dld. Rum.

Ship "Mary" at Cape Coast, May 1796

Saturday May 28th. Empd. taking on board 5 Trips and 20 Gang Casks of Water from our Annamaboo Canoe and two trips 8 Casks each by our own boat. Latter part of the day pleasant weather. Empd. tending Slaves. N.B. In the first Shower we had all the tarpolin on, but the hatches in the Slave room being unlocked the men slaves grooped down in the dark, drove the hoops off a cask of wine and set it leaking, also stove the head out of half barrel of Mackrell, and eat it up.

Sunday May 29th. Empd. tending Slaves. Recd. and Started 24 Gang Casks of Water *Viz* from the Annamaboo Canoe 5 trips No Casks and one from the Elmina Canoe. Loos'd Sails and dry'd them and Sundry other Necessaries about the Ship.

Monday May 30th. Empd. Stowing Water, tending Slaves etc. Recd. from the Annamaboo Canoe 20 C. and from the Elmina 4 trips or 28 Casks. Died a Girl Slave with Dysentery.

Thursday June 2d. Empd. tending Slaves and Sundry Necessaries, Recd. 1 Trip or 11 Casks from both boats. Examined the dry provisions *Vizt.* Beens 1 Luger, Do 1 pipe, Do 1 Tierce, Corn 14 punchions, Ship Brd. 2 Lugers, Do 1 Punchion, Do 1 Tierce, Cratine rec. 2 Tierce, Do. ½ Do, Cabin Do 1 punchion.

Ship "Mary" at Elmina Taking on bd. Water, June 1796

Friday June 3d. Rainy almost all day so that the Slaves can scarcely come on deck only long enough to clean out their berths. Very little done by the men except tending the Slaves. This morning the Generall of Elmina Fort died, the fort firing mourning guns, etc. displayed their Collours half mast.

Monday June 6th. Empd. tending Slaves Starting Water etc. Recd. from the Ann. Canoe 5 Trips—by our own boat 2 trips. This morning found our women Slave Appartments had been attempted to have been opened by some of the Ships crew, the locks being Spoild and sunderd. Broached a barrel of pk.

Friday June 10th. Commences calm and pleasant. Loos'd Sails to dry etc. We was this morning informd by one of our Slaves that was not confined but on deck as a Sailor, that the Slaves had intentions of taking the Ship, and also advised by him to be on our guard. About 8 A.M. Capt. Henry went on Shore and also advised me to keep a good look out over the Slaves and when they come upon deck to Examine their Irons particularly. I first clear'd the booms of a number of Small Spars etc. took off the Rackings that they might not avail themselves of geting over the Barricade by the booms, also took off a number of bundles of hoops that lay across the boom. Every thing being clear on the Mn. deck, myself, Jacob Folger and John Jones took off the fore greating and Calld them up two by two as they were Ironed and Examined them, found all the legg Irons in good order, but halld about 5 or 6 Irons off they being too large. When they were all up but 6 or 8 I cast my eyes down the Ladder and saw a large strong Slave, with a naked legg Iron bolt in his hand, which I seizd, and endeavord to take from him, with all my strength but he held it in Spight of me, by that I perceivd his intentions were hostile. As they all gathered round us, and gave a loud Shout, at which I retreated for the Barricade door, looking behind me Just as I got to the Door and Saw the same Man Endeavoring to take a billet of wood that was under a pipe of wine for a quoin, by which means I escaped through the door and barrd it (having call'd to the Centinel to fire as soon as I began to Retreat and saw them after Folger and Jones) as soon as the door was bard I mounted the platform aft of the barricade and directly saw one of them in pursuit of Jones with the bott of a legg Iron in his hand, but He nimbly escaped by the boom and the Barricade but Folger was sadly wounded with thier Iron about the head and would have been Murdered had it not been for our muskets (5 of Which was fired Blunderbust) Folger hove himself down the Mn. hatch way by which he escaped.

In the interim about 12 of them came and placed thier backs against the Barricade and the door, as though they had an Intention to force it but, in so awkard a manner I cannot Judge, If that was their intention or not, by brandishing the breeches of our Muskets they retreated forward and Cordially went below (I having orderd the firing to cease almost as soon as I got on the platform). The Portugues Capt. came onboard by this time, with about 20 armd men and others, and we opened the Grating and brought them up half dozen or so at once, and among the whole found 20 or thier about had entirely got their Irons off. They having broke down the bulk head between the Sailors Apartment and themselves and came up throuth the fore Scuttle upon our backs. After all was confined and put below We found thier was Missing two of which was seen to Jump overboard and was presently drown'd, one was Shot dead, and one Sick one trampled to death in the fray and four wounded two of which pretty dangerously. Empd. the Remainder of the day Starting water One trip from the Ann. Canoe 2 trips from our own boat. The Surges on the bar Continue heavy so that it makes passing and repassing difficult. The Weather ends pleasant.

Saturday June 11th. Receaved four trips Warter from our Ann. Canoe men. Discharged one Pipe of tenereaf wine and 786 H. Wait of Beas Wax. Mr. Johnston taken sick again. We have lost by Sickness Eight Slaves and four by the Insurrection Makes 12 Buried.

Sunday June 12th. At Day light have up our ancor with Light Land Breese at 12 [*illegible*] Brest Cape Cost had two Canoes on bord from Annm. With five Slaves. Purchast one. Ancord in Annamaboo Roads at 5 pm. Buried one Man Died with Scurvy, one Man boy Died with the flucks No. 14, and a number others Sick. Mr. Johnston Very Unwell, our Wounded like to git well.

Monday June 13th. Empd. tending Slaves and Sundry Necessaries about the Ship, purchased several Slaves.

Wednesday June 15th. Empd. drying Sails etc. purchased 5 Slaves which makes our Compt. And every thing ready only wanting a good Breese. At 10 a Small breese off the Land Whd Anchor and proceeded head from S. to W. all Night with a very light land breese.

Ship "Mary" from Africa towards Georgia in America

Friday June 17th.[9] Men Empd. Making a Snug Ship puting every thing below not Wanted upon deck. Numberd the Slaves 142 Great

[9] Most of the daily entries from June 17 to Aug. 18 are here omitted, enough being printed to suggest the occupations of the sailors, and the incidents of the voyage. In addition to deaths recorded in the pages here printed, the mortality was as follows:

and Small. This morning Mr. More was seen by the Capt. and others Sleeping in the Midle Slave Room amongst the Adult Slaves for which Capt. Henry broke him from being an Officer thinking him no longer fit Companion for the Cabin. At Noon Calm and pleasant.

Sunday June 19th. At 4 P.M. saw the Land Judged to be Cape 3 points baring N.W.b.N. 5 or 6 Leagues in Dist. At 11 Sounded ground 30f, at 12 more. . . . Men Empd. tending Slaves and Sundry Necessaries about the Ship. Cooper making Buckets.

Monday June 20th. Men Empd. tending Slaves and Sundry Necessaries Jobs about the Ship. Demolished the Steerage booby hatch. The Women Cleaning Rice and Grinding Corn for corn cakes.

Saturday June 25th. Men Empd. tending Slaves etc. About 10 A.M. a Slave boy jumped overboard and drownd him self to get clear of a pain in his bowels, Occasioned by a Dysentery. No. 16.

Sunday June 26th, 1796. Number of our Slaves Sickly their Cheif Complaint is the Dysentery. Buried one boy Died with that Complaint.

Wednesday July 6th. Men Empd. tending Slaves Sails etc. This morning one Meagre Man Slave, who was with the Men boys in the Midle Room Come upon deck and jumped over bord. Several Rope was hove him but he Endeavored to drown him Self having been Delirious Sometime. No. 22.

Wednesday July 27th. Men Empd. same as Yesterday. Broached a Tierce of bread. Buried boy slave No. 29. Weather too bad to have Slaves on Deck.

Thursday July 28th, 1796. Men Empd. tending Slaves and Sundry Necessaries about the Ship. At 3 P.M. Saw a Brig Northd Steering Westd. Slave died with a Dysentery. Buried three Boy Slaves No. 32.

Wednesday August 3d. Men Empd. tending Slaves, Shaving and triming them etc etc, also making mats and Sundry Necessaries.

Thursday August 18th. Empd. filling 20 punchions Salt Water. At Sunset perceived the water colloured and at 12 Sounded ground 30 fathoms, at 2 Sounded ground 20 fathoms. At day light Saw a Ship South and a schooner ahead both standing in for the Land.

June 24, Buried one Man Slave No. 5; June 29, Buried a woman Slave died with a Consumpion No. 18; July 1, Buried a woman Slave died with a Consumption having been Meagre a Long time No. 19; July 2, Buried one boy Slave No. 20; July 4, Buried one Boy Slave No. 21; July 10, Died a Girl Slave with a dropsy and Dysentery No. 23; July 12, Buried one Man Boy No. 24; July 14, Buried a young Slave with a Dysentery; July 15, Buried one Gurl No. 25; July 20, Buried one Woman No. 26; July 22, Died and was buried 2 Small girl Slaves No. 28; July 26, Buried a small slave having been sick a long time; July 29, Buried 1 Boy Slave N. 33; Aug. 7, Died a Man Slave been a long time Sick with the Dropsy No. 34; Aug. 16, Died a Man Slave No. 5, Died a boy slave.

At 8 A.M. saw the Land from N.N.W. to W.b.S. dist. of shore [*torn*]. At noon took onbd. a pilot Mr. Brown and anchord at the bar in 3 fathoms at tide. At 2 Whd. wind N. W. and beat in to Cockspur Road.[10]

Ship "Mary" at Cockspur Quorintine

Friday August 19th. Capt. Henry set off for Savannah. Pilot left the Ship unmoord to carry the Guns out. Carried out the whole of the Ketch Anchor, Whd. the small Bower and hove up to the Ketch to get nearer the [*torn*]. Evening flood carried out the Ketch to the Westd and moord Ship. Smaller bower Eastd. Empd. Currying decks tending Slaves, etc.

Saturday August 20th. At 2 P.M. Capt. Henry arrivd on bd. Got the Slaves out of Irons. Empd. tending Slaves etc. Recd. some fresh meat for the Slaves and people.

Sunday August 21st. Landed part of the Slaves but was soon obliged to take them off again as it lookd likly to Rain. Empd. Cleaning Slave Rooms and tending Slaves.

Wensday August 24th. Imployd in geting our Slaves Landed, 100 uppon Coxburrow Island.[11] Buried one Gurl, N. 37, Sick with the Dropsy this Morning, went up to Town with [*torn*].

Thursday August 25th. . . . [*torn*] in tending the Slave. Landed 150 up Coxburrow Island for Exercise [*torn*] one Man N. 30 having been a Long Time Sick with a Lingring [*torn*] and onbord at Dark with fresh Provisions and Limes for the Slaves.

Friday August 26th. Wind from Eastward at 12. Set out for Town [*torn*] Yawl after the Health Officer. Imployd in tending the Slaves [*torn*] all the Sick and Manger Slaves upon Coxburrow.

Saturday August 27th. Returned from Town with the health Officer and Mr. Ewing at 12. . . . boat Set out for . . . At three Waid ancor Dropd down to Tibey,[12] in the Ship Ch[annel]. Imployd in tending our Slaves and Shaving them up.

Sunday August 28th. About 10 Whd. Anchor with a pretty breese enough to run over the tide and proceeded up the River. About Noon Anchord at 5 fathoms Hole, moord Ship Ketch Anchor [*torn*] Pilot went up to Town directly. Empd. the Remainder of the day tending Slaves etc. Several of the Men Refused to pump the Ship Out *Viz* all Except John Jones, Charles Scyler, Benj Hascal and Thomas Burton. Capt Henry set out for Town in the Yawl with 2 Hands, Jacob Folger and John Duglass.

[10] The entrance to the Savannah harbor.
[11] Cockspur Island.
[12] Tybee.

Monday August 29th. At 8 the Yawl came from town. Jacob Folger having absented him self on the way was left behind all day. Afternoon sent 2 Hhds of Rice and some fire wood fr. . . . for the Slaves when they got up. Empd. cleaning the Ship out side tending Slaves etc.

Tuesday August 30th. About 10 A.M. Capt. Henry came on bd. and brought with him Mr. Robertson, one of the Ship owners from Charles Town, and a Spannish Marcht [*torn*]. Died a Small boy having been Sick some time. Empd. the Remainder of the day tending Slaves etc.

Wednesday August 31st. This morning a fresh wind, loos'd sails to dry. About Noon the *Fair play* Pilot Boat came from town. put on bd. her all the Slaves except 14 Reservd for Mr. Robertson.

301. Newport Custom-House Entries, 1796-1800.[1]

Date	Vessel	Master	Voyage
1796, Jan. 5	*Betsy*	Bowen	Cleared for Africa
" "	*Becca*	Harris	" " "
Feb. 2	*Franklin*	Baker	" " "
June 14	*Sally*	Vilett	" " "
Aug. 9	*Nabby*	Munro	" " "
Sept. 13	*Betsy*	Diman	" " "
" 20	*Harriet*	Slocum	" " "
Nov. 15	*Swallow*	Butts	" " "
Dec. 13	*Betsey*		" " "
1797, Mar. 7	*Franklin*	Wood	" " "
Apr. 4	*Hope*	Brownell[2]	" " "
Aug. 8	*Nabby*	Munro	" " "
Sept. 19	*Chance*	Diman	" " "
Oct. 10	*Fair Eliza*	Earl	" " "
" 17	*Eunice*	Howland	" " "
Nov. 7	*Liberty*	Gardner	" " "
1798, May 15	*Juno*	Manchester[3]	" " "
June 19	*Blackney*	Munro	" " "
July 31	*Chance*	Littlefield	" " "
Sept. 18	*Liberty*	Stanton	" " "
Dec. 11	*Orange*	Maberry	" " "
" "	*Jane and Eliza*	Perry	" " "
" 18	*Eliza*	Champlin	" " "
1799, Feb. 19	*Ranger*	Ambrose[4]	" " "

[301] [1] *Newport Mercury.* These probably constitute a small proportion of the Rhode Island vessels engaged in the slave trade at this time. In 1796 the *Louise,* owned by Cyprian Sterry of Providence, the *Polly,* owned by Ebenezer Jenckes, and the *Sally,* owned by William and John De Wolf of Bristol, delivered slaves in Savannah (see this work, vol. IV., Georgia). The *Betsy,* Bowen, and the *Becca* entered from Havana on Mar. 21 and Nov. 14, 1797; the *Nabby* from St. Kitts, on June 20, 1797.

[2] The *Hope* and the *Fair Eliza* entered from Havana on Mar. 27 and Nov. 6, 1798; the *Liberty* from Africa on May 1.

[3] The *Juno,* the *Chance,* and the *Eliza* entered from Havana on Mar. 12 and 19, and May 14, 1799, the *Liberty* from Africa Apr. 9. The *Liberty* was probably a whaling vessel rather than a slaver.

[4] The *Ranger* entered from Havana Aug. 13, 1799; the *Fair Eliza* on June 17, 1800.

[*Newport Custom-House Entries*—continued:]

Date	Vessel	Master	Voyage		
1799, Apr. 2	*Hope*	Dean	"	"	"
" "	*Blackney*	Stoddard	"	"	"
" "	*Patience*	Howe	"	"	"
" 23	*Betsy*	Easterbrooks	"	"	"
May 14	*Sally*	Littlefield	"	"	"
" 21	*Mary*	Wolfe	"	"	"
June 4	*May*	Tayer	"	"	"
" "	*Juno*	Wardwell	"	"	"
" "	*William*	Burr	"	"	"
" "	*Reliance*	Manchester	"	"	"
" 25	*Rising Sun*	Slocum	"	"	"
" "	*Good Intent*	Gladding	"	"	"
Aug. 13	*Lucy*	Collins	"	"	"
Sept. 3	*Venus*	Ormsbe	"	"	"
" "	*Fair Eliza*	Littlefield	"	"	"
Oct. 8	*Friendship*	Abraham	"	"	"
" 22	*General Greene*	May	"	"	"
" "	*Betsey*	Whitney	"	"	"
" "	*Juliet*	Stanton	"	"	"
" 29	*Eliza*	Champlin	"	"	"
Nov. 19	*Sally*	Phillips	"	"	"
" 26	*Sally*	Gladding	"	"	"
Dec. 19	*Orange*	Munro	"	"	"
1800, Jan. 7	*Delight*	Joles	"	"	"
" 28	*Maria*	Wood	"	"	"
" "	*Peggy*	Topham	"	"	"
" "	*Fanny*	Ingraham	"	"	"
Feb. 4	*Success*	Brownell	"	"	"
" 11	*Neptune*	Gibbs	"	"	"
" "	*Sally*	Chace	"	"	"
" "	*Peggy*	Munro	"	"	"
" "	*Good Intent*	Slocum	"	"	"
Mar. 11	*Lark*	Burr	"	"	"
Apr. 15	*Sugary*	Hart	"	"	"
" 29	*Adventure*	Shearman	"	"	"
" "	*Washington*	Hudson	"	"	"
May 13	*Punch*	Sabins	"	"	"
July 15	*Industry*	Almy[5]	"	"	"

302. Captain Jeremiah Diman to Captain James De Wolf, 1796.[1]

St. Thomas, April 1, 1796.

Captain James De Wolf:

This will inform you of my arrival in this port safe, with seventy-eight well slaves. I lost two on my passage. I had sixty-two days

[5] Occasionally the government glanced toward this trade. On Nov. 16, 1799, Timothy Pickering wrote to John Morton, Esq., who was consul of the United States at Havana: "Your situation will doubtless put it in your power to discover many vessels contravening the laws and in such case be pleased to send on the fullest information respecting them that you can collect." Mass. Hist. Soc., Pickering Papers, 12: 35D.

[302] [1] W. H. Munro, *History of Bristol, Rhode Island* (Providence, 1880), pp. 350-351. The original of this letter, which Munro says was "furnished for publication in the *Phoenix* five or six years ago by the son of the writer," has not been located. Mark Anthony De Wolf of Guadeloupe served as supercargo for Simeon Potter, a Bristol slave captain, and, marrying Potter's sister Abigail, settled in Bristol. James, the most famous of his eight sons, was not the only one to enter upon the slave trade. William, Charles,

passage. I received your letter and orders to draw bills on thirty days' sight, but I have agreed to pay in slaves—two men slaves at twenty-eight Joes, and one boy at twenty-five Joes and another at twenty Joes.

I found times very bad on the coast. Prime slaves are one hogshead and thirty gallons of rum or seven Joes gold, and boys one hogshead of rum. I left Captain Isaac Manchester at Anemebue with ninety slaves on board, all well. To-morrow I shall sail for Havana, agreeable to your orders. I shall do the best I can, and without other orders load with molasses and return to Bristol.

303. Protest of the *Orange*, 1799.[1]

Bahama Islands ss.

By this Public Instrument of Protest, Be it known and made manifest; That on this Day being Thursday the fourth Day of April in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Ninety Nine, Before me Vincent Mathews Notary and Tabellion Public by lawful Authority duly admitted and sworn, residing and dwelling at the Town of Nassaw in the Island of New Providence, personally came and appeared Freemen Mayberry Master, John Bigley and Peter Castloff Mates and Nathaniel Lyndon, Job Austen and James Pollock Seamen of and belonging to the Brigantine *Orange* of New Port, who being severally and respectively duly sworn, upon the Holy Evangelist of Almighty God, did testify, depose, narrate, and declare respectively, as follows, to wit:

John, and possibly other brothers were at one time or another commanders or owners of slavers. The *Sally,* William De Wolf, delivered a rum cargo and received a cargo of slaves on the African coast in 1792 (N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.). In a voyage of 1791, on the passage from Africa to Havana, one of the women of the cargo was stricken with smallpox, whereupon the captain, James De Wolf, was said to have thrown her overboard. A Newport grand jury found a bill of murder against him, but he had already left the state and the matter seems to have been dropped (*Salem Gaette,* July 5, 1791). Mark Anthony De Wolf Howe quotes a letter of Dec. 22, 1794, from Simeon Potter to James De Wolf in which the writer explains in strict confidence how vessels could be fitted out for the forbidden trade at home rather than in the West Indies (*Bristol,* pp. 72-73). Howe also relates (pp. 82-83) the story of Samuel Bosworth, the Bristol collector, who attempted to buy in for the government the *Lucy* and *Eliza,* condemned for trading in slaves. With the connivance of Charles Collins, commander of the *Lucy* (which was owned by Charles De Wolf), Bosworth was kidnapped and carried several miles from the scene of the auction. Not long after, Collins became collector of the port (Perry, *Charles D'Wolf,* pp. 27-28). Many years later James De Wolf became a member of the United States Senate and during his election a newspaper controversy rose over the charge that he had made his fortune in the slave traffic. After his election, but before he took his seat in the Senate, William Smith of South Carolina charged that of the fifty-nine Rhode Island vessels carrying slaves to Charleston between 1800 and 1804 ten had belonged to De Wolf (*Annals of Congress,* 16 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 72-73). Jeremiah Diman, the writer of the letter, was a nephew of De Wolf, the son of Margaret, one of the seven daughters of Mark Anthony De Wolf, and of Joseph Diman.

[303] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

That they sailed from the Port of New Port, in Rhode Island, on or about the sixteenth Day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety Eight on a Voyage to the Coast of Africa, for the purpose of purchasing Slaves, and from thence to proceed to the Port of Havana, in the Island of Cuba, That on or about the twenty third Day of January, following, they arrived at Isle De Los, on the Coast aforesaid, where they purchased and took on board one hundred and twenty Slaves, with whom they proceeded on or about the twenty third Day of February following for the aforesaid Port of Havana. That nothing remarkable occurred except the Death of one Slave until the twenty sixth Day of March last past when about ten OClock at Night of the same Day the said Brigantine struck upon a Reef about three Miles to the Eastward of Man of War Key—near the Island of Abaca one of the Bahama Islands, That upon first striking, she beat nearly over the Reef and then struck fast whereupon they started seventy Casks of Water, and threw overboard all their wood together with the Camboose, but found no good effect arise from it, in consequence of which, during the night, and the next morning, they landed Eighty Slaves and upwards, after which the Sloop *Two Brothers* of Abaca aforesaid commanded by David Malone came to their assistance, That the aforesaid David Malone, took on board the said Sloop Thirty nine Slaves, and, carried out two Anchors within the Reef, by which means with the aid of the Crew of the Sloop, they hove the said Brigantine off and proceeded for this Island of New Providence in a very leaky state in company with the said sloop and arrived here yesterday Evening. That having arrived and examined the said Brigantine they find her bilged in several Places her Plank started from the Timbers and one Ball broken, so as to render it impossible to proceed upon their first intended voyage without suffering great loss and delay.[2]

Whereupon the said Master doth require of me the Notary to protest. I the Notary do therefore at the request aforesaid by these presents for and in behalf of the said Master, and of the Owners, Freighters, Shippers, Insurers and all others concerned in the said Brigantine called the *Orange* and her Cargo aforesaid, Formally and Solemnly Protest against the said Reef Rocks or Shoal for all Losses, Damages, Costs, Charges and expences, had, born, Suffered and sustained by the said Parties Protesting or any of them for or by reason or on account of the Premisses herein before narrated and deposed to, or any of them. Thus done and Protested at Nassaw in the Island of New Providence aforesaid. . . .

[2] Signed, Freeman Maberry, John Bigley, Peter Castloff, Nathaniel Lyndon, Job Austin, and James Pollock.

Afterwards, to wit upon this Day being Wednesday the seventeenth Day of April aforesaid; the said Freeman Mayberry being further sworn did depose and declare that having further examined the said Brigantine *Orange* they find, her main mast, main Top gallant Mast, and cross jack yard all Sprung that the Salvage of the said Brigantine and Cargo having been left to be ascertained by Persons mutually chosen hath been awarded at the Sum of one thousand Dollars and hath accordingly been paid out of the Proceeds of the said Brigantine and Cargo. Wherefore I the Notary at the request of the said Master do protest as before.[3]

FREEMAN MAYBERRY

Sworn the Day and year last above written.

V MATHEWS Not'y Pub.

304. AGREEMENT RESPECTING THE *GENERAL GREENE*, 1799.[1]

Whereas the subscribers, Robert N Auchmuty Esq. and John Texon are now joint owners of the schooner *Genl. Greene* of Newport, and her cargo on a voyage to the coast of Africa Wm. May master and whereas there are sundry outstanding bills and notes unpaid for the purchase of and against said schooner and cargo, now it is agreed by and between said parties that they will jointly and in equal proportions meet the payment of such bills, and notes as are now due, and they also will share, equally, after deducting the sums each may have advanced for the schooner and cargo, and jointly bear and pay all such losses as may accrue to said schooner and cargo during all her aforesaid voyage.

NEWPORT 29th Decemb'r 1799 [2]

305. GIBBS AND CHANNING TO NATHANIEL LAWRENCE, 1800.[1]

NEWPORT June 7 1800.

Mr. Nathaniel Lawrence, We received your favor of 4 Ins and have made enquiry of our officers relative to the Insurance you are desirous of having effected; but they do not incline to write on the risk you mention nothing having been done here on African Vessels and Cargoes since the last Act of Congress [2] interdicting that trade.

[3] The claim made against the underwriters by Captain Mayberry was for $3472.72. The brig was valued at $3000, the 120 slaves purchased in Africa, at $120 a head, or $12,000. N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

[304] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

[2] This is signed, "Jno: Texon, Robt: N. Auchmuchty," and endorsed, "Texon and Auchm'y Agreement resp'g the Sch: *Genl. Greene* and her Voyage to Africa Dec'r 29th 1800."

[305] [1] Newport Hist. Soc., Gibbs and Channing Letter-Book, no. 62.

[2] "An Act in addition to the Act, entitled 'An act to prohibit the carrying on the slave-trade from the United States to any foreign place or country.'" U. S. act passed

306. GIBBS AND CHANNING TO JOHN PARKER, 1801.[1]

NEWPORT Feby 2d 1801.

Sir, . . . The Affrican risk we desired you to inquire about, we have got done at 8 per Cent out and home—this is 10 per Cent less than what your Office asked.

307. ACCOUNTS OF THE *LOUISA*, 1805-1806.[1]

Invoice of Sixty One Slaves purchased by Samuel C. Taggart And Shipped on board the S[l]oope "Louisa" By Samuel C Taggart Master for Charleston Southcarolina and for the Propper Account and Riskes of Messrs Gardner and Deane Merchants in Newport Rhode island Viz.

22	Boys	
18	Women	
11	Men	
10	Girls	
61	Slaves Average coste is $133.91	$8168.51

Errors Excepted GOREE 26th June 1805

SAMUEL C. TAGGART

May 10, 1800 (*Statutes at Large,* II. 70-72). At this time the Rhode Island representatives were Christopher G. Champlin and John Brown. Champlin does not seem to have voted upon the bill. Brown not only cast one of the five votes against it but spoke against it as well, in all probability expressing the prevailing feeling among the interested Rhode Island merchants. "Mr. J. Brown said, when the motion was first laid on the table, he thought it improper to prevent the citizens of the United States enjoying the benefits of a trade enjoyed by all the European nations. He really was in hopes that the good sense of the select committee would have permitted them to have seen the policy of realizing the act in question. Many members of the House, he observed, knew how the former act [1794] was passed; they knew that Congress was drilled into it by certain persons who would not take no for an answer. It was well known that the Abolition Society, otherwise the Society of Friends, as they were called, were very troublesome until they got that act passed. It was also well known that those people did not do much to support the Government, but that they did as much as they could to stop the measures of the Government and particularly our defensive system, on which our national security depended. . . . He was certain that this nation having an act against the slave trade did not prevent the exportation of a slave from Africa. He believed we might as well, therefore, enjoy that trade as to leave it wholly to others. It was the law of that country to export those whom they held in slavery—who were as much slaves there as those who were slaves in this country—and with as much right. The very idea of making a law against this trade, which all other nations enjoyed, and which was allowed to be very profitable, was ill policy. He could further say that it was wrong, when considered in a moral point of view, since by the operation of the trade, the very people themselves much bettered their condition. It ought to be a matter of national policy, since it would bring in a good revenue to our Treasury. . . . Mr. B. said our distilleries and manufactories were all lying idle for want of an extended commerce. He had been well informed that on those coasts New England rum was much preferred to the best Jamaica spirits, and would fetch a better price. Why then should it not be sent there, and a profitable return be made? Why should a heavy fine and imprisonment be made the penalty for carrying on a trade so advantageous." Apr. 26, 1800, *Annals of Congress,* X. 686-687.

[306] [1] Gibbs and Channing Letter-Book, no. 62.

[307] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box IV.

[*Accounts of the "Louisa"*—continued:]

Sloop "Louisa" and Owners to Phillips and Gardner *Cr.*

				Dolls.	*Cts.*
1805					
July	29	To Cash paid for fowls and Vegetables		1	75
	"	" Do at Market and carrying provisions to Fort		16	13
Aug.	8	" ¼ Brandy 50c. and 20th ½ lb Tea 88c.		1	38
	29	" Stephen Buckley Sundries		11	87
	30	" ¼ Rum 25c. 7 lb Sugar $1 7½ Spun Yarn 1.20		2	45
Aug.	"	" Cash paid provissions $7 1 Bottle caster oil 1.25		8	25
		" Do entry at Custom House $15 paid people 195		210	
	7	" Do. paid burial of a Child		1	31
		" Do paid people 98 Johnson attendance $8 lent[?] and Blue stone 50c		106	50
		" Do. paid pilotage market at		16	65
	31	" Do paid Captain Tagart $10 Postage 25c		10	25
Sep	2	" Stephen Buckley sundry paints		7	12
	5	" Advertizeing for freight		1	50
	10	" Stephen Buckley $5.63 1 Barl Bread and flower Barr's $8 ½ Cord wood and Carting $2.75		16	38
	13	" Sugar and Tea $4.10 Butchers Bill Beef pork[?], etc. $31.31 Bk Smith's $10 oil $2.90		47	50
Sep		" Cash pd Barr. Tar and 1 do Turpentine $8 chair hair $1		9	
	10	" Ditto pd Captain Taggart		5	
	"	" Do pd for Companion $10.56 Vegetables $1.25		11	81
		" Do pd labour $7 painting and Glazing $7 Capt Barker		14	
		" potatoes etc 5.87 Wages 1 man to Newport $9.50		15	37
		" filling and drayage Water and Bread $4.12 Pilotage 7.40		11	52
Oct.		Board sick negro 87½			87
decem	11	Brush Broom Augt 6 omitted		1	18
				527	79
August	31	By freight 3 negroes Re'd of Paul Brownell 40	120		
		" Provisions	12	132	
				395	79

E E Charleston January 22, 1806
Phillips and Gardner
P

No. 108. Sales of Sixty One African Negroes Received pr the Sloop "Louisa" Samuel C. Taggart Master on Acc and Risk of Messrs. Gardner and Dean Merchants Newport

Dates			M	B	W	G		*Dolls.*	*Cts.*
1805									
Aug	6	Cash	1			1	and cloths	533	
	"	Do				1	"	251	50
	"	Do		1				251	50
	8	Do		1			Sick	20	
	12	Do		2		1		764	
	"	Do			1			270	
	"	Do		2				503	
	21	Jno. L. Engle			1			260	
	22	Cash			1			270	
	23	Do			2		and cloths	543	
	"	Do			6		"	1539	
	27	C. Fitzsimons				1	"	241	50
	29	Cash	1		2		"	789	
	30	Do		1			"	251	50
Sept.	6	Do	1				Sick	10	
	12	Thos Mitchell	2				"	[?]333	
	16	Cash				1		250	
	30	Saml Haverick		1				230	
Oct.	22	Cash		1		1	and cloths	526	
	29	John Main		1			Sick	50	
	31	Grace Craighton			1		and child	233	
Nov.	4	Peter Warren				1	6 months	263	
		John Johnson jr				1		150	
	18	Pagan and ONeale		1				255	
decm'r	3	Robert Gaddes			1			250	
	"	David Myers	1					238	26
	"	Cash	1	1			Sick	125	
	10	Ditto		1				200	
	11	Ditto		2		1		600	
	12	ditto				1	Sore leg	150	
	14	John Dennis		1				210	
	16	William Smith	1	1	1			600	
	18	Cash		1				200	
	"	Ditto		1		1		350	
	23	Ditto	1					120	65
	25	Ditto		1				175	
	26	Ditto			1		an Idiot	20	
1806	"	Ditto		1			Lame Boy	70	
Jany.	2	Ditto	1					145	
	6	Cash			1			133	33
	"	John Gardner senr		1				150	
			10	22	18	11		12724	24

Clothing 91.50 do 99	190.50		
Landing 61 Negroes	7.63		
Advertizing	26.72		
Commiss on 12724.24 5 pc	636.21	861	06
Nett proceeds to Cr. Owners		$11863	18

E E CHARLESTON Jan'y 22d 1806
PHILLIPS and GARDNER
P

Account of Disbusments on Board the Sloop "Louisa" on a Voige to Affrica kept By Benjamin Weaver Master

		Dols.	Cts.
1805	Commenced December the 22 A 1805 in Goree		
December the 22	To Cash paid government for anchorage	20	
	To do. paid do. for nine Slaves at one Dollar per head	9	
December the 23	To two Barrels of Rice for the Slaves a four do. per barrel at the Riopongo January the 20 1806	8	
1806			
January the 20	To 7 Tubs White Rice at 4 bars per tub	18	50
	To pilotage and kings Customs as Customary	23	50
	To 10 Dollars for ketching Capt Whites Boy	10	
	To 3 mens Labour on Board one month at 4 pars [bars?] per month	10	50
	To 2 Tons Rice at 97 Dollars per Ton	194	
	To 1 do. do. at 80 do. per do.	80	
	To ½ do. do. at 40	40	
February the 26	To pilotage Down the River	10	
		$423	50

Errors Excepted RIOPONGO February the 26 1806
BENJAMIN WEAVER

Messrs. Gardner and Dean In Ac't with Phillips and Gardner

Dr.

1806				
January	22	To Amo. owe acc. Ren'd this date	£11518	81
		Ballance	900	97

Cr.

1805						
Septem'r	7th	By Am. Interest recd. of D Parmele on bills			4	25
Oct.	19	" I. M. Lavaielle freight 8 Negroes 30.	240			
		" Ditto ditto 4 ditto 25	100			
		" Ditto provissions	20			
				360		
Decem'r	17	" Sloop *Juliet* her proportion of expences			45	31
1806						
Jany	13	" Sloop *Hiram*			81	63
"	15	" I. M. Lavaille			36	28
	18	" Salès No 148			8	75
	"	" Sales No 149			8	75
	"	" Cash Recd. ulage 220 nett 3 Bars at 48 oz			7	8
		" Owe order in favour [?]			1	95
	"	" Cash recd. 100 lb. Rice			2	60
	22	" Nett proceeds 61 Negroes pr Sales Ren'd			11863	18
					12419	78
		Ballances			900	97

E E CHARLESTON Jan'y 22 1806
PHILLIPS and GARDNER

Brig't "Louisa" and Owners in Account Current with Benjamin Weaver

Dr. *Credit* [2]

1806		*Ds*	*Cts*	1806		*Ds*	*Cts*
Octr 15	To Amount of disburstments as pr Account Exhibited	302	00	Oct 15	By Amount of Sales Brigt *Louissa's* Cargo on the Coast of Affrica as pr Account Exhibited	8554	70
	To Amount of 70 Slaves purchased on the Coast of Affrica at 118 Ds head	8260	00		Balance due Benjamin Weaver from Owners	7	30
		8562				8562	00

Islands Deloss October 15th 1806
Errors Excepted Ben'jn Weaver

308. Gibbs and Channing to Nathaniel Russell, 1805.[1]

Newport Feby 28 1805.

The bearer Mr. Clark Cook of this Town goes to Charleston in expectation of meeting a Vessel from the Coast of Africa, in which he is interested. He being a Stranger at your place, we have taken the liberty to ask the favr of you to afford him your advice in the business he has, if he should have occasion for it.[2]

309. Accounts of the *Hope*, 1806.[1]

Disburstments Brig "Hope" Montivido March 4, 1805 [1806?]

March 4, to March 27	[Details omitted. For beef, greens, and boat hire a total of]	$18
1806	Expenses at Buono Areas March 29th	
28	To Two pasages in the Launch	6
29	To Carting Bagage to town	1.50
30	To Carting wood and Rice to Do	1.50
April 4	To one weaks Board at 14 Reals pr weak	12.50
26	To Cash paid for Beaf for the Slaves	5
	To Bering [burying] one Woman and Cart [for] herl.	1
May 7	To Board and Lodgins	40
	To John Oxford Bord	10
	To Hors hire for coming to the Lanch	5
	To Carting our Bagage and Lanch	1.50
	To our passage to Mountivedo	6
		$90.00

[2] Endorsed: "Copy Brig'n *Louissa's* and Owners Account Current with Benjamin Weaver October 15th 1806."

[308] [1] Gibbs and Channing Letter-Book, no. 64.

[2] On Mar. 12 Gibbs and Channing wrote to their Cuban correspondents, Messrs. Prey and Hernandez, concerning the *Sea flower*, which had been recently captured by the French on a voyage from Africa to Cuba. While there is in the letter no mention of slaves the chances are that they constituted the vessel's cargo. It apparently belonged to Easton and Price of Newport. A part of the rum cargo with which it had sailed from Newport to Africa had been provided by Gibbs and Channing. Letter-Book, no. 64.

[309] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box IV.

[*Accounts of the "Hope"*—continued:]

May 20 to June 3	[Provisions, two months' pay to carpenter, boat hire]	109.75
July 6 to Sep. 14	Rio Genaro, July 6, 1806 [Total beef, greens, boat hire, board and lodging 39 days at $2 a day $78 Total 155. Two items, $25.25, and $27.37 unaccounted for. Total $425.37.]	

310. The Case of the *Ann*, 1807.[1]

Before the Most Noble and Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners of Appeals in Prize Causes.

Ship *Ann,* Jonathan Dennison, Master.

Robert Honyman, Esq. Commander of His Majesty's Ship *Leda,* and His Majesty's Procurator General, } Appellants,

Jonathan Dennison, the Master, and Claimant of the Ship and Cargo, as American Property, } Respondent.

Appeal from the Cape of Good Hope
Appellants Case

This Vessel, under American Colours, sailed from Bristol, in the State of Rhode Island, on the 24th of July, 1806, with a Cargo of Rum, Brandy, Gin, Wine, English Goods, etc. cleared out for Cape Coast Castle, where the Vessel arrived in September following, and the Master disposed of Part of the Cargo, and purchased Slaves, and traded up and down the Coast disposing of his cargo, and with the Proceeds purchasing Slaves, at the several Factories; the Vessel sailed from Acra on the 15th November following with Slaves, bound to Monte Video, and was captured in the River La Plata, on the 6th of January, 1807, (the Port of Monte Video being then under Blockade) by His Majesty's Ship of War *Leda,* Robert Honyman Esq. Commander, in Sight of His Majesty's Ship *Daphne* and others, and carried to the Cape of Good Hope, where the usual Proceedings were instituted on Behalf of the Captors against the Vessel and Cargo as Prize.

15th June.

A Claim of Jonathan Dennison, the Master, was given for the Vessel and Cargo, as the Property of James D. Wolff, of Bristol, in Rhode Island, a Citizen of the United States of America.

[310] [1] Vice admiralty briefs, owned by the Marine Research Society. For the privilege of examining these papers and for printing the extracts here used (*ante,* no. 80, *post,* no. 312) the editor is indebted to Mr. George Francis Dow, in whose *Slave Ships and Slaving* (Marine Research Society, Salem, Mass., 1927, pp. 260-265) is an excellent summary of the case of the *Ann.* Much information is to be found there which is here omitted.

26th August.

The Cause came on for Hearing before the Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court, at the Cape of Good Hope, when the Claimant's Proctor brought in an Attestation of Jonathan Dennison, with an Exhibit, which the Judge directed to be admitted, and after hearing the Arguments of Counsel, directed the Cause to stand over.

31st August.

The Judge having maturely deliberated, assigned both Parties to exhibit Proof as to the Nature and Extent of the Blockade of Monte Video, and also as to the Nature of the Settlement at Cape Mount,[2] within Seven Days.

The Affidavit and Exhibit brought in by the Claimant's Proctor on the 26th of August, are as follow.

Affidavit of Jonathan Dennison, the Master, sworn 15th July, 1807, in which he deposes, That the Paper annexed was given by Charles B. Whitehead to Deponent, in case he fell in with a British Cruizer, and that on his being detained by the *Leda* he gave said Paper Writing or Letter to Captain Honyman, who returned the same to Deponent.

The Paper annexed to this Affidavit is as follows.

BRITISH ACRA, Coast of Africa, 14th Nov. 1806.

These are to certify, that Captain Dennison, of the American Ship *Ann,* belonging to Rhode Island, and now bound to the River Plate, did the greatest Part of his Business in Africa with L. T. Hebut, Esq. of Lagoe, a British Settlement, and with the Undersigned, also residing at a British Settlement in Africa, and that both L. T. Hebut and the Undersigned, are British Subjects and Natives of England.

Witness my Hand.

(Signed) CHARLES B. WHITEHEAD.[3]

Claimants Affidavits

Affidavit of Merrit Bates, late Master of the *Juno,* then lying in Simon's Bay, sworn 9th September, 1807, in which he deposes, that he has made Three Voyages to Cape Mount, on the Coast of Africa, and that no Factory, except the English, was established there, or on that Part of the Coast.

[2] From the deposition of Captain Dennison (ans. 27) one learns that the customs officer in Bristol had written *Cape Mount* in the invoice as the destination of the cargo, and had then altered it to Cape Coast. This may explain the interest of the judge in Cape Mount.

[3] The captor's proctor also brought in affidavits to the facts of the seizure.

Affidavit of William Bisset, Master of the *Experiment,* then lying in Table Bay, to the same Effect as the preceeding Affidavit, and sworn on the same Day. . . .[4]

21st Sept. 1807.

The Cause came on for final hearing, when the Judge restored the Ship and Cargo upon Payment of the Captor's Expences.

From this Sentence the Captor's Proctor immediately prayed and was allowed an Appeal, and the Claimant's Proctor also prayed an Appeal from the Payment of Expences.

Both Appeals have been consolidated and assigned for Sentence before your Lordships, and the Evidence in the Cause is as follows:

Preparatory Examinations

[*Deposition of Jonathan Dennison, Master.*][5]

To the 3d Interrogatory, That the Ship was taken in the River Plata on the 6th of January last, but for what Reason he is unable to set forth.

4th. That he was Master of the Ship; was appointed to the Command by James DeWolff, Merchant, resident at Bristol, in the State of Rhode Island; that he took Possession of the Ship at Bristol about Three Years since.

7th. That she had a Passport, Sea Brief, and Mediterranean Pass on board, which were obtained from the Custom-House at Bristol by James De Wolf; that her last Voyage began at Bristol, and was to have ended there; that she sailed from thence on the 24th July, 1806, with an assorted Cargo, consisting chiefly of Rum, together with Brandy, Gin, Wine, and English Goods, and India Prize Goods, and 80 Hogsheads of Salt for Ballast,[6] cleared out for Cape Coast, where the vessel arrived on the 12th of September, where Deponent disposed of Part of the Cargo, and purchased Slaves; that he traded up and down the Coast disposing of his Cargo, and with the Proceeds purchasing Slaves at the several Castles or Territories, and sailed from Acra on the 15th of November following with Slaves obtained on the said Coast, together with Goods therein enumerated, bound to Monte Video.[7]

[4] The remaining affidavits relate to the seizure.

[5] Dennison deposed that he was born in Providence, R. I., and that he had lived there for the last seven years save when at sea.

[6] The certificate signed by the collector and the surveyor of the port of Bristol stated that the rum was of De Wolf's own manufacture. The outward cargo was valued at $25,754.45.

[7] A considerable portion of the ship's log while on the coast is printed among the papers in the appendix to the brief. The *Ann* found Captains Drown and Brooks at Anamabo on Oct. 6, and on the 8th she spoke the ship *Union* of Newport.

9th. That the said James De Wolff was the sole Owner of the said Ship.[8]

11th. That the Slaves were Natives of Africa, called Zanteen [Fanteen] Slaves.

12th. That James De Wolff was the Lader of Part of the Cargo laden on board at Bristol; that Deponent shipped the Slaves, 163 in Number, on the Gold Coast of Africa; that Deponent was the Consignee of the Goods; that the whole of the Cargo was to be delivered at Monte Video, for the real Account, Risk, and Benefit of James De Wolff.

20th. That if the Cargo had arrived at Monte Video, it's destined Port, he should have disposed of the same, as the Consignee, for the real, Account, Risk, and Benefit of the aforesaid James De Wolff.

29th. That the Ship was steering towards Monte Video at the Time she was seized and taken; that her Course was at all Times, when the Weather would permit, directed to the said Port; that her Course was not altered upon the Appearance of the Vessel by which she was taken in the River Plata about Ten or Twelve Miles from Monte Video. . . . .

[*Deposition of Daniel Shaw, the Mate.*][9]

7th. That her last Voyage began at Bristol, from whence she sailed to the Gold Coast of Africa; that she arrived on the said Coast at Almina, with a Cargo consisting of Rum, etc.; that the Master disposed of the greatest Part of the Cargo on the said Gold Coast of Africa, and with the Produce thereof purchased Slaves; that the Vessel then sailed from Acra, having the remainder of the Cargo undisposed of, and 163 Slaves, bound to Monte Video.

9th. That James De Wolff was the sole Owner of the Ship.

11th. That the Slaves were shipped at different Places on the Gold Coast of Africa, but principally at Acra.

12th. That to the best of his Knowledge and Belief James De Wolff was the Lader of the Goods on board the Ship; and that the Master is the Consignee thereof; and that a Mr. Hohard and a Mr. Whitehead, at Acra, were the Shippers of the Slaves; that the Master was the Consignor thereof; that James De Wolff is the sole Owner of the said Goods and Slaves; that the said Goods and Slaves were to be delivered at Monte Video. . . .[10]

[8] The *Ann* was of 310 tons, and had twenty-one mariners, including the captain. All the crew had been shipped at Bristol by De Wolf.

[9] Shaw was born in Warren, Mass. He had lived ten years in Boston and two years in Bristol, R. I.

[10] Milton Mann Richmond, Solomon Pike, and John O'Neil, seamen, also testified to the facts of the voyage. Richmond stated that the vessel delivered part of her cargo at Elmina and the remainder of it at Acra. She returned to Elmina for part of her slave cargo, and took on the last of it at Acra. O'Neal testified that the *Ann* had already made one voyage from Bristol to Africa and Montevideo, then back to Bristol.

Letter of Instructions, dated 18th July, 1806, from James De Wolff to the Master.[11]

You having engaged to go a Voyage to Africa in my Ship *Ann*, my Instructions are, that you proceed with all possible Dispatch direct to Cape Coast, and make Trade at that Place and its Vicinity, and purchase as many good healthy young Slaves as it may be in your Power to purchase, by bartering away your present Cargo with the Natives; and, after completing your Business in Africa, you will proceed to Monte Video in South America, and there dispose of your Slaves, and purchase a Return Cargo of Ox Hides and dryed Beef, and some Tallow and other Produce of that Country, such as you may judge will pay a handsome Profit; and after completing your Business there, you will return home to this Port with all possible Dispatch. . . .

The Consolidated Appeal now comes on for Hearing; and it is humbly hoped, on the Part of the Appellant, that your Lordships will be pleased to pronounce for the Appeal, reverse the Sentence appealed from, and condemn the Ship and Cargo as Prize to the Captor, and otherwise affirm the Sentence, and condemn the Respondent in the Costs of the Appeal, for the following, among other

REASONS

Because the Vessel, was at the Time of Capture, prosecuting a Voyage to the Colony of the Enemy, in violation of the prohibitory Laws of America for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and is not therefore within the Provisions of the Order of the 24th of June, 1803.[12]

Because, independent of that prohibitory Law, the Voyage commencing at Elmina, a Dutch Settlement on the Coast of Africa, and destined to Monte Video, was illegal.

Because that Destination was pursued in violation of the Blockade of Monte Video, then existing.

. . .

[11] This is among the ship's papers, which include certificates from the port of Bristol, invoice of cargo, bill of lading, muster-roll, letter of instructions, register, and log.

[12] "In consideration of the present state of commerce, we are pleased hereby to direct the commanders of our ships of war and privateers not to seize any neutral vessel which shall be carrying on trade directly between the colonies of enemies, and the neutral country, to which the vessel belongs, and laden with the property of inhabitants of such neutral country: provided, that such neutral vessels shall not be supplying, nor shall have, on the outward voyage, supplied the enemy with any articles contraband of war, and shall not be trading with any blockaded port." *American State Papers: Foreign Relations,* III. 265.

Case for Hearing on behalf of the Master, the Claimant on both Appeals.

. . .[13]

From the Sentence of the Court below, the Captors and Claimants have prosecuted their respective Appeals. The usual Procedings have been had therein in this Court, the Appeals have been assigned for Sentence, and the same now come on for Hearing; and it is humbly hoped, on the Part of the Claimant, that your Lordships will pronounce against the Appeal of the Captors, and affirm the Sentence with Costs, so far as the same restores the Ship and Cargo, and pronounce for the Appeal of the Claimant, and reverse the Sentence, so far as the same rejects the Prayer of the Claimant for Costs and Damages, and subjects the Ship and Cargo to the Payment of Captor's Expences, and to condemn the Captors in Costs and Damages for the following amongst other

REASONS

Because the Ship and Cargo most clearly appeared to belong to the American Citizen for whom they are claimed, and were engaged in lawful Trade, and there was no just Reason, for the Capture and Detention.

ROBT. DALLAS.
J. H. ARNOLD.[14]

17th Novr. 1810.

Ann, J. Dennison M'r } For Sentence
Bishop (2 Appeals). Toller }

The Lords pronounced for the Appeal of the Capters reversed the sentence appealed from and retained the principal Cause, therein rejected the Claim for the Ship and Cargo given in the Court below and now condemned the said Ship and Cargo as good and lawful prize taken by His Majesty's Ship of War *Leda* Robert Honeyman Esqr. Commander in sight of His Majesty's Ship *Daphne* and others and moreover pronounced against the appeal of the Claimant.

311. INVOICE OF THE *FRIENDSHIP*, 1807.[1]

Invoice of one Trunk of Merchandize Shipd by Gardner and Dean on board the Brig "Friendship" Samuel C Taggart Master for Affrica and consigned to said Master for Sales and Returns, Vice

[13] The examinations and the contents of the ship's papers are here summarized.
[14] What follows is inserted by hand.
[311] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box IV.

	1 Trunk Cont'g *Vice*		
100 ps.	Sur cit [?] Handk'chfs 8 in ps at	250	$250
80 "	" Ginghams 6 yds in ps	" 100	84
4 "	Seesuckers " 14½ yds in ps	" 400	56
20 "	Superfine Galla Handk'chfs 10 in ps	300	60
	Trunk		3
			448

NEWPORT *March 19th 1807* Receiv'd of Gardner and Dean the above Invoice of Goods which I am to sell on the Coast of Africa to the best advantage and Invest the proceeds in Negroes, and when arrived in Charleston, South Carolina, to sell the Negroes to the best advantages for which I am to receive after paying the said Gardner and Dean the above amount of Four Hundred and Forty Eight dollars one half Profits,

NEWPORT *March 12th* Recd. of Gardner and Dean four Bales Brazell Tobacco which we promise to pay them the amount that it sells for on the coast of Africa.[2]

312. THE CASE OF THE *NANCY*, 1807.[1]

Before the Most Noble and Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of Appeals in Prize Causes.

The Schooner *Nancy,* Joshua Viale, Master.

The said Joshua Viale, the Master and Claimant of the said Schooner, and Sixty-five Slaves laden therein, on Behalf and as the Property of Messrs. Phillips and Gardner, of the City of Charleston, in North America, Merchants, Citizens of the United States } Appellant.

Against

William Selby, Esq. Commander of His Majesty's Ship of War *Cerberus,* and Lieutenant George Bligh, Commander of the hired armed Schooner *Venus,* the Captors of the said Ship and Cargo } Respondents.

(On an Appeal from the Vice-Admiralty Court at Tortola.)

Appellant's Case.

This American Schooner, laden with Slaves, and being in Prosecution of a Voyage from Senegal to Charleston, was seized and de-

[2] The two receipts are signed by Samuel C. Taggart. The fragmentary account is unintelligible both as to quantities and as to total.

[312] [1] Vice admiralty briefs in the possession of the Marine Research Society.

tained on the 1st Day of November, 1807, by his Majesty's Ship of War *Cerberus,* William Selby, Esq. Commander, and his Majesty's hired armed Schooner *Venus,* Lieutenant George Bligh, Commander, and carried to Tortola, where a Libel was filed against the Schooner and Cargo.

A Claim was given by the Master for the Schooner, and sixty-five Slaves, on behalf of John Phillips and John Gardner, of Charleston, Merchants, Citizens of the United States of America.

Preparatory Examinations

Deposition of Joseph Viale, the Master.[2]

To the Third Interrogatory this Deponent saith, That the Capture was made about five Leagues to the Northward of St. Thomas's, on Sunday last, the First Day of the present Month, as he believes; does not know upon what Pretence it was done; that he was in Distress, and asked for Assistance from the Tender he fell in with; that all his Hands, as also himself, were sick, except two; that one of them died; that the Tender put an Officer and five Men on board, and ordered the Schooner for Tortola, where she was conducted, and arrived on the Monday Evening following; she sailed under American Colours, and had none others on board.

4. That he was appointed to the Command by Phillips and Gardner, of Charleston; that he first took Possession of her at Rhode Island, in the Month of October of last Year; John Davis, of that Place, the then Owner, delivered him the Possession; that Phillips and Gardner afterwards bought the said Schooner, in the Month of June last, and continued Deponent in the Possession.[3]

6. That neither himself nor any of the Officers or Mariners have any Share or Interest in the Schooner or her Cargo; that Manuel Joseph, one of the Crew, owns two Boy Slaves as his Privilege, and William, one other of the Crew (does not recollect his Sur-Name), owns a Man Slave as his Privilege also.

7. That she was built in Pennsylvania; she sailed from Charleston, on the present Voyage, the 1st Day of June last, or thereabouts,

[2] Captain Viall (Viale) testified that he was born at Warren, R. I., that he had lived there six years out of the preceding seven and one year in Charleston, and that he considered Rhode Island his home. The *Nancy* was 106 tons burden, and was navigated by nine sailors. It was valued at $4000 but had been purchased by the present owners for $2000. The complete statements of the deponents are given in the appendix to the brief.

[3] According to the American register, dated June 4, 1807, the owners were John Gardner and John C. Phillips. The second mate testified that Phillips had lived in Newport, R. I., before coming to Charleston.

laden with Provisions and some Lumber,[4] to the Amount of about 4000 Dollars, and he had also besides 6000 Dollars in Cash; cleared out for Africa; that he arrived at Senegal about the 1st Day of August following; he there sold the Lumber and Provisions, and with the Proceeds and the Cash he carried, purchased to the Number of about eighty Slaves as the Cargo; that they averaged as near as he can judge, about 125 Dollars a-piece; that Manuel Joseph and William purchased the three privileged Slaves above-mentioned, out of Money they carried, and with their Wages Deponent advanced them; that they took their Departure from Senegal on the 30th Day of September last, bound back to the Port of Charleston, where the Voyage commenced, and was to have ended; that the Slaves have several Times risen on the Crew, with an Attempt to take the Vessel; that to the Number of about three have been killed in subduing them, and one besides jumped over board; four died of Sickness, about that Number at present sick; that about ten Days after they sailed from Senegal his Crew began to be sick, so much so as to prevent their proceeding for their destined Port, he therefore bore away for the West Indies, with a Determination of going to the first Port most convenient to make; that on Friday, the 30th Day of October, they discovered the high Lands of Spanish Town, and bore away for the first Port; that St. Thomas being the most convenient, he intended to have gone in there at the Time of the Capture; that he there meant to have taken in other Hands, to enable him to proceed on his Voyage to Charleston; that Deponent has made one other Voyage, besides the present, in the said Schooner, when she was owned by John Davis, of Rhode Island; it commenced there in the Month of October of last Year, laden with Lumber and Provisions, to the Amount of about 7000 Dollars, including Rum and Tobacco, which also composed the said Cargo; that he went with the same to Senegal, where he sold, and purchased about fifty Slaves, in return for the said Cargo; that when he went out he had verbal Orders from Mr. Davis to proceed to Charleston with the Slaves from Senegal; that he accordingly did so, and on his Arrival at Charleston, finding no Orders there from

[4] In Captain Viall's attestation in support of claim on the appeal he stated that the outward cargo consisted of "1200 Feet of Lumber, 12 Casks of Rice, 14 Barrels of Flour, 10 Barrels of Beef, 40 Barrels of Bread, 12 Boxes Spermaceti Candles, 4 Hogsheads of Rum, 12 Barrels of Sugar, 10 Barrels of Molasses, 4 Kegs Butter, 10 Boxes Claret, 40 Boxes Herrings, 6 Half Barrels Crackers, 1 Hogshead of Hams, 50 Boxes Segars, 12 Barrels Loaf Sugar, and 2 Bales of Dry Goods, and also 6000 Dollars in Specie." The bill of lading corrects certain of his items: 11,286 feet of lumber, 20 barrels rice, 15 barrels flour, 5 barrels pork, 12 barrels molasses, 40 hams, 14 barrels loaf sugar, 10 barrels brown sugar, 1 crate ware, 40 reams paper, 5 quarter chests hyson tea, 12 boxes claret wine, 4 ditto fruits in brandy, 1 hhd. cod fish, 6 kegs Dutch butter, 2 boxes containing 200 dozen handkerchiefs, 54 strings of beads, 76 barrels of bread, 8 half barrels crackers, 20 barrels beef, 4 hhds. rum, 44 boxes herring, 3 barrels sugar.

the said Owner, he consigned himself to Phillips and Gardner, who sold about thirty of the Slaves; that afterwards the said Davis wrote to him from Rhode Island, that he was to consign himself to Christian and De Wolfe,[5] Merchants at Charleston; that he accordingly applied to them, and they sold the Remainder of the said Slaves; that the said Davis also wrote to them, advising them thereof; that Davis, in the said letter to Christian and De Wolfe, authorized them to sell the said Schooner, and wrote also to advise Deponent of the same; that they accordingly sold her, and Phillips and Gardner became the Purchasers; that the above are the only Voyages he has been upon in the present Vessel; that the said Schooner is at present under the Direction and Management of Phillips and Gardner, her now Owners, as to her Employment in Trade; he has never as yet corresponded with them on the Concerns of the said Vessel, or her Cargo, or with any other Person.

8. That the outward Lading consisted of Flour, Hams, Beef, Bread, Lumber, and a few trifling Articles of Dry Goods, as also 6000 Dollars in Cash; and that the present Lading consisted of sixty-five or seventy Slaves, including three privileged ones; that he forgot before to mention that the Mate had also a Girl Slave, as Privilege, which he purchased with his own Money he carried out; believes he bought her for sixty or seventy Dollars; that the said Slaves were taken on board from about the 1st of September, to the last Day of the said Month.

9. That John Phillips and John Gardner were the sole Owners of the Schooner when taken; he knows them to be the Owners from their purchasing her of Christian and De Wolfe, who were authorized by John Davis, the former Owner, to sell her; that the said Owners are Americans by birth, born in the State of Rhode Island, where they always lived, till about five or six Years ago, they removed to Charleston, South Carolina, where they have since lived and carried on Business as Merchants; that the said Owners are Citizens of the United States.

10. That Christian and De Wolfe, as the Agents of John Davis, made the present Bill of Sale to the said Phillips and Gardner, of the Schooner; believes it is dated some Time in May last; it was made at Charleston; believes it to be in Possession of the said Phillips and Gardner.

12. That Deponent was the Lader of the Cargo, and Phillips and Gardner above named, are the sole Owners and Consignees of the same, and it was to be delivered at Charleston on their real Account,

[5] Charles Christian and Henry De Wolf. Captain Vaill wrote to Davis from Charleston, on Apr. 25, 1807, stating that after a passage of eight (?) days from Senegal he had arrived with 59 slaves, who would, he thought, average $280.

Risk, and Benefit; that he had no Orders from them, or any other Person, to proceed to any other Port;[6] that he has no Interest whatever in the said Cargo; that he does take upon himself to swear that at the Time of the lading the present Cargo, now, and if it shall be restored and unladen at the destined Port of Charleston aforesaid, it does and will belong to the said Phillips and Gardner, and to no other; that the said Cargo is the Returns of the Goods and Money carried out shipped and owned by them; that Deponent is to derive a Commission of 10 per Cent. on the Sale of the Slaves at Charleston, in lieu of every Thing else.

13. That no Bills of Lading were signed for the present Cargo.[7]

20. That in case the said Schooner had arrived at her destined Port of Charlston, and the Cargo been there unladen, it would have remained the Property of the said Phillips and Gardner until sold; they were to have taken the Chance of the Market for the Sale of the said Slaves.

26. That there was one Passenger, [h]is Sirname is Bartholomew; believes him to be an American; knows not his Rank, Profession, or Occupation, or if he had any Commission; he came on board at Senegal somewhere about the latter End of September last; he went out there from Charleston in an American Vessel, and he was on his return to Charleston; knows not his Business; he has two Slaves, one Male and a Female, on Freight, which he includes in the Number mentioned; he has no Property or Concern in the Vessel or the Rest of the Slaves.

29. That the said Schooner after leaving Senegal, steered her Course for Charleston, until about 10 Days ago he ran down his Latitude for the West India Islands; that from Senegal he steered West when the Winds would permit; that they were light and variable till he got to the Cape de Verde Islands, when he got into the Trades, and sometimes steered West and by North, and West and by South, and steered much the same Course when he made Spanish Town; her Course was not altered upon the Appearance of the Man of War's Tender, it was at all Times directed for Charleston when the Wind and Weather would permit, until he altered it for the West India Islands to make the first Port he could to procure fresh and able

[6] The letter of instructions contains the following: "on your Arrival at Africa you will endeavour to dispose of your Cargo on the best possible Terms and vest the Proceeds in such Articles as will best suit this Market, and return with all possible Dispatch to this Port; you will be particularly mindful to leave the Coast timely (allowing double Passage) to arrive at this Port previous to the 31st December next."

[7] The slaves had all been taken on board at Senegal during the months of August and September. The captain also testified that insurance had been placed on vessel and cargo, at Charleston, from Charleston to Africa, and back to Charleston, to be void after Dec. 31, 1807. He did not know the premium.

Hands to enable him to proceed to his destined Port of Charleston aforesaid.

N.B. The Master having been ill while under Examination on the standing Interrogatories, made an Affidavit to the following Effect the Day after his Examination, to correct his Deposition, *viz.*

That he was yesterday examined on the standing Interrogatories; that he then was, is, and for some Time past has been in a bad State of Health, and at Times very imperfect in his Recollection; that considering what passed on his said Examination, he is apprehensive that he stated the Cargo of Slaves on board the said Vessel, with the Exception of some few priviledged Slaves, to have been the Property of Phillips and Gardner of Charleston; whereas the Fact is, that 10 were shipped by one La Coste a Frenchman, on Freight at 40 Dollars a Head to be sold for the Account of the said La Coste, and the Proceeds to remain for him with the said Phillips and Gardner; that one of the said Slaves on Freight jumped overboard, having rose, with others, on the White Crew of the said Vessel, and was drowned; that the other nine are still on board forming Part of the Cargo, and were originally marked with a bit of Lead round their Necks, which the Deponent apprehends may have been removed; that he can however notwithstanding from Recollection still point the surviving nine Slaves out; that Deponent thinks it his Duty to come forward to give the present Explanation to prevent Inconvenience as far as he can to the Parties actually interested in the Residue of the said Cargo.

Deposition of Thomas Bartholomew, a Passenger

To the First Interrogatory, That he was born near the City of Lyons in France; he has lived in New York, and Charleston, South Carolina, for the last seven Years; That Charleston is now his Home when not at Sea; that he has lived in the United States of America since the Year 1789; that he now considers himself a Citizen of the United States; was admitted a Citizen thereof, at a District Court held at New York in the Year 1803-4; that he has resided in New York and Charleston ever since he became a Citizen of the said States, except when he has been absent from Charleston on Voyages, sometimes as Master, and at other Times as Part Owner of Cargoes to the West India Islands, that is to say, to the English and Neutral Port, and once to the Havannah, and on the present Voyage to Senegal.

6. Deponent owns two Slaves, one a Boy named Abil, and another a Girl named Pindar; that these are on Freight, that the Chief Mate he heard from himself, owned a little Girl Slave as Privilege, he gave

75 or 80 Dollars for her at Senegal; that Manuel one of the Portuguese, he also understood, owned two Slaves, both Boys, one named Sambo, and the other Frank, heard him say that he gave 120 Dollars for Sambo, and 60 for the other; heard the said Manuel say, that he carried out Money with him from Charleston; Deponent also heard one other of the Crew, Bill, say, that he owned a Man Slave between himself and another Sailor.

7. That he believes the present Voyage commenced at Charleston in the Month of June last, laden with a Cargo of Lumber and Provisions bound to Senegal, cleared out for Africa; that she arrived at Senegal some Time in the Beginning of August following; that the Master there disposed of the Cargo; and with the Proceeds, and 6000 Dollars in Cash, he heard him say he carried out, purchased 60 odd Slaves on Account of the Owners of the said Vessel, although he only entered and paid the Duties at Senegal on 4000 Dollars; that there were 10 Slaves, besides the Cargo, on Board on Freight, and besides those belonging to himself and the Crew above-mentioned; that those ten were shipped by one Louis Coste, a White Person resident at Senegal, consigned to Phillips and Gardner at Charleston, on his Account for Sale, as he knows no other Person to consign them to; that the said Vessel took her Departure from the River of Senegal on the 29th Day of September last, bound back to the Port of Charleston where the Voyage commenced, and was to have ended; that four or five Days after the Voyage commenced, as the Slaves were all together messing one Day, the Males and Females apart, the Males who were forward, one of them seized the Master as he was pouring Molasses into his Victuals, that most of the other Males then rose, some of whom seized him; that the Master and Crew then drove them below with small Arms, one of the ten on Freight jumped overboard, and a few of the said Slaves got slightly wounded; that an old Woman died at Sea from Sickness, and two Slaves in the River Senegal, before they left it; that they also lost one of the Crew of the said Vessel at Sea, who had been in ill Health; that he frequently on the Passage heard the Master and Crew say, they were apprehensive the Slaves would break out; that a few Days after the said Slaves rose in the Manner abovementioned, the two Mates and two of the Seamen fell sick of Fevers on different Days; that he then heard the Master say, in consequence of his Crew becoming sick, and being apprehensive of the Slaves rising, that he should bear away for the West Indies for the first Neutral Port, whether St. Thomas or St. Bartholomews, which ever he could most conveniently make; that a few Nights before they discovered Land, he heard the Report of a Pistol, and found it was one of the Crew on Watch, who had

fired the Pistol; that he did so, he told the Deponent, imagining that the Slaves were about to rise; that the next Morning one of the Male Slaves was taken from below dead, and thrown overboard, who had been shot by the Pistol which had been fired off; that the same Man stabbed another of the Slaves the following Night, supposing that they were again going to break out; that on Saturday last the 31st Day of October, about Twelve of the Clock at Noon they discovered Anegada, and the high Land of Spanish Town, when they steered away for Saint Thomas, which Port they were bound to when taken, for the Purpose of procuring able Hands to navigate the Vessel to Charleston, her destined Port; that he has understood from the Master that the Schooner has made one other Voyage, besides the present, to Senegal; that she went out from Rhode Island to that Place, laden with Provisions and Dry Goods, and at Senegal took on board about sixty or seventy Slaves, which he carried to Charleston, where they were sold by Phillips and Gardner, on Account of Davis, of Rhode Island; that the said Master also informed Deponent, that Davis then interested Phillips and Gardner in the present Voyage, in both Vessel and Cargo, and, as he understood, in a Moiety with Davis; that much about the Time the present Vessel left Charleston, Davis dispatched a Pilot Boat Schooner from Rhode Island, for Senegal, on a similar Voyage, on Account of himself and the said Phillips and Gardner; that the Pilot Boat Schooner arrived at Senegal before the present Vessel did, and left it with the said Schooner bound also to Charleston, but they parted from one another the same Day they sailed, on Account of the Pilot Boat outsailing the said Schooner; that the said Schooner is under the Direction and Management of Phillips and Gardner, of Charleston, and Davis of Rhode Island, as to her Employment in Trade.

9. That he believes Phillips and Gardner and Davis to be Owners of the said Vessel; he founds his Belief from what he heard the Master say, and the Master also of the Pilot Boat Schooner.

12. That the Master was the Lader of the Slaves termed Cargo; Phillips and Gardner and Davis above-named, he believes to be the Owners and Consignees of the same; Louis Coste was the Lader of the 10 Slaves on Freight, and also Owner of the same; that they were consigned to the said Phillips and Gardner for Sale, on his Account; that the said Coste is a Frenchman, residing at Senegal; that the Deponent is the Lader and Owner of his two on Freight also, and consigned to himself; that the Mate and Mariners are the Laders, Owners, and Consignees of the four Slaves, their Property; that the said Slaves were to be delivered at Charleston, on the real Account, Risk, and Benefit of the several Owners above-named; that the

Master has no Interest in the Slaves shipped by him on Account of Phillips and Gardner and Davis, besides a Commission of 10 per Cent. he is to derive on the Sale at Charleston; Deponent does take upon himself to swear, that at the Time of the lading the said Slaves, now, and if they shall be restored and unladen at their destined Port of Charleston, they did, do, and will belong to the same Persons above-mentioned, and to none others; that he founds his Knowledge of the above Circumstances from what he heard the Master of the present Vessel say, as well as the Master of the Pilot-boat Schooner. . . .[8]

Respondents' Case[9]

. . . .

The Appeal having been proceeded in, now comes on for Hearing; and it is humbly hoped, on the Part of the Respondents, that your Lordships will be pleased to pronounce against the Appeal and affirm the Sentence appealed from, with Costs, for the following, among other

REASONS.

1st. Because the Vessel was, at the Time of the Capture, prosecuting a Voyage from the French Colony of Senegal, on the Coast of Africa, with a Cargo of Negro Slaves, ostensibly bound to Charleston, but in Fact to the Havannah, or some other Port in the West Indies, then hostile to Great Britain, contrary to the Belligerent Rights of this Country.

2d. Because the said Trade was and is contrary to the prohibitory Laws of the United States of America, by which Laws the Claimants are precluded from setting up any Right of Property in the said Slaves, and the Vessel was subject to Confiscation. Admitting that the prohibitory Laws of a foreign Country are not directly to be enforced by a Court of Prize, yet the Subjects of a Neutral Power, when trading contrary to such Laws, cannot claim the Benefit of such Relaxations of His Majesty's Belligerent Rights, in respect of their Commerce with the Enemy, as were conceded to Neutral Powers, from a friendly Consideration of their Interests in Branches of Commerce which they desired to retain and protect. Independently therefore of the Fact that both Terms of this Voyage were hostile Ports, and supposing One of them only to have been a hostile Colony, the Vessel and Cargo were liable to Condemnation.

[8] Much of the above information was repeated in the deposition of the second mate, Nathaniel Wheaton, a native of Massachusetts.

[9] The cause was heard in the vice admiralty court of Tortola on Nov. 27, 1807, when the judge condemned the schooner to the captors and the slaves to his Majesty. From the condemnation of the schooner and 65 of the slaves an appeal was entered, on the ground that these were the property of American citizens.

3dly. Because the Natives of Africa, composing this Cargo, were condemned to His Majesty, pursuant to the Act of Parliament made for abolishing the Slave Trade, only for the Purpose of restoring them to their Freedom, to which they have been accordingly restored; and your Lordships, if you reverse the Sentence of Condemnation, must restore them to a State of unlawful Imprisonment and Slavery; and this at the Instance of a Person who cannot even receive them and carry them to any Part of the World without a new Violation of the Laws of his Country; and who, by those Laws, is expressly precluded from all Property therein. It is further submitted, that the said Africans cannot be lawfully either exported from a British Colony, or held in Slavery there.

4th. Because the Transaction was fraudulently conducted, and the Master now admits that Nine out of the Seventy Slaves included in the Sentence of Condemnation, were French Property, although he had concealed that Fact both in the Papers and in his Deposition in Preparatory. It is submitted, that this Fact not only destroys the Credit of the Master, but renders it quite impossible that any Part of this Cargo should be restored; for, though he pretended, in an Affidavit irregularly introduced, and which is clearly inadmissible in Evidence that he knew how to distinguish those Nine Slaves from the rest, he admitted that they were not distinguished by any Mark, nor could be identified by any other Means than his own discredited Testimony; nor is it now by any Means possible that such Identification can be made. Your Lordships therefore are desired by the Appellant to decree, that out of Seventy human Beings, all at present in a State of Freedom, and Nine of whom are admitted to be lawfully entitled to be free, Sixty-one shall be given up to perpetual Slavery, although, from the Fault and Fraud of the Appellant himself it is impossible to distinguish the Nine free Persons from the rest, and it must therefore almost unavoidably happen, that some or all of them must, in the Execution of that Decree, be the Victims of a wrong Selection.[10]

Ship-Papers.[11]

Messrs. Phillips and Gardner, in Account Current
with Joshua Viall:

[10] Signed, "Chr. Robinson, V. Gibbs, Jas. Stephen." The Lords on Nov. 17, 1810, pronounced against the appeal and affirmed the sentence appealed from.

[11] The ship's papers include register, sea-letter, Mediterranean pass, clearance papers, instructions, letters from John Davis to Captain Viall, accounts, and the bill of lading, invoice, and manifest of the vessel.

Dr.		*Cr.*	
	Livres		*Livres*
To Amount Cash	36,000	Sept. 1 By Purchase of Cargo, as represented	51,192
To Amount Sales Cargo	30,086	By 11 Casks of Corn, at 48 Livres	528
To Sales, two Barrels Beef, not included, at 60 Livres	120	By Wood, 72 Liv	72
		By sundry Expenses, 1962 Livres	1,962
		By Commissions on Sales of Cargo	468
		By Commission on the Purchase of Ditto	1,020
		By Duties inward paid the Custom	5,438
		By Duties outward	3,600
		By Purchase of Cargo,	840
		Pilotage and Boat-hire 1086	1,086
	66,206		66,206

SENEGAL, September 17, 1807. Errors excepted, JOSHUA VIALL.

313. NEWS ITEMS RELATING TO SLAVE TRADE, 1807.[1]

November 10, 1807.

Capt. Easterbrooks sailed from Senegal in company with schooner *Nancy,* Vial, for this port [Charleston] . . . .

November 26, 1807.

Capt. Fisher left at the Isle de Los, sloop ——, Holden, of Rhode-Island, to sail in 15 days; at Sierre Leona, sloop——, Bradford, of Rhode-Island; a brig belonging to Rhode-Island, capt. Lindsay; and a brig formerly commanded by capt. Grey, who with all his crew, had died at Cherbarra.

December 14, 1807.

Capt. Prebble left at Isle de Los, on the 20th Oct. brig *Republican,* of Rhode-Island, schr. *Eliza*, of ditto; sloop——, Bradley, of ditto; brig *Nancy*, of ditto, had 94 slaves on board, all her crew dead.[2] . . .

[313] [1] *Charleston Courier,* Nov. 10, 26, Dec. 14, 1807.

[2] The names of the following Rhode Island vessels engaged in the African trade between 1804 and 1807 have been gleaned from the newspapers of the period: *Charlotte,* Sabins, *Fair Eliza,* Williams, *Hiram,* Brownwell, *Lark,* Moore, *Truxton,* Munroe, *Andromache,* Drown, *Jane,* Richmond, *Nancy,* Niel, *Mary,* Wood, *Polly and Betsey,* ——, *Neptune,* Hudson, *Vulture,* Bradford, *Concord,* Botsworth, *Holden,* Bradford. For a list of the Rhode Island vessels which carried slaves into Charleston between 1804 and 1807 see this work, vol. IV., South Carolina, where the customs list presented to the Senate in 1820 is printed. In the *Newport Mercury,* July 27, 1895, James C. Swann, in "Historical Notes from Authentic Sources," printed the names of Newport vessels trading to Charleston between 1804 and 1807. Here he included all those ascribed in 1820 to Rhode Island, thus ignoring any share which Bristol and Warren had in the trade.

THE MIDDLE COLONIES

INTRODUCTION

No attempt has been made to carry the documentation of the slave trade of the Middle Colonies to such detail as that of New England. Their importation of negroes was slight in comparison with that of the colonies to the south of them, and their carrying trade but a small part of their general commerce, by no means comparable to that of the northern colonies. Two subjects not elsewhere presented are illustrated by the documents pertaining to New York—the trade of the Dutch to the Continental colonies and the Madagascar slave trade. In other respects the history of the slave trade of these colonies is much the same as that to the north, on a greatly reduced scale.

The first negroes to gain a place in the records of the colony of New Netherland were not brought from Africa but were probably taken from Spanish or Portuguese prizes. Such names as Paul d'Angola, Simon Congo, Antony Portuguese, John Francisco testify to Portuguese origin. These negroes were brought into New Amsterdam about 1625 or 1626, four or five years after the establishment of the Dutch West India Company.[1]

The various freedoms and exemptions projected by that company contained promises to supply the colony with slaves, but the promises were not observed in a manner that satisfied the patroons. The instructions to the Director General and Council of New Netherland for July 26, 1646, provided that, "for the promotion of agriculture there, it is deemed proper to permit, at the request of the patroons, colonists, and other farmers, the conveyance thither of as many negroes as they are willing to purchase at a fair price; and the Director and Council shall notify the Assembly hereof, every year, when further order shall be taken regarding the transport of negroes thither".[2]

[1] E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Voyages of the Slavers "St. John" and "Arms of Amsterdam," 1659, 1663* (N. Y. Col. Tracts, no. 111), p. xiii. In 1644 Director General Kieft gave liberty to those slaves that had served the company for eighteen or nineteen years. The company must therefore have obtained slaves for its own use as early as 1626, even if it was not yet selling slaves to the colonists. In 1628 the Rev. Jonas Michaelius, complaining of the servants in the new colony, remarked that the Angola slaves were "thievish, lazy, and useless trash". J. F. Jameson, ed., *Narratives of New Netherland,* p. 129.

[2] E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (1856), I. 162.

Sporadic attempts to carry out such plans as these the Amsterdam chamber of the West India Company certainly made, as the papers hereafter printed demonstrate, but without great success. Trade direct from Africa by the Company itself or by others licensed by the company was occasionally tried but was not the usual method of supply. The most thriving slave trade at this time was probably that of Brazil, and in 1644 it was suggested that the colonists be allowed to send their food stuffs to Brazil and carry away negroes (doc. no. 316). Permission to do this was granted in 1648, but already the revolt of the Portuguese against Dutch rule in Brazil had begun and the Dutch were before long driven from that colony. In the same year (1648) the Amsterdam chamber notified Stuyvesant that under certain restrictions the colony might trade to Angola, but little use seems to have been made of this permission (no. 317).

The directors also fostered or attempted to foster a slave trade from Curaçao to New Netherland. By 1661 they conceived that New Netherland might be used as a base from which to carry on a slave trade with the English in neighboring colonies, but they had little time in which to execute this design.

As one incident in what was in large part a struggle between Dutch and English for the control of the slave trade, the colony changed owners in 1664, and though her new owners were left, at the close of the Anglo-Dutch War, firmly established on the Guinea coast the English trading company was greatly weakened. The new and stronger company of 1672 was too engrossed in supplying the wants of the more inviting West India markets to provide many laborers for the northern colony. Meanwhile, toward the end of the century, New York found an alternative method of supplying her own needs by a trade in negroes, as well as in other commodities, with the pirates who infested the East India route and had their headquarters at Madagascar. How many of these Madagascar negroes were brought into the colony can never be known with certainty, since importers were scarcely in a position to make legal entry. Of the direct trade of the colony with Guinea Lord Cornbury wrote to the Board of Trade in 1708: "sometimes we have a vessell or two, that goe to the Coast of Guinea, and bring negros from thence but they seldom come into this place, but rather goe to Virginia, or Maryland, where they find a much better market for their negros than they can doe here." [3] The extensive report of the Board of Trade in 1709 gives little clue to the New York demand for negroes, since it is combined with that of Carolina.

[3] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, p. 9.

Legislation though frequent probably affected this demand but slightly. New York, in common with most of the colonies, discriminated in favor of negroes brought directly from Africa. In 1709 a duty of £3 was laid on negroes from any other place. In 1716 an act placing a duty on all vessels trading into the colony refers to a duty on imported slaves. On July 7, 1718, Governor Hunter wrote to the Lords of Trade: "I never heard of any Negroes imported directly from Africa in Vessells belonging to Great Britain, and the duties laid on Negroes from the other Colonies are intended to encourage their own shipping and discourage the importing their refuse and sickly Negroes here from other Colonies which they commonly do." [4] A duty of £2 on negroes brought directly from Africa and £4 on all others was imposed in 1728. This brought forth protest from the Board of Trade but was allowed to stand, and was continued in 1734. In 1753 a duty of 5 and 10 ounces plate was continued or re-enacted and was apparently maintained up to the period of the Revolution. Importation was unequivocally forbidden in 1788.[5] This prohibition was modified in 1801 by allowing bona fide owners of slaves, coming into the state with intent to settle, to bring their negroes with them. Neither act forbade to citizens of the state participation in the slave trade to other places. At the end of the century New York merchants were sharing in that trade to a considerable extent and it is possible that the most important period in the history of the New York carrying trade lies outside the limits of this work.

The presence of negroes in New Jersey in the seventeenth century is made certain by legislation concerning them as early as 1683.[6] There is also a record of a dispute between the collector of the port and a master just returned from Madagascar with negroes. The

[4] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, V. 509. In 1709 Governor Hunter was instructed to protect the interests of the African Company in the colony and to report the amount of importation of negroes (*ibid.*, p. 136). When the Duke of Chandos attempted to revive the fortunes of the African Company he wrote asking whether there would be "Encouragement for the Affrican Company to trade to these plantations." See James Alexander to Cadwallader Colden, July 3, 1731, *Colden Papers* (New York Historical Society, *Collections*, 1918), II. 23; this work, II. 249 n.

[5] Du Bois, *Suppression of the Slave Trade*, pp. 205, 210, 213, 214, 217. A somewhat cursory examination of the newspapers displays a growing sentiment against the trade and slavery itself during the years following the Revolution. The *New York Packet* printed the Pennsylvania act for the abolition of slavery, the constitution of the Society for the Promotion of the Manumission of Slaves, and an occasional letter in favor of the abolition of the trade (Jan. 24, Feb. 21, Mar. 31, 1785). The act here referred to however did not forbid slavery in New York nor the carrying of slaves by the citizens of the state. Slaves were still being advertised for sale in the papers of 1792. An account of the slave trade into New York is to be found in A. J. Northrup's *Slavery in New York* (New York State Library *Bulletin*, History No. 4), pp. 246 ff.

[6] *Archives of New Jersey*, first ser., XIII. 82, 84.

master, fearful that if he took his cargo into New York it would be seized, entered the negroes in Perth Amboy and sold them in New Jersey.[7] The amount of negro importation in the next twenty-five years was not sufficient to make record keeping necessary. In 1709 Governor Lord Lovelace wrote to the Commissioners for Trade: "Your Lordships' directions relating to the accounts of the numbers of the negroes imported from Africa for severall years past I am afraid cannot be complyed with."[8]

The first duty was laid in 1713, after some friction between assembly and council over its terms.[9] That it was not prohibitive is shown by the report of importations from 1718 to 1726 (no. 370). Attempts to lay a duty in 1739 and in 1744 were blocked by the council, but the assembly met with success in 1762.[10] In 1769 a prohibitive duty of £15 was imposed, and final prohibition was accomplished in 1786 by emancipation of negroes within the state and by a duty of £50 on all importation of negroes who had been brought from Africa since 1776. On March 14, 1798, it was provided that any vessel fitted out for the slave trade within New Jersey was forfeited and any further part taken by citizens of New Jersey in the slave trade thus became unlawful.[11] If New Jersey citizens entered into the illicit trade to any extent they probably did so from the port of New York.

The number of slaves in the colony was never large. In 1738 there were 3981 slaves in a population of 47,369, in 1745, 4606 in a total of 61,403, and in 1770, 11,423 in 169,954.[12]

Though negroes were to be found in the territory which later became Pennsylvania as early as 1638 and continued to be imported until 1768 or 1769, the number was always small. The fact that in spite of a more favorable climate this colony had a smaller black population than either New Jersey or New York may be a result of the strong Quaker influence which prevailed there throughout a large part of the eighteenth century. Much of the history of slavery in Pennsylvania has been written in terms of the abolition movement sponsored by the Quakers, and the fact that Philadelphia merchants were engaged in bringing negroes into the province and in carrying them to other markets is frequently overlooked.[13] Two periods of

[7] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1685-1686, p. 220.
[8] *Ibid.*, 1708-1709, p. 247.
[9] *N. J. Arch.*, XIII. 517, 532.
[10] *Ibid.*, XV. 30-31, 45, 343, 345, 351, XVII. 333, 338, IX. 345-346.
[11] *Laws of the State of New Jersey* (1821), p. 373.
[12] *Gentleman's Magazine*, XIX. 533; A. Q. Keasbey, "Slavery in New Jersey," New Jersey Historical Society, *Proceedings*, third ser., V. 82.
[13] See E. R. Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania*, pp. 7-12, and notes quoting from the ledger of William Trent and the account book of James Logan. Turner cites a number of newspaper advertisements for negroes from the West Indies in the 'thirties and 'forties.

active importation can be discerned, one about 1730, just after the reduction of the duty from £5 to £2, the other at the close of the 'fifties, brought to an end by the duty act of 1761, which increased the impost to £10.

The first duty was 20 *s.*, imposed in 1700, possibly because by that time merchants were bringing from the West Indies, by ones and twos, a sufficient number of negroes to yield a slight revenue. This duty was doubled in acts of 1705 and 1710 without comment from England, but in 1712, actuated by fear of insurrection similar to that which New York had experienced, the assembly raised the duty to £20, a sum which was of course intended to be prohibitive. This act the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations annulled, and the assembly reverted to £5, a restrictive though not a prohibitive amount. The law of 1715 laying a £5 duty was disallowed in England in 1719; but a new act had already been passed by the colonial legislature in 1718. In 1726 the colony ventured to increase the duty to £10.[14] A petition presented to the general assembly in 1722 on behalf of day laborers who were injured by the use of negro labor may have had some influence in the sentiment for a duty.

The act of 1726 may actually have lessened the supply of incoming negroes, or the employers of labor may have feared that it might do so. For one reason or the other, not long after its passage the iron-masters of Pennsylvania petitioned for abolition of all duty because of scarcity of labor.[15] While the legislature did not go as far as that, the duty was reduced to £2. For a short time the supply seems to have responded to this, but the stimulus to importation did not long continue to bring in negroes and by 1750 few were being sold. The end of the decade however witnessed a revival in the trade so marked as to alarm the assembly, which laid a duty intended to be prohibitive.[16] This was continued until 1773, when it was increased by £10. Slavery was abolished in Pennsylvania by an act of 1780, and participation in the slave trade was prohibited on February 3, 1789. Philadelphia's share in the trade to other markets can be surmised only by the occasional references to Pennsylvania vessels on the West Coast, in the West Indies, or spoken by some passing ship which reports its encounters at the nearest port.[17]

[14] Du Bois, *Suppression of the Slave Trade,* pp. 204-206, 210, 213.

[15] *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pa.,* 1726-1742, p. 31, cited by Turner, *Negro in Pa.,* p. 4 n.

[16] Du Bois, pp. 219, 222, 225, 231.

[17] A Philadelphia correspondent to the *New Haven Gazette and Connecticut Magazine* (June 7, 1787) wrote: "It is high time that the Legislature of Philadelphia should interpose their authority, and put an end, at least in Pennsylvania, to this horrid business altogether."

Were this a history of the abolition movement, Pennsylvania would furnish a large body of material. From the protest against the trade by the Germantown Friends in 1688 to its outlawing by legislation in 1807 the influence of such men as Anthony Benezet, John Woolman, Benjamin Lay, and Ralph Sandiman can scarcely be overestimated. Their story is not to be told here, but their work must be remembered if one is to understand why the slave trade was so small a part of Philadelphia commerce.

DOCUMENTS

314. Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions, 1629.[1]

June 7, 1629.

XXX. The Company will endeavor to supply the colonists with as many blacks as it possibly can, on the conditions hereafter to be made, without however being bound to do so to a greater extent or for a longer time than it shall see fit.

315. New Project of Freedoms and Exemptions.[1]

XXXI. In like manner, the incorporated West India Company shall allot to each patroon twelve black men and women out of the prizes in which negroes shall be found, for the advancement of the colonies in New Netherland.

316. Report of the Board of Accounts on New Netherland, 1644.[1]

Seventhly. . . . And for the advancement of the cultivation of the land there, it would not be unwise to allow, at the request of

[314] [1] A. J. F. van Laer (ed.), *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts,* p. 153. The "Proposed Freedoms and Exemptions" of 1640 contained a similar clause (*N. Y. Col. Docs.,* I. 123). The Dutch West India Company was established in 1621, with a monopoly of African trade for twenty-four years.

[315] [1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.,* I. 99. The manuscript of this project is without date but is in a file dated 1630-1635. The Dutch were slow to make use of the negroes taken in their Portuguese and Spanish prizes. Accounts of captures in 1624, 1627, and 1631 tell of their letting captured blacks go because they did not know what to do with them. *Voyages of the Slavers "St. John" and "Arms of Amsterdam,"* pp. ix-x.

[316] [1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.,* I. 154, "Report and Advice on the Condition of New Netherland, drawn up from documents and papers placed by commission of the Assembly of the XIX., dated 15th Decr. 1644, in the hands of the General Board of Accounts, to examine the same, to make a digest thereof, and to advise the Assembly how the decay there can be prevented, population increased, agriculture advanced, and that country wholly improved for the Company's benefit." The assembly of the XIX. was a representative

the patroons, colonists and other farmers, the introduction, from Brazil there, of as many negroes as they would be disposed to pay for at a fair price; which negroes would accomplish more work for their masters, and at a less expense, than farm servants, who must be bribed to go thither by a great deal of money and promises.

317. Resolutions of the States General, 1648.[1]

Monday, 20 January, 1648.

Again the seventh section of the Management is taken into consideration, and it is resolved that private inhabitants of New Netherland shall be allowed to export their country produce under suitable duty, in their own or chartered ships, to Brazil and Angola, on these following conditions: first, that the aforesaid ships, when in Brazil, shall not be at liberty to return back with sugars to New Netherland aforesaid, but shall let themselves be chartered directly hither. Secondly, that the permit to proceed to Angola above mentioned, shall only be provisionally granted, and that for the time that the dispensation shall continue in regard to the exportation of slaves, which was accorded on Thursday last. Thirdly, that those willing to go to Angola, shall, previous to their departure from New Netherland, take out commission and permit from here, and also give security, similar to all other persons trading from this country. Mr. Mortamer alone requested, that before the passing of this resolution, he may communicate its contents to his Chamber, and learn their opinion thereon.[2]

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body of the West India Company, made up from all the chambers. Instructions to the director issued in 1646 advised admitting as many negroes as were requested and would be paid for by the colonists (*ibid.*, p. 162). A sentence in a letter from the directors at Amsterdam to Director Stuyvesant implies some importation from Brazil in or before 1646: "Having observed that more negroes could be profitably traded off there than were carried thither in the ship *Tamandare,* we shall pay attention that for the future more negroes shall be conveyed thither" (O'Callaghan, *Voyages of the Slavers "St. John" and "Arms of Amsterdam,"* p. 99). The supposition that these slaves came from Brazil is based upon the very slight evidence afforded by the name *Tamandare,* which is that of a bay on the coast of Brazil. They were the slaves whose sale was later complained of by the people of New Netherland: "Even the negroes which were obtained with *Tamanderé* were sold for pork and peas: something wonderful was to be performed with this but they just dripped through the fingers." *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, I. 302.

[317] [1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, I. 215. The advice of the chamber of accounts of the West India Company, drawn up Apr. 19, 1647, delivered to the company on May 27, 1647, and incorporated in the "Report on the Affairs of the West India Company" of January, 1648, suggested that direct trade between New Netherland and Brazil would cause the former, "by slave labor [to] be more extensively cultivated than it has hitherto been, because the agricultural laborers, who are conveyed thither at great expence to the colonists, sooner or later apply themselves to trade, and neglect agriculture altogether. Slaves, on the other hand, being brought and maintained there at a cheap rate, various other descriptions of produce would be raised, and by their abundance be reduced in price, so as to allow, when occasion would offer, of their advantageous exportation hither and to other parts of Europe."

[2] This was the Zeeland chamber. In deliberations of the States General on Feb. 10, 1648, it was again resolved that the company could never derive profit from

318. The Magistrates of Gravesend to the Directors at Amsterdam, 1651.[1]

Secondly, We most humbly request your Honors to expend, in negroes or blacks, whatever means you, in your wisdom, will deem prudent; for your Honors can best do that, in consequence of your interest in this place, on condition of our paying you for the same whatever price you will order. We humbly conceive that your Honors will, thereby, have double profits; first, from what we shall pay for those negroes; secondly, from the tenths. . . .

Gravesend, in New Netherland, 14th September, 1651.

319. The Directors at Amsterdam to the Commonalty at the Manhattans, 1652.[1]

And in order that you may be the more fully assured of our good intention, we do hereby consent that the commonalty yonder shall have liberty to repair to the coast of Angola and Africa, and transport thence as many negroes as they will make use of for the cultivation of their lands, on the conditions and regulations which are sent herewith to the Director.

Amsterdam, 4th April, 1652.

320. Proposed Contract to import Slaves into New Netherland, 1652(?).[1]

This day, the undersigned Director and Council of New Netherland, thereunto authorized by resolution of the chamber at Amsterdam, on the one part, and the owners of the ship whereof is skipper, burthen about tons, on the other part,

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New Netherland until its inhabitants were encouraged to send their commodities to Brazil and receive slaves in return (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, I. 216). This interesting attempt to foster a commerce between North and South America was brought to an end when the Dutch were driven from Brazil by the successful Portuguese revolt which was already under way when these plans were formulated.

[318] [1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, II. 156. Addressed, "To the Hon'ble, our special good Lords and Protectors, the Lords Directors of the West India Company Chamber at Amsterdam." Signed, Geo. Baxter, Wil. Wilkins, Nicolas Stilwil, Richard Gibbons, Schout, James Hubbard, Will. Browne, Assistants, John Tilton, Clerk or Secretary.

[319] [1] *Voyages of the Slavers "St. John," etc.*, pp. 102-103. The Amsterdam directors had written to Stuyvesant on Apr. 7, 1648, telling him that permission had been given to carry provisions to Angola and receive negroes in return, and urging that the permission be used. It must be noted that the inhabitants of New Netherland, while urged to trade to Angola, were specifically excluded from the Guinea coast. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, I. 364.

[320] [1] Albany, New York Colonial MSS., 2: 45. Since the Albany copy of this contract was badly injured in the fire of Mar. 29, 1911, the translation of the contract and remonstrance here printed is that in *Voyages of the Slavers "St. John," etc.* (pp. 169-175), revised by Mr. A. J. F. van Laer. The contract, itself undated, is usually ascribed to 1660, but since it is intended to give effect to the permission of 1652 it has here been placed with that permission.

have agreed and contracted that a permit and commission in due form shall be granted to the aforesaid skipper, to buy slaves, and further to prosecute such advantage as said owners shall deem expedient on the coast of Africa; in like manner to return here to the Manhattans with the said slaves and their further cargo, provided nevertheless that they shall not be at liberty, in regard to the coast of Africa, to resort on the granted permit to the Gold Coast, and therefore not to go westerly further than Ardre or at most to Popo, on pain of the loss of the ship and goods laden therein, to which end the Directors and Council shall be at liberty to place a supercargo on board said ship, (whom the skipper shall be bound to entertain in the cabin,) and if necessary to cause the people therein to be sworn; for which aforesaid permit and commission the aforesaid owners promise, on the return of the said ship and before her discharge, promptly to pay to the Director and Council aforesaid, or their deputies, a duty of fifteen guilders [2] for each negro, without making any exception or objection thereto, Under bond of their persons and goods, none excepted, with renunciation of benefit *ordinis divisionis et excussionis,* having entire knowledge thereof.

Done NEW AMSTERDAM this

Remonstrance on the preceding proposed Contract

Honorable, Wise, Prudent Lords, Petrus Stuyvesant, Governor General, and the Councillors of New Netherland, Curaçao and Dependencies thereof.

Honorable, The undersigned Burghers and inhabitants of this city New Amsterdam, your Honors' liege subjects, most respectfully represent that they are inclined to a foreign trade, and especially to the coast of Africa, according to the concession of the hon'ble directors granted in the year 1652, as a special privilege to the inhabitants of this place, in order to fetch thence slaves and other wares might be disposed of here and elsewhere, whereby this city and the entire country would increase and prosper in merchandize, commerce, population and more especially in the tobacco trade, to the advantage not only of these inhabitants, but also of the Hon'ble West India Company which would behold, in time, a vast, populous, and rich commercial province spring up in these parts therefrom.

But it has appeared to them that those who would execute with skipper or merchant going to that country a draft of partnership, which is beset and pinched by such precise conditions, would risk their lives and goods, and at best gain nothing, or run the risk of having

[2] The guilder equalled about 1 *s.* 7 *d.*

ship and goods confiscated. For, besides the entire of the Gold Coast being excepted in that concession, it appears that Cape Verde, Siera Leona, the Greyn (Pepper) and Qua Qua Coast are also excluded; for it is not permitted to resort further West, at farthest, than Popo Sonde. Moreover, the Gold Coast, which from Cape Apolonia to Cape des Rodes or Mount Berique is reckoned 60 leagues, can be extended much further, as will be seen, to any place where gold may be found. And as regards slaves; for each head 15 guilders must be paid, and then the payment for them in tobacco or beaver is again taxed when shipped to Fatherland, which imposes too heavy a burthen on this hazardous trade.

The Hon'ble Company, in the meanwhile, must perceive that our neighbors, the French, English, Swedes, Danes, and Courlanders,[3] are by means of the Netherlanders who repair to them trading along the entire coast, even under their strongholds, without any profit being derived therefrom by the Company; Yea, they suffer rather very serious loss thereby, as is manifest from the example of Arent de Groot, who in the year 1638 built a fort at Cormantyn for the English, and of Hendrick Caerloff, the former fiscal, who built another at Cape Corse in the year 1650 for the Swedes.

Your Honors' subjects, passing by these strongholds, take another course and as faithful subjects address themselves to you, humbly praying permission to trade free and unobstructed in ship or ships, along the whole of the west coast of Africa, that is, from Cape Verd to Cape Lopes de Gonsalve, in all bays, rivers and coasts, without any exception, the Hon'ble Company's strongholds alone excepted, according to the rules and orders, on payment, either here or in Holland, of such moderate duty as shall be agreed on. This doing, etc.[4]

321. The Directors at Amsterdam to Director Stuyvesant, 1654.[1]

26. After closing and dispatching the duplicate hereof which goes by the ship *Swarten Arent* [*Black Eagle*] we have on the petition of

[3] See this work, I. 77 n.

[4] The signatures are: Cornelius Steenwyck, Marten Kregier, Themotheus Gabrie, Oloff Stevensen, Govert Loocquermans, Jacob Strycker, P. L. Vande Grift, Pieter Rudolphus, Hendrick Jansen Vander Vier, Peter Couwenhoven, Jacob Steendam, Johannes Verveelen.

[321] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 12: 17; *Voyages of the "St. John," etc.*, pp. 106-107. Unless otherwise specified, the translations of the Dutch manuscripts here used were made or revised by Mr. A. J. F. van Laer. On June 6, 1653, the directors of the Amsterdam chamber wrote to Stuyvesant: "We have by contract given and granted to some private Merchants permission empowering them to repair to the Coast of Africa to trade for Slaves there, and to carry and convey them to the West Indies and the Islands situate thereabouts, and as we expect that the aforesaid Ships or some of them will go to New

some private merchants, *viz.*, Jan Sweerts and Dirck Pietersen Wittepaert, and in order to promote population and agriculture there, consented and allowed that they may go with their Ship the *Wittepaert* to the Coast of Africa, and having trafficked for slaves there, convey the same to New Netherland to be sold to the inhabitants there, provided that of the goods and returns proceeding from said slaves, and which shall be brought back in the abovementioned ship, there shall be paid to the company the lawful duties fixed thereon, or otherwise the ordinary tonnage duty according to the regulation adopted for trade to the coast of Africa, at the company's option, as appears by the annexed extract of resolutions adopted on the 19th of this month.[2] . . .

AMSTERDAM, 23d November, 1654.

322. ORDINANCE IMPOSING A DUTY ON EXPORTED SLAVES, 1655.[1]

Friday, 6 August, [1655].

Whereas the Director General and Council of New Netherland find that the negroes lately arrived here from the Bight of Guinea in the Ship *Witte Paert,* have been transported and carried hence without the Hon'ble Company or the inhabitants of this province having derived any revenue or benefit therefrom, the Director General and Council have resolved [and concluded that there shall be paid][2] at the general treasury [10 per cent of the] value or purchase [money of the negroes who shall be carried away] or exported [from here elsewhere beyond the jurisdiction of New Netherland. Dated as above.]

Netherland to sell their Slaves also to the Inhabitants there, in such case we desire and request that Your Honor will not demand any Duties from them, but lend them all reasonable Assistance, in order to the removal of every obstacle which might prove a hinderance to Agriculture. This for your information and notification." *Ibid.,* pp. 103-104; *N. Y. Col. Docs.,* XIV. 209-210.

[2] The resolution of the Amsterdam chamber which granted permission for this voyage is to be found in N. Y. Col. MSS., 12: 7. M. J. Kohler cites a letter from the director of the Amsterdam chamber to Stuyvesant, written July 24, 1653, which illustrates the determination of the directors to foster the agriculture of New Netherland by providing the colony with a supply of negroes:

"As some of the Jewish nation who are associated with Juan Delino, colonist on said island (Curaçoa), did solicit our consent to purchase a few negroes if any were offered for sale in New Netherland and export them to Curaçoa, to promote as they pretend, their agriculture, we must inform your Honor that we have declined to grant their request, because the company did prefer to encourage first the population and agriculture of New Netherland, whereof all servants ought to be kept there, and no one permitted to leave the country if it ever shall arrive to any degree of grandeur, all of which we have sent for your instruction." "Jews and the American Anti-Slavery Movement," American Jewish Historical Society, *Publications,* V. 141-142.

[322] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 6: 70.

[2] The words enclosed in brackets have been supplied from the copy of the order printed in the *Voyages of the "St. John," etc.* (pp. 109-110), the manuscript being torn at those places. The signatures are, P. Stuyvesant, Nicasius de Sille, La Montagne.

323. Deposition of Joan Gaillardo Ferrara, 1656.[1]

. . . That he, the affirmant, being, in the month of April, of the year 1652, on a voyage from Jamayca to St. Jago de Kuba, in the ship named *St Anthoni,* whereof Silvester Peres was skipper, and being come to the latitude of Cape Morante, was met by a certain privateer ship whereof Martin Janss Raeff was captain, which ship was navigated, in consequence of the captain's absence, by his Lt.-General, Coert Tysen Campen, which privateer attacked, fought, boarded and conquered his, the affirmant's, ship and made a prize thereof, and proceeded to New Netherland, in the harbor called Manades, and whereas he, the deponent, had a deep interest in said ship carrying, among other merchandise, four-and-forty negroes and negresses, he, the affirmant, in further proof of his property therein, declares that said black men and women are branded in manner as follows:

To wit: First. Thirty-two of them are marked AR being the name of Anthonio de Rivera, and three more are marked J, being the name of Jean Loper[z] which marks are branded on the left breast; and then nine more are marked A. being the name of Allonso, which marks are branded on the right breast. Thus done, in good faith, in Amsterdam, present Henrick Vericselen, Dirck Tack, as witnesses hereunto invited. J. Thielmans, Notary Public.

324. List of Negroes claimed by Joan Gaillardo Ferrara, 1656.[1]

Copy of the List of Blacks which your Honors demanded of me, saying that you intend to attach the Negroes aforesaid in the hands of their masters, so that the said Negroes may not be alienated nor sold out of this country until further order, as stated.

A. Francisco, who belonged to me, and is now in the possession of Thomas Hall 1

[323] [1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.,* II. 27. The unavailing struggles of Joan Gaillardo Ferrara to obtain negroes or compensation for negroes seized by pirates can be traced through the first and second volumes of the *New York Colonial Documents.* Two documents dealing with the case are here printed. The Spanish minister presented Ferrara's cause to the States General, which sent an order to the Director General and Council of New Netherland for the restitution of Ferrara's property and the arrest of the pirates. After the passage of a year, during which the deponent had made a futile voyage to New Netherland, the Spanish ambassador again took up the matter and once more directions were sent to New Netherland for investigation and action. The response was that the pirates charged with the theft of the negroes had never been in New Netherland; that, four years before, Coert Tysen had sold negroes there but that as he had a commission from the French government of St. Christopher he could not be excluded from the colony; and that the negroes under discussion, having changed hands several times, could not with justice be taken from their present owners without compensation. With this Gaillardo was obliged to be content. *Ibid.,* I. 580-581, II. 1-4, 23-43.

[324] [1] *N. Y. Col. Doc.,* II. 31. This is part of a long statement of Gaillardo Ferrara's case and the measures which he had taken to obtain justice.

Gasinte, who belonged to the pilot, and is now the Company's ---- 1
R. Antonio, who belonged to a Biscayan, and is now with the man who sells straw (*pajero*) ---- 1
Diego, or Jacob, was mine, and is now in the possession of Neeffies ---- 1
Gr or John, was mine, and is now with Verbets ---- 1
Barbara was the pilot's, and is now in the possession of Jan Martens ---- 1
Christopher was the pilot's, and is now in the hands of Oloff Stevens ---- 1
Bastiaen and Lucia were the pilot's; they are in the Bay, and now belong to Jaboce ---- 2
Fernando was mine, and is now with Veesteman or Beeckman ---- 1
Balthazar, who belonged to the pilot, is now the General's ---- 1
Maria was the pilot's, and is now Augustine's or Verlet's ---- 1
Juliana and Maria and the children were mine, and are now with Jacob, the Miller, in the fort ---- 5
Mookinga was the pilot's, and is now at Fort Orange ---- 1
John was the pilot's, and is now Govert's ---- 1
Madelina, *ad idem,* and now with Govert, aforesaid ---- 1
Catelina and 2 children, in the possession of Potter's son or daughter ---- 3
Susanna, who was the caulker's and now Tharan Hal's ---- 1
Peter Noorman's negro belonged to the pilot ---- 1
John and Francisco were the pilot's and are now Jaboce's, in the Bay ---- 2
F. Maria, Jan and Lius were our clerk's and now Jacob Hay's ---- 3
La Caubotera was the pilot's, and is now in the hands of ---- 1
Figa was the pilot's, and now Fortese's ---- 1
Manuel, *ad idem,* is now at Fort Orange ---- 1
Lucia and her husband, called Joseph, now in the possession of the Company, and whom the General hath sent to Curaçao to take charge of the cattle at pasture there ---- 2
Paulo and Diego, or Jacob, are also sent to Curaçao in the Company's service ---- 2

325. Charter of the Ship *Eyckenboom*, 1659.[1]

In the Name of the Lord, Amen. In the year of the birth of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, 1659, the 25th of January, before me Henrick Schaeff, admitted by the Court of Holland a notary public residing in Amsterdam, and the undersigned witnesses, in their

[325] [1] *Voyages of the "St. John," etc.,* pp. 132-139.

own persons came and appeared Messieurs Edward Man and Abraham Wilmerdoncx, directors of the Incorporated West India Company at the chamber here in Amsterdam hereunto authorized by the board of their associates, as charterers on the one part, and skipper Jan Jansen Eyckenboom of Hoorn, master under God, of his ship named the *Eyckenboom,* long I^c^ XX, wide XXV and one half, hold XI and one half, over it five and one half and six feet, with a half deck and forecastle on either side, and the aforesaid parties declared and do hereby declare to have made and concluded together a certain Contract for a charter of said ship, in the form and manner hereinafter described,

To wit: That the aforesaid skipper shall be bound immediately to deliver his aforesaid ship here in the city fitted out, tight, well caulked, and provided with good and sufficient anchors, cordage, tackle, sails, running and standing rigging and all other necessaries and appurtenances thereunto belonging, and the same to mount with ten good pieces of cannon, with the requisite powder and shot and other ammunition in proportion, but the necessary consumption of powder and shot aforesaid shall be made good by the company, which shall also put on board said ship in addition to the ten pieces aforesaid as many other guns as they please and can conveniently place, and shall provide and pay the expence of the powder and shot therefor, on condition that in the necessary consumption thereof, the aforesaid skipper shall bear the contingent of his ship aforesaid; that further, said company shall man said ship with such and so many hands and provide them with such stores as said company will please and think proper. Which being done on the one side and the other, the aforesaid ship shall on the part of said company, be laden with a full and suitable cargo, or to such extent as said company shall think proper; being laden with all such goods, wares, and merchandizes as they will determine, the aforesaid ship shall, with the first fair wind and weather that God will grant, be dispatched and sail from this country direct to the coast of Africa and run along said coast from above downward, or from Cape Verd down, and touch, trade, lie and remain at all trading posts and ports, according to the pleasure of said company and their commissary, unto the Castle St. George d'el Mina, where they shall receive or find orders from the company's director general and council or shall be furnished with them on sailing hence; And sail towards the Bight of Guinea and touch and trade at all other places lying therein according to the order which shall be given him by the director general or here; from thence proceed further to the islands of Curaçao, Bonaire, and Aruba in the West Indies, and also to New Netherland, and all round every where else

the company, or its ministers, shall determine and order, and likewise at all said quarters and places trade and traffic goods, wares and merchandizes and also take in people, load and unload at the pleasure of the aforesaid company or its ministers; And to that end sail to and from, run hither and thither, anchor, lie, load and unload at said coasts, quarters and places as often and as frequently and so long as the service of the company such shall demand; Furthermore, return and come thence to this city Amsterdam or the destined port of discharge, and on her safe return and arrival, there discharge and deliver to the aforesaid company her laden return cargo and goods. Which done, there shall be paid to him the skipper for the contracted freight, every month, the sum of eight hundred guilders of xx stivers each, on condition that the company is bound for the term of six successive months or longer, to be calculated according to the length of time, all current months according to the almanac, to run and commence when the ship shall, in the prosecution of the voyage, reach the sea outside the last bouy of the Texel, and to expire when she shall arrive and cast anchor before this city of Amsterdam or her destined port of discharge, payable xiii days at three weeks after the aforesaid discharge here, besides average and pilotage according to the custom of the sea, and over and above also hat money for the abovenamed skipper at the company's discretion. And said skipper, with and besides the company's crew, shall also make the voyage with the aforesaid ship in order to look to said ship, her appurtenances, etc., making use of the company's stores, but the monthly pay or wages not being at its charge; And he shall be, over and above, subject to the orders and instructions, articles and other rules of the company during the voyage, no more nor less than if he had been sworn to observe the same, they being taken as inserted herein, and especially also in regard to particular or private forbidden trading, in shipping or conveyance of particular or private goods, merchandizes or wares, on pain according to the aforesaid articles, orders and instructions of the said company. The abovementioned directors, parties hereunto, pledging for the payment of the aforesaid contracted monthly or freight moneys, average and pilotage, their private persons and property, and the aforesaid skipper, specially also his person, ship, appurtenances and contracted freight moneys, and generally all his other property, real and personal, present and to come without any exception, submitting the same to the court of Holland and all laws and judges, all aboveboard. Done at Amsterdam in the presence of Cryn van Seventer and Marten Hegervelt, free citizens [*poorters*] here, witnesses hereunto invited.

326. Bill of Lading of the *Spera Mundi*, 1659.[1]

I, Jan Pietersen of Dockum, skipper under God of my ship named the *Spera Mundi,* now lying ready before Curaçao with the first fair wind which God shall vouchsafe, to sail to New Netherland, where my correct unloading shall take place, acknowledge that I have received under the deck of my aforesaid ship, from you Frans Bruyn, to wit, five negroes, whereof one is a negress, all dry and well conditioned, and marked with the annexed mark. All which I promise to deliver (if God grant me a safe voyage) with my aforesaid ship at N. Netherland aforesaid, to the Hon'ble Director General Petrus Stuyvesant, or his factor or deputies on payment for the freight of the above described goods, at the discretion of the said director general, and for the performance hereof, I bind myself, and all my goods and my aforesaid ship and appurtenances. In witness of the truth, I have signed three Copies hereof with my name, all of the same tenor, the one being satisfied, the others to be void.

Written at Curaçao the 24th day of August, Anno 1659.

327. Director Stuyvesant to the Directors at Amsterdam, 1659.[1]

December 26, 1659.

. . . The Negroes purchased at Curaçao for fl. 140 to 150[2] and paid for, cannot be sold here [at New Amsterdam] again at that price, either in Beaver or Tobacco, so that all the expenses and risk of going and returning are entirely lost.

328. Director Stuyvesant to Vice-Director Beck, 1660.[1]

Amsterdam in New Netherland, 17 February, 1660.

. . . Four Negro Boys and one Negro Girl have, as you advised, been sent to, and received by me per the Ship *Sphera Mundi*;[2] 3 on mine and 2 on Commissary Van Brugge's account, their price being left to our discretion. Upon this subject I must say, that the assignment sent to me by Frans Bruyn is unsigned. However, in order to avoid any difficulty, I left this time the choice to the com-

[326] [1] *Voyage of the "St. John," etc.,* pp. 140-141.

[327] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 13: 60.

[2] From £11 to £12. A florin was more commonly called a guilder. For a comparison of the prices which were paid for slaves in New York see E. V. Morgan, "Price of Slaves in New York, 1659-1818," *Magazine of American History,* XXIX. 523, and *post,* no. 352, n. 3, no. 360, n. 1.

[328] [1] *Voyage of the "St. John," etc.,* pp. 163-167. Beck was the director located at Curaçao.

[2] These negroes had been taken from a cargo of 331 slaves which arrived in Curaçao in August.

missary who took the negro girl and one of the stoutest boys. But greater difficulties have arisen in this wise: one of the five died on the passage hither; some were sick or have become so after arriving. To prevent any misunderstanding in future, the sold negroes ought to be consigned to the purchaser by their names or marks.

As regards the price which was left to our discretion, in order to prevent any suspicion of self interestedness, I wish your Honor to inform me after the others have been sold, what price they brought.

I have observed by your dispatch to the hon'ble directors, dated 3 September, forwarded by the ship *Sphera Mundi* the 26 December last, that the negroes were sold to Mr. Corn's van Ool at 140 pieces of eight, *viz.*, from 40 to 16 years; from 16 to 12 years, three for two; under 12 years, two for one.[3]

We hope and trust that by complying with such price and terms, we shall avoid all suspicion of self interest. I am willing to take my share of the expence and risk of their passage hither, because I desired the negroes for my own service and the promotion of agriculture, not in the expectation of any gain, and therefore sent for young ones, in which regard the worthy inhabitants, christians, and those of the hon'ble company, ought, I think, to be preferred before Spaniards and unbelieving Jews.

You will see by the enclosed extracts from my letter covering yours to the hon'ble directors, what I have proposed to them. It is therefore desirable and somewhat necessary that a fixed price should be set on horses conveyed hither, or ordered from Curaçao by private persons, as well as on negroes as far as practicable, according to their ability and age, because the one as well as the other are most urgently required here for purposes of agriculture and its advancement, and finally would tend to the greater advantage, trade and prosperity of the hon'ble company and its subjects. . . .

In regard to the negroes which the hon'ble directors ordered to be sent hither, they ought to be stout and strong fellows, fit for immediate employment on this fortress and other works; also, if required, in war against the wild barbarians, either to pursue them when retreating, or else to carry some of the soldiers' baggage; it being very apparent that we shall be constrained to wage a righteous and offensive war against them, for the peaceable possession once of the land, and the avenging of numerous suffered affronts and murders. An important service would be conferred on the company, on us and the country if there were among the sold negroes, some of experience who have resided a certain time at Curaçao.

[3] This, though it is not clearly stated, undoubtedly means that the negroes were sold according to Spanish custom—not per head but per *pieza de India*. Of those from 16 to 12 years of age it took three negroes to make two *piezas de India*; of those under 12, two to make one.

329. Voyage of the *Gideon*, 1663.[1]

Charter party of the ship "Gideon" for a voyage from Holland to Africa and New Netherland.

This day, the 15th of November anno 1663, before me, Hendrick Schaef, notary public, admitted by the Court of Holland, residing at Amsterdam, and the undersigned witnesses. In their own persons came and appeared Messieurs Abraham Wilmerdoncx and Jacob Pergens, directors of the chartered West India Company, chamber of this city, authorized thereto by the gentlemen, their fellow members of the board, of the one part, and Skipper Simon Cornelisz Gilde, master (under God) of his ship named *Gideon,* of the other part, to me, the notary, well known, and declared that they had agreed and contracted with one another that the aforesaid skipper shall do his best to make ready his aforesaid ship *Gideon* as speedily as possible and barring all accidents, which may God prevent, to deliver the same without fail at the Texel, ready to sail, and to take on board such merchandise of the aforesaid company as he shall be able conveniently to stow in the hold of his ship, in the space which shall be found available after all the necessary stores for his intended voyage have been taken on board, and without receiving any freight therefor to transport the same to the coast of Africa, to Castle El Mina, or to Angola, as the honorable freighters shall be pleased to order, and that the aforesaid skipper shall there take on board, free of freight, thirty lasts,[2] or more, of merchandise, according to the amount of space available in the ship as aforesaid, and therewith to sail direct to Angola, to such places as he shall be ordered to visit by the director general and as the company's agents in Angola shall think proper. Also, that the aforesaid skipper shall there from time to time, as promptly and as quickly as possible, take on board as many slaves as he can conveniently transport; also take with him from there to Curaçao and no farther as much copper and as many elephant tusks as he can conveniently load into his ship, likewise without receiving any freight therefor, unless less than two hundred and seventy-five slaves were taken on board, in which case he shall receive as freight for the copper, elephant tusks and other wares as much as is hereinafter specified. Furthermore, he shall proceed with his slaves first to Cajana,[3] situated on the main wild coast of America, and there deliver to the company's director as many slaves as he shall be ordered to, and then depart with the rest for the island of Curaçao, and there deliver the rest to the vice director. Furthermore, he

[329] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 15: 77.
[2] One last was equivalent to two and one-half tons burden.
[3] Cajana or Cayanna, the modern Cayenne on the coast of French Guiana.

shall transport without charge from Curaçao such wares on account of the company as the vice director shall think proper and he can conveniently load into his ship, and further proceed with from three hundred to three hundred and fifty negroes to New Netherland and, having delivered the same there to the director general or his agent, be free to go with his ship where he pleases; on condition that, if on the fifteenth of August next ensuing the aforesaid skipper has not yet arrived with his slaves at Curaçao, the directors shall not be bound to send him with slaves to New Netherland, but parties shall be mutually free and released from their obligations at Curaçao. Furthermore, on arrival of the aforesaid skipper at Cajana, Curaçao, and New Netherland, his slaves shall at each place be immediately taken from board and he shall be given therefor three receipts of the same tenor, in which it shall be expressly stated how many negroes from four to eight, how many from eight to fifteen, how many from fifteen to thirty-six and how many above thirty-six years were delivered. And the aforesaid skipper shall at his own charge furnish proper food and drink to the aforesaid negroes as long as he shall have the same on board, and therefore defray the cost of food, water casks and all that shall be needed for the storage of water and victuals for the aforesaid negroes and the partitioning-off of the ship, without the directors, with respect to the food, being bound to do more than at their discretion to give orders that the aforesaid skipper, lying at anchor to take on board slaves, may obtain some refreshments from the land on the directors' account; and with regard to other expenses they shall be held liable only for such as are specified below. Furthermore, the company shall have liberty to send in the aforesaid ship one or more persons in their service to the Gold Coast, Angola, Curaçao and New Netherland, and especially a supercargo, whose wages shall be paid by the company and who must be entertained in the cabin at the expense of the skipper. Furthermore, the aforesaid skipper, fulfilling his part of what is hereinbefore written, shall receive for each day that he shall wait at Castle El Mina or on the wild coast of Cajana the sum of fifty guilders, each time to be reckoned from the day he casts his anchor at the respective places until he shall lift the same again, and further be obliged to wait at Angola, without being able to claim any lay-days,[4] until he shall have obtained his slaves; likewise he shall be obliged to wait at or on Curaçao for the space of three weeks, after the expiration of which three weeks at Curaçao he shall receive his lay-days as before at the rate of fifty guilders a day. Secondly, in case he shall not receive two hundred and seventy-five slaves at Angola as above writ-

[4] As perhaps the text makes clear, lay-days were those allowed by charter party for the loading or unloading of a vessel.

ten, he shall receive as freight for the copper and other wares loaded on board one half stiver per pound.[5] Thirdly, the honorable directors, on presentation of one of the receipts above mentioned, shall pay to the owners or their agent for each negro who shall be delivered alive on the wild coast or at Curaçao the sum of one hundred guilders and for those who shall be transported from Curaçao to New Netherland thirty guilders each, provided that those between the ages of fifteen and thirty-six years shall be counted as one negro each; that of those from fifteen to eight years down, as well as those above the age of thirty-six, three negroes shall be counted as two; and that of those below eight years two shall be counted as one. With this understanding, however, that in case he be furnished at Curaçao with other negroes than those whom he brought there, for whom a much larger reduction must be made, the proportionate loss shall be made good by decision of arbitrators, to be chosen by parties on both sides. Likewise, the skipper shall receive for all persons who shall be sent over in the service of the company, eleven stivers a day for those who (with the exception of the super-cargo) mess in the cabin, and seven stivers for those who mess on deck. Also, the honorable directors have paid to the aforesaid skipper, under guaranty, for the purchase of food and other necessaries for the negroes, the sum of eight thousand guilders, which eight thousand guilders upon his safe arrival shall be deducted from his freight charges. Furthermore, in addition to the aforesaid eight thousand guilders, they are paying a premium of eight per cent. on the aforesaid eight thousand guilders to the owners, upon condition that in case of loss or capture of the ship (which may God prevent) the aforesaid skipper and his sureties shall be held to return the aforesaid eight thousand guilders promptly and without any exception, compensation or rebate, inasmuch as for the aforesaid premium they assume the risk of the said eight thousand guilders. Furthermore, the honorable directors shall furnish the said skipper with some wrist and ankle shackles to restrain therewith the refractory negroes on board, which shackles the skipper shall be held to deliver on his arrival at Curaçao to the aforesaid directors, or here to the aforesaid company in exchange for a proper receipt. It is further stipulated that if, contrary to expectation, it be found that any one has loaded in said ship any merchandise other than that belonging to the company, the company or the aforesaid directors shall have the right to have a proper search made here or over there, as often as they please, and if it be found that the skipper or any one of his crew has carried on any illicit trade on the aforesaid coast of Africa, whether with white people or black, or that any merchandise

[5] A stiver was 1 *d.*

or cash has been taken along without permission, in whatever manner it may have been done, the same shall be subject to confiscation for the benefit of the aforesaid company. The skipper shall be bound to engage the crew upon these conditions and if the skipper himself, contrary to expectation, should upon sufficient legal evidence be found guilty of having carried on such illicit trade, he shall in addition to the confiscation of the merchandise forfeit, for the benefit as above written, his share in the ship, the freight and the proceeds of the voyage. All of which shall also take place in regard to each owner individually who shall be found guilty thereof for so far as his share is concerned and no further. It is further stipulated that the honorable directors shall within the space of four months from the date hereof not let any ship go from here to Angola, directly or otherwise, to be loaded and despatched from there before or at the same time as the aforesaid skipper; provided however that this shall not oblige the honorable directors to revoke the commissions heretofore issued, or if any ships from the coast of Guinea should have sailed thither before his arrival there to make any change in the orders issued. And it is promised that the skipper upon the satisfactory completion of his voyage shall be presented with a piece of cloth for a cape for himself and a flag for the ship, at the discretion of the honorable directors. For the performance and fulfillment of what is hereinbefore written, the aforesaid directors bind the hereinbefore mentioned sum of money in hand paid and furthermore all the company's property and effects and especially all the aforesaid negroes or the proceeds thereof, and such other goods as may be sent hither by the aforesaid company's agents in the said ship; and the aforesaid skipper binds his said ship, the freight and all the appurtenances thereof, together with his person and all his other goods, none excepted, the respective contracting parties submitting themselves to all courts and judges, and especially to the Court of Holland, without fraud, and mutually consenting that instruments in proper form be made hereof and delivered. Done at Amsterdam in presence of Isaack Ipesen and Willem de Haes, acting as witnesses hereto, also at Amsterdam.

330. The Directors at Amsterdam to the Director and Council of New Netherland, 1664.[1]

Honorable, Prudent, Worthy, Beloved, Faithful, . . . We, likewise, have been not a little astonished at the insufferable and hostile action committed by a certain English privateer in attacking

[330] [1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.,* II. 222-223.

and seizing our ship *'t Waepen van Amsterdam,* on her way from the coast of Guinea, which he carried, with her cargo of Slaves, into Virginia. And as you have sent Councillor Johan de Decker and Commissary Verlet thither to reclaim them, we are impatient to learn their return, not without apprehension that we shall hear by the first opportunity that they either were too late, or else were put off with frivolous excuses and consequently will have gone back without having accomplished anything.[2]

In our last which we enclose, you were informed that we contracted with Symon Gilde, skipper of the ship *Gideon,* to export a goodly number of slaves from Loango on the Coast of Africa, and to convey them by way of Curaçao to New Netherland; also that this city is a partner therein for one-fourth part, as may be more fully seen by the copies hereunto annexed.

As these slaves are intended solely to promote agriculture in that country, which is the only means of making that state prosperous, so it is our express order and desire, that the aforesaid slaves shall be sold there only to our inhabitants on the express condition, that they shall not be exported out of our district, but specially retained therein, to be employed in the cultivation of the soil, so that the great expense which we have incurred may not be fruitless, but that we may, in due course of time, reap the fruits which we promise ourselves therefrom. The aforesaid ship with about 300 slaves may, according to our calculation, arrive yonder in the month of June or July next.

As your Honor will be greatly relieved by this supply, you will therefore use every effort that one-third part at least of the proceeds shall be forwarded hither in beaver, in order that we may be enabled to pay the freight, or the greatest part thereof at farthest, on the arrival of the aforesaid ship here, which we are bound to do by contract. Otherwise, we shall lose all ambition to continue such transmission of slaves. This we commend to your Honor's special consideration.

And although we have also ordered you, in the aforesaid despatch, to agree amicably with the city's officers about chartering the company's sloop for the conveyance of the city's slaves to the south river,[3] yet we have subsequently resolved and determined that it should be effected here by the principals on both sides. Wherefore we have concluded to order and recommend you, in case the aforesaid sloop may be employed for that service, distinctly then to write

[2] The three following paragraphs vary slightly from the text as it is printed in the *Colonial Documents.* They are to be found in N. Y. Col. MSS., 15: 97.

[3] Delaware River.

us your advice and opinion what and how much ought to be charged for her freight, adding the reasons in support thereof, in order to enable us to make proper use of them in the present conjuncture.[4]

. . .

AMSTERDAM, this 20th January, 1664.

331. DIRECTOR STUYVESANT TO VICE-DIRECTOR BECK, 1664.[1]

AMSTERDAM IN NEW NETHERLAND,
7 May, 1664.

. . . Messrs. the directors, and the Commissioners of the Colonie on the South River, have entered into a contract with Simon Cornelissen Gilde, skipper of the *Gideon,* to transport hither a lot of negroes for agricultural purposes.[2] These negroes will, we hope, have arrived before this letter reaches your Honor, or, at least, be embarked after its receipt. We shall therefore recommend that, being properly provided, they may be dispatched hither as speedily as possible. If it happen that Simon Gilde should arrive with the negroes at the island of Curaçao three weeks or a month later than the charter party provides, say, the middle of August, the first installment might reach here before or by the middle of September from Curaçao, and the remainder by the middle of October. In that event a fair price might be realized for them.

332. TERMS OF SALE OF NEGROES, 1664.[1]

[Conditions and Terms on which the Director General and] Council of [New Netherland] propose [to sell to the] highest bidder a lot of Negroes and Ne[gresses. 29 May, 1664.]

The buyers shall immediately take possession of their purchased negroes, and may use them as bond slaves, and also sell them to others.

But whereas, the meaning of the directors is, to promote and advance the population and agriculture of this province more and more, the purchased negroes or negresses shall not be sold, carried away or transported beyond this province. Whoso acts contrary hereunto, shall forfeit for each negro or negress, One hundred Guilders, beaver value.

[4] Signed, Abr. Wilmerdonx, Dirck Spiegel.

[331] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 15: 123 b. This draft is in the handwriting of Peter Stuyvesant.

[2] A proposal for negroes for the South River colony was made Oct. 23, 1663. It was thought that 50 negroes could be obtained at 230 guilders each. *N. Y. Col. Docs.,* II. 213-214.

[332] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., vol. 10: 3, p. 227; *Voyages of the "St. John," etc.,* pp. 202-205. The bracketed words show what portions of the manuscript have been destroyed and supplied from the *Voyage of the "St. John."* The date was supplied by E. B. O'Callaghan.

Payment shall be made, one fourth part down, the remainder in September or October next, in good beaver at eight guilders the skin, or in merchandize, beaver price, or in provisions such as the Hon'ble Company may require, to be delivered here at the Manhattans at the following prices:

[Wheat at 55 stivers,
Pease at 50 stivers,
Rye at 45 stivers,
} the skepel.[2]

Salted beef at 4 stivers],
Pork at 5 stivers,
} the pound.

The purchaser shall be bound to give sufficient security.

On the foregoing Conditions, the following were the purchasers:

			Florins.
Jacobus Backer	1 Negro, for	*fl.* 555	
	1 Negress,	305	
	1 Negro,	315	
			11[75]
Dom'e Johannes Theodorus Polhemius on Colonists' Account, one Negro for			440
Nicolas Verleth, on Colonists' Account,	1 Negress, for	*fl.* 290	
	1 Negro,	395	
	1 Negress and Child,	360	
	1 Negress,	260	
			130[5]
Johannes Verveelen,	1 Negro,		[445]
Paulus Leendertsen Vande Grist,	1 Negro,		42[5]
Capt. Thomas Willet,	1 Negro,		502
[Timotheus Gabry,	1 Negro,		485]
[Mr. John Laurence,	1 Negro,		345]
Jerominus Ebbingh,	1 Negro,		485
Isaacq Fooreest,	1 Negro,		545
Jacob Leyseler,	1 Negro,		615
Nicolaes De Meyer,	1 Negro,		460
Daniel Terneur,	1 Negro,		465
Isaac Bedlo,	1 Negro,		430
Jacques Cousseau,	1 Negress,	*fl.* 335	
	1 ditto,	305	
	1 ditto,	300	940
Willem Maerschalck,	1 Negro,	*fl.* 500	
	1 ditto,	425	925
Govert Loocquermans,	1 Negress,		305
[Egbert Myndertsen,	1 Negro,		562]
Adriaen [Vincent],	1 Negress,		[255]
Carel Verbrugge	1 Negress,	*fl.* 300	
	1 Negro,	600	
			9[00]
	Total		1200[9]

[2] About twelve bushels.

333. Director Stuyvesant to the Directors at Amsterdam, 1664.[1]

. . . This day fortnight arrived here your Honors' Vessel, the *Musch* [*Sparrow*], with forty head of slaves, sent to us by Vice Director Beck to procure provisions and all sorts of timber work, fix ox carts and a new rosmill. . . .

The negroes and negresses have all arrived safely and in health, but were, on an average, quite old, and as the skipper alleges, rejected by the Spaniards. The product of the greater part appears by the accompanying account of the public vendue. They would have brought more, had they not been so old. Five of the negro women, who were, in our opinion, unsalable, have been kept back and remain unsold. In like manner, six negroes also, to help to cut the required timber and to perform some other necessary work for the honorable company.

10 June, 1664.

334. The Directors at Amsterdam to Director Stuyvesant, 1664.[1]

Honorable, Prudent, Valiant, Beloved, Faithful, We have heretofore advised you of our intention to let the ship *Gideon* go from Curaçao to the Manhattans with her slaves. Having since then, and now for the first time, remarked the hostile and treacherous designs manifested by the English towards the company's rightful conquests on the coast of Africa, where they have already mastered Cape Verd and taken 3 to 4 of the company's ships or yachts, we have come to a different determination. As your Honor also will not be left unmolested by them, for we understand that they have likewise sent 3 ships with men thither to the assistance of their nation, and as the aforesaid ship with slaves might hereby be brought into difficulty, we have thought proper to send her first to the South River, to learn there from the city's director how matters stand at the Manhattans. On learning of the arrival of this ship there, your Honor must immediately commission some one to go thither, to be present at the allotment of the negroes, and to repair to the Manhattans with the share, or ¾th the part that is to fall to the company; with this understanding, however, that if the above-named ship had not brought thither above 200 head, there shall be left to the city at least 60 head, as we find ourselves under obligation to accommodate them with that number.[2] . . .

Amsterdam the 24th of June Aº 1664.

[333] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 15: 131.
[334] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 15: 134.
[2] Signed, J. Bontemantel, David van Baerle.

335. Vice-Director Beck to the Director and Council of New Netherland, 1664.[1]

Curaçao in Fort Amsterdam,
the 21. July, Anno 1664.

Honorable, Valiant, Wise, Prudent and right Discreet Gentlemen.

Gentlemen, My last to your Honors was dated 28 April, by the Company's ship the *Musch,* which I not only hope has arrived in your parts long before your receipt of this, but ardently desire to see her return here every day.

Since then a handsome Genoese [*genuees*] ship, named the *St. Crous* [*Sta. Cruz*], arrived here on the 12th of June last from Cartagena, with One hundred and sixty thousand pieces of eight in specie, to be all invested in slaves through the factors residing here on behalf of the Genoese Company,[2] who, however up to this time have delayed doing any thing, by advice and order of their principals, in the expectation that they will have concluded a new contract with the company, and that more slaves may arrive here, so as to invest the entire capital which they have brought for that purpose in their aforesaid ship, in slaves and to carry them away at once.

On the 8th instant, arrived here safely by way of Guinea, Angola, and Cayenne, the ship *Gideon,* Simon Cornelissen Gilde, skipper, the bearer hereof, with over three hundred slaves. I was in hopes by means of these and the supply of slaves already here, to have enough to be able on the advice and order of the company, to accommodate the aforesaid factors for their abovementioned specie, as then was their intent; for they said, in case no seasonable advice or order was received from their principals and the company, that they would then contract with me for as many slaves as were here at present, and might meanwhile happen to arrive, to be paid for on delivery, in order to dispatch their aforesaid ship, which was lying here at great expense. So they were expecting that they could have availed themselves on this occasion, for their vessel, of the slaves brought hither by the aforesaid Ship *Gideon,* when the abovementioned Skipper Simon Cornelissen Gilde brought me such ample order and instructions to the contrary, that I could not dare to change them, as your Honors will please to observe by the annexed copies. Pursuant to said orders I am sending to your Honors herewith, by the aforesaid ship and skipper the number of slaves to be seen in the accompanying invoice and bill of lading to which, for brevity's sake, I refer.

And since now, for the present, no more slaves are to be expected

[335] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 17: 85.

[2] That is, Domingo Grillo and Ambrosio Lomelin, who held the contract for supplying the Spanish market with negroes. See this work, I. 105-106.

here, the aforesaid factors will have to content themselves with the slaves which have been previously brought hither on the company's account; and as many of the slaves brought here by the said ship *Gideon* are affected with scurvy, I have therefore retained the greater number of these here and embarked others in their place from among those brought in previous ships. When those are cured of the scurvy, they can be delivered, in the place of the others, to the aforesaid factors. . . .

336. Bill of Lading of the *Gideon*, 1664.[1]

I, underwritten Simon Cornelissen Gilde, skipper under God of my ship, named the *Gideon,* now lying in the Harbor of Curaçao, ready to sail with the first fair wind (which God shall vouchsafe) for the Manhatans in New Netherland acknowledge to have received between the decks of my aforesaid ship, the number of three hundred slaves, consisting of one hundred and sixty men and one hundred and forty women, all merchantable; which slaves I promise to deliver (if God grant me a prosperous voyage), with my aforesaid ship at the said Manhatans to the hon'ble director general Petrus Stuyvesant or his order, on payment of my freight for the aforesaid slaves, as agreed upon and conditioned by the charter party, and for the performance of what is hereinbefore written, I bind myself and all my property and my aforesaid ship with all its appurtenances. In witness of the truth I have signed three bills of lading, all of the same tenor, the one being fulfilled, the others are void.

Written at Curaçao, the 21st July, Anno 1664.

Symon Cornelissen Gilde.

337. Director Stuyvesant to Vice-Director Beck, 1664.[1]

Honorable, Prudent, Wise, and very Discreet Sir, Our last letter to you was by the ship the *White Horseman,* skipper Hendrick Jansen Stuyvesant, dated the 7th May last. . . .

Since then, *viz.,* on the 24th May, arrived here in safety, God be praised, the Company's ship *Sparrow,* skipper Jan Petersen Groot of Dockum, by whom I received your Honor's letter of the 28th of April, to which the following will serve as an answer.

The slaves and merchandize arrived safely according to invoice and bill of lading. . . .

I have sold the negroes that have been sent, at public auction to the highest bidder, for provisions, with the exception of six of the

[336] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 17: 86.
[337] [1] *Voyages of the "St. John," etc.,* pp. 216-221.

men, who are employed in the company's service on the works of the fort, and five negro women who, on account of their advanced age, could not find a purchaser, except at a very low figure. The remainder have been sold at prices mentioned in the annexed copy of the conditions of the sale; being, in our opinion, a tolerably fair price for such a lot. Had they been better, there is not a doubt but they would have produced a much larger amount, as may be inferred from the price of a few who were sold for 600 Guilders and upwards.

These negroes have afforded us great relief in the purchase of provisions for the garrison. Otherwise, we should have been constrained by the low state of the treasury, caused by the continued troubles, first with the barbarians, and now at present with the neighboring English, to purchase supplies by bills of exchange. . . .

In our former dispatch, duplicate whereof we here inclose, we stated among other things, if it should come to pass that Simon Gilde arrived at the island of Curaçao, with negroes three weeks or a month later than intimated in the charter party, say the middle of August, therefore the sending of the negroes hither should not be postponed, etc. Having reconsidered this, we have, for divers reasons, whereof one is, that the Right Honorable the Regents of the city of Amsterdam are interested therein one-fourth part, thought it best and most justifiable, not to make the slightest alteration in the charter party which the directors have concluded with Simon Gilde. Wherefore we request and recommend your Honor to regulate yourself by the said charter party in the forwarding of the abovementioned negroes. But as we find ourselves burthened here by an unusually strong garrison, for the support of which, exclusive of the monthly pay, we require considerable provisions, for the purchase whereof we are not well provided; we, on that account, have need, yea great need of a few slaves, in order to truck them for provisions. Yet, for reasons already given, we deem it unjustifiable to send for the said negroes, contrary to the charter party concluded with Simon Gilde.

Yet requiring a large quantity of provisions both for this place and Curaçao, as we have already stated and more fully explained, should an opportunity offer to purchase any, funds would be absolutely necessary. Wherefore we recommend this seriously to your consideration; and if Simon Gilde arrive in season, to send us as many negroes as circumstances will permit. If negroes be scarce, which however we should prefer to have for the good and advancement of the country, according to the Hon'ble Company's order, some other effects, either money or osnaburghs and other coarse linen, or any thing else that is not needed for the public service, might be spared

and bartered for provisions. If negroes, your Honor will please to bear in mind to have them sent off in time that they may probably arrive here before, or about All Saints, and that they be suitably provided against the cold.

30 July, [1664.][2]

338. The Council of New Netherland to the Directors at Amsterdam, 1664.[1]

. . . Meanwhile, God be thanked, the ship *St. Jacob* arrived here in safety on the 13th instant, from the South River, and, two days after, the ship *Gideon,* which sailed from Curaçao on the 21st of July with 300 slaves, 160 men and 140 women, whereof 9 died on the passage. This is a very poor lot; indeed the women so poor that we fear the most of them will remain on our hands, or must be let go at a very low figure, whereof more in our next. . . .

Pursuant to the contract which your Honors made with the directors of the city's colony, we have delivered by lot the fourth part of the abovementioned negro men and women, into the hands of Mr. Pieter Alrichs, commissary of Indian cargoes, and councillor of the colony of New Amstel, who has been here for some time for the purpose of purchasing oxen, cows and horses, to the number of 200 or thereabouts. . . .

The colony has received by lot for its fourth part, 38 men and 34 women. But as there were among these, as well as among those that fell to the company, many above the age of 36 years, three of them must be counted for two. . . .

This serves mainly to advise your Honors of the arrival of the abovementioned negroes who, though a very poor lot, as already stated, yet in our most deplorable state, will wonderfully relieve us, so that we and your Honors' servants and inhabitants, find ourselves greatly obliged, and gratefully acknowledge your care in the sending of the said negroes. . . .

Fort Amsterdam in New Netherland, 17 August, 1664.

(By way of the South River, per the *Eagle.*)

Receipt for the above Negroes [2]

[We the undersigned Director General and Council of New Netherland, hereby certify and declare that the bearer hereof, Symon Cornelissen Gilde, skipper, under God, of the ship *Gideon,* on the day

[2] The date printed in the *Voyage of the "St. John"* (p. 221), *1694,* is obviously a mistake.

[338] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., 15: 139.

[2] *Ibid.,* vol. 10: 3, p. 301; *Voyages of the "St. John," etc.,* pp. 223-225. The portion of the manuscript containing the bracketed words has been destroyed.

after his arrival,] being the 14th of August, hath delivered here on shore for account of Messrs. the Directors of the Incorporated West India Company, Chamber at Amsterdam, Two hundred and ninety head of negroes, to wit, one hundred and fifty three men, and one hundred and thirty seven women, among whom in all were found by impartial men as selected according to the charter party, eighty nine which were judged to be above thirty six years old; of which delivery, the abovementioned skipper, Symon Cornelissen Gilde, demanding proper receipt to serve him agreeably to his charter party, with the abovementioned directors, we have executed for him two of the same tenor, one whereof being satisfied, the other is to be null.

Done AMSTERDAM IN NEW NETHERLAND, the 30 August, 1664.[3]

339. COLONEL RICHARD NICOLLS TO CORNELIUS VAN RUYVEN, 1664.[1]

An Order to Mr. Cornelius van Ruyven, concerning the Negroes, etc., of the West India Company.

Whereas there was a certaine Number of Negroes both men and women brought from Curazo hither, the greatest part of which were sold to divers persons before the Surrender of this place, into my hands under his Ma'ties obedience, upon severall Termes and Condicons as by their Bookes doth appeare, And I being not as yet satisfied, that the said Negroes are included in the Articles of Surrender, I do hereby Order and require that all payments in Goods or Beaver, that is, or shall be due, according to the severall Sales, made of the 30th of August and 1st of September, and those also of the 12th of September following, be without fraud or Rebate really paid in unto Mr. Cornelius van Ruyven, who is to keepe what hee shall so receive, in his hands for my use, untill the Accompts shall be better adjusted, and in the meane time, that no discount (as to the

[3] Stuyvesant in accounting to the company for his surrender of New Amsterdam on the appearance of the English offered as one reason the scarcity of supplies: "14 to 16 days before the arrival of the frigates, there arrived and came, in the ship *Gideon* between 3 and 400 half-starved Negroes and Negresses who alone, exclusive of the garrison, required 100 skepels of wheat per week" (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, II. 430). To this the company replied: "Finally, the aforesaid Stuyvesant says: That the scarcity of provisions was caused, among other things, by the arrival of the ship *Gideon* with between three and four hundred Negroes. Truly, also, a flimsy excuse. For, besides the number not being so large, one-fourth of them had been delivered to the officer of the city's Colonie on the South river, who took his departure with them for the South river three days after the arrival of the frigates because he saw the shape things were taking in New Netherland and around the government; and the remainder were sold shortly after, so that he had not to provide for them." *Ibid.*, II. 495.

[339] [1] N. Y. State Library *Bulletin,* History No. 2, p. 122 (May, 1899), General Entries, 1664-1665. Colonel Nicolls had taken possession of New Amsterdam on Sept. 8, 1664. On Oct. 13 Sir Robert Carr, at Delaware Fort, wrote to Colonel Nicolls: "I have already sent into Merryland some Neegars which did belong to the late Governor att his plantation above, for beefe, pork, corne and salt, and for some other small conveniences, which this place affordeth not." *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, III. 73.

said Negroes) be Allowed of upon any pretence of the West India Companyes Debts, or any other, till I shall give further Order therein.

Given under my hand this 26th day of October 1664 at JAMES FORT ON MANHATANS ISLAND.

340. SIR JOHN WERDEN TO WILLIAM DYER, 1676.[1]

30th of November, 1676.

. . . Secondly the deputy govern'r of the R'll Company tells me that that Company only pretend to the first empcion [importation] or transportacion of Negroes out of Guiny, and when they are once sold in Barbadoes, Jamaica etc. by them or their factors, they care not whither they are transported from thence; for the more are carryed of, the more againe wilbe wanting; and therefore you need not suspect the Company will oppose the introduceing of black Slaves into New Yorke from any place (except from Guiny) if they were first sold in that place by the Royall Company or their agents.[2]

341. ORDER IN COUNCIL ON CAPTAIN BILLOP'S APPEAL, 1685.[1]

At the Court at WHITEHALL
the 23d of December 1685.

Present: The Kings most Excellent Majesty in Council.

Upon reading a Report from the Right Hon'ble the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations in the words following

May it please Your Ma'ty, In obedience to your Majesty's Order in Council of the 4th of December 1685. Wee have examined the petition of Captain Christopher Billop[2] complaining that having consigned from Nevis some Negroes and other Goods to Mr. John Injohns of New York, the said Negros and Goods or the effects of them were attached at New York by Mr. John West Attorney to Mr. John Bawden and others of London[3] where the said West ob-

[340] [1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.,* III. 245-246. Dyer was collector at New York. The Royal African Company had been established and its monopoly proclaimed by the king between the dates of the preceding document and this one.

[2] Apr. 16, 1678, Governor Andros reported: "Some few slaves are sometimes brought from Barbados, most for provisions and Sould att abt 30 *li* or 35 *li* Country pay." *N. Y. Col. Docs.,* III. 261.

[341] [1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.,* III. 366-367.

[2] Capt. Christopher Billop's petition (*ibid.,* pp. 365-366) adds to this account a few further items about his difficulties. He stated that as commander of the *Deptford* he had, in June, 1682, captured the *Providence,* a London interloper, under Capt. George Nantor. The *Providence* with all that belonged to her was shortly after condemned in the admiralty court at Nevis. Some time after the condemnation he sent negroes to John Injons of New York. The point at issue, that is, whether the negroes sent to New York were removed by him from the *Providence,* he ignored. For an account of his difficulties in the West Indies see this work, I. 276-279; also *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1681-1685, p. 441; *Acts P. C. C.,* 1680-1720, pp. 38-39, 89.

[3] In the petition John and Thomas Temple of London were named as Bawden's associates.

tained Judgem't against the Pet'r for eleaven hundred and forty pounds Sterl.; from which sentence or Judgement the said Injohns desired to Appeal, which was refused; And therefore praying that the Mayor of New York may bee ordered to stop all proceedings there, and to send over an Appeal for a final determination before your Majesty. Whereupon wee most humbly Offer our Opinion that your Majesty bee pleased to admit the pet'rs appeal before Your Ma'ty in Council from the said sentence in such manner as is desired by the pet'r within four months after notice given of your Ma'ty's pleasure the pet'r having first given security here for the summ of Two Thousand Pounds to your Ma'ty to bee levied upon the Petitioner's Estate both Real and Personal, as well in Your Ma'ty's province of New York in America, as in England or elsewhere, to answer such determination in his said appeal as your Majesty in Council shall award. And that in the mean time all proceedings against the said Billop in relation to this matter doe cease.

All which is most humbly submitted.

His Ma'ty in Council the same, and being graciously pleased to admit of the pet'rs Appeal hath this day thought fit to Order That the matter of the said appeal bee, and the same is hereby appointed to bee heard before His Ma'ty in Council within four months after notice hereof shall bee given to the Mayor of New York, who is to transmit to this Board an account of all proceedings in his Court relating thereunto. And it is further ordered that in the mean time all Proceedings against the said Capt: Billop or his Agent relating to this matter doe cease; Hee having this day given security here, according to the Report, to answer such Determination in the Appeal, as His Majesty in Council shall award. Whereof the said Mayor of New York, or the Mayor thereof for the time being and all others concerned are to take notice, and give obedience hereunto. And Colonel Thomas Dungan His Ma'ty's Governor of New York is hereby directed to take care and give order that all things bee performed accordingly.

342. Petition of the Royal African Company to the Court of Admiralty, 1687.[1]

To the hono'ble John Palmer Esq. Judge of his ma'ties Court of admiralty.

Sheweth and Informeth to your hon'r the Royall African Company of England,

That Whereas his late Ma'tie Charles the second for the supporting and manageing of a trade very beneficiall to his ma'ties Kingdome

[342] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., vol. 34:2, p. 77.

of England and his ma'ties Forreigne plantations upon the Coasts of Guinney, Bueny, Angola and other parts and places In Africa From the port of Sally in Barbary inclusive to the Cape de bona Esperanza inclusive By his Letters pattents under the great seale of England beareing date the 27th day of Sept'r In the four and twentieth yeare of his Reigne did Incorporate diverse of his Loveing Subjects by the name of the Royall African Company of England And did thereby grant unto the said Company the whole Intire and only trade Into and from Africa aforesaid and the Islands and places near adjoineing to the Coasts of Africa and Comprehended within the Limitts aforesaid with prohibition to all other his ma'ties subjects to trade there. And Whereas the Kings ma'tie our Sovereigne Lord that now Is with the advice of his privy Councill by his proclamation beareing date att Whitehall the first day of Aprill 1685 In the first yeare of his Reigne did publish and declare his Royall will and pleasure to be and did thereby strictly prohibite and forbid all and Every of his ma'ties Subjects whatsoever (Except the said Royall African Company of England and their Successors and such as should be Employed and lycensed by them) att any time or times thereafter to Saill or Navigate any ship or ships vessell or vessells or Exercise any trade to or from any of the parts or Coasts of Africa from Sally to Cape de bona Esperanza or any of the Islands near adjoineing thereunto as afd [aforesaid] or from thence to Carry any negro Servts Gold Elephants teeth or any other goods and merchandizes of the product or manufacture of the said places upon paine of his ma'ties high displeasure and the forfeiture and Loss of the said negroes Gold Elephants teeth and all other goods and merchandizes and the ships and vessells which should bee taken Or found tradeing in any place or places upon the Costs of Africa af'd within the limitts abovesaid. And did thereby also strictly Requyre and command all his Gov'rs Deputy Gov'rs admiralls vice admiralls Generalls Judges of his Courts of admiralty comanders of his Fortts and Castles Capt's of his Royall ships etc. and all other his officers and min'rs Civill and military by sea or Land in Every of his said American Dominions and plantacions to take effectual Care that noe person or persons whatsoever within their respective limitts or Jurisdictions Except the said Company and their Successors and such as should bee Employed and lycenced by them, should send or navigate any ships or vessells or Exercise any trade from any of his said dominions or plantacions to any parte of the said Coasts of Africa within the Limitts aforesaid or from thence to Import any negroe Servants Gold Elephants teeth or other goods of the product of these parts Into any of his dominions or plantations of America as by the said proclamacion Relacion being

thereunto had may now fully and att Large appeare.[2] *Notwithstanding* which One Robert Allison[3] not being of the said Royall African Company nor Imployed nor lycensed by them, not being ignorant of the premisses butt his ma'ties said Letters pattents and the will and pleasure of our said Lord the King with the advice of his privy Councill af'd so published and declared In manner Above Expressed not mindeing nor Regardeing on or about the 20th day of [*blank*] in the 3d yeare of his now ma'ties Reigne did Import into this his ma'ties Dominion and plantation of Newyorke four negroe Servts 2127 (two thousand one hundred and seven and twenty) pound of Elephants teeth and 107 (one hundred and seven) pounds weight of Bees wax Beeing the product and manufacture of the parts and places in Africa within the Limitts comprehended in his ma'ties Letters pattents af'd In contempt of his ma'ties Letters pattents his ma'ties proclamation af'd and the lawes and Customes in that behalfe made had and used, *Whereupon* the said Royall African Company af'd pray the consideration of this Court and that the said negroes Elephants teeth and bees wax may be adjudged to bee forfeited According to the tenure forme and Effect of his ma'ties Letters pattents his ma'ties said proclamacion and the Lawes and Customes in that behalfe had made and used as aforesaid.

343. The Board of Trade to the Earl of Bellomont, 1698.[1]

. . . We send you also here inclosed the deposition of Humphrey Perkings of New Yorke, which we caused to be taken for the same reason.[2] It relates to a voyage from New York to Curasso some years ago in a ketch whereof one Smart was master and Colonel Depeyster owner; that you may make what use you can of it, either

[2] The instructions to Governor Dongan, May 29, 1686, contained the usual exhortation to encourage all trade, especially that of the Royal African Company, and then added: "And you are to take care that there bee noe trading from the Province of New York to any place in Africa within the Charter of the Royal African Company. And you are not to suffer any ships to bee sent thither without their leave or Authority" (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, III. 374, sect. 56). Similar instructions were sent to the New York governors throughout the century.

[3] This was doubtless the same Robert Allison who, as supercargo on the *Fortune*, in 1697, traded with the pirates of Madagascar. Jameson, *Privateering and Piracy*, p. 186.

[343] [1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, IV. 413. The same account is to be found in a report on the affairs of New York, made by the Board of Trade on Oct. 19, 1698 (*ibid.*, p. 390). Richard Coote, earl of Bellomont, governor 1698-1701.

[2] The Board of Trade was endeavoring to collect any and all material which bore upon the colonial trade with pirates. Closely akin to this was the trade for Madagascar negroes, in which New York had been engaged since 1686, when the *Mariner's Adventure* was permitted to enter New York and discharge her cargo, after her master gave affidavits that he had not been in the territory of the Royal African Company and offered security for any claims which it might make (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1685-1688, pp. 220, 231, 232, 253). A further account of the investigation of this trade and of Bellomont's efforts to bring it to an end is to be found in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, IV. 304, 319, 325, 388-389.

in troubleing those concerned for what is past, or preventing the like (as much as possible) for the future. But upon occasion of this Perkings it is fit that we acquaint your Lordships a little particularly with his story. He was master of a vessell called the *Frederick* sloop belonging to Mr. Frederick Philips,[3] and (since your Lordship's being there) was sent out under the conduct of Adolphus Philips to cruise for a vessell expected from Madagascar, which vessell they accordingly met, and having taken great quantitys of East India Goods out of her and put them on board this sloop, Adolphus returned in the Madagascar ship with nothing but Negroes to New York. In the mean while this sloop went and lay privately in Delaware Bay till Adolphus came againe from New Yorke to them, and then sent her away (under the conduct of one Jay a Frenchman) North about Scotland to Hamburgh. But at Hamburgh S'r Paul Ricaut his Majesties Resident getting notice of such a vessell with such a cargo, seized what he found and sent the men hither, who have all of them made depositions about the circumstances of the whole voyage. . . .

WHITEHALL, October the 25, 1698.

344. COLONEL FLETCHER'S ANSWERS TO THE COMPLAINTS AGAINST HIM, 1698.[1]

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Council for Trade and Plantations.

May it please your Lordships, . . . Glover[2] was an inhabitant of New York and master of a ship built there, and then riding in the harbour; he had another of the like sort. . . .

As for Glover he went directly, as I heard, with a loading to Barbadoes, and there tooke a new Commission from the Governour, and was thence sent for Negros to Madagascar, and that he was there taken by the Pirates. . . .

I say the same thing in the case of granting a commission to Moston.[3] The case (as I recollect) was thus. There were severall English and Dutch merchants of New Yorke who had hired the

[3] Frederick Philipse, owner of Philipse Manor, which he received from Governor Fletcher, accumulated much of his fortune from the tempting trade with pirates which had its headquarters in Madagascar (Jameson, *Privateering and Piracy,* p. 182). For an account of his life see E. H. Hall, *Philipse Manor Hall,* pp. 45-81.

[344] [1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.,* IV. 446. Benjamin Fletcher was governor of New York from 1692 to 1698, during which period the colonial trade with pirates had its heyday (Jameson, *Privateering and Piracy,* p. 167 n.).

[2] Fletcher was defending himself from the charge that he had granted privateering commissions to several well-known pirates. For Glover's arrival in the region of piratical activities see Jameson, *Privateering,* pp. 183-185.

[3] Capt. Thomas Mostyn.

ship *Fortune,* to fetch negroes from Madagascar, as was every year usuall with them.[4] . . .

London, December 24th 1698.

345. Representation of the Board of Trade, 1699.[1]

To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty, . . . The 10th Article is: That Colonel Fletcher granted also a like commission to Thomas Moston Commander of the ship *Fortune,* an unfree bottom, tho' it was then evident that the said ship was not designed for any service of war, but for illegal trade, and the sequel demonstrated it accordingly.

In answer to this article Colonel Fletcher acknowledges that he granted the said Commission to Captain Moston upon the desire of several merchants who had hired the ship to fetch negroes from Madagascar; but denies his knowledge that the said ship was an unfree bottom: the evidence of which, as it lyes before us, consists of the information given us by the Earl of Bellomont that the said ship was known to all men to have been formerly a Dutch privateer; also in the copy of her Charter party of affreightment, by which she is hired to lade other goods as well as Negroes; likewise by the cargo she took in publickly at New Yorke, which the Earl of Bellomont writes was goods proper for the pirates; and in the last place by her seizure and confiscation for illegal trade upon her returne thither. . . .

Whitehall, March the 9th 1698/9.

346. The Earl of Bellomont to the Board of Trade, 1699.[1]

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for
Trade and Plantations.

My Lords. . . . But rather than require more soldiers from England (for I confesse I grudge our parting with people out of England) I should advise the sending for negros to Guinea, which I understand are bought there and brought hither all charges whatever being borne for 10£ a piece New Yorke mony, and I can cloath and feed 'em very comfortably for 9*d.* a piece pr. day sterling money, which is 3*d.* pr. day lesse than I require for the soldiers. If it were practicable for the King to be the merchant and that whole manage-

[4] It is small wonder that Madagascar traffic in negroes attracted ambitious traders. Ten shillings expended in English goods was said to purchase a negro in Madagascar, while on the West Coast the price had long been from £3 to £4 and at the end of the century was rapidly rising. Charles Johnson, *A General History of Pyrates* (1726), II. 104.

[345] [1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.,* IV. 482.

[346] [1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.,* IV. 506.

ment of this undertaking were upon his account, which I confess I am not able to judge whether it be (as I said) practicable or would be pleasing to the Nation; but were it so, there would be a profit of at least £50 pr. Cent made of the goods sent over hither and to the other plantations for defraying the charge of making and providing the Stores. . . .

NEW YORKE, Aprill the 17th 1699

347. THE EARL OF BELLOMONT TO THE BOARD OF TRADE, 1699.[1]

BOSTON, August 24th 1699.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of
Trade and Plantations.

My Lords. . . . I desire to be directed by your Lordships whether I may not lawfully require bonds of all the ships that go from hence and New Yorke on trading voyages, that they shall not goe to Madagascar nor elsewhere, where pirates frequent. I know 'tis a thing sometimes practised to take the Governors passe for one port or place and sail to another. And that trick was served me last summer at New Yorke by Baldridge[2] and Taylor who fitted out a Briganteen, and took my passe for Antegoa, but I was told their designe was for Madagascar or Guinea; when the briganteen was at Sea, whether with or without the privity of the forementioned Owners I cannot tell, she turn'd pirate and went to Newfoundland and robb'd ships.

Now that I have had occasion to mention Baldridge, I will acquaint your Lordships with a particularity told me of him by Kidd,[3] when I first examined him in Council, because you had directed in your Letter of the 25th of last October or 5th of last January, that I should inquire after some pirates kill'd in St. Maries near Madagascar. I question'd Kidd about it, and he told me Baldridge was the occasion of that Insurrection of the Natives and the death of the pirates, for that having inveigled a great number of the natives of St. Maries, men, women and children on board a ship or ships he carryed and sold them for slaves to a French Island called Mascarine or Mascaron, which treachery of Baldridges the Natives on the Island revenged on those pirates by cutting their throats. . . .

BOSTON August 24th 1699.

[347] [1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, IV. 552.

[2] For Capt. Adam Baldridge's own account of his dealings with pirates see Jameson, *Privateering*, pp. 180-187.

[3] It will be remembered that Captain Kidd's privateering voyage of 1695 was arranged with Bellomont in London before Bellomont sailed for New York. For Kidd's story see *ibid.*, pp. 190-256.

348. Heads of Accusation against the Earl of Bellomont, 1700.[1]

32. The Earle of Bellomont in justification of these proceedings calumniates the people of New York of being Pirates and favourers of Piracy and breaking the Acts of navigation whereas it is evident that but one ship has for ten years past gone from thence on a Piraticall voyage and that was pretended to be commissionated by Leisler; 'Tis true that severall ships have had a constant trade to Madagascar for Negroes and some of them having lately met with India goods there which they bought at easy rates transported them to New York.

These are what I am informed by the Merchants of London will appear to be true.

March 11, 1700.

349. The Earl of Bellomont to Secretary Vernon, 1700.[1]

N. York the 6th Decr. 1700.

. . . As to the charge against me for suffering the ship *New York Marchand* to come hither after having been at Madagascar, I have inquir'd ab't it, and the story of that ship is this: Frederick Philips her owner had appointed her to stop at Delaware Bay, wch is 50 leagues westward of this Province, and there his son met her in the *Frederick's* sloop, takes out all her E. India goods and sends the *Frederick's* sloop and goes to Hamborough (the story whereof you know) and come to this town in the *N. York Marchand.* Upon notice of the ship's coming in (for the sloop I never heard of till from your selfe) I sent imediately to search the *N. York Marchand,* where there was nothing found but a parcel of Negros, and the trade for Negros to Madagascar was not then under a prohibition, not untill the E. India Act passed in England.[2] I defie all mankind to charge me justly wth any sort of corruption in the least degree or wth any connivance or partiality shew'd to one man or party more than another. . . .

350. Depositions of William Johnson and Peter Lockcourt.[1]

Wm. Johnson being Examened Declareth That He was One of the Seamen and marriners On Board of and belonging to the Pink

[348] [1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.,* IV. 623. Signed, John Key.

[349] [1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.,* IV. 816; see *Cal. St. Col.,* 1700, pp. 718-719. James Vernon was Secretary of State.

[2] The act of 1698 gave to the East India Company a virtual monopoly of trade in lands east of the Cape of Good Hope, which would of course bring Madagascar under its control. As a matter of fact this island had always been considered as within the territory of that company. *Statutes of the Realm,* III. 514.

[350] [1] N. Y. Col. MSS., vol. 34: 2, p. 39. The date of these depositions is not certain, but since they relate in part to further dealings of Frederick Philipse in slaves they are placed here.

Charles Whereof Robert Godingham was master when She Came into this Port of New Yorke and that he was Shipped by the Sayd master at the Isle of May [2] in the month of October Last Past and that Peter Lockcourt was Shipped att the Same tyme And the Sayd master Agreed and Promised to Pay him fourteen Guild'rs Hollands Money As he payd Other men per month that himsellfe and the Sayd Peter Are Dutchmen and when they Came On Board they found with the master and Boy but fiveteen In all besides them Belonging to her of which two were Scotshmen and one Dutchman Called the Doctor, the Rest English and that they went from the Sayd Isle of May for Angola In Guiny and by the way one of the Scottsmen Dyed Soe the Whole Ships Company with them Remained Sixteen in all That Att Guiney they Received On Board About One Hundred and fourty Negroes which in Or About the month of Aprill Last Past they Landed att the Island of Barbados Except About tweenty three which were Sick and of them but Nine Remained Alive who were brought into the Sound and Eight of them Put Ashore with the Long boat neer About Rye and Delivered to Mr. Frederick Philips his Sonne and the Other being A Negro boy was Sent to this Citty in the Boate of Cornelis Fransen with a Sack or Bagg of Pepper twelve Or more Pewter Dishes and Some Peeces of Striped Stuff for hankercheifs which were Delivered from On Board the Sayd Pink when She was in the Sound under Sayle bound In hither that the Same men that Sayled in the Sayd Pink from the Isle of May for Guiney And Barbados where the Same That Came in her To this Porte Except One Scotsman that Dyed and besides the master and Boy were in all fourteen marriners with the Doctor and of them three were Dutchmen and One James A Scottsman He Sayth further that Att Stanford att the house of Capt. Selleck there was Delivered On there out the Sayd Pinke about One Hundred and Tweenty Water Caskes One New Sheat Cable One Small Cable Or Hasser four great gunns Six Musketts two New Sayles two great Anchors and A great Quantity of Negro Bread and further Sayeth not.

Peter Lockcourt being Examened Sayth and Declareth that he was Shipped On Board The Pinke *Charles* by Robt. Godingham Master thereof to be payd as he Sayd he Payd the other men That Is to Say fourteen Guilders Hollands Money per month and went in her the Voyages mencioned in the Above Deposcion of Wm. Johnson and Agrees with him in Relateing the Severell Passages both Con-

[2] Isle of May, one of the Cape Verde Islands.

cerning the Quality and Number of the Marrin'rs and Landing of Negros and goods etc.

351. NEGROES IMPORTED INTO NEW YORK, 1701-1726.[1]

An Acco't of what Negro Slaves have been Imported into His Majesties Province of New York as taken from the Custom House Books between the year 1701 and this present year 1726.[2]

Year	*From the West Indies*	*From the Coast of Africa*	*Year*	*From the West Indies*	*From the Coast of Africa*
1701	36		Forward	382	556
1702	165		1718	447	70
1703	16		1719	104	
1704	8		1720	81	
1705		24	1721	76	117[6]
1710		53	1722	106	
1711[3]		55	1723	82	
1712		77	1724	61	
1714	53[4]		1725	54	59
1715	17[5]	38	1726	180	
1716	19	43			
1717	68	266		1573	822[?]

2395 Totall.

[351] [1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, V. 814. On June 24, 1726, the Board of Trade wrote to Governor Burnet that it had no accounts of the number of negroes imported into New York or New Jersey, and wished them for as long a period as he could obtain them (*ibid.*, V. 780). The detailed list of New York importations, drawn from the Naval Officers Lists, will be found at the end of this section, no. 369.

[2] The New York duty on negroes at the beginning of the eighteenth century was 15 *s.* if they were imported directly from Africa, £1 10 *s.*, if indirectly (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1701, p. 567). In 1709 a duty of £3 was laid on those slaves not brought directly from Africa. Du Bois, *Suppression of the Slave Trade*, p. 205.

[3] "New York, Yesterday Capt. Jarret arriv'd here from Guinea with 74 Negroes" (*Boston News Letter*, Oct. 15, 1711). Not all the negroes intended for New York arrived there. The sloop *Berry*, Walter Scott commander, from Jamaica to New York, with 48 negroes, was seized by a Martinique privateer in November, 1711. *Ibid.*, Jan. 14, 1712.

[4] If this is correct the item in the *News Letter*, Aug. 23, 1714, is in error: "New York Aug. 16. Arrived here are . . . Nathanael Vial from Jamaica in a Sloop, 'tis said he has 90 Negro's on Board."

[5] The report of negroes brought from the West Indies and from Africa did not tell the whole story. On July 25, 1715, Governor Hunter reported to the Board of Trade the passage of an act "to exempt Hana Martin, Doctor Christr. Cooper and Mr. George Smith from the payment of the Tax for 12 Negroes imported from South Carolina" (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, V. 419). From 1715 on compare this list with no. 369.

[6] Note in manuscript, "Entered from the Coast of Africa but found afterwards to have been from Madagascar." One projected importation is described in the following letter from Cadwallader Colden to a Dr. Home, Dec. 7, 1721: "S'r, I am oblidged to you for your kinde offer of buying for mee three or four slaves and that in so doing you will particularly consider my intrest. Please to buy mee two negro men about eighteen years of age I designe them for Labour and would have them strong and well made. Please likewise to buy mee a negro Girl of about thirteen years old. . . . in the bill of lading putt one on my account of risque another on my wife's and a third on Saundys that wee may have Less trouble with the duty." *Colden Papers*, I. 51.

N. B. That all the Negroes in the foregoing Account have been Imported by Private Traders and that none have been imported during that time by the African Company.

ARCH'D KENNEDY Coll'r

NEW YORK, 16 Decemb'r 1726

352. NEW YORK CUSTOM-HOUSE ENTRIES, 1706-1732.[1]

Date	Master	Voyage
1706, Oct. 28	Davis	Outward bound for Guinea
1711, Oct. 15	Jarrat	Entered out for Guinea
1714, Dec. 20	Jacobs	Entered out for Guinea
1715, Nov. 14[2]	Jacobs	" " " "
1722, Dec. 17	A. Jarrat	Outward bound for Africa
1723, Nov. 4[3]	Edward Sanders	Entered in from Africa and Jamaica
1732, Aug. 28	Farmer	Outward bound for Africa
Sept. 25	Payne	Outward bound for Africa

353. THE SOLICITOR GENERAL TO THE BOARD OF TRADE, 1713.[1]

December 22, 1713.

As to the Act for laying a duty on negroes, wine, rum and other spirits, cyder and vessels, Tho' this Act will expire March 10th, 1713; yet I submit to yr. Lordship's consideration how far it may be proper for them at Pensylvania to lay a duty on negroes, wine, rum all shipping, etc. and how far it may affect His Majesty's subjects here of which your Lordships are most proper judges. . . .

[352] [1] The entries come from the *Boston News Letter,* the *Boston Gazette,* and the *Weekly Rehearsal,* for the dates given; the actual customs entry is frequently a few days earlier than the date of the paper, which is the date here given.

[2] The *News Letter* for Aug. 15, 1715, contained notice of the arrival of Jacobs from Africa on Aug. 8. That this list is far from complete will be seen by a reference to the figures in *ante,* no. 351, as well as by the casual references in the newspapers. "New York, Aug. 26. Capt. Lawrence arrived from Guinea, three months Passage; we daily expect a Ship and a Sloop from thence with more Slaves." *Ibid.,* Sept. 2, 1717.

[3] Prices of seasoned negroes in New York about 1690 ranged from £16 to £25. Their labor commanded from £5 to £6 a year (*Papers of the Lloyd Family,* I. 115, 147). On Jan. 27, 1723, a negro girl of seventeen was offered for sale for £45; on Apr. 19, a girl of twenty for £45; on Aug. 1, a negro man and girl for £50 and £60 respectively, on Sept. 24, a girl for £50; and on Oct. 21, a girl with a four-year-old child for £75 (O'Callaghan, *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts,* II. 476, 477, 479, 481). Inventories of 1729 and 1730 value negro women at £35, £40, and £45. By this time their labor was commanding £8 and £9 a year. *Lloyd Family,* I. 258, 261, 271, 307, 311.

[353] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1712-1714, p. 270. Robert Raymond was the solicitor general. The act here referred to is the Pennsylvania act of 1712, laying a duty of £20 on negroes imported into that colony. *Statutes,* II. 433-436; repealed, Feb. 20, 1714, see *ibid.,* p. 543.

354. News Item relating to Slave Trade, 1723.[1]

Philadelphia, August 29 [1723].

By Capt. Stockin who arrived here last Week from Barbadoes, we have advice that a Sloop belonging to New York, was arrived there from Guinea, and that the Captain died on that Coast. And that the Sloop was hired to go down to Jamaica with Slaves.

355. Governor Burnet to the Board of Trade, 1726.[1]

New York, 20 Decr. 1726.

My Lords, . . . I send your Lordships herewith an account of Negroes imported to New York since 1700, which is all that could be found. There are bonds here in the Custom House for those that came directly from Africa, but no Agent of that Company has been of late appointed to demand their dues, which possibly it may be a favour in your Lordships to let the Directors of that Company know, that they may employ some body to demand their ten pr. Cent.

If I get the account from East New Jersey before this vessel sails, I will likewise enclose it. There are few Negroes, if any, imported in West New Jersey, but it is not possible for me to get an account from thence to be sent by this opportunity; but I shall obtain it as soon as can be. . . .

I have just received an account of Negroes from the Collector of Amboy, which I likewise enclose to Your Lordships. . . .

356. President Van Dam to the Board of Trade, 1731.[1]

New York, 2d November 1731.

*May it please Your Lord'pp*s, . . . 7. An Act to explain part of an Act, entituled, an Act to repeal some parts and to continue and enforce other parts of the Act therein mentioned and for granting several duties to His Majestie for supporting his Govern't in the Colony of New York from the 1st day of September 1728. until the 1st day of Sept'r which will be in the year 1733.[2]

The reason I had My Lords for the passing of this Act, I humbly beg leave to explain, and were these: a Ship belonging to

[354] [1] *Boston Gazette*, Sept. 9, 1723.
[355] [1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, V. 811, 814.
[356] [1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, V. 927. Rip van Dam was acting governor of New York 1731-1732.
[2] This act laid a duty of five ounces of Seville pillar or Mexican plate, or 40*s.* in bills of credit, on every negro imported from Africa, and £4 on those imported from any other place (Add. MSS. 33028, p. 250). The act of 1728 was discussed by the Board of Trade, along with several other colonial acts of similar import, and a recommendation that duties be raised by some other means was sent to the colonial governors in October, 1729 (*B. T. Journ.*, 1728-1734, pp. 64-68). The *Weekly Rehearsal*, Nov. 27, 1732, contained an account of the representation of the board copied from the *Political State of Great Britain*, for August, 1732.

this Colony with a considerable number of Negroes on Board her, in her voyage from Africa, touched at Antegua to purchase some provisions and Refreshments but landed none of her Slaves there, and then came to the Province of New Jersey, where there is no duty paid for any Slaves imported, but the owner of the vessel being desirious to import the greatest part of them into this province, if he might be allowed to pay only the duty of five ounces of plate for every head, which seemed to be a doubt in the Act for the settling the Revenue above mentioned being, it was said the ship did not come directly from Africa altho' the intention of the Legislature in that former Act was only to encourage the African Trade and so laid a double duty on slaves imported here from the West Indies, which are generally Refuse and very badd and could hardly be applicable to such slaves coming from Africa and had been nowhere landed although the ship had stop't at some other Port for refreshment before she arrived here; I therefore considered that if I did not pass that Law, none of the Slaves would have been brought hither which would have been a considerable loss to the Revenue and might have encouraged the bringing them in clandestinely, whereby the duty would have been defrauded; so that nothing but these considerations made me consent to that Law. . . .

357. The Board of Trade to the Privy Council, 1735.[1]

To the Rt. Hon'ble the Lords of the Committee of
His Majesty's most Hon'ble Privy Council

My Lords, We have considered the humble petition of the Merchants and Traders of the City of Bristol, whose names are thereunto subscribed, referr'd to us by Your Lordships on the 1st day of November 1734 complaining of an Act pass'd in His Majesty's Province of New York intituled, "An Act to repeal the Act and to cancel the Bills of Credit therein mentioned, and grant unto His Majesty several duties for supporting His Majesty's Government in the Colony of New York until the first day of September which will be in the year 1737."

We have been attended upon this occasion by the Agent for the Petitioners and have heard what he had to offer in support of their petition and having considered the said Act and taken the advice of Mr. Fane one of His Majesty's Council at Law thereupon we take leave upon the whole to observe to Your Lordships that by the fol-

[357] [1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VI. 32-33. Signed, "Fitz Walter, T. Pelham, Ja. Brundenell, R. Plumer."

lowing Clauses of this Act it is provided that there shall be paid to his Majesty for every slave, (male or female) "of four years of age and upwards, imported directly from Africa, the quantity of five ounces or Sevil Pillar or Mexico Plate, or forty shill: in Bills of Credit made current in this Colony.

For every Negro, Mullatto or Indian Slave (male or female) of four years of age and upwards imported from all other places by land or water, the sum of four pounds in like money. . . ."

As these clauses are greatly prejudicial to the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom, and are likewise expressly contrary to His Majesty's Instructions to the Govr of New York, by which he is directed not to pass any Act for imposing Duties upon Negroes payable by the Importer, or whereby the Trade or Navigation of this Kingdom might be any ways affected, unless a clause be inserted in such Act for suspending the execution thereof 'till his Majesty's pleasure should be known concerning the same, we should for these reasons propose to Your Lordships that the Act in question might be laid before His Majesty for his Disallowance.

But considering the Inconveniences and Confusion that might arise in the province of New York if this Act which settles funds for the support of His Majesty's Government there should be repealed before other provisions are made for the same purposes, we therefore humbly propose that this Act may be suffered to ly by for the present, and that orders may be immediately sent to His Majesty's Govr of New York to move the Council and Assembly of that Province forthwith to pass a New Law for repealing the three foregoing clauses and for providing and settling other Funds for the like purposes not liable to the same objections.

We take leave to transmit to Your Lordships the Draught of such an Instruction as we have prepared upon these heads for the Govr of New York, which, if Your Lordships should approve it, may be immediately sent to him. But if the Council and Assembly of New York shall refuse to comply with this Instruction, we should then propose that the Act in question may be laid before His Majesty for his Disallowance.[2]

WHITEHALL Augst the 6th 1735

358. ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS TO GOVERNOR COSBY, 1735.[1]

[WHITEHALL, August 6, 1735.]

Whereas several Merchants and Traders of Our City of Bristol have most humbly petitioned us complaining of an Act pass'd in our

[2] See *Acts P. C. C.*, III. 422-423.

[358] [1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VI. 33-34. William Cosby, governor 1732-1736.

Province of New York entituled "An Act to repeal the Act and to cancel the Bills of Credit therein mentioned and to grant unto his Majesty several Duties for supporting His Majesty's Government in the Colony of New York until the 1st day of Sep'r which will be in the year 1737," laying a Duty of five ounces of Plate or 40*s* current mony of New York upon every slave (male and female) of four years of age or upwards imported directly from Africa and four pound like mony upon every slave of the same age from any other place for all European or East India Goods Imported with proper certificates from the British Islands in the West Indies, the sum of five pounds in like mony for every £100 value prime Cost which Act having been examined by our Commissrs for Trade and Plantations is found to be directly contrary to the 18th Article of Your Instructions whereby you are expressly forbid to pass any law by which the trade or Navigation of this Kingdom may be any way affected declaring it to be our Royal Intention that no Duties shall be laid in the province under your Government upon British shipping or upon the Produce or Manufactures of Great Britain upon any pretence whatsoever. It is therefore Our Express will and pleasure that you move our Council and Assembly of our said Province forthwith to pass a New Law for repealing the three foregoing Clauses and for providing and settling other Funds for the like purposes not liable to the same objections, or at least that an Exception be made in favour of all Goods whatsoever of the Product or Manufacture of Great Britain; and that no Duty be laid on any Slave Imported payable by the Importer, and you are also to signify our Royal Intention to our Council and the Assembly of our said Province that if they do not immediately comply with this our Instruction we shall repeal the Act now complained of.[2]

[2] Instructions similar to these went to most of the colonial governors from this time to the end of the century. See *Acts P. C. C.*, IV. 210, for those to Sir Danvers Osborn, Aug. 10, 1753.

359. The Council of New Jersey to Governor Lewis Morris, 1744.[1]

8th Decr. 1744.

Sir, . . . The next Bill rejected by the Council, was, A Bill for laying a Duty on Indian, Negroe and Mollatto Slaves, imported into this Colony.

This Bill the Council considered abstractedly from any Instructions your Excellency has in relation to the African Company, which many of the Gentlemen of the Assembly we suppose are not unacquainted with, and only weighed the Advantages and Disadvantages that would arise to the People of this Colony upon that Bill's passing into a Law. By that Bill was plainly intended an intire Prohibition of all Slaves being imported from foreign Parts, no less than a Duty of Ten Pounds being imposed on all grown Slaves imported from the West-Indies, and Five Pounds on all those directly imported from Africa. Upon the most mature Consideration the Council were of Opinion, that if that Bill, or any other Bill, discouraging the Importation of Slaves, should at this time pass into a Law, the People of this Province in general (a few Labourers only excepted) and the Farmers in particular, would be great Sufferers by it, and that for the following Reasons.

1. It is well Known, that a great Number of Labourers went out of this Province on the late Expedition to the West Indies, and that very few of them have returned; That many, for some Time past, have been going, and still are going, on the Privateering Account; by which Means Labourers Wages are become very high, and the Farmers, Trading-Men and Tradesmen, are greatly straitened for want of Labourers to carry on their Business.

2. It is also well Known, that since the Manufacture of Linnens has arrived to any tolerable Perfection in Ireland, we have had very few Servants or Labourers from that Island, and have no Reason to expect many for the Time to come.

3. The present War throughout the German Dominions, and between almost all the Powers on the Continent of Europe, give us Reason to expect no Assistance from that Quarter. And as our Sovereign is deeply engaged in a war with many powerful Princes,

[359] [1] *New Jersey Archives,* first ser., VI. 222-223, XV. 384-385. Lewis Morris, governor of New Jersey 1738-1746. In March, 1714, New Jersey laid a duty of £10 on all negroes imported into the colony, the duty to be imposed for seven years (*ibid.,* first ser., XIII. 541). The reason for the measure Governor Hunter alleged to be the desire to "Encourage the Importation of white Servants for the better Peopeling that Country, a Law something like that in Pensilvania haveing evidently had that effect" (Governor Robert Hunter to the Board of Trade, Aug. 27, 1714, *ibid.,* first ser., IV. 196). In 1739 the New Jersey assembly passed a new duty measure, which was rejected by the council (*ibid.,* XV. 30, 31, 50); in 1744 the assembly renewed its efforts and on Oct. 24 sent to the council a bill which that body rejected on the 26th. *Ibid.,* pp. 343, 345, 351.

we have as little Reason to expect any Number of Servants from the Island of Great Britain. Wherefore we conceive, that it would be more for the Interest of the People of this Colony to encourage at this Time the Importation of Slaves, than by a Law to prohibit them altogether, and therefore we rejected that Bill.[2]

360. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1751-1762.

May 13, 1751.[1]

To be Sold at Publick Vendue, on Friday the 17th Instant, at 10 o'clock in the Morning, at the Meal Market.

A number of likely Negro Slaves, lately imported in the Sloop *Wolf* directly from Africa. Those that are not disposed of on that Day, will be sold at publick Vendue the Friday following.

August 19, 1751.[2]

Likely Negroes Men and Women, imported from the Coast of Africa, also the Brigantine *Warren,* with her Apparel, etc. to be sold by Thomas Greenell.

New-York November 25 [1751].[3]

We hear Capt. Amory a few Days ago, spoke with Capt. Miller in the Ship *Hawke,* of this Port, from the Coast of Guinea; who had been several weeks on our Coast, and were very short of Provisions.

[2] Cadwallader Colden, in a letter to Micajah Perry which was probably written in 1731, explains the high cost of labor in New York by "the high rate at which Negro's are sold being at about double of their value in the West Indies and Secondly the Great Charge of mentaining them especially in cloaths by reason of a long Winter in which time likewise they can be of little use." *Colden Papers* (N. Y. Hist. Soc., *Collections,* 1918), II. 32.

[360] [1] *Valentine's Manual* (1866), p. 677, from *New York Gazette,* May 13, 1751. In May, 1751, James Cox sold two negroes brought from the West Indies for £46 each. C. M. Hough, ed., *Reports of Cases in the Vice Admiralty of New York* (1925), pp. 73-74.

[2] *Valentine's Manual* (1866), p. 684, from *N. Y. Gazette,* Aug. 19, 1751. On May 23, 1749, Governor Clinton wrote to the Board of Trade that fewer slaves than formerly were coming in from the African coast (*N. Y. Col. Docs.,* VI. 510). Anthony Benezet, in his *Historical Account of Guinea* (1771), pp. 119-121, quotes from the anonymous diary of a surgeon who was on a New York slaver in 1750.

[3] *Boston Post Boy,* Dec. 2, 1751. The vessel here mentioned, or another *Hawk,* under Captain Waynman, returned to New York from a Guinea voyage in August, 1750 (*News Letter,* Aug. 16, 1750). New York had another connection with the slave trade which sometimes affected legislation. Cadwallader Colden, making plans for the raising of revenue, wrote to Governor Clinton on Aug. 8, 1751: "it [a duty on wines and spirits] can be of no disadvantage to Trade, except in one instance, *vizt.* in the exportation of Spirits from North America to the Coast of Africa, for purchasing of Slaves, in which case, if thought necessary, the duty may be drawn back." *N. Y. Col. Docs.,* VI. 745.

NEW YORK, May 4, 1752.[4]

To be Sold by Abraham Pereira Mendes, a Parcel of Likely young Negroes, Piemento, Old Copper, Coffee, etc. at the House in Smith's Fly, lately in the Occupation of Roger Pell, Inn keeper. N.B. If any Person has a Mind to purchase any of the Goods mentioned, they may enquire of Mr. Daniel Gomez.

ANTIGUA, March 14 [1761].[5]

On Thursday was brought into the Road of Bassaterre, a Sloop bound from New-York for the Coast of Africa.

NEW YORK, May 25 [1761].[6]

By a Letter from the Coast of Africa, dated 27th of February, we learn of the Arrival on that Coast, of the Schooner *Little Betsey,* Capt. Richards, Brig *Polly,* Aaront King, a Schooner, Capt. Shaw; Sloop, Capt. Molton; Brig, Capt. Nicholls, all of New York. . . . Capt. Shaw was taken, and ransomed for 100 Guineas.

NEW YORK, August 10 [1761].[7]

By Capt. Lyell from the Coast of Africa, we have advice, that Capt. Nicoll, of this port, was not cut off by the Negroes, as was some time ago published; but that he lost 40 of his slaves by an insurrection and saved his vessel.

NEW YORK, October 5 [1761].[8]

Sunday last Capt. Nicoll, whom we lately mentioned to be taken on the Coast coming from Guinea, came to Town from Rhode Island, where he arrived in a Sloop of Capt. Turrel's [Tuell?] given him by the Captain of the French Privateer. It was on the 8th of September, in Lat. 35 20; Long. 67 00, That Capt. Nicoll was taken,

[4] *Valentine's Manual* (1866), p. 710, from *N. Y. Gazette,* May 4, 1752. Captain Mersyer arrived in New York May 12, 1754, after a Gambia voyage. *News Letter,* May 23, 1754.

[5] *News Letter,* Apr. 9, 1761. An examination of the *New York Mercury* reveals the following clearances for Africa from New York: 1760, Feb. 4, schooner *Little Betsey,* Abram. Sleet; Feb. 18, sloop *Ruby,* John Chenevard; Mar. 31, snow *Africa,* Robinson Hicks; Apr. 7, sloop *Sally,* Thomas Davis; Oct. 6, brig *Polly,* Arent King; Oct. 13, schooner *King Tontamaca,* George Shaw, *Little Betsey,* Roger Richards; Nov. 4, sloop *Brothers,* Samuel Miller; Nov. 17, brig *Agnes,* John Nicoll; Nov. 24, sloop *Mary,* Jacob Morris. *New York Gazette,* 1761.; Feb. 12, snow *George,* Peter Corne, schooner *Catharine,* John Lewis; July 16, sloop *Generous Kilby,* Thomas Farmer; 1762, Dec. 30, Cooper. The entries from Africa were: 1760, June 20, schooner *Africa,* James Chetham; Aug. 11, sloop *Sally,* David Griffith, Aug. 18, schooner *Little Betsey,* Abraham Sleet.

[6] *News Letter,* June 4, 1761.

[7] *Ibid.,* Aug. 20, 1761. A report reached Boston in September that a vessel bound from Guinea to New York with 80 slaves had been seized by a French privateer. *Ibid.,* Sept. 24, 1761.

[8] *Ibid.,* Oct. 15, 1761.

the Privateer Sloop had 10 Guns, with a gilt Stern, and belonged to Martinico, commanded by one Semina, who was so base as to strip him, and the Passengers of every Thing worth Notice: The Privateer had been out 21 Days, in which she had taken six Prizes, two of them Guinea Men; and that she intended to go off the Coast immediately, having met with bad Weather just before, in which he lost his Boat and Some Guns.

On Tuesday Morning last arrived the Sloop *Sally,* Michal Molton, Master, of this Port. On the 2d of July last he sailed from Annamabo on the Coast of Africa, with 128 Slaves: and on the 1st Instant in Lat. 28, 24, N. Long. 38, 27 W. from London, he was taken by a French Privateer Sloop belonging to Martinico, of 10 four-pounders and 110 Men, called the *Phenix,* Monsieur Mouchell, commander: and after taking out all the slaves and plundering the Sloop, they permitted him to proceed in her (being a dull sailer) to New-York. The Privateer had before taken 4 other Vessels, and then made the best of their Way to Martineco.

NEW YORK, Feb. 4, 1762.[9]

A Schooner belonging to this Port, Lewis Master, we hear, was lately cut off by the Negroes, on the Coast of Africa. Capt. Lewis is arrived at St. Kitts, Master of a Sloop lately commended by Capt. Handy, of this Place, who, with all his Crew, died on the Coast some time since.

361. PETITION OF THE MERCHANTS OF PHILADELPHIA, 1761.[1]

A Petition from the Merchants against the Bill for Duty on the Negros.

To the Honourable James Hamilton, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, etc.

The Petition of Divers Merchants of the City of Philadelphia, Trading to His Majesty's Coloneys in the West Indies,

Humbly Sheweth: That we are informed there is now a Bill Before your Honour for your assent, laying a Duty on the importation of Negros, and that it is to take place immediately on the publication.

[9] *Ibid.,* Feb. 4, 1762.

[361] [1] *Minutes of the Provincial Council,* Pennsylvania Archives, VIII. 576. On Feb. 28, 1761, a bill for laying a duty on negroes and mulatto slaves imported into the province was presented to Deputy Governor Hamilton for his concurrence. He returned the bill with a reprimand for having named in it the officer of enforcement, and with an amendment postponing its operation for six months after passage. His suggestions were accepted and in its final form the measure became a law on Apr. 11, 1761 (*ibid.,* pp. 578-579, 583, 596, 601; *Pa. Arch.: Papers of the Governors,* fourth ser., III. 60-61). In 1767 John Penn, deputy governor, reported to the Earl of Shelburne that this duty, £10 per head, had yielded for the preceding three years £650 annually. *Ibid.,* p. 343.

We, the subscribers, ever desirous to extend the Trade of this Province, have seen, for some time past, the many inconveniencys the Inhabitants have suffer'd for want of Labourers and artificers, by numbers being inlisted for His Majesty's Service, and near a total Stop to the importation of German and other white Servants, have for some time encouraged the importation of Negros, and acquainted our friends and correspondents in several parts of His Majesty's dominions (who are no Way apprehensive of a Bill of this Nature), that an Advantage may be gained by the Introduction of Slaves, which will Likewise be a means of reducing the exorbitant price of Labour, and, in all probability, bring our Staple Commoditys to their usual prices; And as many of us have embarked in this Trade through the motives before mentioned, We humbly beg your honour will take into consideration the hardships we shall Labour under by such a Law taking immediate effect, when we have it not in our power to countermand our Orders or advise our friends; therefore humbly pray that such time may be allowed (before the Law takes place) as your honour shall think most Conducive to extricate your petitioners from the impending danger.

JOHN BELL,
HUMPHRY ROBINSON,
REED AND PETTIT,
WILLIAM COXE,
CHARLES BATHS,
PHILIP KEARNEY, JR.
JAMES CHALMERS,
JOSEPH WOOD,
WILLING, MORRIS AND CO.
THOS. RICHE,
DAVID FRANKS,
HU. DONNALDSON,
BENJAMIN LEVY,
HENRY HARRISON,
JOHN AND JOS. SWIFT,
JOHN NIXON,
DANIEL RUNDLE,
FRANCIS AND RELFE,
STOKER AND FULLER,
SCOTT AND MCMICHAEL,
JOHN INGLIS,
DAVID MCMURTRIE,
SAML. AND ARCHA. MCCALL,
JOSEPH MARKS.

PHILADELPHIA, 1st March, 1761.

362. NOTICE OF NEW JERSEY SALES, 1761-1764.

May 21, 1761.[1]

To be Sold by Stocker and Fuller, and to be seen at Mr. Daniel Cooper's Ferry, West New-Jersey, opposite the City of Philadelphia, a Parcel of likely Negroes.

May 28, 1761.[2]

Just imported from Barbadoes, in the Ship *William and Mary,*

[362] [1] *N. J. Arch.,* first ser., XX. 569, from the *Pa. Jour.,* May 21, 1761.
[2] *N. J. Arch.,* first ser., XX. 573, from the *Pa. Gazette,* May 28, 1761.

George Nicholson, Master, and now lodged at Mr. Daniel Cooper's Ferry, on the Jersey Shore.

A Negroe Man, and two New Negroe Boys, who are to be sold by Willing, Morris and Company. The Purchaser to pay the Duty lately imposed by Act of Assembly, if brought into this Province.

Aug. 6, 1761.[3]

To be Sold, On Board the Schooner *Hannah,* lying in the River Delaware, very near Mr. Daniel Cooper's Ferry, West New Jersey, opposite the City of Philadelphia, a Cargo of likely Negroes, just imported in said Schooner, directly from the Coast of Guinea. For terms of sale apply to Thomas Riche, David Franks, or Daniel Rundle.

Oct. 22, 1761.[4]

Just imported in the Sloop *Company,* Captain Hodgson, from the Coast of Africa, A Parcel of Likely Negroe Slaves; Which may be seen on board said Sloop, lying off Cooper's Ferry. For Terms, apply to Samuel and Archibald M'Call, and James Wallace and Company.

May 27, 1762.[5]

Just imported from the River Gambia in the Schooner *Sally,* Bernard Badger, Master, and to be sold at the Upper Ferry (called Benjamin Cooper's Ferry), opposite to this City, a parcel of likely Men and Women Slaves, with some Boys and Girls of different Ages. Attendance will be given from the hours of nine to twelve o'clock in the Morning, and from three to six in the Afternoon, by W. Coxe, S. Oldman, and Company. N.B. It is generally allowed that the Gambia Slaves are much more robust and tractable than any other slaves from the Coast of Guinea, and more Capable of undergoing the Severity of the Winter Seasons in the North-American Colonies, which occasions their being Vastly more esteemed and coveted in this Province and those to the Northward, than any other Slaves whatsoever.

[3] *N. J. Arch.,* first ser., XX. 598, from the *Pa. Jour.,* Aug. 6, 1761.

[4] *N. J. Arch.,* first ser., XX. 621, from *Pa. Gazette,* Oct. 22, 1761. Miss Gummere quotes a comment of Anthony Benezet of Philadelphia, which may have been made concerning this cargo: "Those Negroes that were brought last year up the River and sold on the Jersey Shore opposite this City (Philadelphia) were probably of the Fully (Fuli) Nation" (Amelia M. Gummere, ed., *Journal of John Woolman,* p. 30). It may be remembered that Job ben Solomon (this work, II. 420-427) belonged to the Fulis, a people more closely related to the Arabs than to the pure blacks. Since they were rarely made slaves, Benezet is probably mistaken in thinking that any large number of Fulis had been imported in this cargo.

[5] *Journal of Woolman,* p. 30, from *Pa. Jour.,* May 27, 1762.

Sept. 20, 1764.[6]

Just imported in the Brigantine *Africa*, Francis Moore, master, from the coast of Guinea, and to be sold by Thomas Riche, In New Jersey, opposite Philadelphia, A few likely Negro men, women, boys and girls, very reasonable for cash or short credit. N.B. The said Riche will attend the Sale from 10 to 1 o'clock, and from 2 till 5 in the afternoon.

363. Governor Josiah Hardy to the Board of Trade, 1762.[1]

Perth Amboy Jany. 20th 1762.

My Lords, . . . I found by these minutes that they intended bringing in a bill to lay a small duty on Negroes imported into this Province, but on a message from me acquainting them that his Majesty's instructions would not allow my assenting to such a Bill, they dropt it; but at the same time they represented to me the inconvenience the Province is exposed to in lying open to the free importation of Negros, when the Provinces on each side have laid duties on them; for which reason great Numbers of Negros are landed in this Province every Year in order to be run into New York and Pensylvania besides overstocking this Country with Slaves of which in the general opinion there are already too many. They have therefore desired I would lay this matter before your Lordships, as they look upon it as a great hardship, I could therefore wish Your Lordships would please to take into consideration and intercede with his Majesty to grant them such relief as in his wisdom he may think fit.[2]

[6] *N. J. Arch.,* first ser., XXIV. 422, from *Pa. Jour.,* Sept. 20, 1764.

[363] [1] *N. J. Arch.,* first ser., IX. 345-346. Governor Hardy (1761-1762) repeated the substance of this communication in a letter to the Earl of Egremont Jan. 22, 1762. *Ibid.,* p. 348.

[2] The governor's warning did not prevent the assembly from laying a duty on negroes in September, 1762 (*ibid.,* XVII. 333-336). On May 2, 1763, Hardy wrote to the Board of Trade: "By the *Intrepide* Man of War I send the Bills passed at the last Sessions of the General Assembly of this Province in September, there is among them one entituled an Act for laying a duty on Negroes and Mulatto Slaves Imported into this Province, which I would not give my assent to without a suspending Clause not to take effect untill His Majesty's Pleasure shall be known, it may be proper likewise to inform Your Lordships that the reason for laying a higher duty in the Western division than in the Eastern, is that in the Province of Pennsylvania the duty is Ten Pounds proclamation on all Slaves imported, and in New York only Two Pounds currency; this consideration induced the Assembly to make such a difference in the two divisions" (*ibid.,* first ser., IX. 382-383). The measure laid a duty of £2 in the eastern division of the province; £6 in the western division. Since the law could not go into effect until it received royal confirmation, New Jersey continued without a duty, and advertisements for small lots of negroes are not unusual in 1763 and 1764. On July 13, 1764, the Board of Trade wrote to the new governor, William Franklin: "As we have no particular Objection to the Policy of imposing a reasonable duty upon the importation of Negroes, we should have been glad to have laid the Law passed for that purpose before His Majesty for his approbation, but as the Duty is laid payable by the Importer, and a part of it is reserved in Case of re-exportation, it appears to us to be contrary in both these respects to the 26th Article of Your Instructions." This opinion was reported to the coun-

364. John Watts to Gedney Clarke, 1762.[1]

New York, 30th March 1762.

Sir, . . . He [Governor Robert Monckton] mentions to me your Scheme[2] but as I take it for granted to be now all at an end little will be necessary to say on the occasion, but that I should not have had nor still have any objection to be concernd in it, if they sell reasonable which I cannot imagine they will as things are represented to me. For this market they must be young the younger the better if not quite Children, those advanced in years will never do I should imagine a Cargo of them none exceeding thirty might turn out at fifty pounds a head gross Sales. Males are best. Such a Number as you mention we cannot easily vend, from fifty to a hundred would run high enough, but Virginia could take off a great many. Our Duty is four pound a head from the West Indies forty shillings from Africa. New Jersey pays none at all for which reason the Master might lay a mile or two below the Town and send up word.[3] . . .

365. John Watts to Gedney Clarke, 1762.[1]

New York 3d April 1762.

Sir, . . . This will barring the Danger of Sea and Enemy, be delivered you by Capt: Joseph Bragg of the Sloop *Deborah* belonging to Mr: Astin. Upon considering the perplexed Circumstances I was in, I could think of no better Method than to take the Cargo

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cil on May 22, 1765. Apparently no further action was taken immediately, but in 1769 New Jersey placed a duty of £15 on every imported negro sold in the province, thus virtually putting an end to all slave trade into New Jersey. *Ibid.*, IX. 346 n., 447, XVII. 385.

[364] [1] *Letter-Book of John Watts, Merchant and Councillor of New York* (N. Y. Hist. Soc., *Colls.*, LXI.), pp. 31-32. John Watts had extensive dealings with the West Indies, South Carolina, and Virginia. Gedney Clarke, son of Francis and Deborah Clarke of Boston and Salem and brother of John Clarke of Salem, was an active merchant of Barbados and at one time surveyor of customs of the Leeward Islands. His interest in Massachusetts is indicated by the fact that he presented to Christ Church of Boston (Old North Church) a chime of bells. Watts's many letters to him bespeak an intimate business connection. He was also a constant correspondent of Henry Laurens, many of whose letters to him will be found in this work, vol. IV., South Carolina.

[2] Apparently the scheme was for Clarke and Watts to unite in sending a vessel to Africa for slaves for the northern market. On Jan. 2 Watts wrote to Clarke that Astin, a Barbados debtor of his, had sent a sloop to New York with a rum cargo which was to be sold in New York. The sloop was then to be returned to Astin for a voyage to Guinea (*ibid.*, p. 7). That trading in slaves was not new to Watts is shown by the entry for 1751 in the list of New Jersey importations, *post.*, no. 370.

[3] "The Dutys on Rum, Wine and Negroes have heretofore supported our Civil List" (John Watts to James Napier, June 1, 1765, *Letter-Book*, p. 355). The remainder of the letter is concerned with shipments of rum and with the unsatisfactory conduct of Astin, located at Essequibo, about whom and to whom Watts frequently wrote. On May 9 Watts wrote: "I take it for granted [you] have not succeeded in your Scheme for purchasing Negroes, nor indeed any thing else, by the best accounts we can get." *Letter-Book*, p. 45.

[365] [1] *Letter-Book of John Watts*, pp. 36-37.

to myself, a Bottomry Bill on the Sloop, for what may be about the Ballance of my Acct: and send both to you to do as you judge right and fit on all Sides; both as I understand you to be Mr. Astin's friend and as it is proper you should know the grounds upon which I proceed, I send you a Copy of Messrs: Maxwell and Udnys Letter to me and another to Capt: Lowell which paint things in such abominable Colours that I am determined to settle my Affairs with that Gentleman while it is in my Power, and decline any farther intercourse least I should hereafter be dragg'd into a repetition of these vexatious Inconsistancys.

He first proposed that I should fit the Sloop properly for a Guinea Voyage credit him for a Loading and send her to Esequebo, she was accordingly so fitted a Cargo on board (not all that she has at present) and on the point of sailing, when I received Maxwell and Udneys Letter which put an end to that Scheme.

If this proposal faild I was next to take a freight for Barbados if such a thing could be obtained, and if that faild too and nothing better offerd I was even to return her to him in Ballast, so intent was his mind upon the Guinea Voyage after he had persuaded Capt: Bragg to undertake it, who has a thorough experience in that Business. There is a kind of an intimacy between Messrs: Maxwell and Udny and Capt: Bragg, and as soon as he came to understand their representation of Mr: Astin he trembled to think of returning to Esequebo upon Mr: Astins strength only, for fear of being shut up there and both disappointed and deceivd too as he had been before, this led him willingly to throw himself upon your protection, in hopes that something more effectual might be done than he believ'd Mr: Astin could carry through.[2] . . .

366. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1763-1767.

New York, July 25, 1763.[1]

Saturday last Capt. Roger Richards arrived here from Africa, in 8 Weeks; where he left the Capts. Waterman and Easton of Connecticut; and Farmar from New-Brunswick.

[2] The remainder of this letter and the next three or four deal with the affairs of the unfortunate Mr. Astin, but there is no further mention of a Guinea voyage in conjunction with him.

[366] [1] *Newport Mercury,* July 25, 1763. The *New York Gazette* yields the following clearances to Africa: 1764, Feb. 9, sloop *Little David,* Thos. Cornwell; Aug. 2, snow *Charming Nancy,* Francis Haynes. To these can be added the *Gambia,* John Campbell (*Letter-Book of John Watts,* p. 214); 1765, Aug. 1, sloop *Sarah,* John Reynolds. The *Success,* Richards, and the schooner *Nelly,* Devonshire, entered from Africa on June 27 and Oct. 3, 1765.

NEW YORK, Feb. 10, 1766.[2]

Capt. Perry, in the snow *Nancy,* from Africa to Santa Croix, of this port, after sailing the second time from the island of St. Thomas, on that coast, being six days out, sprung a leak, which encreased on them so much, that they were glad to quit their vessel, taking with them all their slaves, in number 59, and went on board a Marblehead vessel, and arrived safe at Barbados.

NEW YORK, Dec. 30 [1766].[3]

The Captains Harrison and Arskine of this Port, are both dead on the coast of Africa.

LONDON [1767].[4]

They write from Senegal, that the crew of the snow *Juba*, of New-York, had mutinied against the captain and officers at Sierraleon, whom they sent on shore in the long boat, but the snow was three days after recovered by one of his Majesty's cruizers.

367. SLAVES BELONGING TO THE MORAVIANS OF PHILADELPHIA, 1766.[1]

Negro Slaves and Servants belonging to the Members of the Moravian Congregation in Philadelphia, in 1766.

John Rebo, b. 1721, in Angola, Guinea, Africa. In 1733 taken to Jamaica, W. I., and in 1737 to New York. Baptized Oct. 19, 1747, by Bishop J. C. F. Cammerhoff. . . .

Silpa Fortune (baptized 1761, Anna Elizabeth), b. Jan. 1, 1730.

Tobias, b. 1721, in Ibo Nation, Africa, brought to America in 1763.

Woodridge, b. 1748, in Guinea, Africa, taken to Barbadoes, W. I., 1756, and to Philadelphia in 1764.

Dinah, b. 1740, in Guinea, Africa, brought to Philadelphia in 1756.

Flora, b. 1725, in Ibo Nation, Guinea, Africa, brought to Pennsylvania in 1735.

Rose, b. 1726, in Guinea, Africa, brought here in 1736. . . .

[2] *Newport Mercury,* Feb. 10, 1766. Captains Logan and Hamilton (who may have been New York or Philadelphia captains) were reported on the coast in 1765. *News Letter,* July 4, 1765.

[3] *Mass. Gazette and News Letter,* Jan. 9, 1766.

[4] *Newport Mercury,* July 20, 1767.

[367] [1] *Notes and Queries relating to Interior Pennsylvania,* I. 215. Those slaves born in this country have been omitted from the list, the interest of which to this work is in the unusual attempt to make some record of birth of African slaves, and of their landing in America.

368. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1770, 1797, 1805.

New York, November 29 [1770].[1]

On Wednesday the 21st Inst. arrived here the Sloop *Amity,* Captain David Harrison, in 6 Weeks from the River Gambia. He brings Advice, that Captain Morrison, late of the Brig *Elizabeth,* (belonging to London, but which sailed from this Port about June last) together with his whole Crew, died in that River, where the Brig remained when Capt. Harrison left it.

Philadelphia, February 23 [1797].[2]

A cause of considerable interest, to the credit of our government, and to the credit of the Jurisprudence of this State, was tried in the district court on Monday; it appeared that the *Lady Walterstorff,* a ship belonging to New-York [3] arrived in the Delaware a short time ago, and upon proper information, she was libelled with her tackle, cargo, etc. under a law of the United States prohibiting the traffic in men.[4]

Upon the seizure of the vessel, two of the unfortunate Africans, that had been stolen from their native country, were found on board, together with several suits of iron such as hand-cuffs, neck yokes, leg-bolts, etc. packed up carefully in casks, and written documents completely authenticating the detail of the voyage to Africa, from the first equipment at New-York to her coming into this port, after the sale of a cargo of one hundred and fifty men, it appeared that the ship after leaving New York, took a lading at St. Croix, where they obtained a set of Spanish papers, and under a foreign flag pursued the traffic along the coast of Africa, and returned with the slaves to the same port, where they were all sold, saving only the two persons found on board; one of whom a man nick named Bacchus was brought forward at the trial, he could speak no language but that of his native country, the other, a woman, is hired as a domestic in the Jerseys, both having been liberated. The ship is confiscated and the penalty

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[368] [1] *Mass. Gazette and News Letter,* Dec. 7, 1770.

[2] *Newport Mercury,* Mar. 1, 1797. New York had not forbidden the trade to her citizens and New York merchants were disposing of slaves in the West Indies, as occasional bits of evidence make unmistakable. The *Union,* Batty (?), of New York arrived at Surinam from Africa on July 11, 1791 (*Salem Gazette,* Sept. 6, 1791). The brig *Eliza,* Barnard, cleared for Africa on Aug. 8, 1792, the *Trusty* and the *Union* entered from Africa on Sept. 26 and Nov. 7 of that year (*N. Y. Jour.,* Aug. 8, Sept. 26, Nov. 7). Among the New York merchants engaged in this traffic were Lynch and Stoughton, correspondents of Perkins and Burling of Cape François (Briggs, *Cabot Family,* II. 481, 482). The *Concord* of New York was captured by the French at the Isles de Los in 1799. *Charleston Gazette,* Oct. 30, 1799.

[3] New York had apparently no desire to acknowledge the ownership of this vessel: "New York, March 16. The brigantine *Lady Walsterstorff* lately seized in the port of Philadelphia for a breach of the laws of the United States, it is said is not the vessel called by that name belonging to that port." *Newport Mercury,* Mar. 21, 1797.

[4] Mar. 22, 1794: "An act to prohibit the carrying on the slave trade from the United States to any foreign place or country." *Statutes at Large,* I. 347.

incurred by the law will be levied on the owner, who is a man of opulance.[5]

July 10, 1805.[6]

The brig *Washington,* capt. Harner, from Philadelphia to the west coast of Africa, was cast away on a reef of rocks off Cape Vine, on the 10th day of May and the brig and cargo lost, but all hands saved and taken prisoners. Capt. Harner came passenger in the sloop *Juliet,* from Goree to Charleston.

[5] "Philadelphia, March 9. Yesterday the brig *Lindamen,* Captain M'Leran, was seized (on her applying to be cleared out for Santa Cruz) for contravening the law of the United States prohibiting vessels from fitting out in America for the purpose of supplying foreignors with slaves. She is supposed to be owned by the same persons who owned the *Lady Walterstoff,* the ship recently condemned for the like practices. On searching this brig a great quantity of hand cuffs, chains and other shakles were discovered, as well as muskets, swords, shot, standards for net work, etc. some concealed in the well room, and the rest among the ballast." *Newport Mercury,* Mar. 21, 1797.

[6] *Charleston Courier,* July 10, 1805. This vessel continued in the slave trade, though not in the hands of the Philadelphia owners: "The brig *Washington,* formerly of Philadelphia, but purchased on the Coast by capt. Trask, was cut off by the natives at Ryie, in the River Gambia, on the 1st October. Two of her crew were killed, and one made his escape. The captain was on shore during this transaction. She had on board 38 slaves" (*ibid.,* Jan. 10, 1807). The fact that no New York nor Philadelphia vessels appear in the list of those delivering cargoes of negroes in Charleston between 1804 and 1807 by no means proves that there were no vessels from these two cities engaged in the slave traffic, but rather suggests that they found greater profit in selling in the West Indies. In 1805 the *Benjamin* of New York, Captain Newell, with slaves for Havana, was captured (*ibid.,* May 3, 4, 1805, Dec. 27, 1806). The *Bellona,* 106 days from Africa and in want of food and water, reported on Dec. 27, 1806, was a New York ship.

369. Negroes imported into New York, 1715-1765.[1]

JUNE 24—DEC. 25, 1715.

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
July 21	*Marg't and Mary* of this Port	Philip Boyles	Sloop	This Prov. 1706	here 31 Oct. 1706	Jno. Vanbrough, Jno. Vanhorn and Abram Wendell of N. Y.	3	Barbados
Aug. 2	*Anne and Mary* of this Port	Tho. Jacobs	"	Prize Condemn'd here 1712	here 30 May 1712	Rip Vandam, Anthony Linch, Allex. Moore and Anthony Ruttgers of N. Y.	38	Coast of Africa
Aug. 9	*Success* of Barbados	Wm. Gibons	"	Rd. Island 1712	There 6 Aug. 1712	Benja. Dixon, John Smith, Wm. Martindale of Barbados	1	Surenham and Barbados
Aug. 16	*Nevis* of Nevis	Jos. Barker	"	N. Engld. 1714	Nevis July 13, 1715	James Emra of Nevis	5	Nevis
Sep. 28	*Jno. and Mary* of this Port	Hen. Couzins	"	This prov'c 1714	N. London 12 Nov. last	Jno. Bradick and John Conley of N. Y.	2	Barbados
Oct. 8	*Royall Anne* of London	Tho. Taylor	Ship	N. England 1714	Boston Sept. 20, 1714	Sd Master and James Gilbert of London and Jno. Gilbert of Boston	3	Madera and Jamaica
Nov. 7	*Hope* of this Port	Wm. Clarke	Barque	Prize Condemned at Boston 1712	here 10 Dec. 1712	Andr. Freneau, Chas. Cromline, Abr. Vanhorn and Benjamin Funnel of N. Y.		Barbados

DEC. 25, 1715–DEC. 25, 1716.

Mar. 14	*Prince George* of Liverpool	Tho. Murgatroyd	Ship	Liverpool 1714	There Apr. 1, 1715	Rich'd Kilsal, Math. Page, Tho. Murgatroyd, Sam'el Richardson and David Tanker of Liverpool	3	Barbados

[369] [1] C. O. 5: 1222, New York. The New Jersey importations follow, no. 370. These lists, drawn from the Naval Officers Lists, are intended to include all vessels which brought any negroes into the colony. The returns were usually made on Mar. 25, June 24, Sept. 29, and Dec. 25, but for considerations of space they are here consolidated by years. The frequent references from later to earlier entries of the same vessels are not enclosed in brackets.

Apr. 24	*Hope* of this port	Sam'l Payton	Barque	Prize Condemn'd at Boston 1712	here 10 Dec. 1712	Benja. Funnel, Andrew Freneau, Cha. Cromline and Abram Vanhorn of N. Y.	2	Jamaica
May 17	*Mary and Hannah* of this port	Owen Carthy	Sloop	New Jersey 1715	here 7 Sept. last	Will'm Waldron and Andrew Joline	4	Campechey
June 2	*Anne and Mary* of this port	John Brown	"	Prize Condemn'd here 1712	here 30 May 1712	Rip Vandam, Allex. Moore, Antho. Ruttgers and Frances Gerbransen of N. Y.	Males 25 Females 17 Child 1	Coast of Affrica
June 30	*Seaflower* of this port	Isaac Butler	Sloop	New Engld 1713	here 2d Nov. 1714	Antho. Linch, Rip Vandam, Antho. Ruttgers, Allex. Moor	1	Jamaica
" "	*Anne* of this port	Fran. Warner	"	Conecticut 1713	here 27 Jan. 1713	Rodrigo Pachero, Wm. Walton, Justus Boch and Nath. Simpson of the City	1	Curacoa
Sept. 5	*Diamond*	Isaac Bedlow	"	This province 1715	here 22d June 1715	Adolph Phillips of this city	3	Curacoa
" 28	*Loyallty* of Liverpool	John Pluckinton	Ship	Liverpool 1715	there 3d Jan. last	Com. Pluckinton *cum aliis* of Liverpool	2	Barbados
Oct. 29	*Hamilton* of this port	Thos. Stone	"	Here 1713	Here July 20, 1715	Jno. Moor, Stephen DeLancey and Peter Barbarie of the City	4	Jamaica

MAR. 25–DEC. 25, 1717.[2]

Apr. 2	*Jamaica* Pacquet of this port	Peter Rolland	Sloop	here 1713	here 11 Nov. 1713	Jon. Rolland, Aug't Jay, Abra. Joneau and Benja. Godfrey of this City	4	Jamaica
Apr. 3	*Swallow* of Port of Liverpool	Robt. Hays	"	In Connecticut 1714	here 14 Nov. Last	Wm. Cheshire and Benja. Forster of Liverpool	1	Saltertudas
Apr. 27	*Expedition* of this port	Jon. Hickford	Brigant	In N. Engld 1715	here 28 Mar. 1716	John Vanderhule, Wm. Provoost, Jon. Rosevelt, Jacob Rosevelt and Corn. Van Horn of this City	8	Barbados
May 3	*Diamond* of this Port	Isaac Bedlow	Sloop	here 1715	here 22 June 1715	Adolph Phillips of this City	3	Curacoa

[2] For the quarter Dec. 25, 1716-Mar. 25, 1717, there are no entries.

MAR.25–DEC. 25, 1717.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
July 2	*Illustrious* Galley of Bristol	Henry Evans	Ship	R. Island 1716	Bristol Nov. 21, 1716	Wm. Evans, Jno. Teague and his Majesties Subjects and Inhabitants of Gt. Britain	1	Barbados
" 27	*Wall* of Bermuda	Jno. Trot	Sloop	Bermuda 1716	there 6 Nov. last	Sd. Master of Bermuda and Tobias Wall of Nevis	6	Bermuda
Aug. 3	*Mary*	Florent'a Cox	"	"	Nevis 13 June last	John Woodley of Nevis	2	Nevis
" 5	*John and Anne* of this Port	Rich'd Vivian	"	New Engl'd 1712	here 3 Jan. 1712	Abr. D. Pyster, Ger. Beckman, Sam'l Bayard, Rip Vandam, Thos. Torpey and John Read per Endorsements of this City		Nevis[3]
" 22	*Dove* of this Port	Ezek. Bonyot	"	Conecticut 1716	here Aug. 28, 1716	Jno. Auboyneaux, Chs. Crumline, Sd. Master and Will Lecount of this City	2	Jamaica
" 23	*Dragon* of this Port	Jno. Larrance[4]	Brig't	Bermuda 1702	here Dec. 1, 1714	Sd. Master, Jno. Vanhorne, Garret Vanhorne, Abr. Vanhorne, Andr. Fresneau and Barr't Ryndert of this City	106	Coasts of Affrica
Sept. 2	*Good Intent* of this Port	Pet'r Morgat	Sloop	N. England 1715	R. Island 18 Sept. 1716	David Minsviele, Benja. Fannil, Andr. Fresneau and Thos. Bayeaux of this City	2	Guadelupe
Sept. 12	*Catherine and Mary* of this Port	Jno. Cracraft	Sloop	N. England 1714	here 13 Oct'r 1714	Jno. Vanhorne, Gar't Vanhorne, Abr. Vanhorne and Andrew Fresneau of this City	60	Coast of Affricka
" 12	*New York Postillion*	Den's Downing	Ship	here 1716	here 27 July 1716	Wm. Walton, Nat'l Simson of N. Y. with Richard Janeway of London	100	"

[3] This vessel carried negroes but the number is not given.

[4] "New York, Aug. 26 [1717] . . . Capt. Lawrence arrived from Guinea, three months Passage; we daily expect a Ship and a Sloop from thence with more Slaves." *News Letter,* Sept. 2, 1717.

" 13	*Huntington* of this Port	Jno. Vanbrughen	Sloop	here 1717	here 24 May last	Garrit Vanhorne and Corn'ls Vanhorne of this City	16	Barbados
" 16	*Seaflower* of this Port	Sim'n Parcker	Sloop	N. England 1713	here 17 May last	Rip Vandam, Mary Lynch, Wido. Relict of Anthony Lynch of this City late deceased, Pet'r Lynch, Sa' Lynch, Ma'r Lynch the Child'n and Thos. Lynch of this City	7	Barbados
"	*John* of Jamaica	Thos. Pope	"	here 1713	here 21 Mar. 1716/7	John Rolland of this City, John Evans of Jamaica	1	Jamaica
Oct. 11	*Charlotte* of this Port	Andrew Law	Pink	British 1712, condemn'd here for illegal trade 8 Dec. last per Registry	here 12 Jan. last	Henry Cuyler, Moses Levey, Sam Levey, Jac. Franks of this City	2	Barbados
" 10	*Fancy*	Jere. Spencer	Sloop	Bermuda 1712	Nevis Oct. 3, 1715	Jno. Woodley, Tobias Wall of Nevis and Simon Brown of Barbados	1	St. Christoph'r
" 14	*Sarah* of this Port	Jacob Kevistead	"	Conecticut 1716	here 20 July last	Same as *Seaflower* above	2	Barbados
Nov. 13	*Dart* of this Port	Midleton Billop	"	" 1716	here 18 April last	Jno. Moore, Steph. DeLancey and Pet. Barberie of this City	1	Jamaica
" 25	*Hope* of this Port	Elisha Bennet	Barq.	prize condemn'd at Bost'n 1712	here 10 Dec. 1712	Benj. Fanneil, And'w Fresneau, Chas. Cromlin and Abr. Vanhorn of this City	2	"
" 26	*Mary* of Antigua	James Cowston	Sloop	Boston 1714	Antigua Sep. 7, 1716	Christoph'r Stoodley of Antigua	1	Antigua

DEC. 25, 1717–DEC. 25, 1718.

Feb. 17	*Huntington* of this Port	Jno. Vanbrugh	Sloop	Here 1717	Here 24 May last	Gar't Vanhorne and Cornelius Vanhorn of this City	1	Barbados
28	*Hamilton* of this Port	Thomas Stone	Ship	Here 1713	Here 20 July 1715	See the *Dart* above	3	Jamaica
Mar. 3	*Neptune* of Weym'th in Great Britain	Thomas Gallop	"	Boston 1716	8 Nov. 1716 there	sd. Master	3	London and Antigua

DEC. 25, 1717–DEC. 25, 1718.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Ap. 4	*Charlotte* of this Port	Andrew Law	Pink	See Oct. 11, 1717			9	Barbados
" 17	*Rachel and Anne* of this Port	John Veare	Sloop	New Engl'd 1711	here 13 Oct. 1713	Abr. Delmena of this City	3	Bahamas
" 18	*Jno. and Mary* of this Port	Jno. Theobalds Jun'r	"	Conecticot 1717	here 12 Aug. last	Sd. Master, Jac'b Rosevelt and Lawr'ce Vanbuskirk of this City	2	Saltertudas[5]
" 19	*Anne* of this Port	Dan'l Masse	"	Here 1717	here 14 Nov. last	Jno. Rolland and P'er Vallette of this City	16	Jamaica
" 24	*Dove* of this Port	Ezekiel Bonyot	"	Conecticot 1716	here 28 Aug. 1716	Jno. Auboyneau, Ch's Cromlin, s'd Master and Wm. Lecount of this City	1	"
" 26	*Seaflower* of this Port	Sim'n Parker	"	N. Engl'd 1713	here 17 May last	Rip Vandam *cum aliis*	5	Barbados
" 29	*Phillipsburg*	Allane Jarrat	Ship	Here 1715	here 13 Oct. 1715	Adolph Phillips of this City	5 1	Africa Barbados
May 6	*Mary* of this Port	Rout Wessels	Sloop	here 1716	here 4 July last	Said Master	5	Jamaica
" 13	*Caracoa* Pacq't of this Port	Math. Furber	"	Conecticot 1716	here 22 Oct. 1716	Moses and Sam Levy of this City	3	Jamaica
" 14	*John and Anne* of this Port	Rich'd Vivian	"	N. England 1712	here 9 Aug'st last	Sam'l Bayard, Rip Vandam, Col. Depeyster and Jno. Read of this City	2	Caracoa
May 17	*Smal Gains* of this Port	Julian Prieleau	Sloop	Bermudas—1715 here condemn'd for illegal trade per Registry	here 2 Nov. last	Francis Vincent of this city	3	Exuma
" 23	*Mary*	Flor. Cox	"	Bermuda 1716	there 13 June last	Jno. Woodley of Nevis	5	Nevis
" 26	*George* of London, Eng.	Giles Ellis	Ship	N. Engl'd 1709	Lond'n 1 Oct. 1714	Herman Louiss of London	12	Antigua

[5] The two negroes are described as children.

June 4	*Huntington* of this Port	Jno. Vanbrugh	Sloop	Here 1717	here 24 May 1717	Gar't and Corn. Vanhorne of this City	32	Barbados
" 13	*Swallow* of this Port	Pet'r Gandy	"	Virginia 1710	here 16 Oct'r last	Ben. Funnel, And'w Fresneau, Rene Hett of this City and Ja's Renaudet and Pet'r Morine of the same pl.	1	St. Christophers and Granada
" 18	*Eagle* of this Port	Edw'd Wright	Brigt	Conecticut here condemned for illegal trade 16 Aug. 1715	here 21 Aug'st last	Jno. and Jo's Reade and Wm. Walton of this City	63	Virginia and Barbados
July 2	*Samuel*	John Webb	Sloop	Philadelphia 1715	Barbados Mar. 7, 1717	Jos. Young of Barbados	30	Barbados
" 3	*Eagle* Gally of this port	Robt. Leonard	Ship	N. England 1716	here 1st March last	Sd. Master, Barrent Rhinders, Phil. Cortland, Thos. Lynch and Antho. Duane of this City	31	"
" 8	*Elizabeth*	Tho. Gally	Sloop	Here 1715	Antigua Mar. 6, 1717/8	Fran. Delap of Antigua	14	Antigua
" 14	*Seaflower* of this port	Phillip Boyles	Sloop	Coneticutt 1715	here Feb. 28, 1715	Jno. and Cornelius Vanhorn of this city	3	St. Thomas
" 18	*Expedition* of this port	Timo. Low	Briggt	New England 1715	here Mar. 28, 1716	Jno. Vanderhule, Wm. Provost, Jno. and Jacob Rosevelt and Cornel. Vanhorn of this City	11	Barbados
" 24	*Anne* of this port	Dan'l Masse	Sloop	Here 1717	here 14 Nov. last	John Rolland and Peter Vallett of this City	2	Jamaica
" 26	*Fairfield* of New England	Nathan Jarvas	"	New England 1715	Boston July 14, 1715	Saber Crowel, Jno. Bur, Rob. Silleman, Gideon Allen of New England	21	Antigua and Statia
" 26	*Sarah* of this pt	Jas. Rushworth	Sloop	Conecticut 1716	here 13 March 1717	Tho. Linch, Rip Vandam, Rob. Lurting and Jno. Bassett of the City	8	Jamaica
" 28	*Revenge* of Jamaica	Wm. Mogerette	"	Condemnd at Jamaica by the Name of *Young Frederick* 24 Nov. 1715 for Detent'n Seamens wages and other Sums of Money disburst on Acco'tt of the Vessell. Registered at Jamaica 10 Dec'b 1715		Wm. Hayman, Ed. James and Jno. Beswick of Jamaica	41	"

DEC. 25, 1717–DEC. 25, 1718

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Aug. 6	*Catherine and Mary* of this Port	See Sept. 12, 1717					64[6]	Coast of Africa
" 9	*Hamelton* of this port	Tho. Stone	Gally	here 1713	here July 20, 1715	Jno. Moore, Steph. Delancy and Peter Barberie of this City	11[7]	Barbados
" "	*Charlotte* of this port	See Oct. 11, 1717					24	"
" 11	*Portsmouth* of Antigua	Wm. Marshall	Sloop	New England 1713	Antigua 14 Sept. last	Rich'd Sherwood of Antigua	5	Antigua
" 13	*Pinetree* of this port	Jno. Margeson	"	here 1717	here Aug. 12, 1717	Lancaster Lymea, Coll. Robt. Lurting of New York and Mich. Kerny of Virginia	1	Barbados
Aug. 15	*Jenny*	Henr. Gibbs *vizt.* Chr. Simpkins	Snow	Rd. Island 1715	Barbados 21 May last	Henry Gibbs of Barbados	8	Saltitudas and Barbados
" 16	*Cornelia* of this port	Tho. Hook	Sloop	here 1716	here July 14, 1716	said Master and Jos. Ward of Barbados	1	Barbados
" 18	*William* of this port	Will'm Ellison	"	here 1717	here 28 Sept. 1717	Jno. Ellison Jun'r and " " Sen'r. of this City	1	"
" 26	*Huntington* of this port	See June 4, 1718					15	"
" "	*John and Anne* of this port	See May 14, 1718					11	"
Sept. 13	*James* of this port	Jno. Herald	Sloop	this province 1717	here 5 May last	William Sell of this province	1	Boston

[6] A note adds: "45 for transportation to Virginia."
[7] These were "for N. Jersey."

Oct. 11	*John* of Jamaica	Tho. Batchelor	Sloop	here 1716	here Mar. 21, 1716/7	John Rolland of this City and John Evans of Jamaica	2	Jamaica
" 21	*Eagle* of this port	James Eustace	Brigg'tt	Coneticutt 1704 condemnd here 16 Aug. 1715	here 21 Aug. last	John Read, Wm. Walton and Jos. Read of this City	17	Barbados
" "	*Weymouth* of this Port	Allex. Phenix	Sloop	New Engl'd 1711	here 5 feb'r last	Timothy Tilly and Abram Vanvleck	2	Curacoa
" 24	*Seaflower* of Antigua	Mathew Furber	"	Philadelphia 1715	Antigua 23 July 1715/6	John Banker of this City	3	St. Thomas's
Nov. 14	*Anne* of this port	Dan'l Masse	"	here 1717	here Nov. 14, 1717	John Rolland and Peter Vallett of this City	1	Jamaica

DEC. 25, 1718–DEC. 25, 1719.

Mar. 16	*Anne* of this port	Dan'l Massey	Sloop	here 1717	here 14 Nov. 1717	John Rolland and Peter Valete of this City	8 Children	Jamaica
" 24	*Seaflower* of Bermuda	Seth Hawkes	"	Bermuda 1718	there 24 Oct. last	sd. Master, Maj'r Wm. Stone of Bermudas	2	Bermuda
Apr. 1	*Hope* of this port	Abram Landford	"	here 1718	here 10 May last	And. Freneau, Rennie Hett and said Master	3	Surenham[8]
" 8	*Princes* of Rd. Island	Isaac Prince	"	Rd. Island 1718	there 8 November last	Sd. Master and Will'm Sandford of Rd. Island	3	"
May 2	*Seaflower* of this pt.	Phillip Boiles	"	Coneticut 1715	here 28 feb. 1715	Jno. and Corn'l Vanhorn of this City	4	Curacoa
" 22	*Mary* of this Port	Vincent Bodine	"	New Jersey 1714	here July 1, 1717	John Clarke of this City	1 Man	Statia
June 12	*Weymouth* of this Port	Allex Phoenix	"	New England 1711	here 4 April last	Tho. Evans, Abr. Vanleck and sd. Master	1	Curacoa
" 15	*Hunter* Gally of this Pt	Henry Coerteen	Ship	Condemn'd at Jamaica 15 feb, 1708	here 16 Oct. 1718	Sd Master, Barent Rhinders, Tho. Linch and Cornel. Vanhorne of this City	10	Jamaica
" 17	*Hampstead* of this pt	John Mattlow	Sloop	this province 1718	here 7 August last	Wm. Pinfold and Wm. Walton of this City	19	"
June 18	*Mary* of this port	Jacob Sarley	Sloop	New England 1718	here 30 July last	Abram Vanhorne and David Provost of this City	6	Barbados
" "	*Ruby* of this port	Isaac Butler	"	Coneticut 1714	here 18 May 1715	Justus Boch, Wm. Walton, Cornel. Low of this City and Benj. Wyncope per Endorsm't	3	Jamaica
" 19	*Society* of New England	Nath. Paine	"	New England 1718	here 12 Nov. 1718	said Master Nath. Paine Esqr. of New England and Sam Clark of Jamaica	18	[Not given]

[8] Surinam.

DEC. 25, 1718–DEC. 25, 1719.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Oct. 7	*Weymouth* of this pt.	See June 12, 1719					2	Curacoa
Nov. 12	*Charlotta* of this pt.	Andrew Law	Pink	British 1712 Condemn'd here Dec. 8, 1716	here Jan. 12, 1716	Henr. Chuyler, Moses Levy, Jacob Franks and Nath. Simpson of the City	3	Nevis
" 16	*Seaflower* of this port	See May 2, 1719					2	Jamaica
" 24	*3 Sisters* of Berbados	Nich. Webb	Sloop	Rd. Island 1715	there Jan. 3, 1715	Rob. Gardner, Wm. Lymes, Thos. Bedford and Francis Pike	6	Berbados
" 26	*Mary* of this port	Jos. Willson	"	this province 1719	here 5 Sep. last	Wm. Walton of this City	4	Jamaica
Dec. 1	*Endeavour* of N. Providence	Rich'd Brask	"	Coneticut 1715	N. Providence 17 feb. last	Peter Courant of New Providence	2	Curacoa
" 9	*Mary*	Nath. Owen	"	Philadelphia 1715	there 8 July last	Jno. Vanlair Jun'r, Geo. Fitchwater, Jos. Redman, Tho. Denton, Rob. Ellis and Tho. Miller of Philadelphia	5	Jamaica

DEC. 25, 1719–DEC. 25, 1720.[9]

Mar. 11	*Expedition* of this pt.	Peter Bedlow	"	New England 1712	here 28 Nov. 1716	Theodore Fauconier, George Clarke, Rip Vandam and Peter Fauconier of the City	1	St. Thomas's
April 4	*Expedition* of this p't.	Sam'll Lawrence	Brigg'tt	New Engl'd 1715	here 28 March 1716	Wm. and David Provost and Abram Vanhorne	5	Berbados
" 6	*Hope* of this p't.	Abram Sandford	Sloop	here 1718	here 10 May 1718	Andr. Freneau, Rennie Hett and sd. Master	2	Surenham
" 14	*Abigall* of this p't.	Wm. Jarrat	"	Philadelphia 1710	here 5 Oct. 1715	Moses Levy, Jacob Franks, Jacob Van Cortland and Adolph Phillips of this City	1	Jamaica

[9] Kohler, in "Jewish Life in New York before 1800" (Am. Jewish Hist. Soc., *Publications,* II. 84), writes of a slave ship from Guinea belonging to "Simon the Jew," which was expected in New York in the fall of 1720. Apparently the vessel referred to is not in this list.

" "	*Sarah* of this p't.	Josias Smith	"	Coneticut 1716	here 17 June last	Tho. Lynch and Rip Vandam of the City	1	St. Christopher's
" 18	*Hunter* Gally of this p't.	See June 15, 1719		Rebuilt here 1716			2	Jamaica
May 6	*Friends Adventure* of Berbados	Tho. Thatcher	Brigg'tt	New England 1716	Boston 24 May 1718	Jos. Ward of Berbados, Jno. and Sam'll Wainwright of New England	1	Surenham
" 23	*Jno. and Eliz.* of this p't.	Matth. Furber	Sloop	here 1710	here 10 Nov. 1718	Said Master and Jno. Roll of this City	6	S'th Carolina
June 27	*Expedition*	See March 11, 1720					1	St. Thomas's
July 4	*Eliza* of Boston	Phil'p Rawling	Brigg'tt	Plantacon 1716	Boston 26 Jan. 1719	Peter Luce of Boston	5	St. Christopher's
" 7	*Rubie* of Bermuda	Rich'd Leacraft	Sloop	Bermudas 1719	there 9 April 1720	Paul Painter and Jona. Birch of Bermuda	4	Antigua
" 18	*Hamilton* of Nevis	James Hester	"	Bermudas 1717	Nevis 20 July 1717	Jeffry Meriweather, Azariah Pinney and Nich. Burroughs of Nevis	2	Nevis
" 20	*Anne* of this port	See March 16, 1719					13	Jamaica
" 14	The *Hester*	John Hall	"	Rd. Island 1715	S'th Carolina 16 June 1719	John Marshall	5	S'th Carolina
Aug. 2	*Huntington*	See June 4, 1718					4	Berbados
" 6	*Peter* of this port	Midleton Billop	"	here 1716	here 17 Nov. 1716	Peter Barberie Steph'n Delancy, Jno. Moor of this City and Peter Solegre of St. Christophers	3	Jamaica
" 8	*Expedition* of this p't.	See April 4, 1720					5	Berbados
Oct. 3	*Cornelia* of this Port	Thos. Hook	Sloop	here 1716	here 14 July 1716	Sd. Master and Jos. Ward of Berbados	6	Jamaica
Nov. 3	*Huntington* of this pt.	Jno. Vanbrough	"	here 1717	Here 24 May 1717	Garr'tt and Cornelius Vanhorne of this City	1	Berbados
" 12	*Phillipsburgh* of this pt.	Mich Thody	Ship	here 1715	here 13 Oct. 1715	Adolph Phillips of this City	3	"
" 19	*Expedition* of this pt.	See March 11, 1720					1	St. Thomas's
" 22	*Hampstead* of this port	John Ticker	Sloop	this province 1718	here 7 Aug. 1718	Wm. Pinfold and Corn. Walton of this City	2	Jamaica
Dec. 1	*Rose* of this port	John Martin	"	N. England 1714	Rd. Island 7th March 1718	Adolph Degrove, sd. Master and Joest Godires	3	"

DEC. 25, 1720–DEC. 25, 1721.

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Mar. 16	*Expedition* of this p't.	Peter Bedlow	Sloop	N. England 1712	here 28 Nov. 1716	Rip Vandam, Hen. Chuyler, Walter Thong and Jos. Robinson of this City	3	St. Thomas's
Apr. 11	*Eagle* of this port	See Oct. 21, 1718					8	St. Christopher's and Eustatia
" 18	*Expedition* of this pt.	See April 4, 1720					5	Barbados
" 28	*Success* of Bermuda	Perient Spofferth	Sloop	Bermudas 1719	there 22 July 1719	Sam'll and Perient Spofferth of Bermuda	1	Bermuda
May 8	*Thomas* of this port	Jno. Browne	Scooner	here 1720	here 11 Aug't 1720	John Ellison Sen'r of this City	1	S'th Carolina
" 9	*3 Brothers* of the pt.	Ezekiel Bonyott	Sloop	New Engl'd 1712	here 23 March 1713	Abr., Garr'tt and Jno. Vanhorne and Andr. Freneau of this City	5[10]	Berbados
May 9	*George* of this port	John Veare	Sloop	New Engl'd 1711	here 13 Octo. 1718	Rob. Lurting of this City	2	Jamaica
June 5	*Crown* Gally of London	Dennis Downing	Ship	here 1716	London 19 feb. 1719	R'd Janaway, Isaac Levy of London, Wm. Walton and Nath. Simpson of this City	117	Coast of Affrica
" 12	*Phillipsburgh* of the p't.	See Nov. 12, 1720					8	Berbados
July 14	*George* of this port	Math. Woolf	Sloop	Rd. Island 1715	there 5 Oct. 1720	Said Master	1	Berbados
" 18	*Hamilton* of this p't.	And. Bissett	Gally	here 1713	here 20 July 1715	John Moor, Steph. Delancy and Peter Barberie	3	"
" "	*Friendship* of this p't.	R'd Vivian	Sloop	N. England 1712	here 2 June 1720	John and Jos. Read and William Walton of this City	1	"

[10] To this is added: "and 1 Mulatto Child."

" 20	*Expedition*	See March 16, 1721					1	St. Thomas's
" "	*Hampstead* of this p't.	Tho. Randall	See Nov. 22, 1720				2	Jamaica
" 31	*Expedition* of this this p't.	See April 4, 1720					15	Berbados
Aug. 5	*Huntington* of this p't.	See Nov. 3, 1720 with two additional owners *viz.* and Registered May 10 instead of 17 [24] as Nov. 3, 1720.				Gerard Beekman and Cornel. Sandford	16	"
Sep. 18	*Overplus* of Bermuda	Mansfield Tucker	Sloop	Bermudas 1717	There 16 Nov. 1717	Samuel, Wm. and Henry Tucker of Bermudas	1	St. Eustatia
Oct. 17	*Hope* of this port	Abram Butler	"	here 1718	here 10 May 1718	And. Freneau, Rennie Hett, Garr't Vanhorn and sd. Master.	2	Berbados
" 21	*Expedition* of this p't.	See April 4, 1720					9	"
Nov. 3	*Huntington* of this p't.	See Aug. 5, 1721					2	"
" 23	*Jno. and Eliz.* of this pt.	John Ball	Sloop	here 1718	here 10 Nov. 1718	Said Master	1	S'th Carolina

MAR. 25–DEC. 25, 1722.[11]

Apr. 2	*Hope* of this port	Abram Buttler	Sloop	here 1718	here 10 May 1718	Andrew Freneau, Rennie Het, Garr't Vanhorne and said Master	4	Jamaica
" 20	*Thomas* of this pt.	Wm. White	Scooner	here 1720	here	Jno. Ellison of this City	1	"
May 25	*Jno. and Cathrine*	John Tuder	Sloop	N. Carolina 1719	11 Augt. 1720 Berbados	Tho. Tuder and Jno. Vanhorne	4	Berbados
31	*Huntington* of this pt.	See Aug. 5, 1721			6 Apr. last		7	"
June 19	His Majesties Ship *Grayhound*	Capt. Edw'd Smith Comand. Reports					34	West Indies
June 30	*Jolly* of this port	John Tickell	Sloop	here 1719	here 10 May 1721	said Master	5	Jamaica
July 2	*Nassau* of this pt.	Terit Lester	Brig't	Condem'd here Sep. 9, 1720	here 9 feb. 1720	Moses Levy of this city	1	"
Aug. 9	*Margaret* of this p't.	Peter Symons	Sloop	here 1720	here 6 May 1720	Jos. Robinson and Wm. Barnes	1	St. Thomas's
" 15	*Jacob*	Jacob Phenix	"	here 1721	here 23 Apr. last	William Walton	12	Jamaica
" 17	*Catherine* of this pt.	Peter Bedlow	"	" "	here 23 Oct. last	Matthew Furber	6	"

[11] C. O. 5: 1223, N. Y.

MAR. 25–DEC. 25, 1722.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Aug. 20	*Eliza* of Bermuda	Jos. Young	Sloop	Bermuda 1715	there 25 May 1715	Jno. Piniston, Jos. Williams, Eliz. Walker and Elisha Woolrich	1	Jamaica
Sept. 7	*Jno. and Cathrine*	Jno. Tuder	"	N'th Carolina 1719	Berbados 6 Apr. last	Tho. Tudor and John Vanhorne of this place	2	Berbados
" 8	*Hopewell*	Jno. Ablin	"	Rd. Island 1716	here 21 May last	Cha. Stay and Garr't Vanhorne	1	Surenham
Oct. 4	*Seaflower*	James Craig	Sloop	Coneticut 1717	here 22 Sep. 1720	Rip Vandam, Wm. Donbar, Rob. and Thos. Lurting	1	Antigua
Nov. 3	*Hope* of the p't.	Abram Buttler	"	here 1718	here 10 May 1718	And. Freneau, Rennie Hett, Garr't Vanhorne and sd. Master	3	Berbados
Dec. 13	*Jolly* of the p't.	John Tickell	"	here 1719	here 10 May 1721	said Master	8	Jamaica

MAR. 25–DEC. 25, 1723.[12]

Apr. 8	*Jacob* of the p't.	See Aug. 15, 1722					9	Jamaica
" 22	*Sarah*	Christop'r Burrows	Sloop	Pensilvania 1717	Berbados 22 Aug. 1722	Timothy Pinder and Tho. Cheesman	2	Berbados and Anguilla
May 6	*Albany* of this p't.	Isaac Johnson	Brig't	Coneticut 1715	here 3 Augt. 1713 [?]	Stephen Delancy	2	Berbados
June 20	*Prudence*	Ja. Seymour	Sloop	Bermudas 1719	there 2 Mar. 1719	Florentia and Jerome Burrows, Rach'l. Seymer and Jno. Conyars	8	Jamaica and Bermudas
" 22	*Expedition*	Sam'l Lawrence	Brig't	N. England 1715	here 12 May 1722	Wm. and David Provost and Abram Vanhorne	5	Berbados
June 25	*Mary Anne*	John Brett	Scoon'r	New Hampshire 1719	Virginia 17 Nov. last	said Master	3	Antigua
July 1	*Eliz. and Anne*	Rd. Leycroft	Sloop	Bermudas 1717	there 29 Jan'r 1717	Peter Malory, Jno. Jennings, Josias Forster and Jno. Gibbs	1	Turks Isld. and Bermudas

[12] For Dec. 1722-Mar. 25, 1723, there are no entries.

Aug. 2	*Anne and Cathrine*	John Fred	"	here 1722	here 6 Aug't 1722	Math. Clarkson, Phil. French and Paul Richards	6	Coracoa
" 12	*Jolly* of this port	See Dec. 13, 1722					7	Jamaica
" "	*Peters* of Jamaica	John Marston	Sloop	Bermuda 1721	Jamaica 10 July last	Peter Vallet of Jamaica and " " " this place	11	"
" 13	*Jacob* of this port	See Aug. 15, 1722					12	"
" 19	*Speedwell* of the p't.	Francis Gottier	Sloop	Virginia 1709	here 8 Aug. 1722	Nath. Bell, Peter Britton and said Master	4	Bermudas
" 21	*Mary Anne* of the p't.	Wm. Smith	Scooner	here 1723	here 1 June last	Justus Bosch and sd. Master	12[13]	Jamaica
" "	*Stanhope* of the p't.	Jno. Delap	Snow	here 1722	here 11 Mar. last	Cornel. Vanhorne, Jno. Mk-Every and Wm. Gurmmet	2	Antigua
" 26	*Benja.* of Bermuda	Benja. Hinson	Sloop	Bermuda 1714	there 15 July 1714	Benja. Hinson of Bermuda	5	Jamaica
" "	*Good Intent* of this p't.	Daniel Massey	"	here 1723	here 28 Mar. last	Garrt and Cornel. Vanhorne, Cornel. Sandford, Gerrard Beekman and John Cornwell	3	"
Sept. 24	*Endeavour*	Rich'd Robinson	"	Rd. Island 1717	here 1 June 1719	Said Master	1	Boston
Oct. 24	*Burnet* of this port	Edw'd Sanders	Sloop	Here 1722	Here 8 Nov. last	Rip Vandam, Walter Thong, Jos. Robinson, Henry Chuyler	2	Affrica and Jamaica
" 25	*Cathrine and Mary* of this pt.	Henry Row	"	N. England 1714	Here 14 Octo. 1714	Jno.,Garr't, and Abram Vanhorne and Andrew Freneau of the City	3	Jamaica
?	*Philipsburgh* of the pt.	Mich. Thody	Ship	Here 1715	Here 13 Octo. 1715	Adolph Phillips	3	Berbados

MAR. 25–DEC. 25, 1724.[14]

Apr. 1	*Hamilton* of this port	Andrew Bissett	Gally	here 1713	here 20 July 1715	Stephen Delancy, Jno. Moor and Peter Barberie	1	Berbados
" 8	*Jacob*	See Aug. 15, 1722					4	Jamaica and Hispaniola
Apr. 16	*Samuel* of this p't.	Tho. Fitch	Ship	here 1721	here 9 Apr. 1722	Edw'd Burling and Sam Fitch	1	London
" 21	*William and Thomas*	John Tickell	Sloop	here 1723	here 14 Nov. last	William Walton and sd. M'r	2	S'th Carolina

[13] "Negroes and Indian Slaves."
[14] No entries for Dec. 25, 1723, to Mar. 25, 1724.

MAR. 25–DEC. 25, 1724.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
May 15	*Henry* of Bermuda	Bristow Brown	Sloop	Bermuda 1714	there 4 Aug. 1719	Elias Clark, Jno. Trimingham, Nath. Butterfield Sen'r and Jun'r and Jno. Butterfield of Bermuda	1	Bermuda
" 21	*Newbery*	Jno. Woodbridge	Brigg't	N. England 1710	Salem 3 Dec. 1712	John Turner, Sam. Brown and Josiah Walent of Salem	3	Antigua
June 3	*Mary*	Rob. Bulcock	"	Ireland 1719	Berbados 23 Mar. 1722	Kingston Townsend, John Burk of Berbados	2	Berbados
" 10	*Peters* of Jamaica	John Marston	Sloop	Bermuda 1721	Jamaica 12 July last	Peter Vallet of this place, Do. of Jamaica and sd. Master	15	Jamaica
June 15	*St. Andrew* of Bermuda	Tho. Forster	Sloop	Bermuda 1723	There 18 Nov. last	Rob. Dinwide of Bermuda	2	Bermuda
" 19	*Thos. and Mary* of this p't.	John Browne	Scooner	here 1721	here 19 Octo. 1721	said Master	1	Berbados and St. Thomas's
" "	*Elizabeth*	Abram Buttler	Sloop	Philadelphia 1718	Jamaica 15 feb. last	said Master	2	Jamaica
July 2	*Hester* of this port	James Coden	"	here 1723	here 14 June 1723	said Master	2	Rhode Island
" 7	*Dighton* Gally of Boston	John Ruggles	Ship	N. England 1720	Boston 10 Mar. 1720	James Emra and said Master	5	Nevis
" 9	*Jacob* of this p't.	Jacob Phenix	Sloop	here 1721	here 23 Apr. 1722	William Walton of this city	4	Jamaica
" 17[?]	*William* of this port	William Ellison	"	here 1717	here 8 Nov. 1721	said Master	1	"
Aug. 3	*Grayhound* of Boston	Robert Peat	Ship	N. England 1716	Boston 28 July 1722	sd. Master Ben. Edwards, Ebenezer Hough and John Logg	4	"
" 13	*Mary and Anne* of this p't.	Wm. Smith	Scooner	Here 1723	here 1 June 1723	Wm. Smith and Justis Bush	1	Berbados

Sep. 10	*Tryall*	Wm. Baker	Sloop	New England 1723	St. Christop'rs 3 June last	Francis Birmingham	1	St. Eustatia
Sep. 22	*Eliza and Martha*	John Gibbs Jun'r	Sloop	Bermuda 1720	There 24 July 1721	Jno. Gibbs Jun'r, Cornel. Hinson, Cha. Conyars and Peter Mallory	1	Berbados
" 28	*Cathrine and Mary* of this port	And. Mansfield	"	Here 1724	Here 11 May last	James Darcy and John Searle	2	Jamaica
Oct. 13	*Hopewell*	Jno. Woodside	Brigg'tt	Prize condemn'd here 1720	here 31 Octo 1720	Barrent Rhynders and John Vanhorn of this City	2[15]	Madera
" "	*Tho. and Mary* of the p't.	Sam'l Burdett	Scooner	here 1721	here 19 Octo. 1721	John Brown of this City	1	Antigua
" 26	*Fancy* of R. Island	Joseph Cook	Sloop	R. Island 1724	there 30 Mar. last	Johnathan Thurston and Rob. Bennet of R. Island	4	R. Island
Nov. 18	*Samuel*	Tho. Fitch	Ship	here 1721	here 9 Apr. 1722	Edw'd Burling and Sam'l Fitch	1	London
" 30	*Allida* of this p't.	John Brown	Scooner	here 1724	here 5 Aug. last	Abr. Depeyst Jun'r, Rip Vandam, Fred. Corland, sd. Master and Stephen Byard	1	St. Thomas's

DEC. 25, 1724–DEC. 25, 1725.

Dec. 30	*Mary* of this p't.	Dennis Laurance	Sloop	here 1724	here 12 June last	Wm. Walton sen'r and Jun'r	2	Jamaica
Mar. 24	*Hamilton* of the p't.	And. Bissett	Gally	here 1713	here 20 June 1715	Jno. Moor, Steph. Delancy and Peter Barberie	1	St. Xphers and Eustatia
—	[16]*Jacob* of this port	Wm. Jeggles	Sloop	Here 1721	Here 23 Apr. 1722	William Walton	1	Jamaica
—	*Mary* of this port	Jno. Marston	Sloop	Here 1724	Here 20 Nov. last	Enoch Stephenson, Augustus Jay, Peter Vallett and said Master	8	Jamaica
—	*Burnet*" " "	Jno. Muttlow	"	Here 1722	here 28 Nov. 1722	Rip Vandam, Walter Thon, Jos. Robinson and Henry Chuyler	1	St. Thomas's
—	*Lady Anne* of Jamaica	Charles Cliff	"	here 1723	Jamaica 18 Dec. last	The Hon'ble Marquess Duquessne	3	Hondoras
—	*2 Friends* of this port	Edw'd King	"	here 1721	R. Island 22 June last	Wm. Barnes and said Master	1	Rd. Island

[15] "Returned."
[16] The volume is so tightly bound that these dates cannot be read.

DEC. 25, 1724–DEC. 25, 1725.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
—	*Mary* of this port	Wm. Beckman	Sloop	here 1719	here 28 July 1719	said Master	1	Boston
—	*Mary and Anne* of this port	Wm. Smith	Scoon'r	here 1723	here 1st June 1723	Wm. Smith and Justus Bosch	1	Barbados
—	*Dolphin* of this port	Ichabod Lontitt	Sloop	here 1724	here 19 June 1724	Paul Richards, Phillip French and Matthew Clarkeson	3	Curracoa
—	*Johanna* of London	Tho. Pointer	Ship	N. England 1716	London 17 May 1723	sd. Master, Jos. Hughes and James Methurst	3	Antigua
—	*Francis and Cathrine* of this port	John Young	Brigg'tt	here 1724	here 19 feb. last	Jno. Moore and Peter Barberie	1	Berbados
—	*Hopewell* of this port	Jno. Woodside	"	Prize Condemn'd here 1720	here 31 Octo. 1720	John Vanhorne and Barnet Rhynders	1	Madera
—	*Swallow* of this port	Allex. Phenix	Sloop	Philadelpa. 1718	here 14 Dec. last	Rennie Hett, And. Ferneau, David Clarkson and Garr't Vanhorne	1	Berbados
June 25	*Jacob* of this port	Jacob Phenix	Sloop	here 1721	here 23 Apr. 1722	William Walton	1	S'th Carolina
July 2	*Rubie* of Bermuda	Rich. Leacraft	"	Bermuda 1724	there 13 May 1724	said Master, Jonathan Birch, Paul Painter and Painter Burrows	11	Jamaica
" 14	*Three Friends*	George Mackee	"	Conecticut 1724	Antigua 29 Apr. last	Jno. Barboline, Jno. Green and James Read	4	Antigua
" 23	*four Sisters* of this p't.	Wm. White	"	New England 1721	here 2 Dec. last	Moses Levy of this city	1[17]	Curacoa
—	*Tryall* of this port	Vincent Bodine	"	New England 1723	St. Christop'ers 3 June 1724	Francis Birmingham	1	St. Eustatia
—	*Mary* of this port	Sam Davis	Sloop	New England 1721	Boston 3 feb. Last	Nich. Governour	2	Nevis
—	*Wheele of Fortune*	Jesper Bush	"	here 1712	here 19 May 1713	said Master	2	Rd. Island

[17] "Mulatto."

—	*Tho. and Mary* of Bermuda	Tho. Frith	"	Bermuda 1725	there 3d May last	Tho. Gilbert Sen'r and Jun'r	1	Bermuda
Aug. 14	*Cathrine and Mary* of this port	Henry Roe	"	New England 1714	here 14 Octo. 1714	Jno., Garret and Abraham Vanhorn and And. Freneau	33	St. Eustatia
" 18	*Speedwell* of this port	Arnot Schermerhorn	"	here 1719	here 19 Mar. 1723	Rob. Griffith and said Master	1	Boston
" 20	*Jolly* of this port	Rob. Theobalds	"	New England 1721	here 24 Dec. last	Christop'r Banker, Abram Linsen and said Master	23	St. Eustatia
" 23	*Hamilton* of this port	George Sharp	"	Bermuda 1717	Nevis 4 May 1724	Mary Pinney	6	Nevis
" 31	*Duke of Portland*	Isaac Vandam	Ship	here 1724	here 1 June 1724	Rip Vandam	6	Berbados
"	*Mary* of this port	Jno. Marston	Sloop	here 1724	here 20 Nov. last	Enoch Stephenson. Augustus Jay, Peter Vallett and said Master	8	Jamaica
Sep. 1	*Mary* of this port	Dennis Lawrance	Sloop	here 1724	here 12 June 1724	Wm. Walton, Sen'r and Jun'r.	5	Jamaica
—	*Francis and Cathrine*	John Young	Brigg't	" "	here 19 feb. last	Peter Barberie and John Moor	8	Berbados
Oct. 9	[18]*Penellopy*	Wm. Benson	Snow	Lancaster 1720	Liverpool 4 May 1724	Doding Bradsall, sd. Master, Rich. Gilpin Sawery, Wm. Sawery and James Penny	8	Berbados
Dec. 12	*Anne* of this p't.	Garrett Garretse	Sloop	R. Island 1724	there 19 Nov. last	Thomas Hopkins	59	Affrica
" 24	*Glassco* of Bermuda	Dan. Hubbard	"	Bermuda 1725	there 27 Octo last	William Orem	2	Bermuda
" 4?	*Norris* of this pt.	David Seabury	"	Coneticutt 1724	here 6 Jan last	Evan Drumand	1	Martinique

DEC. 25, 1725–DEC. 25, 1726.

Dec. 25 or Jan. 25	*Good Intent* of this port	Walter Kippin	Ship	here 1725	here 8 May 1725	Tho. Franks, Nathan Gridley, James Bolt, Joseph Cale and said Master	1	Berbados
Feb. 19	*Abigall* of this pt.	Wm. Jarratt	Sloop	Philadelphia 1710	here 5 Octo. 1715	Adolph Phillips and Moses Levy	2 boys	Martinique
Mar. 28	*Mary and Anne* of this port	Wm. Smith	Scooner	here 1723	here 1st June 1723	Wm. Smith and Justus Bosch	5	St. Thomas's

[18] C. O. 5: 1224, N. Y.

DEC. 25, 1725–DEC. 25, 1726.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Apr. 6	*Jolly* of this pt.	Sam'l Laurance	Sloop	N. England 1721	here 17 Jan. 1725	David Provoost, Jno. Brown and said Master	1	Berbados
" 13	*Jacob* " " "	Jacob Phenix	"	here 1721	here 23 Apr. 1722	William Walton	2	Jamaica
" 29	*two Brothers* of this port	Jesse Kierstead	"	N. England 1717	Boston 26 June 1721	Jacob Kierstead, Abraham Vanvleck and said Master	1	Berbados
May 10	*Mary* of this p't.	Wm. Ellison	Sloop	here 1725	here 26 June Last	said Master	2	St. Eustatia and Mounserat
" 26	*Tho. and Mary* of this port	Fran. Judkin	Scoon'r	here 1721	here 19 Octo 1721	John Browne	2	St. Thomas's
July 1	*Sincerity* of Bermuda	Ralph Dawes	Scoon'r	Bermuda 1724	there 2d Nov. 1724	Geo. and Thomas Smith	1	Berbados
Aug. 2	*Mary and Ellinor* of Bermuda	John Mitchell	Sloop	"	there 24 Mar. 1724	Samuel Spofferth, Thomas Withers and Thos. Harrison	2	Bermuda
" 12	*Speedwell* of Bermuda	Edw'd Todd	"	Bermuda 1723	there 8th Jan. 1723	Edw'd Styles, Wm. Mallory, Rich'd and Angelina Hunt	1	Berbados
" "	*Sarah and Elizabeth* of Bermuda	Edw'd Burrows	"	Bermuda 1721	there 13 Mar. 1721	Michael and Edw'd Burrows and Jeremy Wells	1	Bermuda
" 15	*Elizabeth* of this port	Henry Roe	Brigg'tt	here 1726	here 14 April 1726	Garr'tt Vanhorne and sd. Master	31	Jamaica
Aug. 16	*Rubie* of this p't.	John Fred	Sloop	here 1725	here 1 Dec. 1725	Wm. Walton and said Master	45	Jamaica
Sept. 12	*Bruce Hope* of Bermuda	Rob. Carthcart	Brigg'tt	Bermuda 1725	there 21 May 1725	Thomas Handy and Robert Dinwidde	1[19]	Bermuda
" 15	*Francis and Cathrine* of this port	John Young	"	here 1724	here 19 feb. Last	Peter Barberie and Jno. Moor	4	Berbados
" 24	*Marg't and Mary* of this pt.	Peter Simmons	"	here 1723	here 6 Jan. 1723	Jos. Robinson and Wm. Barnes	2	"
" 26	*Walter* of this pt.	James Darcey	Scooner	here 1726	here 12 May 1726	Tho. Thong and said Master	12	Jamaica

[19] "Woman."

" 27	*Three Friends* of Conecticutt	Geo. Mackee	Sloop	Coneticutt 1724	Antigua 1 May 1725	Jno. Barboline, James Reed and Jno. Green	4	Antigua
Oct. 4	*Mary* of this port	Dennis Laurence	Sloop	here 1724	here 12 June 1724	William Walton	5	Jamaica
"	*Jacob* " " "	Wm. Smith	Scooner	here 1725	here 16th July last	Mordica and Daniel Gomes	1	"
" 10	*Morning Star* of this port	Andrew Marscollock	Sloop	here 1721	here 15th June 1724	Andrew Marscollock Sen'r and Jun'r with John Rall	4	"
" 12	*Sarah* Gally of Bristol	Organ Furnell	Ship	Bristol 1720	there 5th Jan. 1720	Geo. Packer, Rich'd Farr, Tho. Roach, Christop'r Redwood, Tho. Ross and sd. Master	1	Berbados
" 13	*Mary* of the pt.	Jno. Marston	See Aug. 14, 1725				9	Jamaica
Nov. 16	*Endeavour* of Jamaica	John Dudley	Sloop	Jamaica 1726	there 2d Aug't 1726	Hendrick Tinhoven, Tho. Day and John Dudley	32	S'th Carolina
" 29	*4 Sisters* of this port	Wm. White	"	New England 1717	here 2 Dec. Last	Moses Levy	1	St. Thomas's
Dec. 19	*Francis and Cathrine* of this pt.	John Young	Brigg't	here 1724	here 19 feb. Last	Peter Barberie and John Moor	3	Jamaica

DEC. 25, 1726–DEC. 25, 1727.

Feb. 17	*Jolly* of the p't.	Rob. Theobalds	Sloop	Coneticut 1724	Boston 17 inst	Abram Linsen, said Master, Christop'r Bankir and Peter Ruttgers	4	St. Thomas's
Mar. 18	*Eliza.* " " "	Henry Roe	Brigg'tt	here 1725	here 28 Sept. 1725	Garr'tt Vanhorne and sd. Master	3	Curracoa
" 20	*Jacob* " " "	See Oct. 4, 1726					4	Jamaica
" 23	*Anne and Eliza* of this p't.	Tho. Ware	Scooner	Coneticut 1726.	here 11 Nov. 1726	Justus Bosch and Jno. Abrams	12	"
April 7	*Burnett* of this port	John Muttlow	Sloop	here 1722	here 28th Nov. 1722	Rip Vandam, Henry Cuyler, Joseph Robinson and Walter Thong	1[20]	Berbados
" 12	*Fran. and Cathrine* of this port	John Young	Brigg'tt	here 1724	here 19 feb. Last	Peter Barberie and Jno. Moor	7	Jamaica
" 19	*Prince Frederick* of S'th Carolina	Tho. Witter	Sloop	Coneticutt 1722	S'th Carolina 13 Mar. 1724	Benj. Derihett and Henry Hargrove	2	S'th Carolina
" 28	*Mary and Anne* of this port	Sam'l Harvey	Scooner	here 1723	here 1 June 1723	Justus Bosch and Wm. Smith	2	Jamaica

[20] "Woman."

DEC. 25, 1726–DEC. 25, 1727.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
May 9	*Three Friends* of Antigua	Geo. Mackee	Sloop	Coneticut 1724	Antigua 1st May 1725	John Barton, James Reade and John Green	7	Antigua
" 17	*four Sisters* of this port	James Mackentoosh	"	N. England 1717	here 2 Dec. 1724	Moses Levy	4	Jamaica
" 12	*Marg't and Mary* of this port	Peter Simmons	Brigg'tt	here 1723	here 6 Jan. 1723	Jos. Robinson and Wm. Barnes	7	St. Thomas's
" 18	*Ranger* of this port	Joseph Royall	Scooner	here 1726	here 24 Octo. 1726	Stephen Byard, Hen. Cuyler, Peter Byard and said Master	2	Antigua
" 24	*Walter* of this port	Sam. Burdett	"	" "	here 12 May 1726	Tho. Thong and said Master	9	Jamaica
" 30	*two Sisters* of this port	Josias Smith	Sloop	" "	here 20 May 1726	Renne Hett, said Master, Jno. Waldron and Abr. Lynson	1	Berbados
June 2	*Dolphin* of Bermuda	John Stead	Sloop	Bermuda 1727	there 6 April 1727	Jos. Jones, Henry Corbusier and James Maydman	2	Bermuda
June 5	*Mary* of this p't.	Henry Lawrance	Scooner	here 1726	here 27 Octo. 1726	Jno. Brown, Ben. Eldridg, Allexander Moor and sd. Master	1	Curracoa
" 8	*Jolly* of this port	Rob. Theobalds	See Feb. 17, 1727				1	St. Thomas's
" 19	*Mary* of this pt.	Jno. Marston	See Aug. 3, 1725				18	Jamaica
" 20	*Warwick* of Jamaica	Jno. MackPherson	Sloop	Bermuda 1719	Jamaica 19 May 1727	James Lynch, Christopher Garvey and said Master	14	"
" "	*Bruce Hope* of Bermuda	Rob. Cathcart	Brigg'tt	Bermuda 1725	there 21 May 1725	Jno. Jennings and Tho. Handy	1	Bermuda
Aug. 9	*Swallow* of this pt.	Wm. Jeggles	Sloop	here 1726	here 15 Dec. 1726	William Walton Sen'r and Jun'r and Jacob Walton	2	Jamaica
" 11	*King George* of this port	Sam'l Payton	Snow	here 1725	here 14 May Last	Garr'tt Vanhorne and sd. Master	35	Jamaica and Eustatia
" 14	*Anne and Eliz.* of this p't.	Tho. Ware	Scooner	Coneticut 1726	here 11 Nov. 1726	Justus Bosch and Jno. Abrams	8	St. Thomas's

" "	*Jane* of Berbados	Wm. Glover	Sloop	Coneticut 1723	Philadelpa. 13 Sep. 1726	Stephen Thompson and Jno. Burk	10	Berbados
Sep. 2	*Mary and Anne* of this p't.	Sam'l Harvey	Scooner	here 1723	here 1 June 1723	Justus Bosch and Wm. Smith	1	Jamaica
" 4	*Prince Frederick* of S'th Carolina	Tho. Witter	Sloop	Coneticutt 1722	S'th Carolina 13 Mar. 1724	Benjamin Deryhett and Henry Hargrove	1	New Providence
Sept. 11	*Duke of Portland* of this port	Michael Thody	Ship	here 1724	here 1 June 1724	Rip Vandam	4	Berbados
" 20	*Abigall* of this p't.	Ichabod Lontitt	Scooner	here 1726	here 10 May 1727	Adolph Phillips and Moses Levy	4	Curracoa
" 25	*Prospect* of London	John Bowers	Ship	River Thames 1726	London 23 Mar. 1726	Permfort Miller, Samuel Barnard and Comp'y	31	Jamaica
Oct. 11	*Jacob* of this port	Wm. Smith	Scoon'r	In this Prov'ce 1725	here 16 July 1725	Mord. Gomez of this City and Do. " " Jamaica	1	Jamaica
Nov. 20	*Eagle* of this port	Dan'l Bloom	Snow	Here 1724	Here 16 March 1724	Jos. and Jo'n Reade and Wm. Walton of this City	15	"
" 27	*Peter and John* of this port	And'w Bissett	Brig't	Here 1726	Here 4 March last	Jon. Moore and P'r Barberie of this City	2	"
" "	*Blessing* of Bermuda	Fr's Morgan	Sloop	In Bermuda 1727	there 8 inst.	Ephraim Gilbert and Jas. Janny	3	Bermuda
Dec. 14	*Patience* of this port	Vin'ct Bodin	"	here 1725	here 28 Sept. 1725	Rod. Pachero of this City	1	Curacoa
" "	*James and David* of Newport	Ja's Coden	"	R. Island 1727	there 10 Nov. last	Said Master and Dav. Gomez of this City	1	R. Island

DEC. 25, 1727–DEC. 25, 1728.

Mar. 4	*Patience* of this port	See Dec. 14, 1727					1	S'th Carolina
" 19	*Duke of Portland* of this port	See Sept. 11, 1727					28	Jamaica
" 22	*Swallow* of this port	See Aug. 9, 1727					6	"
Apr. 5	*Old Soldier* of Berm'da	Isaac Cox	Sloop	Bermuda 1727	there 15 July last	Walt Mitchell, Hen. Corbusier and Wm. Mitchell	3	Bermuda
" 12	*Mary* of this port	Wm. Beekman					1	Boston
" "	*Two Friends* of this port	Hen. Fuller	Scoon'r	Here 1727	Here 15 Dec. last	Wm. Smith and Sarah Rowll of this City	5	Antigua
" 17	*Norris* of this Port	Alex. Hume	Sloop	Conecticot 1724	Here 4 March 1726	Jas. Henderson and Anth. Duane of this City	3	Berbados
May 7	*Peter and John* of this Port	And'w Bisset	Brig	Here 1726	Here 4 March 1726	Jon. Moor and P'r Barberie of this City	3	"

DEC. 25, 1727–DEC. 25, 1728.
(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
May 8	*Two Sisters* of this Port	Josias Smith	See May 30, 1727—with an additional owner of Tulem Cruger				2	Berbados
" 10	*Susanah* of Bermuda	Steph'n Burrows	Sloop	Bermuda 1727	there 14 Nov. last	Paynt'r Burrows, P'r Payntor and Steph'n Burrows	1	Bermuda
June 17	*Mary* of this Port	Jon. Marston	See Aug. 31, 1725				30	Jamaica
" 22	*Elizabeth* of this Port	Hen. Row	Brig't	Here 1726	Here 14 April 1726	sd. Master and Gar't Vanhorn of this City	9	"
July 18	*Olive branch* of London	Jos. Hoskoll	Brig't	N. England 1723	Boston 16 Sept. 1726	Thos. Tailer of Bost'n and Walt'r Scott of London	4	Madeira and Berbados
" 30	*Two friends* of this Port	Sam'l Harvey	Scoon'r	Here 1727	Here 15 Dec. last	Wm. Smith and Sarah Borrell of this City	4	Antigua
Aug. 9	*Mary* of this Port	Jon. Deane	Sloop	Rd. Island 1727	Here 9 May last	Jas. Coden and said Master	1	Boston
Sept. 3	*Black Eyd Susan* of this Port	Phil. Cockrem	"	In this Prov'e 1726	Here 27 May 1727	Nich's Bayard, Rip Vandam, St. Bayard and per Endorsement Samuel Bayard Jun'r of this City	1	Curacoa
" 4	*Dolphin* of Boston	Mich. Martin	Scoonr	N. Engl'd 1726	Boston 7 Nov. 1727	sd. Mast'r of Gr't Britain, Jon. Marshall of Boston, Simon Alderson of N. Carol'a	2	Mountserat
" 14	*Westmorland*	Ben. Bill	Sloop	N. Jersey 1726	there 14 March 1726	Jon. Emott, Wm. Rickets, Ebenez'r Johnston, Edw'd Vaughan	5	Jamaica
" 27	*Francis* of this Port	Jon. Young	Brig	Here 1724	Here 5 June last (1728)	Jno. Moor of this City	8	"

DEC. 25, 1728–DEC. 25, 1729.

Feb. 9	*Two friends* of this Port	See July 30, 1728					1	Antigua
" 13	*Thos. and Mary* of this Port[21]	Fr'cis Judkin	Scoon'r	Here 1721	Here 19 Oct. 1721	Jon. Brown	2	St. Thomas

[21] The months omitted here cannot be read. Because of the ambiguity in the headings of the manuscript it is impossible to determine whether January and March below belong to 1729 or to 1730.

18	*Mary* of this Port	Jacob Kip	Sloop	In this Prov'ce 1724	Here 12 June 1724	Wm. Walton Jun'r and Sen'r of this City	1	Carthagena
23	*Rubie* " " "	Andrew Marschalk, Jun'r	"	Here 1727	Here 31 Jan'ry last	Sd. Master, And. Marschalk Sen'r and P'r and Fr'cis Marschalk of this City	5	Jamaica
28	*Speedwel* " " "	Arnout Schermerhorn	"	here 1719	Here 19 March 1723	sd. Master and Rob. Griffith of this City	1	Boston
	Mary " " "	Thos. Ware	"	N. Engl'd 1721	Boston 3d feb'ry 1724	Nich's Governeur and per Endorsm't Rog'r Groves of this City	1	Jamaica
Jan. 20	*Pr'ce William* of this Port	Wm. Smith	Scoon'r	Here 1726	Here 3 Augt. 1726	P'l Richard, Dav. Clarkson, Ro't Livingston, Matt. Clarkson and M. Levy of this City	1	Jamaica
" 25	*Thos. and Mary* of this Port	See above					1	St. Thomas
Mar. 12	*Anna* " " "	Ebenez. Wyatt	"	Conecticut 1728	Here 15 Aug'st last	Ben. Deharret Sen. of this City, Ben. Deharret Jun. of S. Carolina	1	S'th Carolina
" 22	*Essex* " " "	Thos. Fitch	"	In this Prov'ce 1727	Here 15 Nov. 1727	Jas. Burling and Edw'd Burling of this City	1	Antigua
" 3	*Two friends* of this port	Jos. Morgan	See July	30, 1728			2	"
Apr. 3	*Rubie* of this port	Wm. Geddes	Sloop	In this Prov'ce 1725	Here 1 Dec. 1725	Wm. Walton of this City	2	Coracoa and Jamaica
" 9	*Susanah* of Bermuda	Hen. Young	"	Bermuda 1727	Here 14 Nov. 1727	Paintor Burrows, P'l Painter and Steph'n Burrows	4	Bermuda
" 11	*Samuel* of this port	Pet'r Morgat	Brig't	Here 1727	Here 2 Apr. 1728	sd. Master, Mord. and D. Gomez, Jon. Suar'l and Sam'l Pintard of this City	2	Coracoa
" 22	*John and Mary*	Wm. White	Sloop	Conecticot 1727	N. London 30 Augst 1727	Jos. Alison of this City	1	Jamaica
" 23	*Don Carlos* of Bristol	Thos. Tannatt	Ship	Bristol 1714	there 17 Augst. last per Endorsm't	Ro't Addison and Hen. Lloyd, his Ma'ties Subj'ts of Gr't Brit'n	47	Antigua

DEC. 25, 1728–DEC. 25, 1729.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Apr. 24	*Cath'n and Mary* of this Port	Hen. Beekman	Sloop	Here 1728	Here 26 June last	Rich'd Vandam, Thos. and Rip Thong and Nath. Marston of this City	7	Berbados
" 25	*Dove*	Jacob Sarly	"	Conecticot 1727	There 31 Aug'st 1727	Thos. Robinson, Sam'l Betts, Abel Collins, Jos. Frisel	1	Cape Francois and Jamaica
" 28	*Rubie*	See Feb. 23, 1729					3	Jamaica
May 2	*Pr'ce Frederic* of S'th Carolina	Geo. White	"	Conecticot 1722	S'th Carolina 3 March 1724/5	Ben. Deharie Jun'r and Hen. Hargrave	2	S'th Carolina
" 9	*Francis* of this port	See Sept. 27,1728					11	Berbados
" 14	*Little Marys* of Bermuda	Jon. Bethell	"	Bermuda 1727	there 9 May 1727	Jon. Jennings and Dan'l Stiles of Bermuda	1	Bermuda
" 19	*Mary* of this port	Thos. Ware	Sloop	N. Engl'd 1721	Boston 3d feb'ry 1724	Nich's Governeur and per Endorsem't Rog'r Groves of this City	1	Jamaica
" 21	" " " "	Jon. Vanpelt	Sloop	Here 1726	Here 23 Jan. last	sd. Master and Jon. Vanpelt Sen'r of this City	2	N'th Carolina
May 24	*Two Sisters* of this Port	Ro't Theobalds	Sloop	Here 1726	Here 16 March 1728	Telem Cruger, Jon. Waldron Sen'r, Abr'm Lynsen and per Endorsement Xtoph'r Banker of this City	1	Berbados
" 28	*Walter* of this port	Gar't Garetse	Scoon'r	" "	Here 12 May 1726	Thos. Thong and per Endorsm't sd. Mast'r	5	St. Thomas
June 3	*Abigail* of this port	Ichabod Lontit	Sloop	" "	Here 10 May 1727	The Execut'rs M. Levy dece'd and Jacob Frank of this City per Endorsm't	4	Serenhaim
" 12	*Thos. and Mary* of this Port	See above					1	St. Thomas
" 23	*Unity* of Bermuda	Jos. Evans	"	Bermuda 1729	There 19 May last	Steph'n Painter, P'l Paint'r Sen'r and Jun'r and said Master	3	Bermuda

" "	*Blk Ey'd Susan*	Jon. Hinman	"	Virginia 1721	Phila. and Lewis 25 March and 14 April 1725	sd. Master and Ro't Shankland of Lewis	1	Lewis *sup.* Delaware
June 23	*Burnet* of this port	Hen. M. Bride	Snow	this Prov'ce 1722	Here 10 Dec. 1726	Corn's Vanhorn Sen and Jun'r M. Evers of this City	1	St. Christoph'rs and Eustatia
June 28	*John* of this Port	And. Bisset	Brig't	Here 1726	Here 5 June 1728	Jno. Moor of this City	8	Berbados
July 8	*Friendship* of Bermuda	Wm. Burrows	Sloop	Bermuda 1726	There 10 March 1726	Thos. and Jos. Hunt and said Master	2	"
" 10	*Anne* of this port	Jon. Bedford	"	Here 1728	Here 21 March last	Dav. and Matt. Clarkson of this City	3	Coracoa
" 19	*Judith and Rebecca* of this port	Jon. Clarke	Scoon.	" "	Here 3 April last	said Master	3	Jamaica
" 22	*Mary* " " "	Jacob Kip	Sloop	In this Prov'ce 1724	Here 12 June 1724	Wm. Walton Jun'r and Sen'r of this City	1	"
Augst 2	*Anne and Elisa* of this port	Mansfield Tucker	Scoon'r	Conecticot 1726	Here 11 Nov. 1726	Just's Bosch, Jon. Abrams of this City and per Endorsm't Hen. Rush	9	Antigua
" 19	*Mary* " " "	Edwin Wills for Dug'd Campbell dece'd.	Ship	Here 1725	Here 2 Nov. 1727	Dud. Campbell, Ar't Schuyler, Ant. Rutgers, Jon. Walter, Rod. Pachero of this City	10	Madeira and Jamaica
" 25	*Samuel* " " "	See Apr. 11, 1729					23	Antigua
" "	*Cath'n and Mary* of this port	See Apr. 24, 1729					1	Jamaica
" "	*Pr'ce William* of this port	See Jan. 20, 1729					2	"
" 27	*Content* of Bermuda	Jon. Wills	Sloop	Bermuda 1726	There 29 April 1726	Jon. Harvey, Ro't White, Joseph Catling and Nath'l Bascomb	4	Berbados
Sept. 2	*Francis* of this port	See Sept. 27,1728					1	Jamaica
" 8	*Phoebe* of this port	Thos. Barnes	Sloop	In this Prov'ce 1727	Here 27 Oct. 1727	said Master	4	R. Island
Oct. 9	*True Blue*	Jon. Williams	Sloop	Bermuda 1714	Antigua 15 July last	Thos. Tarleton of Liverpool	10	Antigua and Mountserrat
" 27	*Sarah* of Bermuda	Rich'd Newbold	"	Bermuda 1729	There 5 June last	Florent'a Seymour, Thos. Forster, Jos. Appelby and Martha Forster	7	Berbados

DEC. 25, 1729–DEC. 25, 1730.

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Feb. 10	*Exchange* of Bermuda	Geo. Seacraft	Sloop	Bermuda 1728	There 28 May 1728	Jon. Gibbs Jun'r and Sen'r, Eph'm Gilbert and Pet'r Mallory	3	Antigua
" 13	*Lancashire* of Bermuda	Thos. Forster	"	Bermuda 1729	There 22 Sept. last	Wm. Mitchell, Sam and Robert Spofforth of Bermuda	5	Bermuda
" 21	*Charm'g Philas* of this port	Smith'n Ratsey	Snow	In this Prov'ce 1727	Here 19 Dec. 1727	Jacob Franks and per Endorsm't, sd. Master	1	London
Mar. 12	*Rose*	Jonath'n Tucker	Sloop	Bermuda 1725	There 26 Jan'ry 1725/6	Nath. and Ben Butterfield and Fr'cis Jones of Bermuda	1	Jamaica
" 18	*Mary* of this port	Hen. Lawrence	Scoon'r	Here 1726	Here 27 Oct. 1726	Jon. Brown, sd. Mast'r, Alex. Moor, Ben Eldridge	2	Coracoa
" 19	*Elisabeth* of this port	Hen. Row	Brign.	Here 1726	Here 14 April 1726	sd. Mast'r and Gar't Vanhorne of this City	3	Antigoa
" 22	*Anne and Elisa* of this port	See August 2, 1729					1	Berbados
" 24	*Mary* of this port	Edw. Wills	Sloop	R. Island 1727	Here 9 May 1728	Jon. Deane of this City	1	Boston
Feb. 5	*Duke of Port'd* of this Port	See Sept. 11, 1727					2	Jamaica
" "	*Francis* of this Port	Wm. Smith	Scoon'r	Here 1729	Here 25 Sept. last	sd. Mast'r, Nath. Gilbert, Steph'n Bayard and Phil Livingston of this City	9	Antigua
" 23	*Essex* of this Port	See Mar. 22, 1729					1	Berbados
" 23	*Speedwell* of this Port	See Feb. 28, 1729					1	Boston
Mar. 24	*Providence* of this Port	Alex. Phoenix	Sloop	N. London 1727	Here 23 Oct'r last	sd. Master and Jacob Golst of this City	2	Jamaica
" "	*Jacob*	Jacob Phoenix	"	This prov'ce 1721	Here 23 Apr. 1722	Wm. Walton of this City	31	St. Christoph'rs

Apr. 13	*Elisabeth* of this port	And. Mansfield	Scoon'r	This Prov'ce 1727	Here 28 feb'ry 1727	P'l and Jon. Richard of this City	2	Surenham
" 21	*Rubie* of this port	See Feb. 23, 1729					1	Jamaica
" "	*Mary Anne*	D. Rickford	Sloop	Conecticot 1726	Antigua 26 Jan'ry last	Sam'l Archibald and Wm. Smith of Antigua	1	Antigua
" 23	*Anne and Elisa* of this port	See August 2, 1729					4	St. Thomas
" 29	*Swallow* of this port	Wm. Jeggles	Sloop	This Prov'ce 1726	Here 15 Dec. 1726	Jacob Walton and Wm. Walton Sen'r and Jun'r	3	Jamaica
" 30	*Samuel* of this port	See April 11, 1729					2	Berbados
May 2	*Phoebe* of this port	Ebenez. Wyatt	"	This Prov'ce 1727	Here 27 Oct. 1727	Thos. Barnes and per Endorsement, Hen. Cruger of this City	1	Coracoa
" 8	*Speedwell* of this port	See Feb. 28, 1729					2	Boston
" "	*Thos. and Mary* of this port	See Jan. 25, 1729					3	St. Thomas
" 28	*Elisabeth* of this port	Hen. Row	Brig.	Here 1726	Here 14 April 1726	sd. Master and Gar't Vanhorn of this City	6	Antigua
" 30	*Lamb*	Jno. Blaker	Scoon'r	" "	Maryland 27 feby. 1728	said Master	3	Berbados
June 13	*Francis* of this port	J'on Young	Brig.	Here 1724	Here 5 June 1728	Jon. Moor of this City	2	"
" 23	*Joanna* of this port	Sam'l Payton	"	Here 1728	Here 6 July 1728	sd. Master and Gar't Vanhorne of this City	1	Jamaica
July 7	*Charm'g Philas* of this Port	See Feb. 21, 1730					1	Jamaica
" 10	*Jacob*	Jacob Phoenix	Sloop	This Prov'ce 1721	Here 23 Apr. 1721	Wm. Walton of this City	1	St. Christop'rs and St. Eustatia
" 11	*Two friends* of N. York and Antigua	Jon. Sutcliffe	Scoon.	Here 1727	Here 16 June 1729	sd. Master, Anth'y Web of this City w'th Edw'd and Jon. Gregory of Antigua	9	Antigua
July 11	*Hum bird*	Pet'r Maul	Sloop	Conecticot 1727	R. Island 16 Oct. last	Geo. Dunbar of R. Is'd.	1	Boston
" 14	*Nonsuch* of this port	Jon. Smith	Brig.	Here 1727	Here 2 Oct. 1727	Phil. French, Enoch Stephenson, Abr'm De Peyster and per Endorsm't Dav. Clarkson	6	Coracoa

DEC. 25, 1729–DEC. 25, 1730.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
July 21	*Anne* of this port	Thos. Hill	Sloop	Here 1728	Here 21 March 1728	Dav. and Matth'w Clarkson of this City	2	Jamaica
" 24	*Duke of Portland* of this port	Jon. Mutlow	Ship	Here 1724	Here 1 June 1724	Rip Van Dam of this City	10	"
Aug. 4	*Essex* of this port	Thos. Fitch	See Mar. 22, 1729(?)				1	Antigoa and P'th Amboy
" 6	*Mary* of this port	Wm. Beekman	Sloop	Here 1719	Here 28 July 1719	said Master	1	Boston
" 8	*Westmorland* of this port	Jas. Vaughan	"	N. Jersey 1726	Here 11 Oct. 1728 formerly N. Jersey	sd. Mast'r, Wm. Rickets, Wm. Crow of this City and Ebenez'r Johnston of N. Jersey	3	Jamaica
June 26	*Francis* of this port	Wm. Smith	Scoon'r	here 1729	14 March 1726 here 25 Sept. last	Sd. Master, Nath. Gilbert, Steph. Bayard and Philip Livingston	16	Antigoa
Aug. 17	*Katharine* of this port	Jac. Keirstede	Sloop	Conecticot 1730	there 22 Apr. last	Pet'r Levingston and Philip Levingston of this City	7	Jamaica and Hispaniola
" 19	*Thos. and Mary* of this port	Fr'cis Judkin	Scoon'r	Here 1729	Here 18 Nov. last	Jos. Robinson of this City and Wm. Barnes his Ma'ties Subj't at St. Thos.	1	St. Thomas
" "	*Katharine* of Nevis	Ro't Sharpers	Sloop	Boston 1730	there 26 May last	Tim. Prout of Boston and Jas. Emra of Nevis	1	Nevis
" 26	*Pr'ce fredric* of S'th Carolina	Geo. White	"	Conecticot 1722	S'th Carolina 13March1724/5	Ben. Deharies Jun'r and Hen. Hargrave	2	S'th Carolina
" 28	*Dolphin* of this Port	Jon. Marston	Brig.	Here 1729	Here 14 Oct. last	P'r and Aug. Jay, P'r Valet, Fred Vancourtland and Nathaniel Marston of this City	5	Jamaica
Sept. 14	*Anne* of this port	Jon. Hunt	Sloop	R. Island 1726	Here 27 Sept. 1729	Thos. Jefferys of this City	4	Jamaica

" 22	*Unity* of Bermuda	Hen. Young	See June 23, 1729				2	Coracoa
" 28	*Byam* of this port	Mich. Thody	Scoon'r	Here 1726	Here 22 May last	Sd. Master, Nath. Gilbert, St'n Bayard and Phil. Livingston of this Prov'ce	2	Antigoa
" "	*Trial* of this Proce	Jon. Lush	"	In this Prov'ce 1728	Here 31 Dec'r last	Amos Willes of this Prov'ce	13	Berbados

MAR. 25–DEC. 25, 1731.[22]

Apr. 8	*Nights Ramble* of this port	Tho. Barns	Sloop	In this Province 1730	Here 1st Octo. last	said Master	1	Boston
" 21	*Byam* of this port	Mich. Thody	Scooner	Here 1726	Here 22 May last	said Master, Nath. Gilbert, Steph. Bayard and Phil. Livingstone of this City	4	Antigoa
" 26	*Francis* of this port	Wm. Smith	"	Here 1729	Here 25 Sept. 1729	Same as above with this master, Wm. Smith not Thody	6	"
" 27	*Anne and Eliza* of this port	Alex. Phenix	"	Conecticot 1726	Here 11 Nov. 1726	Just's Bush and per Endorsemt said Master	11	Barbadoes
May 17	*Pearl* of this port	Jo. Fred	Sloop	N. England 1727	Here 19 feb. 1727	Said Master per Endorsem't	7	Jamaica and St. Thomas
" "	*Mary* of this port	Tho. Ware	"	N. England 1721	Boston 3d feb. 1724	Nich. Governeur and per Endorsemt. Ben. Hildreth, D. C. and Mord. Gomez of this City	4	Jamaica
" 19	*Mary* of Navis	Hugh Wentworth for Jer. Goodridge	"	Bermuda 1728	There 31 Dec. 1728	Sam'l Spofferth of Bermuda and John Woodley of Navis	3	Navis
	Duke of Portland of this port	Jo. Multon	Ship	Here 1724	Here 1 June 1724	Rip van Dam of this City	3	Jamaica
" 31	*Dolphin* of this port	Jo. Marston	Brign.	Here 1729	Here 14 Octob. 1729	Peter and Aug. Jay, Peter Valet, Fred Van Courtland and Nath. Marston of this City	25	Barbados
June 9	*Antigoa* Gally	Ro't Sutcliffe	Ship	N. Engld. 1730	N. Castle Newhampshir 27 Janry. 1730/1	Sd. Master Tho. Stephens, Ed. Gregory of Antigua	14	Antigoa
" 21	*Nonsuch* of this port	Wm. Smith	Brig.	Here 1727	Here 2d October 1727	Phil. French, Enoch Stevenson, Ab'm Dpuyster per Endorsm't Da. Clarkson	1	Madeira

[22] C. O. 5: 1225, N. Y.

MAR. 25–DEC. 25, 1731.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
June 30	*Unity* of Bermuda	Hen. Young	Sloop	Bermuda 1729	There 19 May 1729	Steph. Painter, P't Painter Jun'r and Sen'r, Jos. Evans	1	Caracoa and Bermuda
July 7	*Katharine* of this port	Jac's Keirsted	"	Connecticot 1730	There 22 April 1730	Peter and Phil. Livingston of this city	6	Jamaica
" 13	*Dove* of N. Providence	John Wychingham	"	N. Providence 1731	There 28 May last	Sam'l Vincent of this City	7	N. Providence
" "	*Swallow* of this port	Wm. Jeggels	"	This Province 1726	Here 15 Dec. 1726	Jacob Walton, Wm. Walton Sen'r and Jun'r	6	St. Christophers
" 27	*Anne* of this port	Thos. Hill	"	Here 1728	Here 21 March 1728	Da. Clarkson and Matt. Clarkson of this City	8	Jamaica
Aug. 10	*Albany* of this port	Burger Lipkins	"	This Province 1730	Here 3 Octob. last	sd. Master *Jurat* that Garret Vanhorn of this City	3	Berbados
" 19	*Garret* of this port	Phil. Fiott	"	This Province 1727	Here 23 Dec. 1727	Garret Vanhorn of this City per Endorsem't	2	Surenham
" 20	*Anne and Elizabeth* of this port	Alex. Phenix	Scooner	Conecticot 1726	Here 11 Nov. 1726	Just's Bosch per Endorsem't sd. Master	1	Jamaica
Aug. 23	*Pelican* of London	Bedford Parker	Ship	Suffolk Gt. Brit'n 1714	London 16 April 1716	[23]	4	Mountserat
" 26	*Elizabeth*	Edw'd Fettle	Sloop	This Province 1729	Here 1 June last	Jacob Mott of this Province	1	S't Carolina
Sept. 14	*Mary* of this port	Josias Smith	"	This Province 1730	Here 24 feb. last	Rip Van Dam of this City	3	Berbadoes
" 15	*Francis* of this port	See April 26, 1731					24	Antigoa
" 22	*Dolphin* of this port	See May 31, 1731					2	Jamaica
Sept. 27	*Catharine* of this port	Jasp'r Farmer	Ship	Here 1730	Here 1 Aug'st 1730	Jo. Watter of this City, Arnot Schuyler of N. Jersey	130	Affrica and Perth Amboy

[23] The list of owners is: "Lewis Parker Jun'r, Rich. and Jo. Isles, Jo. and Ja. Langerwood, Jo. Foord, Wm. Reilly, Wm. Davis, Wm. Cosins, Wm. Maycock, Jo. Fra's and Thos. Philps of London, Jo. Dawson, L. Parker Sen'r, Ro't Parker, Geo. Tickner, Rich. Devon of Ramsgate, Rich. Turner, Thos. Rosier, Wm. Parkerland and Jo. Simpson of N. Castle on tine."

" 28	*Unity* of this port	Jo. Hunt	Scooner	N. Jersey 1727	Here 15 June last	sd. Master, Obad'a Hunt, Jos. Boyd'n Jamain and Martin Burger of this city	1	St. Lucia
Oct. 5	*William* of this port	Jacob Phoenix	Brig'n	This Province 1731	Here 24 June last	Jacob Walton, Wm. Walton Sen'r and Jun'r of this City	2	Berbados
" "	*Swallow* of this port	See July 13, 1731					5	Jamaica
Nov. 10	*Joanna* of this port	Sam'l Payton	Brig'n	Here 1728	Here 6 July 1728	sd. Mast'r and Garr't Vanhorn of this City	6	"
Dec. 4	*Ann* of this port	Thomas Hill	Sloop	" "	Here 21 March 1728	Da. and Mat'w Clarkson of this City	5	"

DEC. 25, 1731–DEC. 25, 1732.

Feb. 29	*Katharine* of Nevis	Robert Sharpless	Sloop	Boston 1730	There 26 May 1730	Timothy Prout of Boston and James Emra of Nevis	1	Nevis
Mar. 29	*Peter and John* of this port	Jon. Lawrence	Brig't	here 1730	here 9th Nov. 1730	Jno. Brown, Gul. Verplank and John Du Wint of this City	5	St. Thomas
Apr. 13	*Mary* of this port	Bart. Bratt	Sloop	This province 1730	here 24thofFeb. 1730	Rip Van Dam of this City	2	Jamaica
" "	*Duke of Portland* of this port	See May 19, 1731					5	"
May 2	*Swallow* of this port	See July 13, 1731					1	Hispaniola
" 22	*Squirrel* of Mt. Serrat	James Collingwood	Sloop	Connecticut 1729	there 24th Nov. 1729	Samuel Booth of Connecticut and Nath. Webb of Monserrat	2	Mt. Serrat
" 23	*Mary* of Nevis	See May 19, 1731					4	Nevis
June 6	*Albany* of this port	See Aug. 10, 1731					8	Berbados
" 10	*Dolphin*	See May 31, 1731					8	Coracoa
" 14	*Elizabeth* of this port	Henry Rose	Brig'n	Here 1726	Here the 14th Aprill 1726	sd. Master and Gar't Vanhorn of this City	10	Antigoa
" 20	*Mary* of this port	Francis Boswell	Scoon'r	" "	Here 27 Octr. 1726	John Brown, Hen. Lawrence, Nath'l Marston Jun'r and Gul. Verplantz per Endorsement	2	"
July 3	*Charming Joanna* of Bermuda	Wm. Seymour	Sloop	Bermuda 1731	there 7th Oct. last	Wm. Seymour Sen'r, Florenta Seymour and per Endorsm't David Provost of this City	8	Berbados

DEC. 25, 1731–DEC. 25, 1732.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
July 17	*Rebecca* of this port	Jno. Young	Brig.	here 1731	here 30th Aug't last	John Moore of this City	5	Berbados
" "	*Peter and John* of this port	See Mar. 29, 1732					1	St. Thomas
" "	*Neptune* of Bermuda	Francis Fubert	Sloop	Bermuda 1728	there 27 Sept. 1728	Henry Corbusier, Walter Mitchell and Joseph Jones	2	Bermuda
" 21	*Katharine* of this port	See July 7, 1731					51	Jamaica
Aug. 5	*Mary*	John Mitchel	Sloop	Virginia 1730	there 8 Feb. 1730	Said Master and Solomon Sears of Bermuda	6	"
" 8	*Younger Brother*	Nicholas Rock	"	R. Island 1728	there the 11th August 1731	Said Master of Waterford in Ireland	1	St. Eustacia
" 21	*Providence* of this port	Jon. Davis	"	Here 1732	Here 21 April last	Marin's Eq't. and per Endorsmt Rich'd Van Dam of this City	1	Coracoa
Sept. 23	*Patience* of this port	Vincent Bodin	"	Here 1725	here 28 Sept. 1725	Rod. Pachego of this City	1	South Carolina
Sept. 23	*Thomas* of this port	John Stevens	Brigt.	This Province 1731	here 9th Sept. 1731	Said Master, John Grossbeek Jun'r, Thos. Bayeaux Jun'r, Edward Holland of this province and David Minville of Berbados	3	Berbados
" 28	*Anne* of this port	See July 27, 1731					4	Jamaica
Oct. 20	*Rebecca* of this port	See July 17, 1732					3	Jamaica
" 25	*Elizabeth and Mary* of this port	Ichabod Lontiit	Sloop	This prov'ce 1732	Here 17 July last	sd. Mas'r, Jon. Haviland, Wm. Haviland and Corn's Euretse	4	"
Dec. 21	*Union* of N. Jersey	Lewis Thibou	Scoon'r	N. Jersey 1730	there 8 Mar. 1730	Jon. Low, David and John Ogden of New Jersey	1	Antigoa

Feb. 21	*Rebecca* of this port	See July 17, 1732					1	Jamaica
Mar. 9	*Neptune* of Bermuda	See July 17, 1732					2	Jamaica and Bermuda
" 14	*Revenge* of this port	Albertus Bosch	Sloop	This Province 1732	here 6 Nov. last	Wm. Smith of this City, Henry Benin of Antigua	1	Antigua
" 19	*Catherine* of this port	Mathew Wolfe	"	Rd. Island 1730	here 29 Aug. last	said Master	2	Jamaica
Apr. 7	*Albany* of this port	John Davis	Sloop	This Prov'e 1727	here 23 Dec. 1727	Gerr't V'n Horne of this City per Register	15	Jamaica
" 9	*Katherine* of this port	See July 7, 1731					5	"
" 19	*Nonsuch* of this port	See June 21, 1731					11	"
Apr. 23	*Success* of N. Providence	Wm. Higgs	Sloop	This prov'ce 1732	There 24 Mar. last	sd. Master	3	Bermuda
" 30	*James and Henry*	Hen. Bow	"	Here 1732	Here 16 Nov. last	sd. Master, Ab'm and Jam. Vanhorne and Hen. Myers Jun'r	19	Jamaica
" "	*Dolphine* of this port	Geo. Duncan	Brig't	Here 1729	Here 14 Oct. 1729	Pet. and Aug. Jay, Peter Valet, Fred V. Cortlant and Nath. Marston of this City	6	Antigua
May 7	*Mary*	Jon. Mitchel	Sloop	Virginia 1730	There 8 Feb. 1730	said Master and Solomon Sears of Boston	10	Jamaica
" 10	*Thos. and Mary*	Fra. Judkins	Scoon'r	here 1729	here 18 Nov. 1729	Jos. Robinson of this City and Wm. Barnes his Ma'ties Subject of St. Thomas	1	St. Thomas
" 21	*Lyon*	Edw'd Oliver	Sloop	Here 1730	Jamaica 4/10 July last	Ben. Hume of Jamaica	12	Jamaica
" 25	*Sea Flower* of Jamaica	Wm. Axon	"	Bahama Islands 1729	Jamaica 8/9 July 1731	Roger Reading and Robert Galbreth of Jamaica	1	Carocoa
July 13	*Catherine* of this port	See Sept. 27, 1731					100	Africa and P'th Amboy
26	*St. Michael*	Nich's Clarke	Brig'n	Virginia 1729	there the 9th ffeb'ry 1729	Jon. Ellegood of Virginia	1	Berbados
Aug. 4	*Princess Ann*	Jon. Young	"	This Province 1733	Here the 18 Aprill last	Jon. Moore of this City, Blenny Harper and D'l Moore of Barbadoes	1	"

DEC. 25, 1732–DEC. 25, 1733.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Aug. 20	*Katherine*	Matt. Wolf	Sloop	R. Island 1730	there the 29th August 1732	said Master	1	Jamaica
" 21	*Heron and Dolphin* of Bermuda	Dan'l Hubbard	"	Bermuda 1729	There The 22d Sept. 1729	Alex'r Heron, Walt. Mitchel, Step'n Judkins and Ben. Wright	1	Antigoa and Bermudas
Aug. 23	*Katharine* of this port	See July 7, 1731					50	Jamaica
" 27	*James and Henry*	See April 30, 1733					3	Antigoa
Sep. 10	*Thos. and Mary* of this port	See May 10, 1733					1	St. Thomas
" 15	*Speedwell* of Lewis	John Painter	Sloop	on Delaware 1730	at Lewis and Philada. Aprill the 18th 1730	Said Master and John Miers of Lewis Town	1	Lewis on Delawar
" 24	*Rebecca* of this port	Andrew Mansfield	Brig.	Here 1731	Here the 30th August 1731	John Moore of this City	2	Jamaica
Oct. 10	*Dolphin* of this port	Geo. Duncan	See April 30, 1733				1	Antigua
" "	*Riddle* of Bermuda	George Seacraft	Sloop	Bermuda 1732	there the 22d feb. last	Said Master, Wm. Riddle and William Alboy of Bermuda	1	Bonira[24] and Coracoa
" 19	*Revenge* of this port	See March 14, 1733					4	Antigoa
" "	*Mary* of this port	Josias Smith	Sloop	This Province 1730	Here the 24th feb. 1730	Rip Van Dam of this city	1	Jamaica

DEC. 25, 1733–DEC. 25, 1734.

Feb. 13	*Benja'n* of this port	Ab'm Skinner	Brig't	Here 1727	Here June 5, 1732	said Master and per Endorsement David Provoost, Hen. Cuyler and Xtoph'r Bancker of this City	1	Antigoa

[24] Bonaire, one of the Dutch West Indies.

" 15	*Rebecca* of this port	Andrew Mansfield	"	Here 1731	Here Aug. 30, 1731	John Moore of this City	2	Jamaica
Mar. 7	*Nonsuch* of this port	See June 21, 1731					11	"
" 18	*Jo'n and Eliz.*	Jno. Lawrence	Sloop	Conecticut 1730	R. Island 1st 9'br last	Thos. Lawrence and John Brown of this City	1	St. Thomas
Apr. 22	*St. Andrews* of Bermuda	Wm. Keel	Sloop	Bermuda 1733	There the 4th Aprill Instant	Wm. Riddel and sd. Master of Bermuda	2	Bermuda
May 8	*Hope* of this port	John Bedford	Brig	here 1719	here the 23d 8br. 1721	Abraham Vanhorne and per Endorsement Benjamin Dehairst of this City	2	Jamaica
" 10	*Mary* of Nevis	See May 19, 1731					3	Nevis
" 18	*Katharin* of this port	See July 7, 1731					4	Jamaica
" 30	*King George* of this port	Robt. Hood	Snow	Here 1725	Here the 27th 8br 1727	Wm. Walton and per Endorsm't Jacob Lasley and David Provost of this City	4	Coracoa
June 10	*Happy* of Bermuda	Ed. Burrows	Sloop	Bermuda 1733	there the 4th ffeb'ry Last	Jos., Thos. and Kisiah Hunt, Ed. Burrows and Dan'l Hinson of Bermuda	1	Antigoa
" 18	*Mary* of this port	Jos. Smith	"	This Provce. 1730	Here 24th feb. 1730	Rip Van Dam of this City	7	Berbadoes
July 17	*Johannah* of this port	Sam'l Payton	Brig'n	Here 1728	here 6th July 1728	said Master and Garrett Vanhorn of this City	1	Coracoa
31	*Jamaica* Pacquett of this port	Jacobus Kiersted	"	This Province 1733	Here 25 Aug. last	Robt. Livingstone Jun'r and Phill Livingstone of this province	4	Jamaica
Aug. 5	*Mary* of this port	L. Thibou	Sloop	Here 1724	Here 12 June 1724	Wm. Walton Sen'r and Jun'r of this City	1	St. Christophers
" 7	*Mary* of Nevis	See May 19, 1731					2	Nevis
" 13	*Catharine* of this port	Thomas Vater	Brig'n	Here 1727	Here 19 April 1727	Phil Cortlandt, Henry Cuyler, and Xpher Banker of this City	1	Barbados
" 14	*Royal Ranger* of New Providence	Rich'd Fowle	Sloop	N. Providence 1732	N. Providence 4 Jan. 1732	Jeremiah Burrowes of New Providence (Bahama Isl'ds)	1	Coracoa
Sep. 2	*Warwick* of Bermuda	Jno. Darrell Jun'r	"	Bermuda 1730	There 10 March 1736	Jno. Darrell Jun'r, Moore Darrell and Wm. Riddel	1	St. Lucia

DEC. 25, 1733–DEC. 25, 1734.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Oct. 18	*Catherine* of this port	Philip Fiot	Sloop	New Jersey 1734	Here 23d Sept. last	said Master	1	Rh. Island
Nov. 21	*Prince William* of Bristol	Thos. Bayo	Ship	Bristol, Great Brittain 1731	There 10 Feby. 1731	John Daltera, Wm. Hare, Thos. Caster, John Morgan, Organ Furnell and Joseph Fowle of Bristol	2	Jamaica

DEC. 25, 1734–JUNE, 1736.

Mar. 17	*Katherina* of this port	Henry Tuckniss	Sloop	Conne'tt 1732	Here 19th February 1732	Robt. and Phill. Livingston of this City	6	Jamaica
Mar. 28	*Rebecca* of this port	See Feb. 15, 1734					6	"
May 8	*Rebecca* of New Jersey	Mathew Smith	Sloop	Salem, N. Jersey 1730	there 25Novem'r1730	Molachi Davis of Salem in the west Division of N. Jersey	1	St. Christophers
" 13	*Royal Ranger* of New Providence	See Aug. 14, 1734					7	Coracoa
" 15	*Hester* of this port	Nicholas Garison	Sloop	Here 1733	Here 1734	Paul Richard, Mordica and David Gomez	1	St. Thomas
" 17	*Jamaica* Pacquet of this port	See July 31, 1734					55	Jamaica
" 19	*Midnight* of this port	Thomas Barns	"	" "	Here 27 Nov. 1733	said Master	2	S'th Carolina
June 2	*Mary* of this port	Patrick Nealson	"	Here 1734	Here 8 June 1734	James Dorcey of this city	19	Jamaica
July 7	*Catherine* of this port	Henry Tuckness	"	Conecticut 1732	Here Feby 19th 1732	Philip Livingston	2	"

July 8	*Three Bros* of this port	Benja. Keirsted	Brig't	Virginia 1728	There Octo. 21, 1728	William Godfery of Virginia and Benjamin Bartlett of Maderas	1	"
" 28	*Royal Ranger* of New Providence	See Aug. 14, 1734					2	Curacoa
" 30	*Catherine* of this port	Thom. Ware	Sloop	here 1718	here June 25, 1731	Rip Van Dam of this city and said Master as per Endorsm't	5	Jamaica
Aug. 13	*St. Peter* of this Port	John Hunt	Brig.	Conecticut 1735	here April 28, 1735	Abraham Vanhorne Ju'r and John Provoost of this City with sd. Master	7	Jamaica
" 28	*Hester* of this Port	Nicholas Garrison	Sloop	here 1733	here April 27, 1734	Paul Rich'd and Dav'd Gomez	2	St. Thomas
Oct. 13	*Jama.* packet of this port	See July 31, 1734					2	Jamaica
" 27	*Rebecca* of this port	See Feb. 15, 1734					3	"
Jan. 5	*Princes Ann* of this port	John Young	Brig't	This Province 1733	here April 18, 1733	John Moore of this City and Bleny Harper and Dan'l Moore of Barbadoes	2	"
April 2	*Happy* of Bermuda	See June 10, 1734					1	Bermuda
" 6	*Patience* of this port	Jos. Good	Sloop	Here 1725	Here 28 Sept. 1725	Roderigo Pajaco of London	1	Bay of Honduras
" 13	*Rebecca* of this port	See Feb. 15, 1734					7	Jamaica
May 22	*Olive Branch* of Bermuda	Thomas Durham	Sloop	Bermudas 1731	there 26 Feb. 1731	Rich'd Durham, Jos., Thos. and Keziah Hunt, Wm. Burrows	3	Coracoa
" 28	*Happy Return* of this port	John Lawrence	"	N. Engl'd 1723	there 19th July last	Sam'el Broadhurst and sd. Master of this province	1	St. Thomas

MAR. 26, 1737–MAR. 25, 1738.

Apr. 16	*Enterprize*	Oliver Leacraft	"	Bermuda 1727	St. Xstophers 10 May 1736	Messrs. Rich'd and Paul Boyd of London and Rich'd Rowland of Xstophers	15	St. Xstophers
May 6	*Eliza and Mary* of Boston	Josiah Jones	Scoon'r	New England 1724	New England 1 March 1732	sd. Master	2	New Providence
" 31	*Albany* of this port	John Davies	Sloop	This Province 1727	Here 23 Dec'r 1727	Garret Vanhorne of this City per Endorsem't	5	Antegoa

MAR. 26, 1737–MAR. 25, 1738.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
May 31	*Unity* of Bermuda	Stephen Paynter	Sloop	Bermuda 1736	there 7 June 1736	sd. Master, Wm. Leacraft and Paul Painter	1	Jamaica
" "	*Union* of this port	Henry Lawrence	Brig't	New Jersey 1730	Here Octob. 26, 1734	Nath. Marston Jun'r, Thos. Marston, Abr. Lansing, Jno. Cruger and sd. Master of this City	2	Antegoa
June 2	*Mary* of this port	Hugh Wentworth	Sloop	Bermuda 1728	Here this day	sd. Master and Wm. Exon of this City	15	Coracoa
" 15	*Prudent Betty* of this port	Jacob Phoenix	"	New England 1731	Jamaica 11 April 1737	Henry Cruger, Jacob Phoenix of New York	1	Jamaica
" "	*Rebecca* of this port	See Feb. 15, 1734					9	"
" 27	*Midnight* of this port	See May 19, 1735					2	Sth Carolina
" 28	*Speedwell* of New Jersey	Peter Allaire	Sloop	New Jersey 1735	there 10 July 1735	John Gray of New Jersey	7	St. Christophers
July 6	*Bird* Gally of London	William Hinton	Ship	Boston 1736	there 14 July 1736	[25]	3	Mountserrat and Angiula
" 23	*Richmond*	Daniel Hubbard	Sloop	Bermuda 1736	Jamaica 19 April 1737	Gersham Ely	9	Jamaica
" "	*Revenge*	Albertus Bosch	"	This Province 1732	Here 6 Nov. 1732	Wm. Smith of this City and Henry Bonmi	2	Antigoa
Aug. 8	*Free Mason* of this port	Thomas Parmyter	Sloop	New England	S'th Carolina May 19, 1737	David Provoost Jun'r of this City	2	New Providence and S'th Carolina
" "	*Jno. and Eliza*	Francis Rosewell	Sloop	Conecticut 1730	Rd. Island Nov. 1, 1733	Thos. Lawrence and John Brown of this City	1	Coracoa
" 23	*Thomas* of this port	John Stephens	Brig't	This province 1731	Here 22d June 1734	[26]	3	Jamaica

[25] The owners are: "Thos. Oxrand [?], Jno. Osborn of Boston and Sam'l Slydobottam, Thos. Wright and Micha. Bird of London."
[26] Owners: "S'd Master, James Favies, Jun'r, John Groosbeck of New York and Joseph Mico of London."

Aug. 29	*Hester* of this port	Nicholas Garretson	Sloop	Here 1736	Here 29 Dec. last	Paul Richard, Mordecai and David Gomez	1	St. Thomas
Sep. 2	*Olive Branch* of Bermuda	See May 22, 1736					1	Jamaica
Oct. 17	*Don Carlos* of this port	Abraham Kip	"	This province 1736	Here 20 Dec. last	Jacob Walton and Wm. Walton Sen'r and Jun'r	9	St. Augustin
" 27	*Free Mason* of this port	See Aug. 8, 1737					1	S'th Carolina
" 29	*Anne* of this port	Thomas Seymour	"	This province 1731	S'th Carolina 11 Sept. 1734	Wm. and Gill'n Verplank, Anth. Rutgers and Jno. Hinman	2	Jamaica
Nov. 16	*Rebecca* of this port	See Feb. 15, 1734					2	"
" "	*St. Andrew* of Bermuda	Geo. Seacraft	"	Bermuda 1733	Jamaica 6th October 1735	sd. Master and Wm. Riddell of Bermuda	2	"
Mar. 6	*Georgia Pacquet*	John Lush	"	This province 1734	Here 20 Sept. 1736	sd. Master, Anth. and Peter Rutgers, Xtopher Banker and David Provoost	1	S'th Carolina

MAR. 25, 1738–DEC. 25, 1739.[27]

Mar. 27	*St. Peter* of this port	John Hunt	Brig.	Conecticut 1735	Here 28 Apl. 1735	sd. Master and per Endorsm't Obadiah Hunt and Jos. Cowley	12	S'th Carolina
Apr. 21	*Industry* of Bermuda	Hubbard Outerbridge	Sloop	Bermuda 1736	there 21 Dec'r 1736	sd. Master and Stephen Outerbridge	4	Antegoa
May 5	*Georgia* Pacquet	John Lush	"	This province 1734	Here 20 Sept. 1736	sd. Master, Anth'n and Peter Rutgers, Xstopher Banker, David Provoost of this City	7	S'th Carolina
" 8	*Jean* of Bermuda	Nath'l Henson	"	Bermuda 1735	Here 20 Oct. 1736	Rich'd Durham and Thomas Hunt of this City	1	St. Thomas's and Spanish Town
" 31	*Mary* of this port	Robert Ratsey	Ship	Here 1725	Here 15 Dec. 1725	Jno. Walters, Pet'r and Adoniah Schyler, Anth. Rutgers of this City and Rod. Pajaco of London	9	Jamaica

[27] C. O. 5: 1226, N. Y. The entries for 1739-1741 are also to be found in C. O. 5: 1227, N. Y.

MARCH 25, 1738–DEC. 25, 1739.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
June 3	*St. Andrew* of Bermuda	George Seacraft	Sloop	Bermuda 1733	Jamaica 6 Octob'r 1736	sd. Master and Wm. Riddle of Bermuda	2	Jamaica
" 5	*Cathrine* of this port	Thomas Ware	"	New Jersey 1736	Here 31 Octob'r last	Ab'm Vanhorne Jun'r of this City	3	Cape Verde in Africa
" 8	*Turtle Dove* of this port	Daniel Bloom	Brig't	Conecticut 1737	Here 15 Dec. last	Nath. Marstin, James Searle, and Nich. Bayard of this City	10	Jamaica
" 10	*Nightingale* of this port	Samuel Tingley	Sloop	N. Engl'd 1737	Here 2 Dec. last	Thos. Barnes of this City	3	Georgia
" 13	*Unity* of Bermuda	Paul Painter	"	There 1736	There 7 June 1736	Step'n Painter, Wm. Leacraft and sd. Master	1	Bermuda
" 19	*Unity* of Bermuda	Richard Henson	"	Bermuda 1734	there 26th July 1734	Paul Painter Jun'r and Sen'r, Ruth Evans	2	Berbadoes
" 26	*Torbay* of Bristol	George Frewin	Ship	Boston 1733	there 5th June 1733	sd. Master and Jno. Teague of Bristol	8	Antegoa
July 3	*Delight* of Bermuda	Stephen Burrows	Sloop	Bermuda 1737	there 2d June 1737	sd. Master, Jno. Henry and Thos. Gilbert, Thos. Jenoux and Paul Frimingham	1	Jamaica
" 10	*Georgia* Pacquet of this port	See May 5, 1738					18	S'th Carolina
" 24	*Margaret* of this port	James Nevin	Sloop	Here 1737	Here 3d Mar. last	Hen. V'n Borssum, Jas. Darcy, Corn's Kortwright, Wyn'ts Vangant, Edw'd Man and sd. Master	2	Jamaica
31	*Jno. and Eliza* of this port	Francis Bosewell	"	Conecticut 1730	R. Island 1 Nov. 1733	Thos. Lawrence and Jno. Brown of this City	3	St. Xtophers
Aug. 5	*Blessing* of Bermuda	Thos. Wells	"	Bermuda 1735	there 15th Apr. 1736	Jn. Wells, Rich'd Methelin and Mary Bassett	3	Jamaica
Aug. 15	*Mary* of this port	William Boyd	Sloop	This prov'ce 1730	Here 24th Feby. 1730	Rip Van Dam of this city	2	Jamaica

Aug. 30	*Two Brothers*	Peter Canon	Sloop	This prov'ce 1736	Here 25th May 1736	Jno. Aspinwall and Jno. Canon	1	S'th Carolina
" "	*Mary* of London	Thos. Jones	Snow	Pensilvania 1737	Phila. 24 Mar. 1737/8	Edw'd Lloyd of London	6	Antigoa
Sep. 6	*Midnight* of this port	James Tucker	Sloop	This prov'ce 1733	Here 12 Jan'y last	sd. Master and Anth. Rutgers of this City	4	S'th Carolina
" "	*Anne* of this port	Thos. Hill	Sloop	Here 1728	Here 21 Mar. 1728	David and Math. Clarkson of this City	3	Jamaica
" 18	*Georgia pacq't* of this port	Burdet Pilkington Fleetwood	"	This prov'ce 1734	Here 28 Sept. 1736	Jno. Lush, Anth. and Pet'r Rutgers, Xtopher Banker and Dav. Provoost of this City	5	S'th Carolina
Oct. 23	*Unity* of Bermuda	Stephen Painter	"	Bermuda 1734	there 26 July 1734	Paul Painter, Jun'r and Sen'r Ruth Evans	1	Madeira
" "	*Frances* of Bermuda	Benja. Stiles	"	Bermuda 1738	there 28 Mar. last	sd. Master, Mary Stiles and George Gibbs	1	Bermuda
" 27	*Mary* of this port	Josias Smith	Ship	Here 1725	Here 15 Dec. 1725	Jno. Walter, Pet'r and Adoniah Schyler and Anth. Rutgers of this City and Rod. Pajaco of London	1	Jamaica and Hispaniola
" 31	*Two Brothers*	See Aug. 30, 1738					1	S'th Carolina
Nov. 25	*Bettsey* of —pool	Robt. Tavernor	Brigt	New Engl'd 1733	London 21 Feb'y 1734 and Bristol 26 Aug. 1737	sd. Master of Pool, Rich'd Pinnell and Jno. Pelly of London	3	Antegoa
Feb. 21	*Mary* of this port	See Aug. 15, 1738					6	Jamaica
Mar. 2	*Jean* of Bermuda	Nath'n Hinson	Sloop	Bermuda 1735	Here 20 Octob. 1736	Rich'd Durham and Thos. Hunt of this City	1	Bermuda
" 19	*Anne* of this port	Robt. Griffith Jun'r	"	This prov'ce 1738	Here 10 Aug't last	Rob't Griffith of this City	1	Boston and Marth Viny'd
" 23	*Anne* of this port	See Sept. 6, 1738					16	Jamaica
Apr. 16	*Charity* of this port	Josias Smith	Sloop	Here 1738	Here 1 Dec. last	Wm. Smith of this City	2	Jamaica
" "	*Hopewell* of Bermuda	Elias Young	"	Bermuda 1738	11th Apl. 1739	sd. Master, Jno. Tucker and Pet'r Mallory	1	Turks Isl'd.
" "	*Anne* of this port	John Aderly	"	Bermuda 1732	Here 29 Nov. last	Henry Cuyler Jun'r and Sen'r of this City	1	Antigoa
May 10	*Sea Horse* of this port	Thos. Handlin	Brig'n	N. Engl'd 1737	Here 8 June last	Jos. Robinson and Jon. Moore of this City	4	Sp. Town and St. Tho. in Virg'n Islands

MAR. 25, 1738–DEC. 25, 1739.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
May 10	*Wm.* of this port	Wm. Richard	Sloop	N. Engl'd 1738	Here 18 Dec. last	Edw'd and Aust'n Hicks of this City	3	Jamaica
June 6	*Mary and Marg't* of Bermuda	Thos. Vardell	"	Bermuda 1736	There 13 Dec. 1736	Wm. Burrows, Jos. Hunt, D'l Hinson and Thos. Fowle	1	St. Thomas
" 13	*Retrieve* of Bermuda	D'l Burch	"	Bermuda 1739	There 25 May last	Thos. Seymour, Corn's Williams, Ch. Willis, Robt. Burr	5	Bermuda
" "	*Elizabeth* of this port	Jno. Richard	"	This Prov'ce 1738	Here 4 May 1738	P'l Richard, Dav. and Mord'a Gomez of this City	11	St. Thomas and Sp. Town in Virg'n Islds.
July 9	*Wheel of Fortune* of this port	Albert Bosch	Sloop	Here 1733	Here 5 Jan. 1736	Jasp'r Bosch	7	Boston
" 20	*Margaret* of this port	Jas. Nevin	"	" 1737	Here 3 March 1737	Henry V'n borssom, Jas. Darcey, Corn. Kortright, Wyn't Vansant of this City	1	Berbados
" 21	*Unity* of Liverpool	Thos. Heysham	Ship	Liverpool 1725	There 18 Feb'ry 1736	James Kennan and Jas. Haselden	2	Jamaica
Aug. 6	*Charity* of this port	See Apr. 16, 1739					18	"
" "	*Ebenezer* of London	John Macky	Brig'n	Boston, N. England 1738	There 18 Nov. last	Xthop'r Kilby of Boston, *Jurat*, Henry Lang and Kath'n Forman of London	3	"
" 31	*Hester* of this port	Abr'm Brasher	Sloop	here 1736	here 29 decem'r 1736	P'l Richard, Mord. and Dav. Gomez of this City	3	St. Thomas
Sept. 3	*Margt. and Mary* of this port	Ben. Morgan	Sloop	N. Jersey 1738	here 10 July last	sd. Master and John Tibout of this City	1	S'th Carolina
" "	*Black Joke* of Bermuda	Ben. Beak	"	Bermuda 1739	There 14 May last	Henry Tucker, Wm. Riddel and Sam'l Lightbourn	4	Bermuda
" 22	*Two Brothers* of this port	Pet'r Cannon	"	This prov'ce 1736	here 1 decem'r last	sd. Master and John Schermerhorn of this City	1	S'th Carolina

Oct. 13	*Sarah* of this port	John Cannon	Sloop	N. England 1734	Boston 12 May 1738	said Master	1	Boston and Rhode Isl'd
Nov. 2	*Prince Frederick* of this port	Pat. Nealson	Brig.	This province 1725	here 15 Novm'r 1725	M. Levy, Robt. Livingston, David and Matt. Clarkson and P'l Richard of this City	4	Jamaica
" 15	*Antigoa* pacq't of this port	Hen'y Lawrence	"	This province 1739	here 2d July last	[28]	2	Antigoa
Dec. 3	*Affrica* of this port	Mansfield Tucker	Sloop	This province 1738	here 4 Aprill last	Abraham Vanhorn Jun'r of this City	1	Jamaica

DEC. 25, 1739–DEC. 25, 1740.

Mar. 21	*Dove* of Bermuda	John Morgan	Sloop	Bermuda 1738	There 16 Oct. 1738	Wm. Riddel and Jon. Gibbs	1	Jamaica
Apr. 9	*Royal Ranger* of New Provid'ce	Rich'd Fowle	Sloop	New Providence 1732	There 4 January 1732	Jere. Burrows of New Providence, Bahama Islds.	1	Bermuda
" "	*Mary and Marg't* of Bermuda	Thos. Fowle	See June 6, 1739				1	"
" 15	*Margaret* of this port	See July 20, 1739					2	Berbados
Apr. 28	*Esther* of this port	Lcon'd Lispcnard	Bilnid'r	This prov'ce 1733	here 2 Nov. 1733	P'r and Jon. Schuyler and John Walter of this City	1	Jamaica
" 30	*Don Carlos* of this port	Abraham Kip	Sloop	This province 1736	here 20 decem'r 1736	Jacob Walton, William Walton, Sen'r and Jun'r	4	Coracoa
May 19[29]	*Ranger*	Sam'l Bayard	"	R. Island 1737	There 7 Aug'st last	Abr'm De Peyster, John Schuyler and Gul'n Verplank of this City *Jurat*, sd. Master	2	Antigoa
" 28	*Retrieve* of this port	John Seymour	"	Bermuda 1739	here 24 decem'r last	Theophil's Elsworth and and Thos. Seymour of this City	2	St. Christophers
" "	*Elisabeth* of this port	Nich. Garison	See June 13, 1739				1	St. Thomas and Virgin Islands
June 9	*Legunea* of this port	Jacob Phoenix	Ship	This Province 1739	here 7 July last	sd. Master, Hen'y Cuyler, Hen. and Jon. Cruger Jun'r of this City	10	Jamaica
" 18	*Antigoa* Pacq't. of this port	Henry Lawrence	Brig'n	" "	here 2 July last	See Nov. 15, 1739	4	Antigoa

[28] Owners: "s'd Master, St'n and Nich's Bayard, Nath. Marston, Abr'm Lynsen of this City, Wm. Furnel of Antigoa."

[29] A private man-of-war captured the *Solitude* and the *Lady of Victory,* with 8 and 11 slaves, probably negroes, who were brought in to New York May 19.

DEC. 25, 1739–DEC. 25, 1740.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
June 28	*Frances* of Bermuda	John Mallory	Sloop	Bermuda 1734	There 3 decem'r 1734	William Mallory Sen'r and Jun'r and Wm. Riddle	1	Bermuda
July 4	*Elisabeth* of Bermuda	Rich'd Mathelin Jun'r	"	Bermuda 1739	There 4 March last	Rich'd Mathelin	9	St. Christoph'rs
Aug. 12	*Charity* of this port	John Sturrup	See Apr. 16, 1739				1	Jamaica
" 29	*Jamaica* pacq't of this port	Wm. Boyd	Brig.	This province 1733	here 25 Aug. 1733	Robt. Livingston Jun'r and Phil. " of this City	4	"
" 30	*Dolphin* of this port	Rich. Jeffery	"	here 1729	here 14 Oct. 1729	P'r and Aug'st Jay, Pet'r Valet, Fr'd V'n Courtland and Nath'l Marston of this City	2	Antigoa
Sept. 1	*Hester* of this port	See Aug. 31, 1739[30]					1	St. Thomas and Sp. Town Virgin Isld.
" 23	*Charming Joana* of Bermuda	Jos. Conyers	Sloop	Bermuda 1731	there 5 Dec. 1734	Wm. Seymour and David Provost of this City per Endorsement	2	Antigoa
Oct. 23	*Olive branch* of Bermuda	John Wadson	Sloop	Bermuda 1739	There 5 March last	Thos. Hunt, Rich'd Durham and Nath. Marston of this City	3	Jamaica
Nov. 8	*Mary* of this port	Hugh Wentworth	"	Bermuda 1728	here 2 June 1737	[31]	1	"
" 18	*Antigoa* pacq't of this port	See Nov. 15, 1739					2	Antigoa
Dec. 23	*Mary* of Bermuda	Ben. James	Sloop	Bermuda 1739	There 7 March 1739	Fr'cis Jones and John Sears	1	Jamaica

[30] This entry states that the ship was built in New Jersey and registered in New York, Feb. 18, 1740.
[31] Owners: "sd. Master and Wm. Exon of this City and p'r Endorsm't James Gordon and Wm. Wells of St. Christophers."

Jan. 5	*Jamaica* pacq't of this port	See Aug. 29, 1740					2	Jamaica
" "	*Arent* of this port	Alex. Phoenix	Ship	here 1727	here 20 Sept. 1727	John Walter of this City and A. Schuyler of N. Jersey	1	"
March 21	*Swallow* of this port	Henry V'n Borssom	Sloop	This province 1739	here 10 Sept. last	said Master	1	Boston
Apr. 1	*Sea Nymph* of S'th Carolina	Jonath'n Wickham	Sloop	New Providence 1735	There 17 May last and pr acknowled'mt of property	Wm. Lassere of S'th Carolina	1	S'th Carolina
May 8	*Anne* of this port	Thomas Hill	Sloop	here 1728	21 Aug'st foll here 21 March 1728	Dav. Clarkson and per Endorsm't Enoch Stevenson of this City	2	Jamaica
" "	*Seahorse* of this port	Joseph Haviland	See May 10, 1739.				1	St. Thomas
" 20	*Mary* of Bermuda	See Dec. 23, 1740					10	Jamaica
May 22	*Speedwell* of this port	Pat. Powers	Sloop	This Province 1739	here 21 Feby last	Richard Annely and Fran's Lewis of this City	1	Coracoa
June 1	*Stephen* of this port	Elias Rice	"	Connecticut 1739	here 16 June 1740	Sam'l Bourdet and Stn. Faniere of this City	1	Georgia
" 23	*Anne*	John Adderly	"	Bermuda 1740	There 15 Dec. last	Dav. Whitney, Gen'l Jones, John Butterfield, Jon. Taylor	3	Jamaica
June 27	*Anne* of Bermuda	James Smith	Sloop	Bermuda 1737	There 28 Oct. 1737	Fra. Jones, Ralph Voden of London, James Dickenson and Sam'l Burrows of Bermuda	1	Bermuda
July 8	*Margaret* of this port	John Walker	Brig'n	This Province 1736	here 21 Nov. 1738	Henry V'n Borssom, Mich. Thody, Corn. Kortright, Wynt. Vansant of this City	7	Antigoa
" 20	*Anne* of this port	John Machet	Sloop	" "	here 7 May 1739	sd. Master, Humph'y Jones and Benja. Moore of this City	1	Coracoa
Aug. 3	*Oswego* of this port	John Waddell	Ship	" "	here 20 Dec. 1736	Henry Cuyler, Phil. and Robt. Livingston of this City	14	Jamaica
" 31	*Greenwich* of this port	John Bush	Sloop	Connecticot 1740	here 21 March last	Henry and Just's Bush of this Province	1	"
Sept. 4	*Susanah* of this port	John Lissley	"	This Province 1735	here 30 June last	Joshua Amy of this City	4	Rhode Island

DEC. 25, 1740–DEC. 25, 1741.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Sept. 25	*Anne* of this port	See Sept. 6, 1738				Dav. Clarkson and per Endorsem't Enoch Stiphenson of this City	1	Jamaica
Nov. 18	*Ancram* of this port	William Boyd Jun'r	Brig.	This Province 1740	here 4 Aprill last	Robt. Livingston of this port	3	Jamaica

MAR. 25, 1742–JUNE 24, 1743.[32]

Apr. 30	*Griffin* of this port	Dan'l Gardiner	Sloop	New England 1742	Boston 25 March 1742	Wm. Griffith, Dav. V'n horn and Robt. Brown of this City	2	Boston
June 9	*Mary* of Bermuda	John Vickers	"	Bermuda 1742	there 15 May last	Henry Corbusier, Sam'l Spofferth, Jerr'h Penniston Jun'r Cath. Horton	1	Bermuda
July 19	*Happy* of this port	Will'm Steed	"	Bermuda 1740	here 25 Feby last 1740	Henry Cuyler and Henry Cuyler Jun'r of this City	4	Jamaica
" 26	*Antegoa* pacq't of this port	Thos. Vater	See Nov. 15, 1739				4	Antegoa
Sept. 30	*Elizabeth* of this port	Pet'r Alboy	Sloop	This province 1738	Here 4 May 1738	Paul Richard, Mord. and David Gomez of this city	3	Span. Town and St. Thomas
Apr. 11	*Oglethorpe* of this port	Sam'l Tingley	"	This province 1735	Here 14 July 1738	Jac'b Franks of this City	1	Jamaica
" 20	*Mary* of this port	Rich'd Vezey	"	Bermuda 1742	Here 19 Oct. last	Hen. and Jno. Cruger Jun. of this City	2	St. Xtoph'rs
June 18	*Sea Horse* of this port	See May 10, 1739					4	Tortola and St. Thomas

[32] Dec. 25, 1741-Mar. 25, 1742, no entries.

May 14	*William* of this port	Jno. Smith	Brig't	Here 1746	Here 26 Sept. last	Jno. and Wm. Smith wth Jno. Jauncey and per Endorsm't Ab'm Lynsen of this City	4	Jamaica
Aug. 18	*Jane* of this port	Abm. Kittletas	Snow	This province 1746	Here 12 Aug. 1746	Jacob Sarly and Jos. Haynes of this City	5	Jamaica
Oct. 23	*Polly* of this port	Edw'd McAllis-ton	Scoon'r	New England 1749	Boston 1 Jan. 1750	Dav. Algeo of this City	4	Antigoa

APR. 5–OCT. 10, 1754.[33]

May 8	*York* of this port	Wm. Mercier	Biland	Dover 1746	London 18 Feb. 1753	Thomas Greenel wth Christopher Robart of this City	26	London and Coast of Africa
" 24	*Rebeccah* of this port	Dan'l Thorn	Sloop	Here 1750	Here 8 Oct. 1750	said Master, William Griffith, Garrat Couzine and Sam'l Bridge of this City	23	Affrican Coast
Sept. 13	*Polly* of this port	Paule Miller	Sloop	Conecticot 1746	Here 5 Jan. last	Jasper Farmer wth Nath'l Marston of this City	7	Affrica
" 16	*Sarah and Elizabeth* of this port	Peter Corne	"	This Province 1750	Here 21 Feb'ry 1750	Thomas Byowan and per endorsm't Mess'rs Philip Livingston, John Waddie and said Master of this City	9	"

APR. 5–OCT. 5, 1763.[34]

July 4	*Gen'l Monckton* of this port	Andrew Campbell	Ship	French Prize as pr. Reg.	here 13 Oct. 1762	Godardys Van Zolingan with Peter R. Livingston of this City	4	Antigoa and Mountserat
July 18	*Charm'g Sally* of this port	Rog's Richard	Brig	N'th Caro'a 1760	here 26 feby. 1760	Samuel Dwight with Samuel Bridge of this City	103	Africa
" 30	*Hawk* of Berbadoes	Cha. Jenkins	Ship	Virginia 1763	there 3 March last	said Master and Jno. Wickham and Son of Berbadoes	5	Berbados

[33] C. O. 5: 1227, N. Y. From Oct. 10, 1753, to Apr. 5, 1754, there are no entries.

[34] C. O. 5: 1228, N. Y. From Oct. 10, 1754, to Oct. 5, 1755, there are no negro entries. The lists for the years between 1755 and 1763 are missing.

APR. 5, 1764–JAN. 5, 1765.[35]

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
June 30	*Fanny* of this port	Marim Herbert	Brig	Virginia 1762	here 10 Dec. 1763	Thomas Seymour of this City	30 New Negroes	Antigoa
Dec. 21	*Abraham* of this port	John Handerson	Sloop	Connecticut 1761	Here June 18, 1764	Peter Bernson, Abr'm Lott, Is'c Low of this City	5	Berbadoes

370. Negroes imported into New Jersey, 1718-1757.[1]

An Acco't of what Negroes appears by the Custom house books to be imported into the Eastern Division of this Province from the Twentieth Day of June 1698, to the Twenty Second day of December 1726.

Date	Name	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owner	Negroes	From
1718, Septem'r 22d	*Temperance*	Benjamin Sherman	Brigantine				8	Barbados
1720	*John and Mary*	Peter Gandy	Sloop				8	Barbados
1721 Octo'r 23d	*George*	Mathew Wolfe					50	Bb'dos, St. Martin's

[35] There are no entries for Oct. 10, 1763, to Apr. 5, 1764, and for July 5 to Sept. 29, 1764.

[370] [1] *New Jersey Archives,* first ser., V. 152. "From 1698 to 1717 inclusive there were none imported." "These do Certify that the above Contains a True Acco't of all the Negroes which appear to be Imported into this District Dureing the Time herein Specifyed, and that it Doth not appear to me that any Negro's have been Imported from Affrica or Madagascar. Dated Att the Custom house at the Perth Amboy This Twenty Second Day of Decem'r 1726." Robt. Hine Collr.

The table contains columns for Africa and Madagascar, but as no items appeared in these columns, they are omitted. In order to economize space the manuscript headings have been removed and where necessary the years have been inserted in brackets.

1722,	7b'r 3[2]		*John and Catherin* of Barbados	John Tudor	Sloop	North Carolina 1715	Barbados Apl. 6th, 1722	John Vanhorn Jun., John Tudor	17	Barbados
	Dec.	26	*Phillipsburg* of N. York	Michael Thody		N. York 1715	N. York Oct. 13, 1715	Adolphus Phillips	1 Man	
1725	April	20th	*Brunswick*	John Musket	Sloop				5	Barbados
	July	24	*Dove* of Barbados	John Webb		Connecticut 1722	Boston Nov. 15, 1723	John Webb	8	Barbados
1726	Apr.	30	*Anne and Judith*	Sam'l Vincent	Scoon.	E. Jersey 1724	E. Jersey June 7, 1725	Gab. Still and Sam. Vincent	4	French West Indies
	May	15	*Mary*	Denis Lawrence	Sloop				4	Jamaica
	June	27	*Seaflower*	Samuel Fitzrondolph	Sloop	E. Jersey 1725	Here Aug. 24, 1725	John Heard	7	Antigua
	July	25	*Anne* of N. York	Garrit Garritts	Ship	Rhode Island 1720	there Nov. 19, 1724	Thomas Hopkins	3	Jamaica
	Aug.	12	*Lark*	James Toy	Sloop	here 1724	here Feb. 25, 1724	John Parker and And'w Johnston	1	Jamaica
[1727]	Aug.	28	*Rope* of Boston	William Maxwell	Sloop	Boston 1726	there Nov. 1, 1726	William Maxwell	10	St. Christo's
	Sep.	9	*Westmorland* of Eliz'th Town	Jo's Emot[Ernst?]	"	E't N. Jersey 1726	N. York Mar. 14 [?]	Jos. Emot, Wm. Rickets, E. C. Johnston, Edw. Vaughan	4	Jamaica
[1733]	July	9	*Catherine* of New York	Jasper Farmer	Square Sternd	N. Y. 1730	N. Y. Aug. 1, 1730	John Walter, John Schyler, Peter Schyler, Adoniah Schyler	Entred for 130	Angola In Africa
[1734]	May	6	*Hope* of New York	John Bedford	Brigantin Square Sternd	New Yorke 1719	New Yorke, Oct. 23, 1721	Abraham Vanhorn, Benjamin D'herriett	32	Jamaica

[2] From this point on the list has been compiled from C. O. 5: 1035.

Date	Name	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
[1740] May 15	*Ranger*	Sam'l Bayard	Sloop	Rh. Island 1737	Rh. Island 1739	Abram Depayster, Jno. Schuyler and Gulian Verplank	40	Antigua
May 28	*Retrieve*	John Seymour	Sloop	N. York 1739	N. York Dec. 4, 1739	Theophilus Ellsworth and John Seymour	38	St. Christo'rs
June 16	*Antigua* Pacquet	Henry Lawrence	Brig	N. York 1739	N. York July 2, 1739	Step. and Nich. Bayard, Nath. Marston, Abram Lyell, Henry Lawrence and Wm. Furnell	25	Antigua
[1741] July 6	*Two Bro'rs*	Jas. Smith	Sloop	N. York 1738	N. York Aug. 5, 1739	Jeremiah Williams	10	Rh. Island
[1748] June 2	*New Brunswick*	Rich Gibb	Schooner	New Jersey 1747	P. Amboy, Dec. 1, 1747	Rd. Gibb and Jas. Nielson	4 boys	Rh. Island
June 22	*Elizabeth*	Jonath'n Groves	Sloop	Rh. Island 1748	New Port June 7, 1748	Joseph Hammond	6	Rh. Island
1749 July 21	*June and Hester*	John Bisset	Sloop	New York 1746	New York, Dec. 23, 1748	John Bisset and John Johnson	24	Jamaica
1750 June 7	*Elizabeth*	Sam'll Sarjant	Brigenteen	New Jersey 1749	P. Amboy, Sep. 29, 1749	John Johnston	50	Antegua
Oct. 17	*Prudence*	Jacob Anderson	Sloop	N. Jersey 1743	N. York Feb. 25, 1743	Joseph Foremon	2	N. Carolina
1751 Apr. 30	*Virgin*	Jos. Smith	Sloop	New York 1744	New York, Apr. 14, 1748	John Watts, Henry and John Cruger	34	St. Christophers
June 17	*Charm'g Betty*	Wm. Emott		New Jersey 1748	P. Amboy Nov. 10, 1748	Sam. Woodruff, Hump'y Jones, Jacob De Hart	11	Barbados
1757 July 20	*Williams*	Dav'd Griffith	Sloop	New York 1754	New York Feb. 28, 1754	Rice Williams and sd. Master	50	Coast of Guinea
	Sally	Thos. Farmer	Schooner	Boston 1755	P. Amboy Oct. 14, 1762	Samuel Kemble, Francis Brasier, Barnardus Lagrange, John Slaght	24	Africa

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DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF THE SLAVE TRADE TO AMERICA

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VOLUME IV
THE BORDER COLONIES
AND
THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

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PREFACE

The method pursued in this, the fourth and final volume of the series of documents dealing with the slave trade before 1808, is the same as that used in volume III. One colony, South Carolina, receives intensive treatment; others are dismissed more summarily. The reasons which seem to justify such an allotment of space are two. Throughout the eighteenth century Charleston was by far the most important of the continental markets and it is there that one can best study the nature of the traffic and its economic effects. In addition, for this colony there exist the illuminating letters of Henry Laurens, material for which at present other southern colonies offer no counterpart. For the seventeenth century, during which the trade of Maryland and Virginia was of greater significance and might well have received fuller treatment, the sources are meagre and unsatisfactory. In part, as a result of this lack of material, many of the hopes entertained at the beginning of this work have not been fulfilled, yet if the unanswered questions and the unexplored fields suggest to future students promising possibilities, the series will have accomplished one of its purposes.

In the preparation of this volume the cordial co-operation of the officers of the South Carolina Historical Society, the Charleston Library Society, the Historical Commission of South Carolina, and the Virginia Historical Society has placed the editor under the greatest obligation. Many of those mentioned in earlier volumes have also aided in bringing this one to completion, and to them the editor repeats her expression of gratitude for their assistance.

ELIZABETH DONNAN

January 15, 1935.

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THE BORDER COLONIES

INTRODUCTION

The slave trade of the border colonies, like that of those to the north of them, had two aspects, the importation of slaves and the carrying of them to other colonies, but the emphasis must here be shifted. In these provinces the importation of slaves was far more important than the carrying trade, which until after the Revolution was almost solely for their own markets. Many of their vessels brought in small lots of negroes from the West Indies, but their commerce was on a restricted scale and they sent few ventures directly to Africa. When contrasted with the traffic of Rhode Island their trading activity was insignificant, while a contrast with South Carolina dwarfs their not inconsiderable importation. Though it continued over a long period it never, even in times of prosperity, reached numbers approaching those of the southern colony.

The materials for the economic history of Maryland, if they still exist, are yet to be gathered together. This dearth of available information is especially noticeable when one attempts a consideration of the slave trade of the colony. We know that negroes were present not long after the first settlers under the Proprietor arrived, and that importation continued through much of the eighteenth century. At the time of the establishment of the Company of Royal Adventurers trading to Africa (1663) Maryland was not sufficiently prosperous to contract for an entire cargo, as that company desired. Up to this time she had obtained her negroes by ones and twos from Virginia and the West Indies. By 1677 however George Thompson of Maryland was urging the Royal African Company to take account of Maryland's need of negroes, and the records of that body indicate that some attention was given to his plea.[1] With the end of the monopoly in 1698 and the increased activity of the separate traders, the number of negroes brought into Maryland increased but in no spectacular fashion. Purchase here, as in Virginia, fluctuated with prosperity and depression in the tobacco industry, but no evidence has come to light which indicates that prosperity brought speculative buying far beyond the needs of the colony. Nor is there reason to believe that the colony felt at any time a pressing necessity to check

[1] Public Record Office, Treasury Papers 70 (hereafter cited as T 70): 77, July 24, 1677. Maryland had not yet established slavery by law but an act of 1664 "concerning Negroes and other Slaves" clearly recognizes its existence. Bacon, *Laws of Maryland,* Sept. 21, 1664.

importation because of the menacing numbers of an alien race.[2] Duty acts were frequently passed but they were probably intended as revenue measures. English merchants objected to that of 1715, not because it imposed a restrictive duty but because it discriminated against English vessels by exempting from duty negroes imported in vessels owned in the colony.[3] A Maryland duty act was also under criticism in the Board of Trade in 1728, but no such measure passed by this colony was ever disallowed.[4]

DuBois says with truth that by the time of the Revolution the importation of negroes was slight. In 1771 a duty of £8 to £9 probably brought it entirely to an end for the time and at the close of the war the importation of foreign slaves was definitely forbidden. This prohibition was re-enacted in 1796 and again, in slightly amended form, in 1797.[5]

Maryland's later connection with the trade consisted in the buying and selling of negroes in the West Indies or the landing of cargoes in Charleston—in all of which Baltimore merchants were engaged. Messrs. Samuel and John Smith, William van Wyck, John Hollins, and Stewart and Plunkett, all of Baltimore, were interested in this trade about 1788 and such traffic continued a part of Baltimore commerce long after 1808.[6]

Our knowledge of the first introduction of negroes to Virginia rests upon the concise, oft-quoted, and much-discussed statement of John Rolfe: "About the last of August [1619] came in a dutch

[2] Various estimates of Maryland's slave population may explain why the colony never made great effort to check the importation:

	Negroes	*Whites*		*Negroes*	*Whites*
1704	4,475	30,537	1756	46,225	107,963
1710	7,935	34,796	1761	49,675	
1712	8,330		1782	83,985	170,688
1719	25,000	55,000	1787	80,000	
1748	36,000		1790	103,036	319,726

[3] British Museum, Add. MSS. 33028, p. 55.

[4] P. R. O., C. O. 391: 38, p. 255.

[5] W. E. B. DuBois, *Suppression of the Slave Trade*, p. 226. The principal laws relating to the slave trade enacted by Maryland were: 1671, for encouraging the importation of negroes and slaves, re-enacted June 4, 1692; 1681, negroes already imported or to be imported, slaves for life and their children after them; 1695, duty 10 *s.* on negroes imported, for three years, to build a statehouse; 1696, duty made 20 *s.* for one year; 1699, duty of 10 *s.*; 1704, duty of 20 *s.*; 1704, to encourage inhabitants to adventure their ships; 1708, duty of 20 *s.*; 1712, duty of 20 *s.*; 1715, duty of 20 *s.*, negroes imported on Maryland vessels freed from duty; 1716, additional duty, £4 current money; 1717, additional duty 20 *s.* current money; 1719, duty imposed in 1704 repealed; 1728, additional duty of 20 *s.* continued; 1731, issue of £36,000, part of negro duties used to retire bills; 1735, reviving act supplementary to act of 1715, continued till 1773; 1754, additional duty 10 *s.*; 1756, additional duty 20 *s.*; 1763, additional duty £2 current money; 1771, additional duty £5 current money; 1783, importation forbidden.

[6] L. V. Briggs, *History and Genealogy of the Cabot Family*, II. 474, 475-476, 481-482.

man of warre that sold us twenty Negers."[7] This brief record has been the subject of many conjectures, but little positive knowledge can be added to it. One of the perennial questions concerns the connection of this vessel with the *Treasurer,* owned by Robert Rich and known to have been in Virginia and the Bermudas with a cargo of slaves in 1619. A year before, Robert Rich, soon to become the second Earl of Warwick, had with other London worthies obtained a charter for African trade. Though this charter contained no specific reference to trade in negroes, it is by no means unlikely that Rich, already deeply involved in colonial interests, may have conceived of the plantation on the continent as a profitable market for slaves. The possibilities of tobacco were by this time evident and it must have been known to Rich and his fellows that much of the Spanish tobacco culture was carried on by negro labor. That his interest in African trade was not unconnected with his interest in American colonization is a plausible surmise, though it can be nothing more. He may have intended either to stock large land grants in Virginia and the Somers Islands with negroes or to enter upon the sale of slaves on a large scale. Whatever the project, the change in the Virginia government probably made it impossible of accomplishment and there is to-day little chance of determining whether the landing of the first twenty negroes in Virginia was part of some abortive colonial project on the part of a group of Englishmen or merely the accidental venture of an unnamed Dutch trader.[8]

The arrival of this group was not followed by immediate negro importation into Virginia, though abundance of laborers and large profits in tobacco may well have been connected in the minds of the planters. Not until after the Restoration, when England herself had actively entered the slave trade, did a Virginia importation large enough to be significant come into existence. Before this time the home government had little reason to encourage a trade whose profits went largely to the Dutch and which might interfere with the lucrative business of transporting servants to the plantations.[9] Dutch control of the trade could scarcely be destroyed until England could create a strong company, an impossible achievement till the civil wars were over. However, the negro population slowly increased be-

[7] John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Islands* (Richmond, 1819, reprint of ed. 1620), II. 39. An extensive literature already exists on the landing of these negroes and scarcely calls for increase. The most recent and most successful discussion of the problem is that of W. F. Craven, *The Dissolution of the Virginia Company* (New York, 1932), pp. 130-131.

[8] Alexander Brown, *The First Republic in America* (1898), pp. 280, 284-285, 288-289, 292, 311, 324-327, 339-341, 359.

[9] G. L. Beer, *Old Colonial System*, I. 323-325; T. J. Wertenbaker, *The Planters of Colonial Virginia* (1922), p. 125.

tween 1620 and the beginning of active importation, toward the end of the century.

A "List of the Living in Virginia", Feb. 16, 1624, included twenty-two negroes.[10] One of these was landed from the *Treasurer,* one had been brought in by the *James* in 1621, one by the *Margaret and John* in 1622, and one by the *Swan* in 1623.[11] The last three vessels had come from England with passengers and supplies, and the negroes were probably personal servants of the passengers. One negro we know had died since 1619, possibly two. For 1625 the muster rolls give twenty-three negroes.[12] From a study of headrights recorded for the negroes Bruce estimates the following importations from 1635, the year in which the first headright for a negro is recorded:

1635	26	1638	30	1643	18
1636	7	1639	46	1649	17
1637	28	1642	7	1656	30[13]

The total number reported in the colony in 1649 was three hundred, in a population of fifteen thousand whites.[14]

There is little basis for even a plausible surmise as to how much of this annual addition to the negro population came from England, how much from the West Indies, how much from Africa by way of Spanish booty or by trade with the Dutch or the New Englanders. That by each of these methods occasional negroes were brought into Virginia we may be sure,[15] but there is no means of knowing how frequent were such episodes as are illustrated in the documents which follow. How many immigrants brought a negro or two from England? How many ship-captains had one, two, or even more to sell on each voyage? Where did they obtain them? The inhabitants of Virginia were forbidden to trade with the neighboring Dutch, yet it is scarcely conceivable that such an injunction was scrupulously

[10] *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1574-1660, p. 57; J. C. Hotten, *Original Lists*, pp. 169-189.

[11] Hotten, p. 224; E. D. Neill, *Virginia Carolorum,* p. 15.

[12] Hotten, pp. 201-265, *passim; New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XXXI. 22; Neill, *Virginia Vetusta*, p. 116; Brown, *First Republic*, p. 627; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, VII. 364. Neill's list contains but twenty negroes.

[13] P. A. Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, II. 75, based on a study of Virginia Land Patent Books. Bruce calls attention to the fact that of the 30 negroes reported for 1638, George Menefie entered land for 23 "negroes I brought out of England". For 1639 Menefie is credited with 15, Henry Perry with 12 (see Neill, *Virginia Carolorum,* p. 187n.). In 1652 Thomas Goodrich brought seven negroes into Virginia with him. *Va. Mag. of Hist.,* XIV. 91.

[14] "A Perfect Description of Virginia" (1749), in *Virginia Historical and Genealogical Register*, II. 68. For a discussion of the status of these early arrivals, the transition of the negro from servant to slave, and Indian slavery see Helen T. Catterall, *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery* (Carnegie Institution, 1926), I. 54-61, 66.

[15] For one source of slaves see this work, III. 425-427.

obeyed.[16] The Dutch were near at hand. They were enterprising and venturesome traders. They possessed a commodity which Virginia needed and offered a vent for a commodity which Virginia wished to sell. In 1660 the colonists took a decided step in encouraging Dutch trade by exempting from the export duty of 10 *s.* per hogshead all tobacco sold to the Dutch in exchange for negroes:[17]

> If the said Dutch or other forreiners shall import any negro slaves, They the said Dutch or others shall, for the tobacco really produced by the sale of the said negro, pay only the impost of two shillings per hogshead, the like being paid by our owne nation.

The establishment of the English African Company in 1663 by no means assured the colony of negroes. There is little indication that this company ever attempted to supply Virginia, and indeed at this time there was little incentive to send to the more remote market negroes who could be sold in the West Indies. Virginia tobacco, cut off from free access to European markets by the Navigation Acts and too plentiful for English needs, had entered upon a period of price depression which meant poverty for the planter. He was during the years following the Restoration in no condition to compete with West Indian rivals and it is not to be wondered at that the Company of Merchants trading to Africa gave scant attention to Virginia.[18] The Royal African Company of 1672, as will be seen from occasional references which follow, made some effort to send negro cargoes here. In the month of January, 1674, it freighted vessels which were to carry 650 negroes to this colony. In planning its trade for 1676 Barbados, Nevis, Jamaica, and Virginia were the four colonies whose markets were estimated. At the same time the company took precautions to see that Virginia developed no direct African trade of her own. Instructions to royal governors adjured them to give every possible encouragement to the company.[19] Yet even to this company

[16] Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections,* fourth ser., IX. 134n. In 1633 William Tucker asked the Privy Council to prevent the Dutch from trading to Virginia (Alexander Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, II. 1034), yet a rumor of prohibition of trade with the Dutch in 1647 brought forth from the governor, council, and burgesses of Virginia a violent protest against such a policy and an invitation to the Dutch to continue their trade (*Journals of the House of Burgesses*, 1619-1659, ed. McIlwaine, p. 74). The passage of the act prohibiting all trade with foreigners, Oct. 3, 1650, was met by another indignant protest (C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, II. 425-529; *Journals of Burgesses,* 1619-1659, pp. 75-78), and in 1663 John Bland of London, on behalf of the planters of Virginia and Maryland, protested against the exclusion of the Dutch. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1675-1676, p. 392.

[17] March, 1660, Hening, *Statutes of Virginia*, I. 540.

[18] For accounts of the poverty of the plantation see Bruce, *Econ. Hist.*, I. 401-406; Wertenbaker, *Planters of Colonial Virginia,* pp. 86-100; Beer, *Old Colonial System,* I. 367-368.

[19] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1669-1674, p. 552; instructions to governors, C. O. 5: 1357, p. 45; 5: 1310, p. 85.

the demand of Virginia was of small moment as compared with the more insistent and more profitable needs of the West Indies.

Despite the habitual neglect of the colony by English purveyors of slaves the negro population of Virginia slowly grew. In 1661 Nicholas Ware, of Rappahannock County, gave bond to John Vassall, merchant of Barbados, in payment of four good negroes.[20] In 1662 Richard Lee obtained headrights for 80 negroes; in the same decade Scarborough had grants for 39 and Carter for 20.[21] In 1671 Governor Berkeley reported that there were 2000 negroes then in the colony, though there had not been above two or three ships with negroes in seven years.[22] In the nineties a study of the land patents shows headrights for negroes for 25, 27, 64, 70, 79, 84, though these are the exceptional and not the usual numbers.[23] By the end of the century the number of blacks in the colony was estimated at 6000, in 1708 it was reported as 12,000,[24] with a total importation between 1698 and 1708 of 6369. One evidence of this increase in the negro population is the frequency of the laws regulating the conduct of negroes.[25] By 1730 there were about 30,000 negroes in the colony, perhaps a quarter of the population,[26] and by 1770 the number of whites and blacks was nearly equal.[27]

For prices during the seventeenth century we have occasional suggestions. Nicholas Ware, in the purchase to which reference has already been made, paid 8617 pounds of tobacco for his four negroes, with tobacco selling for about two pence a pound. In 1672 the company offered to supply slaves at £18 per head, a price higher than it asked in Barbados. Byrd wrote of giving his note for two negroes and of paying £21 for a negro girl about fifteen years old; William Fitzhugh, in 1690, suggested a price ranging from £16 to £20.[28] One assertion can be made with confidence, not only for this century but for the next as well, that is, that the Virginia price fluctuated little as compared with that of South Carolina. Probably an average price of £18 to £20 prevailed throughout most

[20] *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XII. 303.

[21] Bruce, *Econ. Hist.*, II. 78.

[22] Hening, *Statutes*, II. 511-517. If Berkeley's implication that few negroes had come in since 1664 be accepted, there must between 1656 and 1664 have been some importation to account for the number in the colony when he wrote.

[23] Bruce, II. 85; Wertenbaker, *Planters*, p. 130.

[24] C. O. 5: 1362, pp. 374-382.

[25] Hening, II. 170, 481-482, III. 86-88; *Journal of the Council of Virginia*, I. 198, 203; *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1659-1693, pp. 266, 299, 396, 429.

[26] C. O. 5: 1322. Wertenbaker states that by 1715 the importation of negroes had almost put a stop to that of indentured whites. *Planters*, p. 134.

[27] For a collection of estimates of the Virginia population see L. C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (Carnegie Institution, 1933), II. 1025.

[28] *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XXV. 262, III. 167. Bruce has gathered many illustrative prices but they are more often for seasoned negroes than for those newly imported. *Econ. Hist.*, II. 89-90.

of the second half of the seventeenth century and a range of £28 to £35 in the next half-century. During the second half of the century the average may have reached £40 sterling.[29]

That the history of the slave trade to Virginia has heretofore consisted in large part of an account of the efforts of the assembly to impose duties, prohibitive or otherwise, results partly from the fact that the acts of the Virginia legislature and the action of the Board of Trade are easily obtainable, while other significant material relating to the subject is elusive. A second reason is undoubtedly that many writers on this subject have been interested to demonstrate the early and persistent antipathy of Virginia to the trade. The unsupported statement that thirty-three Virginia acts intended to put a stop to the importation of negroes were disallowed in England, once made, has been often repeated, but no careful study of the circumstances under which these acts were passed, the purpose or purposes which lay behind them, the conflict of interests which they represented, or even the motives of the British government has ever been made. Some small contribution to such subjects the editor hopes may be found here, but the material presented is by no means sufficient to satisfy the student interested in these and similar questions.

[29] Va. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, IV. 722. The estimated prices are much higher after the Revolution. For a collection of comparative prices see Gray, *Hist. of Agriculture*, I. 368-370.

1. Richard Kemp to Lord Baltimore, 1638.[1]

[January, 1638.]

To the Right Honoble. and my very good Lord the Lord Baltimore these Present

My Lord: I received yo'r Lor'pps Commands of the second of August Last for the buying of Fortye neate Cattle, ten Sowes, Forty Henns and Ten Negroes to be Transported to St. Maryes for yo'r use.[2] . . .

2. Contract for Negroes, 1642.[1]

1642 March 16.

Leonard Calvert Esq. etc. acknowledged that he hath conveyed and sold unto John Skinner mariner, all those his 3 Mannors of St. Michael, St. Gabriel, and Trinity Mannor, with all the tenements and hereditaments in or upon them or any of them, and all his right title and interest in and to the premises or any part therof, to have and to hold the same to the said John Skinner his heires and assignes for ever. And that he hath further covenanted to finish the dwelling house at Pinie neck, with a stack of brick chimneyes (conteining 2 chimneys) neare about the middle of the house now standing and to make the partition by the said chimneyes, and doores and windowes, and to underpin the frame of it wth stone or brick. In consideration wherof the said John Skinner covenanted and bargained to deliver unto the said Leonard Calvert, fourteene negro men-slaves, and three women slaves, of betweene 16 and 26 yeare old able and sound in body and limbs, at some time before the first of march come twelve-month, at St. Maries, if he bring so many within the Capes, by himselfe or any assignes betweene this and the said first of march, or afterward within the said yeare, to be delivered as aforesaid to him the said Leonard Calvert or his assignes in the case aforesaid. And in case he shall not so doe, then he willeth and granteth that foure and twenty thousand weight of tobacco, be leavied upon any the lands goods or chattells of him the said John Skinner, to the use of him the said Leonard Calvert and his assignes.

[1] [1] Maryland Historical Society, Fund Publication No. 28, *The Calvert Papers,* I. 149. Endorsed: "January 1638, Mr. Rich. Kemp to (Secretary) from Virginea."

[2] Kemp, who was an agent of Lord Baltimore, went on to say that as yet he had done nothing about executing this order save to ask advice, the time of year being unseasonable for carrying it out. Since the first colonists under the proprietary charter had been in Maryland nearly four years it is most unlikely that this order refers to the earliest purchase of negroes. Scharf surmised that Richard Thompson brought one, purchased in Barbados, when he landed with the *Ark* and the *Dove* in 1634. J. T. Scharf, *History of Maryland* (1879), I. 66.

[2] [1] *Maryland Archives,* IV. 189. The contract is signed by Calvert and Skinner, and witnessed by John Lewger.

3. Sale of Negroes, 1644.[1]

The 24th July 1644. Received of Capt Tho: Cornwaleys by the hands of Sr. Wm. Berkely Knt. nine pounds sterl: and by the hands of mr. Cutbert Fennick ninety seven pounds and halfe of beaver, and is for or towards satisfaction of a debt of fifty pounds sterl. for two negroes dd [delivered] the aforesaid Capt. Cornwaleys. By me

Rich. Bennett.

4. Governor Charles Calvert to Lord Baltimore, 1664.[1]

[April 27, 1664.]

For the Right Honble. the Lord Baltemore These pr'snt

. . . I have endeavoured to see if I could find as many responsable men that would engage to take a 100 or 200 neigros every yeare from the Royall Company at that rate mentiond in yr Lopps letter but I find wee are nott men of estates good enough to undertake such a buisnesse, but could wish wee were for wee are naturally inclin'd to love neigros if our purses would endure it. . . .

5. Act to encourage the Importation of Negroes, 1671.[1]

[April 19, 1671.]

An Act for the Encourageing the Importacion of Negros and Slaves into this Province

Whereas Severall of the good people of this Province have been discouraged to import into or purchase within this Province any Negroes or other Slaves and such as have Imported or purchased any such Negroes or Slaves have to the great displeasure of Almighty God and the prejudice of the Soules of those poore people Neglected to instruct them in the Christian faith or to Endure or permitt them to Receive the holy Sacrament of Babtisme for the Remission of their Sinns upon a mistake and ungrounded apprehension that by becomeing Christians they and the Issues of their bodies are actually manumitted and made free and discharged from their Servitude and bondage be itt declared and Enacted by his Lordship the Lord and Proprietary of this Province by and with the advice and consent of the upper and

[3] [1] *Md. Arch.*, IV. 304.

[4] [1] Md. Hist. Soc., Fund Publication No. 28, *Calvert Papers,* I. 249. Endorsed: "27 Aprill 1664. My son Charles to me by Cap: Miles Cooke." It is clear that Calvert had been considering the possibility of contracting with the recently created Company of Royal Adventurers trading to Africa for a cargo of negroes for Maryland. Some months later Maryland received negroes from New York. See this work, III. 434n.

[5] [1] *Md. Arch.*, II. 272; passed Apr. 19, 1671. This was by no means the first Maryland law concerned with slavery. In 1664 an act dealt with the status of the wives and children of slaves; in 1666 one was passed dealing with runaways.

lower houses of this present Generall Assembly and by the Authority of the same That where any Negro or Negroes Slave or Slaves being in Servitude or bondage is are or shall become Christian or Christians and hath or have Received or shall att any time Receive the Holy Sacrament of Babtizme before or after his her or their Importacion into this Province the same is not nor shall or ought the same be denyed adjudged Construed or taken to be or to amount unto a manumicion or freeing Inlarging or discharging any such Negroe or Negroes Slave or Slaves or any his or their Issue or Issues from his her their or any of their Servitude or Servitudes Bondage or bondages Butt that Notwithstanding any such Act or thing Acts or things And Notwithstanding any such becoming Christian or Christians or Receiveing the Sacrament of Babtizme Every such Negroe and Negroes slave and slaves and all and every the Issue and Issues of every such Negroe and Negroes Slave and Slaves Is are and be and shall att all tymes hereafter be adjudged Reputed deemed and taken to be and Remayne in Servitude and Bondage and subject to the same Servitude and Bondage to all intents and purposes as if hee shee they every or any of them was or were in and Subject unto before such his her or their Becomeing Christian or Christians or Receiveing of the Sacrament of Baptizme any opinion or other matter or thing to the Countrary in any wise Notwithstanding.[2]

6. Instructions to Captain Marmaduke Goodhand, 1685.[1]

London, the 12th January 1685.

Capt. Marmaduke Goodhand.

You are with the first opportunity of Wind and Weather that God shall send after receipt hereof to sett Sail out of the River of Thames wth yo'r Shipp the *Speedwell* and make the best of Your way to James Island in the River of Gambia according to Charter party, and on

[2] This act was re-enacted on June 4, 1692 (*Md. Arch.*, XIII. 505-506). An act of Sept. 17, 1681, removed any doubt which might have existed concerning the status of negroes in Maryland by providing that all negroes already imported or to be imported were slaves for life and their children after them. *Ibid.*, VII. 203-204.

[6] [1] P. R. O., T 70: 61, pp. 2-3. The Royal African Company of 1672, as well as its predecessor, found the West Indian markets much more lucrative than those of the northern continent and therefore paid slight attention to Maryland and Virginia, but on July 24, 1677, the company received a request from Mr. George Thompson for a supply of negroes for Maryland. This was referred to the committee of shipping for consideration (T 70: 77). Up to this time most of the negroes brought to Maryland probably came from Barbados, yet one finds surprisingly few traces of such trade. The record of one voyage in 1686 suggests what one assumes was a common transaction: "they spoke a ship from Barbadoes, with slaves and sugar consigned to Maryland and intending to load tobacco." *A Frenchman in Virginia* (1923), p. 10.

arrivall deliver our Letters to Agent Alexander Cleeve or in case of his absence, to Such Person as Shall bee appointed to act in his Stead in our affairs whose orders you are dilligently to observe during your Stay in those partes; Wee have ordered our Said Agent to putt aboard your Shipp Two hundred Negroes and as many more as he shall gett ready and yo'r Shipp can conveniently carry with Provisiones necessary for them, besides what are laden here; You being obliged by Charter to Stay at Gambia or thereabouts till Such time as our Factors can procure yo'r Complement of Negroes. It will import you and Wee require [*torn*] for the quicker dispatch that you give them the best assistants you can.

When yo'r Complement of Negroes are aboard or Such part of them as you think fitt to take in, Wee order that you give our Agent or Factor four Bills of Lading for the Number you receive, and for what provisions are shipt for them at the time of yo'r takeing the Negroes aboard or whilst you Stay in the Ryver, And then proceed, with what expedition wind and weather will permitt, to Potomack River in Marry[land] and deliver them to Mr. Edward Portous, Mr. Christopher Robinson and Mr. Richard Gardiner [*blank*] or either of them according to the Order of Mr. Jeffery Jeffereys [2] who will see you paid as well for the Freight of the Negroes, as for what will be due for the care of them during their being aboard

The Law haveing asserted his Majesty['s] right to grant Charters and to punish any Subjects that shall presume contemptuously to break them, Wee have by vertue of his Majestyes Charter given you a Commission to seize Interlopers, and does expect and require in conformity to yo'r Charter party that you put the [it] effectually in execution against all Vessells and Persones you shall meett with and find trading on the Coast contrary to his Majesties said Grant, according to the Instructions Signed by our Secreteary. And for yo'r encouragement vigorously to execute the said Commission the Royall African Company doe hereby eng[age] their Stock to keep and save you harmlesslie for what you act agreeable thereto, and grant you one fourth part of Prizes you shall seize and bee condemned, and Wee have also ordered our Factors in the Plantations to Secure you against any

[2] Jeffery Jefferies and his brother John traded to Virginia also. Of the agents here named, Porteus and Robinson (who are also named in the instructions drawn up for Captain Goodhand in 1686) were inhabitants not of Maryland but of Virginia. Porteus, a merchant from Gloucester County, was recommended by the governor of Virginia in 1693 as a "person of suitable standing and estate" to serve on his Majesty's council. He seems however never to have received the appointment. Robinson was a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1691 and the next year was secretary to the colony. *Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography,* V. 1096; *Va. Mag. of Hist.,* I. 397n.

trouble may happen to you for executing the said Commissions. Wee wish you a good voyage and rest.[3]

Yo'r Loving Friends etc.

BENJA. BATHURST Sub. Govr.
GABRIELL ROBERTS Depty. Govr.

EARLE OF BERKELEY
HENRY TULSE
JEREMY SAMBROOKE
JACOB LUCIE
JOHN PERY
JOHN BENCE
JOHN VERNEY
JOHN ASHLY
WM. IVATT
JOHN NORTH
GEORGE BONN
WM. BOVARY
JOHN SHORT
JEFFERY JEFFEREYS
JOHN MORICE
FRAN. HOPEGOOD
RICHARD CRADOCK
SAMUELL STAINER
JOHN MORGAN[4]

7. CASE OF THE *MARGARET*, 1693.[1]

Legal proceedings alledging that in contravention of two Statutes of Parliament,[2] William Burnett, gentleman, not being an Englishman, master of the ship *Margarett* with a crew of which three fourths were not English, on the 25th of December 1692 imported into St. Mary's River in St. Mary's County, divers goods and merchandise not taken aboard in England, Wales, or Berwick upon Tweed, having sailed in the said ship from England to Barbadoes and from thence to St. Mary's River aforesaid. For which causes the said imported goods are forfeited. . . .

The said William Burnett says the charge of a breach of the laws made against him by the Information is illegal and insufficient, for Negroes are not goods nor commodities intended by the said Statutes, and by no law whatsoever pay any duty or custom either for Importation or Exportation. . . .

[3] Instructions for Captain Goodhand's next voyage are to be found in T 70: 61, under dates of Dec. 23, 1686, and Feb. 21, 1687. His cargo of 220 negroes was directed to York River, Va., to be delivered to Christopher Robinson, William Churchill, and Dudley Diggs. In other respects the instructions are identical with these.

[4] The signers are doubtless those members of the Royal African Company who were serving on the committee of shipping. Wm. Bovary appears in other places as William des Bovery. The signatures to the instructions of 1687 indicate that an election had taken place between the time of these instructions and that date. Gabriel Roberts had become subgovernor, George Bonn deputy governor. The new committee contained William Sedgewick, Peter Joy, Abraham Hill, John Cooke, Thomas Heatley, Robert Williamson, Thomas Niccolls, not on this list, and had lost John Morgan, Henry Tulse, Francis Hopegood, William Ivatt, John Morice, Jeffery Jefferies, John Perry (Pery), Jeremy Sambrooke, John Ashley, John Bence, and John Short. T 70: 61.

[7] [1] C. O. 5: 713, Maryland Original Correspondence, Board of Trade, 1689-1695, pp. 265-267.

[2] 12 Car. II. c. 18, 15 Car. II. c. 7.

An Appraisemt. of the Negros taken on board the shipp *Margarett* of London, Capt. Wm. Burnett Commandr. by us whose names are underwritten Appraisors thereunto appointed.

	ll.
2 Negros Sambo and Jack	26
3 Negros Judith Moll and Maria Girles	30
2 Negro boyes Rough 13 *ll.* Dick at 9 *ll.*	22
1 Mollata Woman 7 years to serve	9
1 Negro Dick at	16
	103

Given under our hands and Seales this 17th day of Feby. 1692/3 [3]

8. Petition of Edward Willy, 1694.[1]

March 1, 1694.

Produced by his Exncy.[2] petition of one Edward Willy Merchant preferred to his Exncy the Governr. of Barbadoes, together with the said Governrs. Lett'r to his Exncy. here, in favour of the Petitioner the Petition setting forth that one Thomas Jones had knowingly bought of Capt. Thomas Hill Commander of the Ketch *Adventure*, a couple of Negro's which the said Hill had brought clandestinly away from Barbado's contrary to Law, therefore prayed that the same might be again restored to the Right owner, So that he as Security for the said Hill might not be damnifyed. Then produced a paper of the said Jones in Answer to the said Peticion whereby was signifyed that he did purchase of the said Hill two Negro's one for 7600 l. of tob and the other for tenn Thousand pds. of tob: wch was by him duely paid, withall setting forth that after his purchase of the same made, he understood the said Negro's did belong to a Plantacion in Barbado's and had a hand in the Plot, therefore were sent on Board the said Hills Vessel to be hid by two of the Seamen and were Accordingly hid, Unknown to the said Hill untill two days after his departure from Barbado's, as the said Hill told the said Jones, And further said that to secure himself of the hazard of their Lives, he would dispose of them, And that if the said Jones would not keep them he the said Hill had Chapmen enough for to take them off his hands.

Ordered that the Attorneys be consulted therein, And their Opinion and Answer upon the same to be given, with all Expedition.[3]

[3] Signed by John Lowe and Richard Vowles.

[8] [1] *Md. Arch.*, XX. 227.

[2] Francis Nicholson, governor of Maryland 1694-1699.

[3] "A List of what Letters and other Pappers were Preferred to his Ex'ncy Govern'r Nicholson by Mr. Robert Nearn on behalfe of Mr. Edward Willy of Barbadoes is as follows *Vizt.*

9. Petition of Richard Hill, 1694.[1]

July 31, 1694.

The Petition of Richard Hill Master of the ship *Hope* of Maryland seting forth that he was bound with his said Vessell on a Voyage directly to Guinia and therefore prayed the Order of this Board for his speedy Clearing, without which the Collector had Refused to dismiss him.

The said Petition was Rejected for reason of a certain Instruction from their Ma'ties to his Exncy. relating to the premisses, which runes in these following Words, *vizt.*

And you are to take care that there be no Trading from Maryland to any place in Africa within the Charter of the Royall African Company; And you are not to suffer any ships to be sent thither without their leave and Authority.[2]

10. Act for laying a Duty on Slaves, 1695.[1]

[May 22, 1695.]

An act for the laying an Imposition upon Negroes Slaves and white servants Imported into this Province.

Imp'rs A Letter from Mr. Nearn to his Ex'ncy the Govern'r Dated the 23th of Jan'ry 1694.

Mr. Edward Willys Pet. to the Govern'r of Barbados abt two Negroe Men transported from Barbados by Capt Thomas Hill the said Negro's belonging to one Capt William Porter.

The Opinion of Mr. Plater and Mr. Dent Relating to the aforementioned Negro's.

Mr. Nearns Pet. to his Ex'ncy and Councill abt the af'd Negro's in behalfe of the aforesaid Willy.

A further Report of Mr. Dent and Mr. Plater Concerning the af'd Negro's wth an Order of Councill Annexed.

Thomas Joneses Answer to the Councill abt buying the said Negro's. May the 21th 1695.

Then Recd. the above mentioned Papers for Acco't of Mr Edward Willy I say Recd. per Me Ro't Nearn." *Md. Arch.*, XX. 228.

Whether Maryland was more punctilious than were other colonies about the status of the negroes brought to her shores, or whether it happened that captains actually carried more kidnapped negroes to Maryland than to other markets, it is a fact that a larger volume of the Maryland material discovered relates to the investigation of alleged kidnapping or to the return of negroes to their homes than is the case with any other colony. For the most famous account, that of Job ben Solomon, see this work, II. 414-427; see also J. H. Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland* (1890), p. 30.

[9] [1] *Md. Arch.*, XX. 117.

[2] Nevertheless Hill made his Guinea voyage: "To all to whom this present Writing shall come Greeting. These are to Certify that Arnaut Lahanne, the Bearer hereof a French Man and Doctor or Chirurgeon of the Pink *John* of Bordeaux in the Kingdom of France Peter Rivier Commander was taken and brought a prisoner into this province in the sd. ship by Capt. John Hurle Commander of the ship *Providence* of London, being a Letter of Marque Man And after some short time of Residence here he shipped himself on Board a certain Vessell called the *Hope* of Maryland (whereof Richard Hill is Master or Commander) for Guinea; from whence haveing returned again into this Province in the sd. vessell, he has now shipped himself on Board a certain Briganteen called the *Fisher* of Maryland. . . . 11th day of October, in the Seaventh year of his Ma'ts Reign, Annoq Domini, 1695. Fr. Nicholson." *Ibid.*, p. 338.

[10] [1] *Md. Arch.*, XXXVIII. 51-52; see *ibid.*, XIX. 158, 167, 181-182, 185, 186, 191, 193, for the legislative history of this act.

Forasmuch as this gennerall Assembly are deeply sensible of the great charge the Country is at for the building a State house and defraying of other publick dues and duties and being desirous of easing the burthen under which at present the good people of this Province groane have taken into their consideration that it might be of great advantage in order thereunto that an Impost were laid upon Servants and Slaves imported into this Province. . . . And be it further Enacted by the Authority afforesaid, by and with the advice and consent afforesaid that for every Negro imported into this Province either by land or by water and exposed for sale within three months after arrivall within this Province the Vendor or Vendors shall pay unto the Navall Officer as afforesaid the sum of ten shillings sterling for pole on penalty and forfeiture of five pounds sterling per pole for every negro by them imported and kept back or unaccounted for as afforesaid To be collected and gathered deposited and accounted for to the use intent and purpose and in such method and manner as in the act for the Impost of four pence per gallon made at a Session of Assembly begun and held at the Citty of St. Maryes the one and twentyeth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred ninety four is therein mentioned and Express'd any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding, this act to endure for three yeares or to the end of the next Session of Assembly which shall first happen.[2]

II. Proceedings of the Assembly, 1696.[1]

May 11, 1696.

Whereas Major John Thompson Navall Officer at the head of the Bay having received 30 *s.* impost duty for three negroes imported by Mr. John Moll, which negroes are not intended to be exposed for Sale according to the Act therefore.

Tis the Opinion of this house that Major Thompson ought to refund Mr. Moll the sd Summe of 30 *s.*

[2] In May, 1696, this duty was increased to 20 *s.*, the act providing for the increase to be in effect one year (*ibid.*, XIX. 321, 363, 366, 368, 370, XXXVIII. 80-81). The duty of 20 *s.* was again laid by acts of 1699, 1704, 1708, 1712, and 1715 (Bacon, *Laws*, July 22, 1699; *Md. Arch.*, XXVI. 289-292, XXVII. 371-372, XXX. 165, 326-331). The legislation of 1715 freed from the duty importers who carried negroes in vessels owned by inhabitants of the province. This exemption furnished the ground for the complaint of the London merchants in 1731 that the Maryland act of 1715 discriminated against them, as of course it did.

[11] [1] *Md. Arch.*, XIX. 365.

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12. Petition of George Lewis, 1697.[1]

To his Exncy. Francis Nicholson Esqr. Capt. Generll. and Governr. in chief in and over his Maj'tys Province and Territory of Maryland.

The humble Petition of George Lewis Marriner Sheweth That your Petitioner by the death of Captn. Robt. Roberts Comandr. of the Ship *Fly*, now riding in Leonards Creek in Petuxent River is become Master thereof.

That by one of the owners instructions he finds himselfe obliged to ship another Mate that may be a carefull sober man and th't understands the Guinea Trade and has a family in England else not proceed to Guinea but trade between Barbados and Maryland, till further orders Received from his said owners wch said instruction your Petitioner finds it morally impossible to be complyed with for these following reasons.

1st Such a Mate enjoyn'd to be shipt not being to be had; he knows not any way or means whereby to purchase a proper loading to go to the Barbados with having neither credit nor effects sufficient wherewithall to do it, besides the Ship is indebted above 240 *ll.* for Seamens wages wch if your Petitioner should carry the Ship to Barbados, must necessarily be paid there, and for want of effects and creditt to discharge the same would occasion the Sale of the Vessell and overthrow the Voyage.

2nd Your Petitioner being wholly a stranger in the Countrey cannot possibly give the security the officers require for complying with the laws of the Countrey[2] having apply'd himselfe to severall persons that are concern'd with the owners who all of them refuse saying they have no such orders, for wch said reasons he is advised by all persons th't knows his case and that are well wishers to the Owners for to proceed the Voyage for which the men are Shipt and are willing to go and to desist going to Barbados, he having got a Mate that understands the other Voyage, and is every way qualified except his having a family in England. All wch yo'r Petitioner humbly lays before your Exncy. in behalfe of the owners and th't you would [be] favourably pleased to give such Order to the Officers for his dispatch as to your Exncys. wisdom and prudence shall seem meet; he being ready and willing to satisfy all manner of dutyes fees and other charges by way of goods he having no ready money, and

[12] [1] *Md. Arch.*, XXIII. 306-307. Governor Nicholson transmitted the petition to the council: "Maryland, Port of Annapolis: Novem'r the 29th 1697. I having just now received the Petition of George Lewis Commander of the Ship *Fly*, a Copy whereof follows in these words *Vizt.*"

[2] See "An Act for Tonnage and Ascerteining Navall Officers Fees", *ibid.*, XIX. 114-115.

his own bills being refused for discharge thereof; wch being granted Your Petitioner shall ever p[r]ay etc.[3]

13. Governor Francis Nicholson to the Board of Trade, 1698.[1]

. . . There hath been Imported this Summer about four hundred and Seaventy odd Negroes *vizt.* 396 in one ship directly from Guinea, 50 from Virginia wch came thither in a ship from Guinea, 20 from Pensylvania, wch came thither from Barbadoes: a few othrs. from other places.[2] . . .

Maryland, Port Annapolis Augt. 20th 1698.

14. Negroes imported into Maryland, 1699-1708.[1]

An Exact Account of Negroes imported into Her Majesties Province of Maryland from Midsummer, 1698, to Xtmas, 1707.

Date	By Whom	Vessel	Place	Owners or Traders	Number
May 2, 1699	George Laurence	*Hopewell Jacob*	London		86
July 20, "	Richard Bradshaw[2]	*African* Galley	London		76
Aug. 9, "	Saml. Thornborough	*Fairfax*	London		190
July 20, 1700	Henry Munday	*John Hopewell*	London	M'rs Smith and Petit and Co.	320
Oct. 7, 1701	Edward Briscow	*Betty* Galley	London		64
July 4, 1702	Stephen Jerome	*Endeavour*	London		49
" " "	Roger Carnaby	*Hunter* Galley	London		152
Sept. " "	John Gunnell	*Providence*	London		136
July 13, 1703	John Lewis	Pinck *Mary*	Barbados		55
June 11, 1704	Roger Carnaby[3]	*Dolphin*	London		200
July 2, 1705	John Hays	Brigt'n *Dorset*	London	M'rs Rascow	131
" 9, "	John Woodward	*Olive Tree*	London	M'rs Perry Browne and Co.	150
Aug. 11, "	Richard Hinton	Brigt'n *Advent'r*	London		90
Same time	John Hunt	Sloop *Swallow*	Barbados		71
July 1706	John Woodward	*Olive Tree*	London	M'rs Perry Browne and Co.	163
Aug. 4, 1707	James Frisby[4]	*Young Margaret*	London	do.	265
" 11, "	Daniel Lewis	Brigt'n *Advent'r*	London		92
				Total	2290

[3] "And if you find the said Petition to be true, you are to take the said George Lewis own bond (in behalf of the owners of the said Ship *Fly*) for performance of the laws of the Countrey and dutyes etc. He not designing to load any tobacco wch you are to take care that he comply with, so there will be no occasion for his giveing a navigation Bond; And if it appear to you that it will be for the owners advantage th't he draw Bills upon them to pay the Countrey dutyes fees etca. you take the said Bills; And for doing these things this shall be your sufficient warrant and authority; Given under my hand and Seale the day and year above written. Fr: Nicholson.

"To Peter Jennings Esqr. his Maj'tys Collector of Patuxent district and To Mr. Sam'll Watkins Navall officer of the same." *Md. Arch.*, XXIII. 307.

[Notes to nos. 13 and 14 on p. 18.]

A List of Negroes Imported into the province of Maryland from the 25th of December 1707 to the 25th of December 1708.[5]

Date	By Whom	Vessel	Place	Owners or Traders	Number
May 25, 1708	Digory Hearle	*Delight* Galley	London	James Wate John Dorrell and Edward Popley	114
June 19, 1708	Saml. parker	*John and Constant* Galley	London		9
July 10, 1708	Rob Cruikshank[6]	*Mary*	London	Rob. Cruikshank Perry Browne and Henry Bock	217
Aug. 4, 1708	Richd. Hinton	*Prosperous* Galley	London	Thos. Mayhew, Saml. Theyser and Wm. Hinton	110
Aug. 19, 1708	John Blake	*Queen Anne* Galley	London	M'rs John Goodwin and Company	79
Oct. 25, 1708	Giles Loame	*Alexander* Galley[7]	London	Wm. Loame, Godfrey Webster, John Dene and Thos. Stringer	119
					648[8]

[13] [1] C. O. 5: 725, p. 348.

[2] During the consideration of the measure of 1698 the merchants and planters interested in Maryland and Virginia petitioned for open trade and protested against the conduct of the African Company. L. F. Stock, *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments*, II. 217, 236.

[14] [1] C. O. 5: 716, no. 66i. See *post*, no. 20, for the letter which accompanied this account. It is to be observed that with few exceptions the importation into Maryland took place in the summer months. This was also the case with the Virginia trade. On May 28, 1698, a petition of Edward Carleton of London was read in the House of Lords, asking that the petitioner be excused from the penalties imposed by the act of 1698: "That yo'r pet'rs sent out a ship lately on a trading voyage, and therein also laded a cargo of goods and merchandizes propper for Affrica to purchase negros to carry to the northern plantations in America; but ordered the said ship to trade abroad so long that she might not arrive from Guiny till after the winter should be over, it not being propper to bring negros to those cold countries in that season." Stock, *Proceedings and Debates*, II. 239.

[2] See *post*, no. 16.

[3] Captain Carnaby on his arrival in London made affidavit that, after carrying negroes from Calabar to Maryland, he was not allowed to sail from Maryland to London with a cargo without convoy, which meant a long delay (C. O. 5: 1314, 41a, M 5); for further account of the *Dolphin's* protest over convoy see *post,* no. 74 and n. 4.

[4] See *post*, no. 17 and n. 2.

[5] C. O. 5: 716, no. 66ii. Endorsed: "Maryland. List of Negroes imported into Maryland from Xmas 1707 to Christmas 1708. Rec'ed 11 May, Read 18 July, 1709, referr'd to in Col. Seymour's L'r of the 18th Novr. 1708." In the report made by the Board of Trade to the House of Commons Jan. 27, 1709, seven vessels, all belonging to separate traders, were listed as having carried slaves into Virginia or Maryland. Of these, six appear here as delivering cargoes in Maryland: *Young Marget*, 280; *Mary Crookshank*, 274; *Queen Anne*, 90; *Delight*, 106; *Prosperous*, 100; *Jno. and Constance*, 285. See this work, II. 74.

[6] Feb. 8, 1707/8, "Robert Cruikshank stands bound in recognizance to appear at the bar of the court of Queen's Bench on the last day of the present term, and is advised that he must be continued over till the next term, on April 21. His ship with her cargo being still at Plymouth he may still arrive there in time to proceed on his

15. The Board of Trade to Governor Nathaniel Blakiston, 1700.[1]

P. S. *Feb. 21* [*1700*]. A letter having been communicated to us from Hen. Munday, Commander of the *John Hopewell* of London who has been plundered upon the coast of Guinea, by a pirate named Henry King, who formerly used the Pennsylvania trade, and nine of his men having run away with King, we send you their names, that if any of them happen to come into your Government you may cause them to be apprehended.[2]

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intended voyage to Guinea and Maryland, whose loss would be the ruin of himself and the ship's proprietors. Prays therefore, that his recognizance may be discharged." Hist. MSS. Comm., *Manuscripts of the Duke of Portland*, VIII. 357-358.

[7] In a record of Jan. 8, 1708, the *Alexander,* 160 tons, 12 guns, 26 men, is to sail for Guinea and Virginia, but on Feb. 29, 1708, Sir Thomas Webster and others "Petition to clear *Alexander* for Guinea, then with Slaves to Patuxant R. Md." (*Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial,* II. 492, 542-543). The item in the *Acts* gives the name of the captain as Giles Love, and loads the vessel with "staves", unquestionably a misreading of "slaves". In October permission was granted to the *Providence*, Thomas Johnson, and the *Dolphin,* Samuel Payne (140 tons, 10 guns, 26 men), to sail from London to Guinea and Maryland. *Ibid.,* p. 544.

[8] These figures reduce considerably those of Colonel Darnel, who testified before the House of Commons in 1710: "Colonel Darnel of Maryland, a Gentleman of admirable Understanding, and known Worth and Integrity, was pleas'd to affirm at the Bar of the House of Commons, the last Sessions of Parliament, *viz.* That since the Trade to Africa had been laid open by the Act of Ten per Cent. Duty, the Separate Traders had imported into Maryland upwards of six Thousand Negroes, the Company never having sent one thither since they were a Joint-Stock; and that by the additional Assistance of which Number of Slaves, they continu'd annually to make 24,000 Hogsheads of Tobacco more than formerly, which are sufficient Lading for Forty Sail of stout Ships per Annum to import the same into Britain; which, in the first place, is so great an Advantage to the Planters abroad; secondly, such a considerable Encouragement to our Navigation and Merchants at home; and thirdly, brings so vast an Income into Her Majesty's Exchequer, that they are Benefits worthy of a Parliamentary Consideration." *A True State of the Present Difference between the Royal African Company and the Separate Traders,* 1710, pp. 35-36.

Though the testimony that the African Company left the trade of Maryland and Virginia entirely to the separate traders is almost unanimous, it must not be taken with complete literalness. Occasionally the company directed vessels to these colonies or considered the wisdom of so doing (*ante,* no. 6, n. 1). On Mar. 6, 1719, the company received a letter from Barbados which reported that slaves could at that time be sold to better advantage in Maryland or Virginia than in the West Indies. T 70: 6, p. 90.

[15] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1700, p. 73. Blakiston was governor of Maryland from 1699 to 1702. On Nov. 13, 1699, Henry Munday, then off Cape Mesurado ("Mounteradoe") wrote to his owners, Pettet and Company of London, that he had been attacked and plundered by the pirate Henry King. His letter, read in a meeting of the Board of Trade on Feb. 20, 1700, prompted the board to write to Maryland, whither Munday was bound, as well as to several other colonies. *Ibid.,* 1699, pp. 519-520; 1700, p. 75.

[2] On receiving this communication, June 27, 1700, the Maryland council issued a proclamation for the seizure of the pirate and his men (*Md. Arch.,* XXV. 94). Captain Munday's disaster did not prevent him from bringing a cargo of negroes into Maryland about a month after the receipt of this news: "August 1, 1700 . . . on the 24th of the last moneth Capt. Passenger gave me an account that the said Henry Moonday, Commander of the *John Hopewell,* was gon up to Herring Bay in Maryland, and that he had 400 negroes on board. After the misfortune by the pyrates his mate did him an extraordinary piece of service by being too hard for the pyrates, and bringing to him a sloop" (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1700, p. 449). Governor Blakiston, on Aug. 6, wrote that Munday, who had then been in Maryland a fortnight, had brought 300 negroes, and had made no report of trouble with pirates. Later letters accused Munday of having disposed of goods which belonged to the African Company. *Ibid.,* pp. 460, 462, 464-465, 624, 629.

16. Minutes of the Council of Maryland, 1700.[1]

Saturday Aprill the 27th 1700.

The Councill Sate present as yesterday. . . .

It being represented to the Board that Capt. Bradshaw Commander of the Ship ——[2] of London who the last Summer Imported Negros into this Province had before he made Reporte and Entry of his Ship ran Twenty Two negros on the Shore side in Dorchester and Somersett Countys without Giveing any acct. thereof and that Mr. George Bayns who lives att Mr. Dashells in Wicocomico River Capt. John Taylor and Mr. Henry Hooper of Dorchester County are knowing thereof.

Ordered Therefore That John Pollard Esqr. one of his Ma'tys Justices of the Provinciall Court do issue his Warrants and Call before him the said George Baynes, Capt. John Taylor and Mr. Henry Hooper and upon their Corporall Oaths upon the holy Evangelists by him to them to be Administred strictly Examine them of what they know thereof, and their said Examinations with all Convenient Speed to Transmitt to his Excellency the Governr.

17. Petition of James Frisby, 1700.[1]

May 6, 1700.

The Peticion of James Frisby Esqre. being read in the house wherein he prays an allowance for the import of Twenty Six Negroes that arrived in Captn. Thornbury and dyed before sale of them was here read.

And Putt to the Vote whether the Peticion shalbe rejected or not. Carried in the Affirmative.[2]

18. Proceedings of the Assembly, 1704.[1]

May 1, 1704.

It has been represented to the house that the Commodore [Evans] imported into this Province Sev'll Quantityes of Rumme, and some Negroes upon which there is a Duty

[16] [1] *Md. Arch.*, XXIV. 8. "Signed per order W. Bladen Cl. Concil."
[2] The *African* galley.
[17] [1] *Md. Arch.*, XXIV. 61.
[2] The next year, May 13, 1701, "the pet'o of Peregrine Browne thereby praying an order to the Navall officer to refund him the duty of 26 negroes imported in the Shipp *fairefax,* was alsoe Read and Rejected" (*ibid.*, p. 177). The affairs of Brown and Frisby were still unadjusted in 1710: "I enclose a petition of John Chidly and Peregrine Brown of London, merchants, who alledge that they are very unjustly dealt with by one James Frisby, who has defrauded them of a number of negroes to the value of £2700, I desire you will enquire into this matter, and give them all the assistance in your power towards the recovery of their just rights." May 9, 1710, Earl of Sunderland to the President of the Council, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1710-1711, p. 90.
[18] [1] *Md. Arch.*, XXIV. 396, 398. This is signed, "Geo. Plater".

Therefore resolved that itt be enquired into of the Navall officers whether Entry has been made of any and what quantity

Mr. Young and Mr. Lynes are ordered to make Enquiry wt Rumm and Negro's were imported and Sold here, and th't they make report thereof to the house forthwith. . . .

Captaine John Evans Commodore and Commander of her Majestyes Ship *Dreadnaught* has not made Entry of any Rumme or Negroes with me, or any other goods whatever.

19. Act to encourage the Importation of Negroes, 1704.[1]

An Act to encourage the Inhabitants of this Province to Adventure their Shipps and Vessells more freely abroad to import Rum Sugar Negroes and other Commoditys.

Be it Enacted by the Queens most excellent Maj'ty by and with the Advice and Consent of her Majestys Governour Councill and Assembly of this Province and the Authority of the same that no Shipp or Vessell built in this Province whereof all the Owners shall be Actuall Residents of this province And that no Shipp or Vessell English or Plantation built purchas'd enjoy'd and held by Owners which are all Residents of this Province nor the Owners thereof shall be lyable . . . to pay the Duty of twenty shillings for every Negro imported menciond in the aforesaid Act but from those Dutys aforesaid And from the Duty of three pence per Tonn payable to the Governour of this Province for the time being shall be fully and Clearly Exempted Any Former Act or Acts of Assembly to the Contrary notwithstanding.

And be it Enacted by the Authority aforesaid that such Owner or Owners of such Shipps or Vessells as aforesaid shall for entring and Clearing pay no more but half so much Fees to the Navall Officers and Collectors with whom they Enter and Clear as other Owners of other Shipps not belonging to the Inhabitants of this Province are lyable to pay Any former Act or Statute to the Contrary notwithstanding. . . .

20. Governor John Seymour to the Board of Trade, 1708.[1]

May it please your Lordships: I have your Commands of the 15th of Aprill, which came to hand by a Chance Sloope from Barba-

[19] [1] *Md. Arch.*, XXVI. 349-350. "Septr. 23d 1704, Read and Assented to by the house of Delegates. W. Taylard, Clk h D. Sept. 26th 1704, Read and assented by her Ma'tys hon'ble Councill. W. Bladen Cl Concil. Maryland October 3d 1704." There were in Maryland at this time 4475 slaves in a total population of 35,012. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1704-1705, p. 553.

[20] [1] C. O. 5: 716, no. 66; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, pp. 150-151. Governor Seymour (governor 1704-1709) earlier in the year had reported that a considerable number of the 4657 slaves in Maryland had come from "Gambo and the Gold Coast". *Ibid.*, 1706-1708, pp. 758, 760; *Journal of the Board of Trade*, 1709-1715, p. 55.

dos; but not untill the 13th of Octob., by which your Lordships may perceive how tedious and uncertain that Conveyance is; And therefore have not the least apprehensions your Lordships Justice will impute any neglect to me; since in Obedience thereto I imediately made the best Inquiry I could, what numbers of Negros have been supplyd to this her Ma'tys Province by the Royall Affrican Company, or by the Seperate Traders who pay the tenn per ct., Since the 24th of June 1698. And by the List here inclosed, which is as exact as the speedy dispatch of this Answer would admitt, Your Lordships will find the Royall Affrican Company have not supplyd one Negro to this province during that tyme; Nor can I, on Enquiry of above twenty years last past heare of any ship belonging to the Company that has come hither; but Wee have been wholy supply'd by the seperate Traders, as your Lordships may perceive (tho by the Death and Removeall of severall Officers of the Customes here, I cannot learne the Owners or Importers, further than the Names of the severall shipps and Commanders; yet am satisfied they were exclusive of the Royall Affrican Company.

And these Negros have been sold for Bills of Excha. payable in London, generally men at £30 sterl., per head and Women at five and six and twenty pounds.

I have pursuant to your Lordships' directions discurst many of the principall planters here, by whom I am inform'd that before the year 1698, this province has been supplyd by some small Quantitys of Negro's from Barbados and other her Ma'tys Islands and Plantations, as Jamaica and New England Seaven, eight, nine or ten in a Sloope, and sometymes larger Quantitys, and sometymes, tho very seldom, whole ship Loads of Slaves have been brought here directly from Affrica by Interlopers, or such as have had Lycenses, or otherwise traded there. At present the Trade seems to run high, there having been between six and seaven hundred Negro's imported hither this yeare 1708. And the Planters owne themselves obliged to the seperate Traders for these supplys having never had any from the Company, and now the price of Negro's begins to abate, as Wee suppose by reason of the plentifull Importation by the seperate Traders, so that 'tis the Opinion of most here, should the seperate Traders be totally excluded, the Company would take no better care to supply them with slaves, than they have formerly done, which would not only be a great Detriment to the planters, but also to her Ma'tys Revenue of so valuable Customes on tob'o.

As to shipping belonging to this Country and imployed to the Coast of Affrica at present I cannot learne of any, nor above two or three persons concern'd therein wth the Merchts. in London.[2]

I humbly begg your Lordships pardon that the Account of what number of Negro's the province has been yearly supplyd with, and at what Rates has not been transmitted, which being interwoven with the Encouragemt. and Protection I am enjoyned to give the Royall African Company, made me mistake to be intended of those to be supplyd by them only. And to convince your Lordships of my future exact Complyance with Commands, I esteeme so sacred, have sent you a list of those imported this present year 1708.[3] And shall in all other Matters punctually observe and obey your Commands on all Occasions . . .

MARYLAND, November 18th, 1708.

21. ACT FOR LAYING A DUTY ON SLAVES, 1716.[1]

An Act for Laying . . . four pounds Currant money per poll and Additional Duty on all Negroes for raising a Supply Towards Defraying the publick Charge of this province.

. . . And be it further Enacted by the Authority Advice and Consent aforesaid that from and after the time as aforesaid for every Negroe Imported into this province Either by Land or Water the Importer or Importers of such negro or Negroes shall pay unto the Navall officer aforesaid the sume of four pounds Currant money per poll (over and above the twenty shillings Sterling per pole Imposed by a former act of Assembly of this province) for the uses aforesaid on penalty and forfeiture of Twenty pounds Currant money

[2] There is little reason to question Governor Seymour's implication that there was no direct trade to the coast of Africa, but an item from the *Boston News Letter,* June 24, 1706, rouses curiosity: "We are informed from Maryland, That the Assembly there has past an Act Prohibiting the exportation of all European Commodities out of that Province for three Years, excepting Goods consigned or belonging to Persons residing in Virginia or Pensilvania, and Merchandize Imported in order to be Shipt off for the Coast of Guinea." For the text of the act see *Md. Arch.,* XXVI. 631-632.

[3] See *ante,* no. 14, and this work, II. 44-46.

[21] [1] *Md. Arch.,* XXXVIII. 198 (July, 1716). "On a motion made that it would be very advantageous to the Countrey to Impose a greater duty than 20 *s.* per head on Negroes and Irish papists Servants for the defraying the publick Charge of this Province, The Question was putt whether a further duty shall be layed on them or not and Resolved in the Affirmative by Majority of Votes and then On motion made the Question was putt whether the additionall duty shall be four pounds Sterling. Resolved in the Affirmative by Majority of votes" (*ibid.,* XXX. 505). "Mr. Bordley from the Comittee of Laws delivers Mr Speaker A Bill laying an Additional duty of 4 *ll.* Sterling per poll on negroes and Irish Servants and it being moved that the former vote whether the 4 *ll.* shall be sterling or Current be reasumed the Question was putt whether the additional duty shall be 4 *ll.* sterl or 4 *ll.* Current. Resolved it be Currency and, Ordered the bill be amended accordingly and that it shall be read to morrow morning" (*ibid.,* p. 515). Silver in Maryland seems to have maintained its proclamation value until 1734, when paper money was issued. William Douglass, *A Discourse concerning the Currencies of the British Plantations in America,* Am. Econ. Assn., *Studies,* II. 315.

per pole for Every Negroe kept back or unaccounted for to be applyed to the uses aforesaid and to be recovered as aforesaid.[2]

22. Journal of the Board of Trade, 1726.[1]

May 4, 1726.

Mr. Hunt,[2] a trader to Maryland, being sworn, acquainted their Lordships, that of late years, there are annually imported into Maryland between 500 and 1000 negroes.[3] That the produce of a negroe is about 4 hogsheads of tobacco per annum, and that the duty of 4

[2] Letters of dissent to this act are recorded from Lords Baltimore and Guildford. A duty of 20 *s.* had been laid by act of 1715 (DuBois, p. 210). In the session of May, 1717, an act for laying an additional duty of 20 *s.* current money, over and above the 20 *s.* imposed by former acts, was passed, the proceeds to go to the support of education (*Md. Arch.,* XXXIII. 109-111). The privilege of importing free of duty in Maryland vessels was so frequently abused that in 1720 a supplementary act was passed increasing the strictness of the oath to be taken by importers (Bacon, *Laws,* Oct. 27, 1720). In 1721 a law was enacted allowing inhabitants of the colony to bring in their slaves without payment of duty if they were not to be placed on sale (*Md. Arch.,* XXXIV. 268-270). In 1728 "an act to supply some defects in the act 'for laying an Additional duty of 20 *s.* current money per poll on Irish servants and negroes'" was passed (*id.,* XXXVI. 138, 158, 164, 175, 248). On Oct. 14, 1729, the Board of Trade called upon Colonel Hart to explain why Maryland had, in 1715, laid an imposition on negroes. His reply was that it had been done to check the raising of tobacco. On his withdrawal the board agreed to discuss with Lord Baltimore this duty and the favoritism shown to Maryland vessels by the terms of the act imposing it (*B. T. Jour.,* 1728/9-1734, pp. 64-67). On Jan. 18, 1732, the board expressed the opinion that this act was unreasonable, but since it was to expire on Mar. 28, 1732, no action was taken. *Md. Arch.,* XXXIV. 269; "Report of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, Jan. 23, 1733/4", Add. MSS. 33028, p. 255.

[22] [1] *B. T. Jour.,* 1722/3-1728, p. 254. In the absence of official reports occasional items concerning importation assure us of its continuance. On Mar. 15, 1720, word reached Philadelphia that the *Sarah* of London, bound for Maryland, had been captured by pirates in the Gambia River (*Boston News Letter,* Apr. 4, 1720). On Apr. 6 of that year the agents of the Royal African Company at Cape Coast Castle wrote: "Capt. Lambert joyned with Mr. Wm. Younge on a Trading Voyage to Windward. . . . Will consign the Negros to Mr. James Bowles at Puttuxent River in Maryland." Three months later the agents reported: "Shipd on board 260 Slaves *vizt.* 124 Men 112 Women and 26 boys and 8 girls. Consign'd to Mr. Ja. Bowles at Puttuxent River in Maryland" (T 70: 7, pp. 4, 7). On Aug. 2 the same agents wrote that the *Elizabeth,* Captain Bull, was to be sent from Cape Coast Castle to Maryland with slaves, but this plan was apparently not carried through because of the captain's failure to comply with the agreement (*ibid.,* pp. 9, 21). On Feb. 4, 1721, the Gambia agents of the company loaded, or at least planned to load, the *Martha,* Capt. John Levett, with 400 negroes for Maryland (T 70: 123, p. 17). In September, 1722, it was "Ord'd That Mr. Hawkins proposals for 260 Negroes to be delivered at Mary Land, be referred to the Consideration of the Com'ee of Trade". T 70: 91, p. 165.

[2] William Hunt, a London merchant, had extensive dealings with Charles Carroll (*Md. Hist. Mag.,* XIX. 179-192, *passim*). He was probably a brother of the Capt. Henry Hunt who carried Job ben Solomon to Maryland (see this work, II. 421). The *Maryland Gazette,* June 3, 1729, published a curious note relating to Capt. Henry Hunt: "I Do hereby certify and affirm, That I saw Capt. Henry Hunt in Barbadoes, where he arrived from Guinea the 6th of this Instant May, with a large Cargo of fine Slaves. That he acquainted me that he was desirous to come to Maryland, but that he had positive Orders to go to Jamaica, and that he was to sail for that Island the 9th of this Instant, being the next Day after my Departure from Barbadoes. Witness my Hand this 31st Day of May 1729. John West."

[3] If the figures which we have possess any significance whatever, the negro population was increasing rapidly during the years after 1710. One estimate for 1719 suggests that there were 25,000 in the colony (*N. Y. Col. Docs.,* V. 605). Maryland had at one time hoped for 1000 pounds of tobacco per slave. E. D. Neill, *Terra Mariae* (1867), p. 201.

hogsheads is about £40 or £50. That the Province would take off more negroes, if they could get them, and that they would increase their trade. That Gambia, the Northern coast, and Angola, are the chief parts of Africa from whence Maryland is supplied. That he believes, if the trade was confined to a Company, negroes would be dearer, and the Province worse supplied. That the price of negroes has formerly been £30 or £40, but are now sold at £18, £20, and £25.

23. Notices of Sales, 1729.[1]

May 20, 1729.

Notice is hereby given that there's a Ship arrived in South-River, with about two Hundred choice Slaves, which will be expos'd to Sale on Thursday, the 22d of this Instant, by Daniel Dulaney, Richard Snowden, and Peter Hume.

June 24, 1729.

This is to give Notice, that the remaining Part of the Slaves, lately arrived in South-River, continue to be sold.

24. Act for laying a Duty on Slaves, 1735.[1]

A Supplementary Act, to the Act intituled, An Act laying an Imposition on Negroes.

Forasmuch as it appears to this General Assembly, to be a Hardship upon the Importers of Servants and Slaves into this Province, to pay Duty for such as shall happen to die, or be exported again before Sale: Be it Enacted, by the Right Honourable the Lord Proprietary by and with the Advice and Consent of His Lordship's Governour, and the Upper and Lower Houses of Assembly, and the Authority of the same, That no Person, or Persons whatsoever, hereafter, importing any Servants or Slaves, shall be chargeable with or liable to pay any Duty for any Servant or Slave that shall happen to die, or be exported out of this Province, before Sale of the said Servant or Slave.[2]

[23] [1] *Maryland Gazette,* May 20, 1729. The first notice was repeated on May 27 and June 3; the second on July 8 and 15. The same signatures are affixed to the second notice as to the first.

[24] [1] *Md. Arch.*, XXXIX. 285-287. Supplements, 1715, ch. 36; continued by 1740, ch. 9; 1744, ch. 9; 1747, ch. 15; 1751, ch. 10; 1754, ch. 6; 1757, ch. 22; 1762, ch. 12; 1765, ch. 18; June, 1773, ch. 2. On July 25, 1754, an additional 10*s.* duty was added, and on Mar. 22, 1756, a 20 *s.* duty. In 1763 an additional duty of £2 current money was laid; in 1771, £5 current money. DuBois, *Slave Trade*, pp. 218, 219, 221.

[2] It is to be remembered that negroes imported for personal use were also exempt from duty: May 24, 1739, "The Petition of John Dabran, Praying an Allowance for the duties of Negroes paid, he having moved himself and family, into this Province with Intent to Settle, and therefore Prays an Exemption from the duty Imposed on Negroes on giving Security not to sell or Dispose of the said Negroes. Read and referred to the Committee of Accounts to Examine the facts." *Md. Arch.,* XL. 347.

Provided always, That such Death, or Exportation, shall happen within Three Months after the Importation of such Servant or Slave; and that the said Person or Persons, who shall desire the Benefit of this Act, shall declare on his, her, or their corporal Oaths, to be administred by the Naval Officer, on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, That such Servant or Servants, Negroe or Negroes, exported or dead, within the said Time of Three Months, is or are Part of the Servants or Negroes imported or made Entry of: any Law, Usage, or Custom to the contrary, in any wise, notwithstanding.

And whereas divers Frauds have been committed by Sundry Persons, not Inhabitants of this Province, importing Negroes from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and other Provinces, who make sale of the said Negroes without Payment of the Duties arising on such Negroes: For Prevention whereof for the Future,

Be it Enacted, by the Authority, Advice and Consent aforesaid, That all and every Person or Persons, in whose Custody any Negroe or Negroes so imported into this Province shall be found, shall be deemed to be the Importer or Importers, and liable to pay the Duties due by Law, to the Naval Officer of the District where the said Person or Persons reside, under the Penalties by former Acts of Assembly in such cases inflicted upon the Importer or Importers of any Negroe or Negroes, concealed, kept back, or unaccounted for, by him, her or them: To be recovered in the Manner, and to the Uses, directed by the aforesaid Acts of Assembly . . .

This Act to continue in Force, for and during the Term of Three Years, and to the End of the next Session of Assembly which shall happen after the expirations of Three Years.

25. Proceedings of the Assembly, 1736.[1]

Wednesday, May the 5th, 1736.

The Question was put that 2/6 per hhd the 20 *s.* Sterling Duty ariseing on Negroes Imported . . . belonging to the Publick Schools be offered by an Address to the Lord Proprietary as an Equivalent for the Quit Rent and Alienation fines Resolved in the Negative. . . .

The Question was put that a Duty of 5 per Cent be raised on the Purchasers of Negroes as part of the ways and means towards raiseing an Equivalent.

Resolved in the Affirmative. . . .

[25] [1] *Md. Arch.*, XXXIX. 463, 465, 466.

[As part of scheme for paying the Lord Proprietor an equivalent for his quit rents]

Thursday, May 6th, 1736.

. . . That a Duty of 5 per Cent Sterling ad Valorem be paid by the purchasers of Negroes which Supposeing the Importation of Negroes to be no more than 300 Annually and that they sell in average at £15 Sterling Each will amount to 225. . . .

In order to Ease those who shall pay the Dutys already mentioned it is proposed . . . That the Purchasers of the Negroes and Importers of Rum Spirits and wine be repaid the Sterling Duty they shall pay in Bills of Credit at 50 per Cent advance . . . and that the duty of 20 *s.* Sterling on Negroes which is payable in Bills of Credit be added to the Quit Rents in order to pay the Severall Sums already mentioned and whatever the Neat Ballance shall be Clear of all Charges to be deemed publick money.

26. Philip Lee to Governor Samuel Ogle, 1741.[1]

[June 27, 1741.]

To his Excellency Samuel Ogle Esqr., Governor of Maryland. The humble Remonstrance of Philip Lee Naval Officer of North Patowmeck District

This Remonstrant begs Leave to inform your Excellency, that he with some Others in this Province having been imployed for some years past by some Merchants in Bristol to sell and dispose of what Negroes they should consign to this Remons't and his Partners, and your Remonstrant being Naval Officer of the Port and District af'd presumed he might reasonably expect any Advantage which might accrue to a Naval Officer by the Entry of such ships and Negroes: And for that purpose this Remonstrant took Care to lodge from time to time with the Collector of North Patowmeck as with Mr. Sewall at the Mouth of Patuxent Directions or Orders to the Captains of Such Ships where to repair in order to enter their Vessels and Cargoes.

That agreeable to this Practice a Letter was left with Mr. Sewall directing Captn. Lovey (who was expected in a Ship called the *George* with Slaves) to enter with the Collector and this Remonstrants Deputy at North Patowmeck; That Captn. Lovey upon his Arrival last from Africa with a Cargo of Slaves consigned to this Remonstrant and Partners came to an Anchor with his ship off Cedar Point, and went on Shoar to Mr. Sewalls house, where he found the Directions af'd and agreeable thereto rode to the Collector of North

[26] [1] *Md. Arch.*, XXVIII. 242-245. "At a Council held in the Council Chamber on Thursday 11th of June in the twenty seventh year of his Lordships Dominion Annoq. Domini 1741." Samuel Ogle was governor in 1732, 1735-1742, and 1747-1752.

Patowmeck, with whom and this Remonstrants Deputy or Clerk Captain Lovey legally entered his Ship and whole Number of Slaves and gave an Import Bond for the Duties

That Lovey upon his Return carryed his Ship without Drum Point but in the Mouth of Patuxent and then went on Shoar to the Collector there, to whom he shewed his Papers, which certifyed his Entry with the Collect'r and Naval Officer of Patowmeck, notwithstanding which the Collector of Patuxent insisted that Captn. Lovey should reenter his Ship and Cargo with him, and that the Ship being within his District the Entry at Patowmeck was void, and then asked for the Register of the said Ship, which Captain Lovey delivered to him, but the Collector of Patuxent refused to redeliver it; A matter unpresidented, and the Detainer of which without the Masters Consent no officer can answer, and a Ship that went home last Year the Owners are hurt by the Registers being left behind.

From thence he went to the Naval Officer of Patuxent who told Lovey that as he had not been in Patowmeck or broke Bulk, he ought to enter his Ship and Cargo with him, and used threatning Words as that he would be aboard his Ship etc., and therefore Lovey made a Reentry and sign'd an Import Bond with the said Naval Officer, who detained his Plantation Certificate; the just Right of your Remonstrant by the Act of Navigation 12th Charles 2d.

This being a short State of the Transaction with Regard to Loveys Entry this Remonstrant apprehends from the Conduct of the Officers at Patuxent, that they imagined the first Entry with the Officers at Patowmeck to be void and consequently any perquisites from such Entry or the payment thereof the Duties on the Negroes not to belong properly to him as Naval Officer, but he humbly hopes that the Naval Officer and Collector of Patux't will appear to be mistaken for the following Reasons.

1st Your Remonstrant conceives and is advised that the Authority of the Governors of Every Plantation by the Statute 15th Car 2d Cap 7-8 extends in what is there mentioned over Every Part of the Plantation Colony or Province, and therefore that he cannot by appointing a Naval Officer who is only his Deputy abridge the Power of such Officer in such manner as that a Captain shall not be said to have complyed with that Statute by Delivery of a true Inventory etc. to any person authorized to receive it which is a Naval Officer, altho' the Ship should even lye in another District or Port, for that the Statute does not confine the Exercise of the Authority to any Places less than the Land Island Plantation af'd etc. . . .

2dly As this Entry with the Officers of Patowmeck was strictly legal This Remonstrant conceives it is highly reasonable for him

to insist on it since it is in the Case of a Ship consigned to him, since every Merchant may enter his Ship and Cargo where he pleases.

3dly That Lovey about 4 years ago entered in Patowmeck without carrying his Ship in the River, and this Entry was not disputed in Patuxent. Campbell made the like Entry twice and One of them was allowed, the other contested under the Pretext that he was within Patuxent River, and that the Remonstrants Deputy was not present (the latter of these Objections is now removed), notwithstanding which the Naval Officer of Patuxent conscious to himself that I was injured, allowed me half the Advantage of the Entry. . . . as Captain Lovey labours under a manifest Hardship by the Detainer of his Register and Certificate [2] and may be stopt here for Want thereof so I humbly hope Your Excellency will interpose your Authority and order the Delivery of the Certificate which this Remonstrant takes to be his indubitable Right by all the Laws of England and that he is accountable for this Entry and obliged to render a true Account thereof to Your Excellency, his Lordships Agent and the Country for all Fees and Duties arising on the Ship *George*; This being the Case would it not be the height of Injustice for Captn. Lovey to be obliged to pay double fees etc. which must be the Consequence if the Officers of Patuxent claims should be deemed legal, such treatment as this as it will be a great Discouragement to Trade, so it will not fail of being complained of by the Owners which may greatly injure the Interest of Your Remonstrant and Partners, who humbly hope your Excellency in your great Wisdom will seriously deliberate on this Affair, and do therein as to Your great Judgment shall seem meet and for which your Remonstrant will ever pray.

Please N B that the Owners have positively ordered the Masters to enter in my District as by Letter to me will appear.[3]

27. Case of the *Mary*, 1749.[1]

The Examination of Thomas Davison Master of the Ship "Mary" now at Anchor in Patuxent River

[2] In the margin: "N. B. the Reg'r since delivered by Rousby the Certif stopt by Mr. Plater."

[3] To this George Plater, the naval officer of Patuxent, submitted a long reply, the gist of which was that the fees for the entry of any vessel were the perquisites of that officer into whose district the vessel came to anchor. To defend his conduct in the case of the *George* he cited the provisions of the law, and argued that, since a naval officer's power was limited to his own district, Lee was the actual aggressor in the affair by exceeding his powers in certifying the entry of the *George*. Plater's answer was followed by a further communication from Lee, who, learning that the governor intended to submit the matter to the council, protested that it was a private controversy of which the council had no cognizance, and must be decided by the governor himself or by the courts. *Md. Arch.*, XXVIII. 245-247.

[27] [1] *Md. Arch.*, XXVIII. 453. On June 14, 1749, Governor Samuel Ogle laid before the council a letter from Governor Gooch of Virginia, which charged Captain Davison, who was in the employ of Mr. Philpot of London, with having on board his vessel, the *Mary*, six negroes kidnapped at the Isle of May, one of the Cape Verde Islands. Davison had been in Virginia, but on the threat of admiralty proceedings there he had sailed for Maryland. The council at once issued a warrant to the sheriff directing that Captain Davison be brought before it. *Ibid.*, pp. 451-452.

This Examinant Saith that after his taking in a Loading of Salt at the Isle of May he went to the Island of St. Jago to water where he staid two days in taking in his water and on the second day a Certain Edward Lope a Black Man and his son made an Offer of Selling to him Six Negroes or Blacks which he understood to be Slaves Whereuppon this Examinant Agreed to buy them if the said Lope would bring them on Board and this Examinant should Like them, And in the Evening of the same day the said Lope brought three Negroes in this Examinants Long Boat on Board of his Ship, and this Examinants Doctor returned with the said Lope in his Boat and fetched the other three Negroes for which said Six Negroes this Examinant Paid the said Lope in his Cabin on board of the said Ship in Money and Goods according to the Value this Examinant and the said Lope agreed they were worth.

ANNAPOLIS, 14th June 1749.

. . . . . .

The Examination of Robert Lusk Mate of the Ship "Mary" whereof Captain Davison is Master and now in Patuxent River in the Province of Maryland taken before the Governor and Council of the said Province this 22d day of June 1749.[2]

This Examinant being first sworn on the holy Evangels of Almighty God deposeth and Saith That he in the said Ship arrived on the 4th of March at the Island of St. Jago, that on the 6th of the same Month about two hours after sunset he being in his Cabin heard some Strangers come on board the said Ship, that the Captain and the said Strangers were in the Cabin making a Bargain that he heard them talking about the Price of Goods, and that he also heard the Sound of Money upon the Table; This Examinant also saith that he saw on the next Morning Six Negroes on board the said Ship That the said Ship Sailed from St. Jago about five or six of the Clock in the morning, that she proved very leaky on her Voyage, and that the Six Negroes worked willingly at the Pump untill the Ship Came within One hundred Leagues of the Capes of Virginia, and that then they were not so forward to worke as before

The Examination of Charles Menzies Surgeon of the Ship "Mary" whereof Captain Davison is Master and now in Patuxent River in the Province of Maryland taken before the Governor and Council of the said Province this 22d Day of June 1749.[3]

[2] *Md. Arch.*, XXVIII. 454. At the request of the captain, the chief mate, the second mate, the doctor, the carpenter, and those sailors who had sailed from England in the *Mary* were called before the council.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 454-456.

This Examinant being first Sworn on the holy Evangels of Almighty God deposeth and Saith That he in the said Ship arrived from the Isle of May to the Island of St. Jago One of the Cape de Verd Islands on the 4th of March last in the Evening That on the 5th of the said Month this Examinant went with the said Captain on Shoar of the said Island of St. Jago and was entertained by one whom they called Captain More being the Commanding Officer of that Port, and whilst they were there Captain Davison seeing two young Negro boy Slaves waiting or serving wine asked Captain More if he would sell either one or both of the boys to which Captain More by his Interpreter answered that he would not sell any to the English, That after Captain Davison went from the said Captain Mores the same day the said Interpreter took Captain Davison aside and had some discourse with him Part of which this Examinant heard to be that the said Interpreter had some Negroes which this Examinant understood to be three or more but that they were at his Mothers and he would send for them That this Examinant with the said Davison went on board and Returned the next day which was the Sixth day of March and were again entertained by the said Captain More and the said Davison demanded his money from Captain More for Goods Davison had sold to him the Day before, that after parting with the said Captain More the said Davison having some Goods on Shoar to Purchase fresh Provisions he by means of the said Interpreter bought some, and then Davison went again to Captain More for his money and Returning to the Shoar where this Examinant with the Carpenter were on the Beach, the said Davison asked the said Interpreter if the said Negroes were come to which the said Interpreter answered they would Come soon, and then it was after sunsett, thereupon Captain Davison was going on board and this Examinant was desirous of going with him but Captain Davison Requested this Examinant to stay untill the Interpreter should bring three Slaves thereupon this Examinant staid and the Captain went on board and sent his Boat back, on the Return of which Boat the Examinant went on board of her in order to go on board of the Ship and had Actually put off with the Boat from the Shoar (being about two hours after sunsett) but being at some small distance from the Shoar the said Interpreter haled the Boat upon which the Boat Returned to the Shoar and the Interpreter brought the three Negroes who together with the said Interpreter went with this Examinant on Board, That this Examinant had heard at the Isle of May and which this Examinant verily believes Captain Davison also knew for this Examinant frequently mentioned it before to Captain Davison that there was some Law or Canon of the Church as well at the Isle of May as St. Jago against selling any Slave to

hereticks and therefore when the said three Negroes were brought as aforesaid on board this Examinant took notice to Captain Davison of such a Law or Canon, That Captain Davison having agreed with the said Interpreter for the said Negroes in Money and Goods the said Interpreter took the Money and Left the Goods on board untill he should Return with the other three Negroes and thereupon this Examinant by the Express Orders and directions of Captain Davison and against the Inclination of this Examinant (he being apprehensive of the said Law or Canon) returned in the Boat with the said Interpreter for the other three Negroes which the said Interpreter with his Son and this Examinant brought on Board about four hours after Sun sett and when they were come on Board this Examinant had some doubts whether the said Six Negroes were the Property of the said Interpreter who by repeated Solemn asserverations assured Captain Davison they did belong to him, after which Capt. Davison Proceeded to Value each Negro and when the Price was fixed this Examinant saw the Money paid and Goods delivered by Captain Davison to the said Interpreter for the Purchase. And this Examinant further Saith that Observing One of the said Negroes was better Cloathed than the Others the Interpreter said He could sound a Trumpet Play on the Fiddle and was a Weaver And this Examinant further saith that the said Ship Sailed early next Morning from the said Island. This Examinant further saith that the sd Interpreter during the whole time called the said Negroes his slaves.

. . . . . .[4]

At a Council held in the Council Chamber on Wednesday the fifth Day of July in the 35th year of his Lord'ps Dominion Annoq Domini 1749.[5] . . .

The Sheriff of St. Marys County attending with the Freeman and Negroes according to the direction of his Warrant they were called in and none of them Speaking English they were by the best Interpreter that could be got here Examined, and they all declared that they were brought by Captain Davison from the Island of St. Jago into this Country against their Will

Upon the whole It seemed to this Board that Captain Davison by a clandestine Contract and Assistance of some Inhabitant of the Island of St. Jago had Procured the said Freeman and Negroes to be brought on board his Ship and that they themselves might have been Prevailed upon by some Specious Promises to Leave the Island.

[4] Evidence was also offered by John Smalwood, carpenter on the *Mary,* William Ahier, master of the *Two Brothers,* which had come from Santiago, William Cook, apprentice to Captain Davison, and Robert Watson, cook on the *Mary*. *Md. Arch.,* XXVIII. 456-458.

[5] *Ibid.,* pp. 459-460.

It is therefore Ordered by this Board that the said Captain Davison enter into Bond with two sufficient Sureties in the Sum of two hundred Pounds Sterling Conditioned as follows.

The Condition of the Above Obligation is such That if the Six Negroes or Blacks brought by the said Thomas Davison from the Island of St. Jago into this Province shall be Safely Transported and Landed at the said Island at the Expence Costs and Charges of the said Thomas Davison, and in Case any of the said Negroes or Blacks shall happen to die or not be delivered on the said Island of St. Jago that the said Thomas Davison his Executors or Administrators shall pay to the Owner or Owners the full worth of such Negroes or Blacks as shall die or not be delivered as aforesaid And if the said Thomas Davison his Executors or Administrators shall make Satisfaction to the Owner or Owners in the said Island of the said Negroes or Blacks or any of them for all such damages as may be claimed by the said Owner or Owners by Reason or means of the said Negroes or Blacks being brought from the said Island as aforesaid then this Obligation to be Void Otherwise to Remain in full force and Virtue in Law.[6]

. . . . . .

[*Governor Samuel Ogle to the Governor at Santiago.*][7]

Sir, As soon as I was Informed of the Suspicion That Captain Thomas Davison Master of the Ship *Mary* had in an unlawful manner brought away from your Island five Slaves and a freeman I was desirous of doing what Justice I could And Captain Davison with his Mate, Surgeon, Carpenter, Apprentice and Cook were Summoned to Appear before me who upon their Examinations declared what you will see by the Inclosed Papers. And I think he has been encouraged and Assisted by some of the Inhabitants of your Island to do what is now Complained of against him however that you may be satisfyed the English are unwilling to Countenance any unjust Act and Ready to redress every injury as far as they can, Especially towards the Portugal Nation with whom our King is in so good Friendship: I tooke Possession of the Freeman and five Slaves and now send them to you by way of the Madera Wishing they may Arrive in Safety to you and shall be glad to hear that you have received them. . . .

[6] Signed by Thomas Davison, Thomas Ireland, jr., and John Skinner; "Sealed and Delivered in Presence of Charles Menzies, Joseph Skinner, Jona. Slater".

[7] *Md. Arch.,* XXVIII. 461. The negroes were sent to the Madeira Islands with letters to the British consul and the commanding officer asking that they be reshipped to Santiago.

The Petition of Thomas Davison Mariner and Master of the Ship "Mary" now Riding at Anchor in the River Patuxent.[8]

Humbly Sheweth, That your Petitioner in Pursuance of your Excellency and Councils decree hath Shipt off to the Island of Madera those Six Negroes (which he bought at St Jago) in Mr. Samuel Galloways Vessel at the Expence of thirty Guineas, and Nine Pounds Current Money of this Province, and has given Security to him for the making good any damages he may Sustain on Account of his said Vessels being detained for their delivery. And further has been obliged to give Bond to Messrs. Skinner and Ireland to give them Counter Security for that Indemnification to Mr. Galloway, besides Lodging in their Possession all the Profits Accruing on this Voyage; which your Petitioner will greatly stand in need of, for the support of his family and Paying Tradesmen in London when he gets there.

Your Excellency is also well acquainted with the Bond first given with you of two hundred Pounds Sterling for the sending those Negroes to the aforesaid Island of Madera and as it is more than Probable that by this time (the dangers of the Seas Excepted) they have reached that Place, Your Petitioner humbly begs Leave to hope that your Excellency will in this Particular Case Commiserate his hard fate thro' the whole Course of this unhappy affair, and that his Ship being in a Little time to sail, Your Excellency will with your wonted and Established Character and Clemency Admit him to take in the Last mentioned Bond of two hundred Pounds Sterling whereby he may be Enabled to depart this Province in better Circumstances than he at Present Labours under.

Your Excellencys favour in this will in a Particular manner Lay him under a greater Regard to your Excellencys favour and Prompt him to Pray for your welfare and Success, as he will be in duty Bound etca.[9]

28. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1759-1760.[1]

Annapolis in Maryland, August 30 [1759].

Friday Evening last arrived here in about six Weeks from Gambia, the Ship *Upton*, Capt. Thomas Birch, with upwards of 200 very likely, healthy Slaves, which are allowed by Judges to be as choice a Parcel of Negroes as has ever been imported into this Province. Capt. Birch on his outward bound Passage, took a French Letter of Marque

[8] *Md. Arch.,* XXVIII. 464. The governor laid this petition before the council at a meeting of Nov. 25, 1749. The *Mary* was still at anchor in the Patuxent River.

[9] "Upon reading the said Petition and considering the Condition of the Bond entered into by Captain Davison It is the Opinion of this Board that nothing can be done therein, until there is an Account of the said Vessel at the Island of Madera." *Ibid.,* p. 465.

[28] [1] *Boston News Letter,* Oct. 4, 1759, July 24, 1760.

Ship with 8 Carriage and 12 Swivel Guns and 50 Men, after a very smart Engagement of Two Hours and a Half, one Glass of which Time they were so close as to be lock'd together: In the Engagement the French Captain and 12 of his Men were killed, and 16 wounded. Capt. Birch had but 30 odd Men, one of which was killed, and 5 or 6 wounded.

NEW YORK, July 14 [1760].

On the 29th June he [Capt. Lilly] spoke the Snow *Diamond,* John King, belonging to Bristol, from Bonny in Africa, bound to Maryland, who bro't from the Coast 329 Slaves, but lost 99 with the Flux which had abated.[2]

29. CASE OF THE *EDWARD,* 1760.[1]

J. Ross to James Weems.

ANNAPOLIS, 22d September 1760.

Sir, It having been this Day represented to the Governor and Council, that a Negroe called Capt. Gray and three or four more of the Negroes who were lately imported into Patuxent River in the Brigantine *Edward* of which one John Cousins is Master have declared that they are not Slaves but Freemen, that the Negroe called Capt. Gray in particular is the son of a person of some Consequence and Power on the African Coast, and that the said Cousins treacherously stole and brought them away. I am Ordered by his Excellency and their Honours to communicate to you the Information that hath been given them and moreover to Desire that on the Receipt hereof you will send for, and examine the Surgeon Mates and Boatswain of the said Vessell and Endeavour to discover whether Capt. Cousins hath committed the Crime whereof he is accused, and if you shall either by the Evidence of those Persons or any others be inclined to think that the Master is guilty, you will be pleased to have him apprehended immediately and delivered into the Custody of the Sheriff of Calvert County, and to give that Sheriff Orders to deliver him over to the Sheriff of this County, so that he may be brought without Delay before his Excellency and the Council to be dealt with as to them shall seem meet. If you see Cause for having him apprehended you will be pleased to send hither all the Persons that shall be able to give Evidence against him, and whether you Cause him to be

[2] The negro population was estimated to be 36,000 in 1747 and 49,675 in 1761. N. D. Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province,* p. 132.

[29] [1] *Md. Arch.,* XXXI. 409-410. On Sept. 22, 1760, the council directed that a letter of inquiry be sent to James Weems, chief justice of Calvert County, concerning a complaint which had been lodged against Captain Cousins of the *Edward.*

apprehended and brought hither or not, you are desired to return to me the Depositions or Examinations that shall be by you taken on this Occasion. . . .

[*Deposition of Elias Glover.*][2]

The Deposition of Elias Glover Chief Mate of the aforesaid Brigantine being Sworn on the holy Evangels of Almighty God Deposeth and saith, that as to the Negroe called Capt. Gray he was taken in a Theft on board the aforesaid Brigantine and for that detained, that he afterwards was principally concerned in cutting the Cable and endangering the Loss of the Vessel; that as to the negroe called Capt. Buck, and the eleven other Negroes they were brought on board the Vessel by the Traders, and there left as Pledges, but that to his knowledge there was as much Goods given for them as for the other Slaves, that they had been on board of the Vessel for seven or eight Weeks before the Vessel Sailed, and that the Traders never offered to redeem them and further saith not.[3]

September 27th, 1760, Sworn to before

JAMES WEEMS.

[*Deposition of Eneas Loughrig.*][4]

The Deposition of Eneas Loughrig Aged about twenty-one years who being duely sworn on the holy Evangels of Almighty God Deposeth and saith that he is a Saylor on board of the Brigantine *Edward* John Cousins Commander and that he sailed from Liverpool along with the said Capt. Cousins before the Mast on a Voyage to the Coast of Guinea to purchase Slaves, that during their Trade on that Coast Capt. Cousins made a Purchase of several Slaves and that he this Deponent believes and never heard to the Contrary but that all the negroes brought in by Captain Cousins were Slaves; unless a negroe who calls himself Capt. Gray should be Free whose particular Circumstances are as follows, he Gray was a Servant to a Freeman upon the Coast of Guinea and that he used to be employed by his Master to go in a Cannoo to carry Slaves on Board of Trading Vessels and as a Plavvrer (Palaverer) that he carried some on board of the Brigantine *Edward* whilst he was in that Vessell he stole a Scarlet Jacket from Capt. Cousins who never permitted him (Gray) to go on Shore afterwards, but offered to return him if he could get another Slave for him which was refused by those to whom the Offer was made, they said he was a scandal to his Country and they

[2] *Md. Arch.*, XXXI. 411.

[3] Robert Harrison, second mate of the *Edward,* deposed that he knew the testimony of Elias Glover to be true and that he could add nothing to it. *Ibid.,* p. 411.

[4] *Ibid.,* pp. 411-412.

would not give a slave of four feet high for him, and this Deponent has heard that it was usual to punish Thieves after than [that] manner in that Country.

Sworn to this 25 Day of Septemr. 1760 before me.

GEO: STEUART.[5]

30. THOMAS RINGGOLD TO SAMUEL GALLOWAY, 1760.[1]

CHESTER TOWN,[2] Decb. 15th, 1760.

Dear Sir. . . . I found a great Deal of Trouble and Diligence required to get anything and severel Things I did not get, there was not one peice of Chiloes or Nickanees or blue Basts in the whole Town nor but 2 ps. of Tapsails,[3] so I was obliged to supply the Defects by Manchester Goods in Immitation as well as I coud. I got enough Stripes like Tapseils coud get but 2 ps. of tapsails in Town and 2 ps. I laid by at Mr. Dicks. I was put to great Difficulty ab't Gunns could not find any of the Trading Gunns but 21 in Town, them I got for 15/ Cash each. I was obliged to take Some light Arms of Willing and Morris they are nett and Handy, not made [——shett?] fashion but yet have all for Bayonetts to them, P'haps they will Sell the Better to the Negroes if not the Captn. must sell them Seperate as Daggors to hang by their Sides. I got also 58 good Nett Cuttlesses Buck Handles and brass mounted at 6/ Currency. The whole goods I got amounts to upwards of £500 [800?] Currency and Shall add a few More Articles. I got them all on board the Shallop. She came away a Friday night and is down. The Goods will be here in a Day or two and we shall send our Schooner down with every Thing hope She'll get away by the last of the week. I did not get any Slops, they were excessive Dear and I did not well know what to get. we shall send home good Dowless shirts which must serve the seamen, and they must provide enough of other Cloaths for the voyage before they go. Getting so few Gunns in Philada. I wrote to Mr. Freman [?] to try to pick me up 100 or

[5] "Advised by this Board that the Captain be Discharged It being their Opinion that the Complaint is Groundless. Whereupon the said Capt. Cousins attending was called in and Discharged accordingly." *Ibid.*, p. 412.

[30] [1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Manuscripts Division, Galloway Papers, Ringgold Letters, 1760-1763. Thomas Ringgold, son of a Thomas Ringgold, was a prominent Maryland merchant, for a number of years a member of the Maryland assembly. His son Thomas married a daughter of Samuel Galloway, also a prominent merchant. For glimpses of the social life of the group, including the Ringgolds, the Galloways, and the Tilghmans, see "Letters of Molly and Hetty Tilghman", *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXI. 20-39, 123-149, 219-240.

[2] The letters exchanged between Ringgold and Galloway refer to a trade more closely related to that of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and the Jerseys than to that of Virginia. Chester Town was on the Eastern Shore of Chesapeake Bay.

[3] India goods in demand on the African coast. Ringgold had just returned from Philadelphia.

less at York of the Cheap sort and send with the Rum. I wrote him also as to Dollars not one of them to be got in Philada.

I have not got Mr. Tilghmans Answer whether Coll. Loyd[4] has any or not but shall send down before our Schooner comes away. I have got powder enough. I spoke to Mr. Dick to save 2 bbs. of his it was F [?] and dear but he had no more and I was fearful it woud be gone and least it shoud be as dear above I desired him to resume it. You can tell him we will take it unless he woud be as willing to keep it. . . .[5]

[P. S.] I got some fig'd Dimathy and some Corded—have taken also 8 ps. of Irish printed Cottens red at 3/2 p yd. they are very good Goods, near as Cheap as Tapsails and much better Goods I think they'l do, and instead of blue bafts I have got a fine blue Linnen with a Nett white Print stampt wth a Copper Plate in Imitation of Dresden Lace, I took 8 ps of that it comes at 4/ p yd. is as cheap as blue bafts and much neeter. I have got a good stock of Checks and Stripes and [*illegible*] checks and some Cotten Romall Handkerchefs and enough of Bandanoes, tho chiefly English and Irish, They'l do.[6]

31. Thomas Ringgold to Samuel Galloway, 1761.[1]

August 15th, 1761.

Dear Sir, Mr. Davis comes Express to us immediately on Captn. Simm's Arrival, in hopes to save Insurance. Had I been in Town the Expence of this Express woud have been saved. I understand his Cargo in is 4 Hhds Rum 14 Negroes[2] and some Cash. Mr. Davis does not know what but believes £150 or thereabouts if so and if Negroes woud bring £40 [*illegible*] round, we shoud make our old [*illegible*]. I have got a proper voucher to draw back our £5 p ct. premium for sailing with Convoy, Our affairs are so circumstanced that I cannot possible come down to you must leave it to you to dispose of the Negroes and the Rum hope the Rum will bring 7/6 p if good Spirit. woud not these Negroes suit Caleb Dorsey and Mr.

[4] It is impossible to be certain which of the many members of the Tilghman family is here referred to. It may have been Edward, whose second wife was related to the Galloways (*Md. Hist. Mag.*, I. 283-284), or Matthew, whose wife was Anna Lloyd, daughter of James Lloyd. *Ibid.*, p. 370.

[5] The remainder of the paragraph is devoted to the French seizures in the West Indies.

[6] The letter is endorsed: "To Mr. Samuel Galloway, To the Care of Benj. Chews Esqr. Philadelphia p. Express." One paragraph of a later letter may refer to these purchases: Ringgold to Galloway, Feb. 23, 1761, "I quite forgot to speak to Mr. Dick about the powder and few Things I laid by for the Guinea Voyage please let him know how matters are". Galloway's wife Anne was a Chew, and his sons married Sarah and Henrietta, daughters of Benjamin Chew.

[31] [1] Galloway Papers, Ringgold Letters, 1760-1763.

[2] These negroes had probably been brought in from Barbados.

Harrisson. They both want much and P'haps might be worth while to send to them Express, if you want any of them y'self can keep them, you'l see what Trades and what value they are. . . . Captn. Neilson got away last Thursday Evening. We sold 14 of the Negroes yesterday very well considering the Cond'n they were in. The wenches and 1 man at 60 each, 1 man £68, 1 Boy £60, Girls at £56, 2 sickly Girls cheap, the Maits Boy for £70, the small poor Boy died coming up. we have only The 2d Maits Fellow and 2 Girls hope they go today. But the worst of it twas chiefly on some Credit, Am glad to get them off so. If those you have don't ruble off before next week send them to Q As [Queen Anne's][3] Court and I will sell them, then they'l not be in the way of Simms's which you may set to work till you can sell them. they lost one it seems by the smallpox coming in. this shoud be kept secret as it may make people fearful, twas very fortunate they had no more to have it. The Insurance Captn. Simms you know pays none of. . . .

To Mr. Samuel Galloway, West River.[4]

32. Thomas Ringgold to Samuel Galloway, 1761.[1]

Chester Town Aug. 28, 1761.

Dear Sir . . . You may well sell so few Negroes as the Sloop has without me, you can judge as well as I of the Quality and Value, and if Tradesmen I hope will sell well. . . . There is a young negro Fellow a seaman, or one however that has been used to the water that was afraid of getting a bad Master and last Night stole on board our Schooner and hid himself, All our people declare they did not know he was on board till this Morning when they were almost at home. Davis and the people told him coming over we were good Masters and the poor Fellow beggs us to buy him so much we have concluded to keep him and to pay what you shall think him worth or what such another sells for. . . .

Now at Annapolis, To the Care of Mr. Middleton

33. Thomas Ringgold and Samuel Galloway to Fowler, Easton, and Company, 1761.[1]

Maryland Septr. 17th 1761.

Sirs, We doubt not before this reaches you you will have recd. ours advising the Arrival of yr. Snow *Alexander* here and the misfortune

[3] A village on the Eastern Shore.

[4] West River was on the Western Shore. Here Galloway had built his home, Tulip Hill, in 1756. Paul Wilstach, *Tidewater Maryland,* pp. 275-277.

[32] [1] Galloway Papers, Ringgold Letters, 1760-1763.

[33] [1] Galloway Papers, Ringgold Letters, 1760-1763.

she met with in the Loss of so great a part of her Slaves. we had but 105 left alive to sell, 11 of them so bad we were glad to get £11 Ster. p Head for them, 6 of the 11 since dead and many of the others in very bad Condition. In the Condition we reced. the Cargo we really made a Monstrous Sale as Captn. Neilson will inform you, and much beyond his Expectation as well as our own; but under the Circumstances they were, we thought it best to get them off as quick as possible, and we refused no offers of a safe Man even upon 9 and 12 Months Credt. being so circumstanced puts it out of our Power to make you above 2/3ds Remittance by the Ship. This is as much as is usually made, but coud we have got pay'd for the whole we shoud by no means have retained the Use of a farthing but remitted all, and we shall ever make it a point in this Bussiness to remit all we possibly can recover. Tho' it allway's helps a sale even of the best Slaves to give Cred't in some Instances and we can by such people get off the worst of the Slaves and enhance the price or keep it up more than Interest of Money considerably. This comes by Way of London and you have here with Copy of our Sales and tho' we assure you we have not yet reced. 2/3ds of the Nett proceeds, and the other third besides our Commissions is yet outstanding, we not only remit you the full 2/3ds but also upwards of £400 Sterling more properly of our own Money, as a fund for protested Bills if there shoud be any, that you may nevertheless be in Cash for full 2/3ds. . . .

Captn. Neilson will Sail in 4 or 5 Days at farthest with a full Load of Tobacco. . . .

Our Duty is higher at present by a Tax of 30/ p head laid on Acct of the war than it will be after peace. You see by the Sales how a Cargo of fine Healthy Negroes may be sold.* and we think we can venture to say they coud fall into no Hands here that coud make more of them than we can, and Shall be glad to serve you or your Friends in that waye.

* but those from the Bite is in the least Esteam with us of any that is imported, Gambia the best and generally comes in best helth as the Passage is quick from thence to this place.

34. Thomas Ringgold to Samuel Galloway, 1762.[1]

Chestr Town Janry. 7th 1762.

Dear Sir, I wrote you when I was at Annapolis ab't the Duty Money due on the Negroes, that Beale Nicholson told me Mr. Bordley[2] had desired him to speak to me abt it. I thought you had settled it, I told him if you had not I dar'd to say you woud when

[34] [1] Galloway Papers, Ringgold Letters, 1760-1763. Galloway was at West River.
[2] Thomas Bordley was a naval officer.

you came from Virginia. . . . If I had then known that Mr. Bordley was so very uneasy abt it as I find he is since I woud have waited on him, and spoke to him abt it. We just before that had some Gold that we chiefly parted with that woud have help'd pay. Since I came home I find that Mr. Bordley was up here whilst I was at Philadelphia and expressed great uneasiness at my not being at Home. Said you and I owed him a large sum upwards of £200 Mary'd Money for the Dutys on the Negroes and he had been obliged to advance his own Money for us that he expected you woud have paid, that yo' had turned him over to me and now I was gone from Home he coud not see me and shoud be kept out of it by us both but he hoped yo' woud not refuse to allow him Interest when we did pay him. I think we ought to take of [up?] his Complaints and make payment at all Events. . . . I will take over all our Negro Papers and we will settle fully, pray if yo' can in the Mean time get Mr. Bordley p'd off by Borrowing or anything. . . .

35. Captain Arthur Craig to Alexander and Andrew Symmes, 1762.[1]

Gambia July 22, 1762.

Gentlemen, This is to acquaint you that I shall sail from this for maryland in three days with one hundred and Twelve Slaves on Board on your account for which I have here Inclosd you a Bill of Leading for the same have sent the Coppy of this by the way of York Directed to Mr. Bell at Philadelphia

36. Thomas Browne to Samuel Galloway, 1762.[1]

Jamess Fort 24th Jully 1762.

Sir, Being inform'd by the Bearer of this, that you are a Corespondent of Jamess Gildarts Esqr.[2] Mercht. in Liverpooll, my owner; have Shipt Twenty Slaves consignd to you, to be sold upon Account of Mr. Gildart the amount to be Remitted in Bill of Exchange or otherwise as Mr. Gildart m[a]y think proper to order. my Chief Mate goes Passenger with Capt. Craigg, youll Please let him have Twenty Pounds sterling which Charge to Account of Mr. Gildart.

[35] [1] Library of Congress, Galloway, Maxcy, Markoe Papers, vol. 6. The letter is endorsed: "For Mr Alex'r And'w Symmes merch'ts in Maryland. Per Capt. Dufey."

[36] [1] Galloway, Maxcy, Markoe Papers, vol. 6. Endorsed: "Samuell Gallaway Esqr. P. Capt. Craigg, Q. D. G. to Samuell Gallaway Esqr. Mareyland."

[2] See this work, II. 493, 497.

37. Captain Arthur Craig to Samuel Galloway, 1762.[1]

Philadelphia 21st October 1762.

Sir, I have the pleasure to Accquaint you of my safe arrival here my reasons for not Proceeding for Maryland. have wrote to Messrs. Alexander Symmes and Co. this day to which refer you.

Inclosed you have Sales of 18 Slaves the property of Mr. James Gildert of Liverpoole, which I procured to be consigned to you but by puting Into Antigua was obliged to have them sold there for his acct. you have also Inclosed Accot. Current Ballance being £261. 18. 6/2, for which have brought Livingston and Furlong on Samuel Turner[2] of London at 9 Months Sight, in favour of said Gildert, woud have Inclosed you the bill but having only the first bill the rest haveing sent by different conveyances I thought it most prudent to waite your directions, how to dispose of it. There was Twenty slaves but two of them died on the passage which you'll please accquaint Mr. Gildert off.

38. Alexander Symmes to Thomas Ringgold, 1762.[1]

Chester [Pa.?] Friday Novr. 4th 1762.

Sr, I am now on my way to Philadelphia, in consequence of a Letter Recieved from Captn. Craig, who arrived there from Antigua the 20th Ulto, he has brought with him Accot Sales [?] and Accot. Currant from Messrs. Livingston and Furlong for the Accn [?] of his Slaves as also Bills Exch'es drawn by the above Gentlemen

£860.5.1	at	3	mths	sight
860.5.1	"	9	"	"
860.5.1	"	12	"	"
£2580.15.3 Stg.	by which you'll Perceive the bad voyage he has made.[2] . . .			

[37] [1] Galloway, Maxcy, Markoe Papers, vol. 5. Endorsed: "To Samuel Galloway Esqr. at Anapolise Maryland."

[2] In 1750 Samuel Turner was a member of the London committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa. See this work, II. 477n.

[38] [1] Galloway Papers, Ringgold Letters, 1760-1763.

[2] On Nov. 16, 1762, Ringgold wrote to Galloway: "The Conclusion of Cragg's Voyage with a View back at all the Trouble Loss and Disappointment we have had in Guinea Schemes had made me firmly resolve never to have any thing to say to them and I did not doubt it woud have had the same Influence on you. I was therefore very sorry to find you had engaged in another Vessel to put it in the power of another be him who he woud, to serve you as Craigg has you cant think better of him than you did of the other whatever is the Meaning of it there are more disasters in those Voyages than any others whatever." *Ibid.*

39. Samuel Galloway and Thomas Ringgold to James Gildart, 1762.[1]

Maryland Annapolis Novemr. 30th, 1762.

Sir, We ware part owners of a Vessel to the River Gambia in the Slave Trade the last Summer in which Capt. [Craig] Shipt Twenty Slaves on Freight to the Address of our Samuel Galloway on your Acct. and risque expecting the Vessell would return to Maryland but unfortunant for you as well as ourselves she fell into Antego, where the Cargo as well as your Slaves Sold considerably lower than they would have done here—besides our loosing the Commission two of your 20 died on the passage and for the other 18 you have Mesrs. Livingston and Furlongs Sales and there bills for £261.18.6 1/2 paiable at 9 Months sight on Samuel Turner Esq. in London for the full proceeds. We think we can very Justly say we should have made a much more agreeable return had she Arrived here. we have had heretofore the pleasure of rendering much more profitable Accts. to the Gentlemen we have done Business for in that way, our Terms for Sales and remitance are 8 p Ct. on Gross Sales to remit one half by the Ship the other half in 12 months. this is the Greatest Indulgance Stipulated and we have hitherto done much better. We take Occation to tell you, that we have agreed to execute all Business of this kind Jointly that may come either Jointly or Sepertly to us and tender you and your Friends our best Services in that way.

Our additional Duty laid here on acct. of the War will Expire next June when we shall have but 20/ Ster. and 20/ Curency Duty and we believe you will find this Market as good or better on Trial than any other.[2]

40. Thomas Ringgold to Samuel Galloway, 1763.[1]

Chester Town July 10th, 1763.

Dear Sir, . . . Devonshire and Reeve[2] writes us requesting us to take a Power of Attorney to get our Money out of a Certain Gent'ans Hands for them. They say they know it is in our Power to serve them and we may depend they'l procure us the Consignment of our African Ship solely on their Interest, we shall endeavour to serve them. . . .

[39] [1] Galloway, Maxcy, Markoe Papers, vol. 6.

[2] The reference is probably to the law of 1756 which laid a duty of 20*s*. Actually, Maryland added a duty of £2 currency the next year.

[40] [1] Galloway Papers, Ringgold Letters, 1760-1763. Among these papers is a brief item of Apr. 20, 1763, stating that Galloway had sold negroes for £21, which was to be paid by a bill on Samuel Touchett, London. For further information concerning Touchett see this work, II. xliii, 521-522n.

[2] For further references to the trade of Messrs. Devonshire and Reeve see *post*, nos. 173, 202.

41. Thomas Ringgold to Samuel Galloway, 1764.[1]

Chester Town May 6th, 1764.

Dear Sir, I have been looking over our Guinee Accts since I came home, and They really are almost got out of my Hand. I wish we coud get them settled whilst we can understand them. Pray bring with you Your Account Books of the Guinae Affairs, I will put the other Papers in such a posture that we shall be able to settle P'haps, if not whilst you are up, if I have the Books I can st[?] them so that we may do it the first Time I come down. shoud be glad if you coud get the Exact sum Carlisle and Dalton paid, and that you'd look over our Acct. and we coud finish the whole together. . . .

We shall want Mr. Graves's Acct. of protested Bills.

42. Thomas Ringgold to Samuel Galloway, 1764.[1]

West Town Augst. 27th 1764.

Dear Sir, I find every thing as Dull here as possible and no prospect of selling the Slaves, nor is there the Least prospect of Selling any at Queens Town. Brother Will has sold but 5 since I went away so that thers 32 left, for these Mr. Richie offerd £22 10 *Sh* round and take them all in the vessel which he has sent round to Philadelphia, but as by our selling them here the Duty cannot be drawn back Mr. Hill woud not take it but I tell him that if he takes them up himself by Duck Creek he can either sell them to Richie or take the same Chance as Richie had, which he was candid enough to tell us was that there was Comn. and agent come from the Havannah to buy, that he coud Land them in the Jerseys and get £25 Stg. round and 50/ p Head woud pay him for his risque and Expence, so Mr. Hill thinks if he does not break if [up?] present assortment he can get the price going of those people himself and I advise him to take that rout and gladly give up the Comsn. for the part he takes and on carrying them out of the province he is intitled to the Draw back of the Duty. This I think better for us than puzzling at Queens Town and selling none and then sending to Sam Henson as I before proposed, for the Gentln thought £22 10 Stl. round too much without the Duty off and then if his Tobo shoud prove bad and Mr. Hill shoud suffer by it or we coud not sell it again we might loose Reputation and if we advised trying further and he shoud beat us down lower than Mr. Hills Expectations he might think we had our Comn. more at heart than his Interest so pray get a Permit from the Collector and Naval Officer to take 32 that is 11 men, 5 women 8 Boys and 8 Girls of the Cargo

[41] [1] Galloway Papers, second folder. This is addressed to Annapolis.
[42] [1] Galloway Papers, second folder.

to the Counties of New Castle Kent and Sussex or Delaware,[2] and we may get a new Permit if necessary to go from there to the Jerseys and we shall be clear of any further Trouble. . . .

N. B. we keep the 4 reserved for Will Hamslin [?] and one woman thats sick behind. . . .

43. Thomas Ringgold to Samuel Galloway, 1766.[1]

Chester Town May 4th, 1766.

Dear Sir, I wrote you a few Linès in a great Hurry about the Sloop with the Negroes, Yesterday by Mr. Steuart and sent You the Owners Letter to us and to the Captn. Inclosed is Copy of the Letter we wrote the Gentn. last October since which we have not heard from them.

We suppose they will have no Duties to pay if they carry the Negroes to Rhode Island and we fear they woud not sell here for ready Bills but at a very low rate such as woud not give Content, we are shure they woud not sell at all on this Shoare. You know best what they will do on your Side. If you think theres any prospect of Selling so as to give the Gentn. Content and are amind to try it, write us a Line and we will step over, otherwise youl advise the Captn and we will join in a Letter to the Owner's letting them know as we found they woud not sell here we had persued their Orders in sending them to Rhode Island. The Captn. will see by the Copy of our Letter to his Owners and by this to you that you are joined with us.

44. Thomas Ringgold to Samuel Galloway, 1766.[1]

Chester Town July 4th, 1766.

Dear Sir, I received yours of the 25th but Yesterday. I really think if you had taken £23 round of Mr. Barnes it would have been more than the Slaves were worth Yet as we have such odd people to deal with I think it better they shoud have them themselves; as they woud not let us know what woud satisfy them, saying they heard Slaves woud bring [*torn*] £40 to £45 Sterling here [*illegible*] not all, they shoud have [*torn*] what they woud bring with them and then they woud have given us some proper Foundation to judge what was best for their Interest.[2] . . .

[2] New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, in Delaware, were all accessible from the Delaware River, as were Delaware County, Pa., and the Jerseys.

[43] [1] Galloway Papers, second folder.

[44] [1] Galloway Papers, second folder. This is addressed, care of Joseph Galloway, Annapolis.

[2] On Aug. 27 Ringgold wrote: "I hope you'l be able to receive all the Money for the Negroes and that we can remit them the Ballance soon but we must [take care?] in our Remittance to charge our Coms. on the returns made." Two, or perhaps three,

45. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1766.

Annapolis in Maryland, Sept. 11 [1766].[1]

Some very remarkable Causes, about 20, have been determined this Week, at our Assize Court. The Actions were brought by some Seamen, against the Master of a Guiney Ship, for Ill usage, and Wages; and the Sailors got much the Weather gage of their Captain, and lay so far to windward of him, that they run him down, by Recovering very considerable Damages, their Wages, and Costs of Suit, which amount to many Guineas, the Actions being first brought in the County Court, from thence remov'd to the Provincial, and from thence to the Assizes. (This was a Guinea Voyage indeed.)

Aug. 25, 1770.[2]

Ran away from the Subscriber, living in Charles County, near Pamunky Warehouse, on Tuesday the 14th Instant, a Negro Man, named George, just imported in the Snow *Providence*, Capt. Davis from Africa: He is about 5 Feet 8 Inches high, has a Scar on the right Side of his Head, the Inside of his Hands and the Soles of his Feet are remarkably speckled: Had on, when he went away an old blue great Coat, a brown Roll Shirt and Trousers.

Whoever takes up, and secures the said Negro, so that I may get him again, shall have a Reward of Thirty Shillings Currency, including what the Law allows, and reasonable Charges if brought home, paid by Alexander M'Donald.

June 4, 1771.[3]

Just arrived In the *Mary*, Captain Samuel Haycroft, from Africa, A Small Parcel of about One Hundred choice Slaves, consisting of Men, Women, Boys, and Girls, which will be sold, on Monday next, the Tenth Instant, at Selby's Landing, on Patuxent River, for Bills of Exchange or Current Money, by the Subscribers. James Dick and Stewart [and] Judson Coolidge

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years later he wrote: "Saturday [1768 or 1769] Mr. Symmes just lets me know he has entered into a Scheme for the Coast of Guinea etc. and has left Room for you. I think the Matter may be conducted to great advantage and what yo. incline to do in it we will be concerned with yo. if yo. choose it." The last reference to the trade found in this correspondence is an undated note which precedes a letter of 1770: "Queens Town Wednesday afternoon. I have waited here for the Negroes all day with much Impatience. this was the Day for Sale and most people hope they [may] yet be here tonight."

[45] [1] *Massachusetts Gazette and News Letter*, Oct. 2, 1766.

[2] *Md. Gazette,* Sept. 6, 1770.

[3] *Ibid.,* June 6, 1771. The last two items confute the statement of William Eddis, cited by DuBois, that the last importation of negroes into Maryland took place in 1769. DuBois, *Slave Trade*, p. 15, n. 5.

46. Perkins and Burling to William Van Wyck, 1789.[1]

Cape [François], Feb. 20, 1789.

If it should be in your power to purchase a few serviceable stout negroes, some Tradesmen (as Carpenters, Blacksmiths and a Cooper) and others acquainted with the Culture of Tobacco, we sh'd be glad you would do it on our acct. and ship them here, one or two at a time, as opportunity offers. We suppose common working Negroes may be had from 40 to 45£ your money, and Tradesmen from 50 to 70£. We wish 15 or 20 of this description as we intend sending them to the Natchez.

47. Perkins and Burling to John Hollins, 1789.[1]

Cape François, May 27, 1789.

The ports of St. Domingo, Carracas and Havanna are opened for the reception of Negroes in foreign bottoms, for the space of two years, free of duty. . . . The Cargoes must consist of one Third Women, but we suppose you will have it published in America.

There is a fine field opened for Guinea Speculations. Our general has opened the Ports of Aux Cayes, Jaemel and Jeremi, for the Introduction of Negroes by foreigners, to commence the first of August next and continue five years. . . .

48. Perkins and Burling to Stewart and Plunkett, 1791.[1]

19 Dec. 1791.

Two Guinea-Men have arrived here, and as we observe your main object is to dispose of this Vessell or find some advantage from her returns from the Havanna, we have succeeded in the purchase of 16 prime male negroes at 1650. . . . We have drawn upon you in favour of M. Hautval for the amt. of the 16 slaves.

[46] [1] L. V. Briggs, *History and Genealogy of the Cabot Family*, II. 475-476. William van Wyck was a Baltimore merchant. On Jan. 24, 1788, Perkins and Burling had offered their services in the Guinea trade to Messrs. Samuel and John Smith of Baltimore. On Oct. 7, 1788, they wrote to this firm concerning the cost of landing a cargo of young slaves in Santo Domingo. Such negroes were at that time selling in the island for 25 joes (*ibid.*, pp. 474-475). The editor has not examined the Perkins and Burling letters.

[47] [1] Briggs, *The Cabot Family*, II. 476. Hollins was a Baltimore merchant. It was probably to this house that Perkins and Burling wrote in 1792: "An excellent voyage may be made by taking Negroes from hence, and sugar and molasses in return (from Havanna). New choice Negroes will pay a freight of 50 or 60 dolls. pr. head." *Ibid.*, p. 482.

[48] [1] Briggs, *The Cabot Family*, II. 481. Stewart and Plunkett were Baltimore merchants. On Feb. 4, 1792, Perkins and Burling wrote to them: "Capt. Snyder's first Idea was to effect an exchange of flour for Negroes and to proceed to the Havannah. Since then he has declined this plan, and we have sold part of his cargo" (*ibid.*, p. 482). The *Phoenix*, which visited Baltimore in 1800 and then sailed for Angola, may have belonged to Maryland owners. Catterall, *Judicial Cases*, I. 23.

49. Negroes imported into Maryland, 1753-1765.[1]

[Ships that have entered Annapolis, Maryland, October 10, 1753—January 5, 1765.]

Date	Ship	Master	Built	Registered	Owner	Negroes	From
1753 Oct. 26	Sloop *Achsah*	Thomas Hammond	Maryland 1753	Annapolis, Nov. 3, 1753	John Carnan and Co.	11	Barbados
1758 May 12	*Two Sisters* Ship	James Hanrick	Maryland 1757	Annapolis, Nov. 9, 1757	Samuel Galloway	2	Barbados
1759 June 18	*Two Sisters* Ship	James Hanrick	Maryland 1757	Annapolis, Nov. 9, 1757	Samuel Galloway	5	St. Christophers
1754 Sept. 2	Brigantine *Triton*	Alexand'r Scoughill	Maryland 1752	Annapolis, July 4, 1752	James Wardross of Maryland	4	Barbadoes
1761 July 29	Ship *Alexander*	John Neilson	N. England 1751	Bristol, Oct. 2, 1760	John Fowler and Co.	110	Africa
1762 July 5	Schooner *Success*	Benja. Beale	N. England 1761	Boston, Sep. 18, 1761	Philip Higgins	1	Boston
Aug. 19	Ship *The Favourite Polly*	Thomas Campbell	French Prize 1761	London, June 9, 1761	Archibald Maclane and Thos. Ashurst Maclane	80	Africa
1763 May 24	Sloop *Charlotte*		Maryland 1762	Annapolis, May 19, 1763	Samuel Chew	1	Barbadoes
1764 May 23	Brig *Freemason*	Robert Bryce	N. England 1762	Barbadoes, Apr. 2, 1764	Robert Bryce and others	6	Barbadoes
Nov. 26	Brig *Kitty*	Henry Herbert	French Prize 1762	Martinique, July 8, 1762	Thomas Ogilvie and David Ochterlong	18	Antigua

[49] [1] P. R. O., C. O. 5:750. This list, drawn from the Naval Officers' Lists by Miss Ruth Anna Fisher, is intended to include all vessels which brought any negroes into the colony. The signatures of the naval officers and the dates showing the period for which each report is made have been omitted. The *Triton* entered in the port of Patuxent, not Annapolis.

50. John Ellzey to Edward Nicholas, 1628.

1628, May 13, Southampton.[1]

. . . The *Fortune* has also taken an Angola man with many negroes, which the captain bartered in Virginia for tobacco, which has come home in a ship called the *Plantation*. . . .

1628, May 27, Southampton.[2]

Concerning the tobacco I advertised you of returned upon the *Plantation* for Negroes sold in Virginia, I came not to the Knowledge thereof until all or the most part of the tobacco was carried away to London. I find that there was imported 85 hogshds. and 5 buts of tobacco, being the proceeds of the said Negroes, and here received by Richard Paleford, John Sherron and one Watkins, being assignees for Arthur Guy, Captain of the *Fortune*, of London.[3] You may inform yourself of the contents of the tobacco exactly by one Peter Andrewes, Master of the said *Plantation*, who is now resident in London, being brother in law to one Mr. Vassall, a Turkey Merchant, eminent upon the Exchange.[4]

51. Order of the Council of New Netherland, 1655.[1]

Order on a petition of Edmund Scarborough, who desires to sail to Virginia.

On Tuesday the 24th of August [1655].

After reading before the Council the request of Edmund Scarburch for permission to sail in his vessel with some purchased negroes

[50] [1] *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, VII. 265; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1628-1629, p. 110; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1675-1676, p. 69. Edward Nicholas was secretary for the Admiralty under the Duke of Buckingham, and John Ellzey, collector of the Admiralty tenths for Hants, which facts explain the occasion for the two letters here printed. On May 10, 1628, Nicholas had written to Mr. Oliver, "Has spoken to Sir Henry Marten concerning the Duke's tenths of about 100 negroes taken in a Spanish vessel by the *Good Fortune* of London, set forth by Sir Thomas Love, John Hanger, and others" (*Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1628-1629, p. 107). This is probably the *Fortune*, of which the captain, Arthur Guy, was also part owner. *Ibid.*, p. 289. See also note 3, below.

[2] *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, VII. 265; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1628-1629, p. 131; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1675-1676, p. 69.

[3] The *Fortune*, of London, owned by Arthur Guy and others, was granted a letter of marque in July, 1626 (*Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1628-1629, p. 289). The incident is recounted by Neill (*Virginia Carolorum*, p. 59n.). Bruce suggests, without offering reasons for the belief, that the captain's name was Grey not Guy (*Economic History*, II. 73n.). One of the owners of the *Fortune* may have been Benjamin Brown of Lyme, who, in need of money, made over his interest in the profits of a voyage commanded by Arthur Guy to one Valentine Oldis, merchant, Nov. 19, 1627. *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Virginia*, 1622-1632, 1670-1676, pp. 157-158.

[4] Probably Samuel Vassall, who was apparently better known as a merchant than was his brother William. The brothers were both interested in colonial trade. Whether Samuel had at this time any direct connection with the slave trade remains an unsolved problem. Thirty years later he was known as a Guinea trader. See this work, I. 82, 129n., 134.

[51] [1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, XII. 93-94. Bruce describes Scarborough as one of the most distinguished planters of the Eastern Shore. The Scarborough headrights for slaves

from here to Virginia, it was decided, the opinion of every one having been asked:

The request is granted, provided that the petitioner give bail to the amount of five thousand pounds sterling to enter the Southbay or the Southriver [Delaware River] neither directly nor indirectly and that his people promise the same under oath nor to give anybody any information at sea or on land. Date as above.

Before me, Cornelius van Ruyven, Secretary in the service of the General Incorporated West-India Company, appeared Edmund Scarburgh, a resident of Hacco Macco in Virginia, who in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, promises, that he will not within four weeks from date either directly or indirectly enter the South bay and the Southriver or touch at any land within six miles south or north thereof, much less sail into, anchor at or come into harbor at said Bay or River, except it happened, which God forbid, that he by God's wind and weather were compelled to touch at the South Bay, in which case they shall not run in farther, than where they can save their lives, without sending any person from on board ashore, or allowing anyone to come aboard. Also, that during said time, neither he nor his crew will either directly or indirectly, by sea or by land, by the present or by any other barks or sloops nor even by any man in the world, furnish or give any intelligence to those in the aforesaid Countries. For the observance of all that is aforesaid he, Scarburch, becomes bound in the sum of five thousand pounds sterling to be paid to the West-India Company in case he or any of his men were hereafter found to have acted contrary hereunto; submitting to all courts, tribunals and judges his person and property, present and future. For greater security and observance of what is stated above Mr. Thomas Willett [2] becomes bail and co-principal *in solidum,* that all that is aforesaid shall be observed and effected by Edmund Scarburch and his people, pledging to that end his person and property, and subjecting the same to all courts, tribunals and judges.

In testimony whereof the parties and witnesses have signed this at AMSTERDAM in NEW-NETHERLAND the 24th August A. 1655.[3]

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amounted to 39. In 1656 Tabitha Scarborough of the Eastern Shore imported 30 negroes. Bruce, *Econ. Hist.,* II. 75-76.

[2] Thomas Willett, a merchant who carried on considerable trade between the Dutch and English colonies after 1644. He was later mayor of New York. *N. Y. Col. Docs.,* XII. 94n.

[3] The order is signed by Edm. Scarburgh, Ths. Willett, and Cornelis van Ruyven, secretary; the witnesses are "Claes Ptsen and Roeloff Corslense".

52. Case of the *Blessing*, 1661-1662.[1]

Order and Instructions for Mr. Thomas Outlaw, Master of the "Blessing" of London Bound for Ginny dated Novr. 1661.

Sir, our Order to you is that winde and weather serving, you are to set saile for Tilberie Hope, and there to wayte for the opportunitie of a faire winde to carey the shipp into the downes, and from thence, with the first opportunitie to set saile, for the River of Reagrandie [2] upon the Coast of Barbary or Ginny or to any other Port or place, within one hundred and twentie Leagues of Cape de varde,

And there to dispose our Cargo Loaden on board of the shipp the *Blessing* for our best Advantage,

And our order is that if you can get Twentie Tunne of Olevants Teeth or upwards then to Returne for England, with your shipp and that Ladeing to the Port of London,

But if you cannot procure so many Teeth, then to get as many as you can Reserving as much of your Cargo, as will procure one hundred and fifty Negros at Least, and not exceed two hundred and twentie, which you are to transport to Mary Land in Virginia,

And when it shall please God you arrive there to repaire to Mr. Edward Loyd merchant, who is to assist you in disposeing of them to our best Advantage, And not to dispose of any in the Country, without his advise or approbation your provision excepted being one in the Twentie,

And further our Instructions are, with the helpe of Mr. Edward Loyd merchant to Relayde the shipp with what good shall be procured by him or what fraight shall there present,

And for want of fraight, then in such a case you may dispose of so many Negros for Tobacco and about tenn tunns of saxafras as will make up your fraight, and come for London, and there end your voyage, And now in the case of Mortallitie that if Mr. Edward Loyd should be deseased before you arrive, or you should finde him sicke, not able to assist you then in such a case so advise with Mr. Richd Preston a Planter there in the disposeing of the Negros, and relading of the shipp, as the other should have done,

And further our Order is that if the master should happen to depart this mortall life (which the Lord prevent) before the Cargo be all sould in Ginny, that Mr. John Smith and Maxamillion Spencer [3]

[52] [1] Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, Suffolk Court Files, no. 414, p. 82. Page 81 is the original document, p. 82 a copy. The copy is here used since the original is undecipherable. As will be seen from the next document, certain difficulties incident to this voyage were brought to the Massachusetts courts, a fact which accounts for the presence in the Suffolk Files of a number of papers relating to the *Blessing*. The reason for placing the material here is that the original destination of the voyage seems to have been Virginia.

[2] Rio Grande, south of the Senegal.

[3] This name in the documents which follow is written Maximillian Pinson.

doe advise together, and dispose of our goods to the best Advantage, which is if you can get twentie tunn of Teeth or upward, then to come for London, or otherwayes to proceede the voyage to Virginia with the Negros to be delivered to Mr. Edward Loyd, and if he be dead to Mr. Richd. Preston and there relayde and come for London, as Mr. Thomas Outlaw should have done, And in so doeing this shall be your discharge

witnes our hands the day and yeare above.[4]

Att A speciall Court held at Boston in New England 25 August 1662.[5]

Francis Moore Chiruegeon in ship *blessing* of London plaintife agt Maximillian Pinson master of the sd ship Defendt. in an action of the Case for withholding a debt of twenty pounds or thereabouts for service for nine months service or thereabouts performed in sd ship at fourty fouer shillings per moneth and Due damages attending to Attachment Dated 22th 6 mo 1662. After the Attachment and all thee evidences in the Case produced were Read Committed to the Jury and are on file the Jury brought in their verdict They found a speciall virdict *i.e.* they found that Francis Moore was shipped in London by one Thomas Outlaw master of the ship *blessing* of London for a voiage to Ginny and so to Virginea and so for London and there to end the voiage they also found that the abovesayd Outlaw dyed and maxmillian Pinson supplyed his roome as master by the choise of the Company and also found that by the testimony of three of the sayd shipps company being at sea the ship being very leake and foure Feete water in hold that then John Smith and maximillian Pinson did promise the deponent and the rest of the Company to cleare them from the ship and pay them their wages as soone as they came to the next Christian shoare, also they found by one testimony that maximillian Pinson did on the sixteenth day of August 1662 cleare the Chiruegeon and Gunner and the rest of the Company from the sayd ship but the master in the face of the Court Denyed it and sayd he had no power so to doe and withall sayd it was a word spoken in haste therefore if the Lawe doe determine that the promise of the sayd Pinson at sea so circumstanced and also at shoare as is said doe legally bind him to pay the sayd wages then they finde for the plaintife that he shall have his wages but if not they find for the defendt. Costs of Court but the Legality of the same they leave to the Bench to determine. the magists after perusall of this virdict and the evidences produced Declared they found for the plaintiff nineteen pounds

[4] The signatures are John Owen and Stephen Thompson; the endorsement, "This is a true Copie Compd with the Originall and left on file instead of originall As Attests Edw Rawson Secrety".

[5] Suffolk Court Files, no. 461, pp. 128-132.

damage for nine Moneths services on the ship to this time and Costs of Court so as he engage to the master per a noate under his hand to goe with the master and follow his buisness till the Voyage be ended at London. This A true copie of the Courts Judgmt as Attest.[6]

the defendant Appealed from this Judgmt to the next Court of Asistants: And sayd maximillian pinson and Wm. Bartholmew of Boston merchant Acknowledge themselves heirs etc. Joinctly and severally bound in the some of thirty eight pounds sterl. to the Tresurer of the countey the party on this Condicion that the sayd Maxmillian Pinson shall persecute his Appeale at the next Court of Assistants to effect 25 August 1662. This is a true copie as Attest.

53. Minutes of the General Court, 1675.[1]

[June 19, 1675.]

There being a proclamacion Read in Court about negroes and the Gunney trade It is Orderd that the Severall Collectors take Care that the Said proclamacion be proclaimed in their Severall precincts.

54. John Seayers to the Royal African Company, 1679.[1]

Virginia 17th Feby. 1678/9.

I gave yo'r Honors An Accompt in mine of the 4th Novemb.[2] last by way of Barbados of the Arrivall of the Ship *Katherine* and that yo'r Agent Mr. Skinner being dead the Governr. had honored me with the imploy, In pursuance of which Trust I did then give you an Accot that the Ship Arrived here on the 20th of Septembr. last, and John Allen being Drown'd on the Coast of Guiney before he came to yo'r Factories, Tho. Bessenger Cheife mate became Master, came to yo'r Factories tooke in 350 Negroes, and 49 which were more then Contract proceeds to this Collony and before day the Night of his Arrivall Conveys on Shoare 46 of The Choicest and best Negroes of The Ships Loading and sells them before Entry to Collr. Warner Collr. of his Ma'ties Customes Majr. Smith Depty. Collectr. and Mr. Phillip Lightfoot Comptroller Genll. of his Maj'tes Customes in This Colloney and some few to other persons as would Appeare by A list then inclosed, and A Coppy herewith sent declared by Bessenger in Open Court and there Recorded. I did then Advise you that besides

[6] Edward Rawson's name is signed here and at the end of the next paragraph.

[53] [1] *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Virginia*, 1622-1632, 1670-1676, p. 415. The proclamation to which reference is here made was that forbidding all trade in negroes to adventurers not belonging to the Royal African Company (see this work, I. 194-196). At least two vessels, with a capacity of 650 negroes, had been freighted by the company for Virginia in 1674. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1669-1674, p. 552.

[54] [1] T 70: 15.

[2] Summaries of this letter and of that of Nov. 4 are to be found in T 70: 10.

those 46 Negroes there was only 74 Left Alive After the Expiration of 7 dayes 61 whereof were Received by Ald'm Jefferyes [3] Agents and 13 they Refused, som being extreme old, some very small and others sicke. Five of that Numbr. Dyed before I came aboard to sell them and 6 of the Remaining 8 I sold on board by the Inch of Candle [4] and 2 were dezesed which no Body would bid for one where of is since dead and the other sold according to the inclosed Accott. I then promised to send you what Bills of Excha I could gett by the first Shipp for London which I have here inclosed. They are at 3 severall paymts. According to yo'r Declaration and Contract Drawne on John Jefferyes Esqr. by Mr. Page and Mr. Barnham for 106 Negroes 1908 *l.* Sterl. it should have been for 107 But one of the 46 which Bessenger put ashore dyed before the 7 days were out as you will see by the Inclosed under Mr. Pages hand. I Referr it to you and Ald'm Jefferyes to agree about that perticuler. what bills I can gett for those I sold, you shall receive with what speed I can.[5]

55. Nathaniel Bacon and Edward Jones to the Royal African Company, 1679.[1]

Virginia June the 25th 1679.

Here arrived in Yorke River the 17th May Last past the good Ship called the *Arrabella* whereof Jos. Pitck was formerly Comandr. who died at Guiynie and Wm. Booth is now Comandr. by him wee recd a Lett'r from Mr. Thomas Thurloe [2] wth a Bill of Lading for 201

[3] In June, 1677, John Jeffreys proposed to the Royal African Company to deliver to Virginia 150 negroes by April or May of the following year, "on the Compa's tearmes". The Court of Assistants evidently accepted the offer, since, on Aug. 14, the committee on shipping was instructed to prepare the agreement with Mr. Jeffreys ("Minute of the Court of Assistants", T 70: 77). Jeffreys had sent negroes to Virginia at least once before this date: on Oct. 18, 1677, one John Page presented to the Committee for Trade and Plantations on behalf of Jeffreys a petition for the payment of a bill of exchange drawn by Sir William Berkeley for £100 sterling, in payment for four negroes delivered to Berkeley (*Va. Mag. of Hist.,* XXII. 357). The Page and the Barnham mentioned in this letter were Virginia agents of Jeffreys. It is probably to this voyage of the *Katherine* (which delivered 46 negroes to Jeffreys' agent in October, 1678) that reference is made in the somewhat unilluminating items in the "Council and General Court Records" for Sept. 30 and Oct. 4, 1678, which speak of the importation of more negroes than were allowed by the contract. *Minutes,* 1622-1632, 1670-1676, pp. 494, 519, 521.

[4] That is, by auction while the candle burned an inch.

[5] This sale continued to cause trouble. On Mar. 25 Seayers wrote: "There is one Negroe more that was put on shoare by Tho. Bessenger then Mast'r of the said Ship and dyed before the 7 dayes were out. The Gentl'm who had him hath Declared upon Oath That he did not Buy him of Tho. Bessenger but tooke the Negroe upon his request and Ald'm Jeffreyes agents refuse to Pay for him." T 70: 15.

[55] [1] T 70: 15. A summary of this letter is to be found in T 70: 10. In May, 1679, the *Marigold,* another company vessel, may also have brought negroes to Virginia. She had carried 115 into Barbados not long before this, had disposed of 47, and had then sailed for Virginia, apparently with the remainder still on board. June 10, 1679, T 70: 10.

[2] Thomas Thurloe was the agent of the Royal African Company at Gambia. See this work, I. 234-236.

Negroes whereof he had 2 Boys and 2 Women for his Comission Negroes and 159 wee recd. for Accot. of Richd. Booth Esqr. and 14 Negroes Refuge wee Recd. upon yo'r Accots. in all 177.

There was not full 4 his due by Charter Party but in Consideracon of his extraordinary Paines and care wth the Negroes in the P[*erased*] after delivery where most of them remaind 3 Weeks on yo'r Provisions Payd in for the Voyag wee did allowe him 2 boys and 2 women. Wee also Recd. Ordrs from Mr. Thos. Thurloe to take into o'r Care the Refuge Negroes for the Royall African Compa. and to dispose of them the best wee ċan wch wee shall do. they were 14 in Numbr.[3]

Wee have Recd. uppon the Accot. of Richd. Booth Esqr. 74 women and 85 men in all 159 for wch wee have here inclosed sent you Bills of exc'g at 18 *l.* per head amounting to 2862 *l. vizt.*

By Bills drawen on Richd. Booth Esqr. at 2 mots. sight	£	954
By Bills drawen on Richd. Booth Esqr. at 4 mots. sight		954
By Bills drawen on Richd. Booth Esqr. at 6 mots. sight		954
		£2862

56. Instructions to Thomas, Lord Culpeper, 1679.[1]

[July 8, 1679?]

49. And you are to give all due encouragement and invitation to Merchants and others who shall bring Trade into our said Colony or any way contribute to their advantage and in particular to the Royal African Company of this our kingdom of England.

[3] Another copy of this communication contains the following more explicit paragraph: "Wee recd. Orders from Mr. Tho. Shuster [Thurloe?] to take into Care the Refuge Negroes for the Royall African Company and to dispose of them for the best wee can which wee shall doe, they were 14 in Numb'r wee hartily wish the Factor had Lived to have saved us of that trouble for truly they are a sad parcell some of them soe old others soe Infirme that it is a Shame that such Negroes should be Shipped a board which serve only to anoy and destroy them of better value but we shall doe the best we can to put them off and give you Acco't. Here is 2 of them dead and 2 wee bleive will not Live Long and now good Negroes are soe plenty that few will buy bad though at Low Prizes" (T 70: 10). On July 22 Bacon and Jones again complained of the refuse negroes, who were not yet sold. T 70: 15.

[56] [1] Va. State Lib., McDonald Transcripts, V. 313-314. Lord Culpeper became governor of Virginia in 1677, but remained in England until the end of 1679. He reached Virginia in May, 1680, only to leave in August (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, pp. 131, 449, 455, 523, 588). His return to Virginia in December, 1682, did not prevent him from losing his patent the following August because of absence without leave (*ibid.*, 1681-1685, pp. 251, 308, 385, 473). The first instructions to be found in the *Calendar* (1677-1680, p. 451) are those of Dec. 6, 1679, four days before he sailed for Virginia, but earlier instructions are referred to (*ibid.*, p. 353) in the journal of the Lords of Trade, who on Apr. 16 had "settled" the instructions for Lord Culpeper. The influence of the African Company in England caused admonitions similar to these to be included in the routine instructions to the governors of all the colonies offering a market for slaves.

50. And you are to take care that there be no trading from Virginia or any of the Territories depending thereon, to any place or part in Africa within the Country of the Royal African Company. And you are not to suffer any ships to be sent thither without their leave or authority.[2]

51. And you are yearly to give unto Us by one of Our Principle Secretaries of State and to the Lords of our Privy Council appointed a Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations an account of what number of Negroes the said Colony is yearly supplied with and at what rates and how paid for.[3]

57. William Fitzhugh to Ralph Wormeley, 1681.[1]

June 19th, 1681.

S'r. . . . I understand there are some Negro Ships expected into York now every day.[2] I am so remote that before I can have

[2] On the margin of the Virginia transcript is written: "There never went one Ship that I could hear of from Virginia thither but 'tis impossible in those great bays and waters to hinder Interlopers. But our poverty this last year has quite spoiled that Trade." Culpeper's method of making his reports seems to have been to write on the margin of his instructions. He is probably writing in December, 1681, after his first visit to Virginia (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1681-1685, p. 157). The low price of tobacco had induced the Virginia assembly to request the king to order a suspension of planting. Culpeper, in his "Present State of Virginia" presented for the information of the Lords of Trade, emphasized the desperate condition of the industry and suggested various remedies. "But that which is more to us than all other things put together, and will be the speedy and certain ruin of the Colony, is the low price of tobacco. The thing is so fatal and desperate that there is no remedy; the market is overstocked and every crop overstocks it more. It is commonly said that there is tobacco enough in London now to last all England for five years; too much plenty would make gold itself a drug. Our thriving is our undoing, and our purchase of negroes, by increasing the supply of tobacco has greatly contributed thereunto. Free importation into Russia would revive our drooping spirits, for we want nothing but a vent." *Ibid.,* p. 156; see also Beer, *Old Colonial System,* II. 148-152.

[3] On the margin of the Virginia transcript: "formerly about 5 or 600 in a Year by Estimate but now our Poverty deters Every one from dealing with Us", from Culpeper's reply of December, 1681. The instructions of Jan. 27, 1682, repeat the matter of the first two paragraphs above, then substitute the following: "And as wee are willing to recommend unto the said Company that the said Colonie may have a constant and sufficient supply of Merchantable Negroes at moderate rates in money or commodities, you are to take special care that payment bee duly made and within a competent time, according to their agreement. It being against reason to expect that any should send good wares to a known bad market" (*Va. Mag. of Hist.,* XXVIII. 41; McDonald Transcripts, VI. 38). Throughout the last quarter of the century the difference between the complaints of the West India plantations over the scarcity of negroes and the need for them and the indifference of Virginia is noticeable. Beer, *Old Colonial System,* I. 367-368.

[57] [1] *Va. Mag. of Hist.,* I. 37-38. William Fitzhugh, a lawyer by training, a planter and merchant in practice, had settled in Virginia about 1670. Here he died in 1701, the possessor of some 54,000 acres of land and many slaves. Ralph Wormeley, also a large land owner, was, in 1676, appointed one of the seven collectors of customs in Virginia, which had no port of entry. He became a member of the council in 1677, and secretary of state in 1693 (*ibid.,* pp. 115-116n.; Beer, *Old Colonial System,* I. 279). A copy of the letter-book containing the letters here printed is in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society. The letters are printed in the *Va. Mag. of Hist.,* vols. I. and II.

[2] Possibly the *Lady Frances* and the *Katherine,* to which reference is made by Bruce, II. 83.

[heard] they'll be all disposed of or at least none left but the refuse. Therefore S'r I request you to do me the favour if you intend to buy any for yourself and it be not too much trouble to you, to secure me five or six whereof three or four boys if you can and please to send me word of it and I shall readily come down and thankfully acknowledge the favour.[3] . . .

58. William Fitzhugh to Mr. Jackson, 1683.[1]

February 11th, 1682/3.

Mr. Jackson: As to your proposal about the bringing in Negroes next fall, I have this to offer and you may communicate the same to your owners and Employers, that I will deal with them for so many as shall amount to 50,000 lbs of Tob'o and cask which will be about 20 hhds. under the condition and at these ages and prices following, to say—to give 3000 lbs Tob'o for every Negro boy or girl,[2] that shall be between the age of Seven and Eleven years old; to give 4000 lbs Tob'o for every youth or girl that shall be between the age of 11 to 15 and to give 5000 lbs Tob'o for every young man or woman that shall be above 15 years of age and not exceed 24, the said Negroes to be delivered at my landing some time in September next, and I to have notice whether they will so agree some time in August next. And I do assure you and so you may acquaint them that upon your delivery and my receipt of the Negroes, according to the ages above mentioned and that they be sound and healthfull at their Delivery, I will give you such sufficient caution for the payment of the Tob'o accordingly by the 20th Decr. then next following as shall be approved of. The ages of the Negroes to be judg'd and determin'd by

[3] The purchase here projected was not the first made by Fitzhugh. He had written to Capt. Francis Patis (Partis?) in the previous December that he had bargained with Mr. Vincent Goddard for two negroes at £29 sterling (*Va. Mag. of Hist.*, I. 31). On July 14 Fitzhugh wrote again, Wormeley evidently having asked for more explicit directions about the purchase: "I desired you in my former to buy me five or six, whereof three or four to be boys a man and woman or men and women, the boys from eight to seventeen or eighteen, the rest as young as you can procure them, for price I cannot direct therein because boys according to there age and growth are valued in price" (*ibid.*, p. 44). The Virginia price of a newly imported adult man was about £18. Boys might vary from £10 to £14 or £15.

[58] [1] *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, I. 108; also in R. A. Brock's "New England and the Slave Trade", *William and Mary College Quarterly*, II. 176-177. Jackson's vessel belonged to residents of Piscataqua (Portsmouth), N. H., among whom was a Mrs. Cutts, to whom Fitzhugh had previously written giving advice about methods of carrying on trade with Virginia. On June 5, 1682, Fitzhugh sent to John Withers directions for the purchase of negroes, but the prices cited indicate that new negroes were not under consideration. *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, I. 51.

[2] With tobacco at 1 *d.* per pound, these prices would be £12 10 *s.*, £16 13 *s.* 4 *d.*, and £20 16 *s.* 8 *d.* (Wertenbaker, *Planters*, p. 123). Brock gives the price of tobacco as 2 *d.* a pound at this period, but with the same prices for slaves, obviously a miscalculation. Brock, "New England and the Slave Trade", *Wm. and Mary Coll. Quar.*, II. 177; see also Brock, "A Succinct Account of Tobacco in Virginia, 1607-1790", 10th Census, *Statistics of Agriculture*, p. 217, in which the price set on tobacco in 1682 is given as 10 *s.* per hundred weight.

two or three such honest and reasonable men here as your self shall nominate and appoint. The whole sum of the Tob'o to be paid in the compass of twenty miles, perhaps not so remote.

To Mr. Jackson of Piscataway
In New England These.

59. Lord Culpeper to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, 1683.[1]

September 20, 1683.

58 I have strictly forbid it [trading from Virginia to Africa] and verily Beleeve none from Virginia have ever traded there.

59 I never heard of any price set by the African Company on Blacks or of any bought of the said Company by any of the Inhabitants of Virginia, soe have had noe occasion to doe Any thing herein. But in regard of the Infinite profit that comes to the King by every black (far beyond any other plantation) at least six pounds per Head per Ann[2] and that the Low price of Tobaccoe requires It should be made as cheape as possible, And that Blacks can make it cheaper than Whites, I conceive It is for His Ma'ties Interest, full as much as the Countryes, or rather much more, to have Blacks as cheape as possible in Virginia.

60. Colonel William Byrd to Thomas Grendon, 1684.[1]

Virginia, June the 21st, 1684.

. . . Mr. Kennon and Pleasants have lately received 34 Negro's and 7 or 8 Tun of Rum and Sugar, besides dry Goods, which are all sold for next years pay, so that I believe a great part of the Tobacco in these parts is allready disposed of.[2] . . .

[59] [1] Va. State Lib., McDonald Transcripts, VI. 150, 152; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 497.

[2] According to Bruce (I. 337) one man could produce at least 1600 lbs. of tobacco annually. The duty was 2 *d.* a pound. Culpeper was obviously ill informed concerning the activities of the African Company. On paper at least, it had set a price on negroes delivered in Virginia and, as has been seen (*ante,* nos. 54, 55), had sold cargoes there.

[60] [1] *Va. Hist. Reg.,* I. 117. For an account of the Byrd family in Virginia see that of J. S. Bassett in *The Writings of Colonel William Byrd* (1901), pp. xiv-lxxxviii; for a description of the letters see *Va. Hist. Reg.,* I. 60. Thomas Grendon, a cousin of Byrd, had gone to England in February, 1683.

[2] Kennon and Pleasants apparently were not always so successful in disposing of their negroes as they seem to have been here. See an order on a petition of John Pleasants and Richard Kennon, printed by Bruce (II. 100-101, n. 6, from "Records of Henrico County, 1682-1701", p. 81): "On the petition of John Pleasants and the motion of Richard Kennon, consignees of William Paggin and Company, desiring the resolution of this Right Worshipful Court concerning some negroes of the said Company consigned them to sell, but at the time of listing tithables, remaining in their possession undisposed of: It is the opinion of the Court that the said Kennon and Pleasants ought not to pay levy for them this year, because the said negroes being goods belonging to merchants in England, ought not in any reasonable time to put them to more charge by taxes than other of their commodities imported thither."

61. Colonel William Byrd to Perry and Lane, 1684.[1]

Virginia, June 21st, 1684.

. . . I hope what you send will be early; Mr. Paggen haveing sent about a fortnight since into these parts 34 negros, with a considerable quantity of Dry Goods, and 7 or 8 tun of Rum and Sugar, which I fear will bring our people much in debt, and occasion them to bee carelesse with the Tobacco they make. . . .

62. Colonel William Byrd to Sadleir and Thomas, 1685.[1]

per Wells

Feby. 10th, 1685.

Gent. . . . By him[2] I desire the goods and negroes hereunder written. I have allready wrote to Messrs. Perry and Lane about itt.

4 Negroes, 2 men and 2 women, not to exceed 25 years old and to bee likely. . . .

63. Instructions to Captain Thomas James, 1685.[1]

London the 18th March 1685.

You are with the First oppertunity of Wind and Weather that God shall send after receipt hereof to Sett Sale out of the River of Thames with yo'r Shipp *Two freinds,* and make the best of yo'r way to James Island in the River of Gambia. And on Arrivall there deliver our Letter to Agent Alexander Cleeve (or in case of his absence, to such Person as shall be appointed to Act in his Stead in our Affaires) together with our Goods which wee have Laden aboard your Shipp consigned him whose Orders you are dilligently to observe during yo'r Stay in those parts. Wee have ordered our Agent

[61] [1] *Va. Hist. Reg.,* I. 118. On Apr. 25 Byrd had written to Perry and Lane: "What you wrote about English Servants I had anticipated by the *Culpeper,* and therefore shall say no more of it, for the negro's (if they come), I shall take some if they prove well." In the fall he again wrote to the same firm: "If you send the Pinke to Barbadoes on our acco't I would have by her 506 [5 or 6] Negroes between 12 and 24 years old" (*Va. Mag. of Hist.,* XXIV. 229, 232). Perry and Lane were London merchants with large Virginia interests, such as are described by J. S. Bassett in "The Relation between the Virginia Planter and the Virginia Merchant" (Am. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report,* 1901, I. 553-575). For an account of Micajah Perry, see "Eighteenth-Century English Merchants: Micajah Perry", *Journal of Economic and Business History,* IV. 70-91.

[62] [1] *Va. Hist. Reg.,* II. 206. Messrs. Sadleir and Thomas were merchants of Barbados.

[2] Mr. Wynne, who had sailed for England, intending to return by way of Barbados.

[63] [1] T 70: 61.

to putt aboard your Shipp one hundred and Ninety Negroes or as many upon Agreement with you as you can procure above one hundred before the end of June next, according to an Agreement with Mr. Perry and Lane. When the said Number of One hundred and Ninty Negroes or Such above one hundred (as you shall under yo'r hand declare to bee content with), are aboard; Wee order that you give our Agent or Factors Four bills of Lading for the Number you receive upon the contract here made with Mr. Micajah Perry and Mr. Thomas Lane, And for what provisions are shipt for them at the time of yo'r takeing the Negroes aboard or while you are in the River, and then proceed with what expedition Wind and Weather will permitt to James River in Virginia and deliver them the Dangers of the Seas excepted to Mr. Peter Perry [2] and Company according to the order of Mr. Micajah Perry and Mr. Tho. Lane from whom you are to receive whatsoever we have Agreed to pay for hire of your Ship, and to whome you are to bee accomptable for what relates to them during their being aboard. And for the better enabling our said Agents to comply with the Agreement with Mr. Perry and Lane aforesaid, you are diligently to prosecute such Orders as from time to time you shall receive from him.

But in case our Agent cannot procure such Number of Negroes to comply with the Contract aforesaid soe as you may be dispatched in all the Month of June, then you are to ply and abide in such parts in the said River of Gambia and parts adjacent as our said Agent shall direct untill such time as hee can procure and Shipp the said Number of one Hundred and Ninty Negroes. And the said quantity of One Hundred and Ninty Negroes being Shipt you are to take our Agents dispatches, and proceed with them to Antigua one of Caribe Islands and deliver them to Mr. Clement Tudway and Mr. Edward Pearsons our Factors there, from whome you are to receive Two Thirds of yo'r Freight in Negroes by lott and a Certificate to us for the Remainder.

The Laws having asserted his Majesties right to grant Charters and to punish any Subjects that shall presume contemptuously to violate his Prerogative therein; Wee have by Vertue of his Maj'ties Charter given you a Commission to seize Interlopers and doe expect and require in conformity to your Charterparty, that you put the same effectually in Execution against all Vessells and Persons you shall meet with and find trading on the Coast contrary to his Maj'tie Said grant according to the Instructions Signed by our Secreatary. And for yo'r encouragement vigorously to execute the said Comission, the Royall African Company doe hereby engage their Stock to keepe

[2] Peter Perry, a prominent inhabitant of York County, Va., and a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, was a brother of Micajah Perry. *Wm. and Mary Coll. Quar.,* XVII. 264.

and Save you harmless for what you act agreeable thereto, and grant you one fourth part of what Prizes you shall seize and bee condemned, And wee have alsoe ordered our Factors in the Plantations to Secure you against any trouble may happen to you for executing the said Commission.

At yo'r clearing from Gravesend you are to send us up a Perfect list of all Passengers then aboard, And at yo'r arrivall in the Downes send ashore to Mr. Morgan Lodge for what other Orders or Letters he may have for you. Wee wish you a good Voyage and rest.[3]

64. Colonel William Byrd to Perry and Lane, 1685.[1]

Virga., March the 29th, 1685.

. . . Paggens concerne [have] certain intelligence of a negro ship wch will be here by [the last] of May, if no extrorardinary accident intervene, they offer [high?] for the trade. I believe Tobacco may doe well another year, but am Sure, they that are not early Supplyed here, can expect little, and I am halfe out of heart with Hall, to expect him a first ship, unlesse he comes out a month or two before any other. . . .

If your designe by barbados fails, wee shall bee fairly [fouly?] disappointed for without Servants or slaves, no great crop is now to bee purchased. . . .[2]

65. Colonel William Byrd to Perry and Lane, 1686.[1]

9 br the 10th, 1686.

Gent. . . . I have been mighty unhappy in the Negros by Capt. James, Mr. Hartwell Stopping the ship at Towne, mr. P'r Perry, mr. Harrison and himselfe lotted them there, and kept the

[3] The signatures (not here printed) are the same as those affixed to the instructions to Captain Goodhand (*ante*, no. 6) save that the names of the Earl of Berkeley, John Verney, and Richard Cradock are here omitted and that of William Turnor is added.

[64] [1] *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XXIV. 351; *Va. Hist. Reg.*, II. 78. The *Register* ascribed the letter to Perry and Lane, which is probably correct. On Mar. 8, 1685, Byrd had written to this firm: "should have been glad to know whither wee might Expect any Negro's or not, that wee might (if yr. project had fail'd) have provid'd otherwise" (*Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XXV. 50). On June 6 he wrote, probably to Perry and Lane: "Since my last I recd. one from you via Barbados, wch keeps us still in hopes of the Pinke, you formerly menconed: and wee now daily expect, if it should faile twould bee an unhappy disappointment haveing neglected all other ways of Supplying our Selves with those commodityes". *Ibid.*, XXIV. 356.

[2] On Dec. 8, 1685, Byrd wrote to an unidentified correspondent: "Hope Tob'o may doe well this year. All agree its generally better than hath been of late years. The proposition abt negro's I hope will bee comply'd wth and Wynne dispatched, for Paggen's Concerne may justly glory in the trade of this River haveing been mighty Successfull these two last years." *Ibid.*, pp. 359-360.

[65] [1] *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XXV. 134. On May 10, 1686, Byrd expressed fear that the market would be supplied before the vessel in which he was concerned should arrive. Bruce, II. 83, n. 3.

ship 3 or 4 days in bitter cold weather; all that had the Small pox (itt seems) hapned into my lott, one dyed on board, and another in the Boat, my people that went for th[e]m caught the distemper and brought itt into my family, whereof poor mrs. Brodnax and 3 of my negros are allready dead, and ab't fifteen more beside my little daughter have them. Pray God put a Stop to itt, for I have allready cause to repent I ever was concern'd in James, I allways understood they were to bee delivered att Swinyards and not for one mans convenience to run the Hazard of the Whole, but now there's no help for itt. . . . I recd. 15 Negros from James beside one dy'd in the Boat and one (they Say) dyed on board wh was design'd for mee therefore hope I shall bee charged no more than I recd. alive from on board. . . .[2]

66. Instructions to Francis, Lord Howard, 1687.[1]

April 3, 1687.

. . . And wee doe hereby strictly charge and require you that, upon due information exhibited before you or any of our Judges or courts of Justice within your Government against any person or persons who have been or shall bee concerned in any interloping ships or in any Negros or goods imported contrary to our Charter granted to the Royal African Compa. or agaynst such as shall bee aiding or assisting to any Interloper or their accomplices or shall in any manner whatsoever bring any Negros into any part of your government or purchase any others than such as are imported and brought in by our Royal African Company their factors or Assignes you doe in all such cases take care that all such contemners of our Royal Charter and Command bee severely punished by Fines Imprisonments and such other penalties as the quality of their offence may require. By his Matys. Command.

[2] On Oct. 18 Byrd had written to Sadleir and Thomas: "The negros proved well, but two of them have the Small pox wh was brought into my family by the Negro's I recd. from Gambo." *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XXV. 133.

[66] [1] C. O. 5: 1357, p. 120; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1685-1688, p. 353. The first two sections of the instructions to Lord Culpeper are repeated (*ante,* no. 56), then follows this paragraph. The instructions of Oct. 24, 1683, are practically the same as these, as are those to Andros in 1692. After the passage of the act of 1698 the form, of necessity, was somewhat changed and those to Nicholson read: "You are to take care that there be no trading from Virginia to any place in Africa, within the charter of the Royal African Company otherwise than prescribed by the late act of parliament, Intituled an Act to settle the Trade to Africa" (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 526; C. O. 5: 1357, p. 45; C. O. 5: 1310, p. 85). Francis, Lord Howard was lieutenant governor from Apr. 16, 1684, to Oct. 20, 1688.

67. William Fitzhugh to Oliver Luke, 1690.[1]

August 16th, 1690.

Honoured Sir: . . . I will presume at his [2] Instance to give you the best method for such a Settlement, which is by lodging in some merchant's hand in London 150 or 200 £ for the buying a good, convenient seat of land . . . and then about such an other sum lodged in the hand of some of the Royall African company, who for that will engage to deliver negroes here at 16 or 18 or to be sure at £20 p head. . .. . A Settlement thus made, will make a handsome gentile and sure subsistence. . . .

68. Case of the *Society*, 1691-1692.[1]

Minutes of a Meeting of the Virginia Council.

Octobr. 20th 1691.

Ordered that an Order be prepared for the Rt. Honoble. the Lieut. Govrs. signeing to be directed to the Sherriffe of Norfolk County requireing him to give publick Notice in the said County, and perticulerly in the Churches thereof, that all persons who can give any account of the Arrivall of the Ship *Society* [2] of Bristoll in the yeare 1687, the disposeing of the Negroes, Elephants teeth etc brought in, in her, or the Casting away of the said Ship, appeare at James Citty the 29th day of this Instant, to Testifye their knowledge therein, also requireing the said Sheriffe to Sumons the four first in the Comission of the Peace who were of the Court on tryall of the said Ship, Mr. George Newton the then Sherriffe, and the Clerke of the Court (who is to bring the Records of that Tryall with him) and all Evidences on the said Tryall to appeare at the time and place aforesaid, that soe a full and perfect acct. of all the transactions relateing to the Seizeing and Condemnation of the said Ship etc. may be had, and the said Order being prepared and read is approved of; And for that Princess Ann County

[67] [1] *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, III. 167. Oliver Luke was a resident of Bedfordshire, Eng.

[2] The reference is to Oliver Luke's son, who settled in Virginia and married a sister of William Fitzhugh. *Ibid.*, p. 167n.

[68] [1] *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia* (ed. McIlwaine, 1925), I. 196.

[2] The *Society* had been seized by the collector in November, 1690. James Twyford and James Hallidge of Bristol, owners, appealed to the Privy Council on Apr. 10, 1690. The Council referred the controversy to the Lords of Trade. That body, after hearing from the Royal African Company that it regarded itself as in no way concerned, referred the case back to Virginia, where the Virginia council began a search for information with the order here printed. Ten days later Robert Caufield, who was acting as agent for the owners, obtained from the council a postponement of the hearing of the case because his witnesses were ill (*ibid.*, pp. 196-197). For the preliminary steps taken in England see Va. State Lib., Sainsbury Trans., IV. 289-291, 360, 362, 389, 428, V. 53; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1689-1692, pp. 245-656, *passim*; in C. O. 5: 1308, an extended account of the hearings before the council is to be found; see also C. O. 5: 1358, pp. 58-60.

in the yeare 1687 was parte of the aforesaid County an Order being prepared for the Rt. Honoble. the Lt. Govrs. signeing to be Sent to the Sherriffe of that County was also read and approved of.

[*Deposition of James Lemount.*][3]

October 30, 1691.

The Deposition of James Lemount, in regard to the landing of one hundred and twenty negroes and a quantity of Elephants teeth on the Eastern Shore, by officers and owner of the Ship *Society,* of Bristol, on sunday morning, the 7th August, 1687; and the loss of the vessel by being wrecked on the Coast on the same day. It appears the said Lemount and others afforded assistance in putting the negroes on shore, for which service he received "thirty pounds sterling", which the Master of the shipp "paid by two young negroes, a boy and a girle". The excuse given for landing these negroes and Elephants teeth, was that the ship was short of provisions, But the officer in command had been careful to enquire "Whereabout the Man of Warr lay," and "whether there weare conveniency there to land A Parcell of negroes?" before he ventured to bring his ship sufficiently near the shore to effect this. Coll. Cole, Collector, had seized the vessel, crew and cargo, and the latter being forfeited to the Crown, had been sold by him according to law.[4]

[*Deposition of John Corprew.*][5]

April 21, 1692.

The deposition of Jno. Corprew, Aged 49, or thereabouts, being at James Lemmon's house some time in August, in the yeare of our Lord, 1687, and there meeting with the master of the ship *Society,* that was cast away, by name John Skeetch, whoe desired me to take a parsell of negroes home with mee, which if I would, hee would pay mee for their diet and my care and trouble. About [*blank*] I would take 20 of them, and hee sd I must feed them twice a day with meat, and I should bee well paid, and the sd Skeetch . . . brought or

[3] *Calendar of Virginia State Papers* (1875), I. 30.

[4] The Virginia *Calendar* contains two earlier references to this case: Nov. 22, 1687, "Acct. of rigging, etc., of ship *Society,* of Bristol, 'Seized and forfeited to his Majesty' for failure to comply with Port regulations, payment of import dues on slaves, etc." and May 10, 1688, "I doe Accknowledge to have recd. of William Cole, Colltr. of his Majistyes' dutyes in the Lower Precints of James River, the full sume of Eight hundred ninety-one pounds two shillings and three pence, sterg, being for two parts of the Produce that the Negroes, that were brought into the Country In the Shipp *Society,* of Bristoll after the Charges Deducted, and were seized and condemned as Forfeited to his sacred Majesty. In Testimony whereof, I have hereunto sett my hand and seale, this 10th day of May, 1688, and in the fourth yeare of the Reigne of our Sovraigne Lord, King James the Second. EFFINGHAM." *Ibid.*, I. 19, 20.

[5] *Ibid.,* I. 36-37.

sent 20 negroes or thereabouts. Whereof I Agreed with him, and bought an old man, and a young boy 6 yeare old for fiveteen pounds, which money was to bee allowed mee by the sd Skeetch in consideration of my diet, care and trouble of the sd negroes, and after this the Honorable Coll. Cole came to my house and sd to my wife that I must bring the negroes I had in my possession to Mr. Spratts, whereupon I obeyed his order, and then hee confirmed the sale of the Foresaid two negroes to mee For Fiveteen pounds, which I gave up, by his order, and Further deposeth not.[6]

69. Orders of the Privy Council, 1692.[1]

November 3, 1692.

[Permission to Sir Richard Levett and others for the *Katherine* to sail to Guinea and load negroes for Virginia, on showing that they have license from the African Company for so doing and on agreeing to deduct the ship's complement from the quota directly assigned to the owners for the Virginia trade.][2]

[In a similar petition Thomas Starke, John Mudge and others, owners of the *Concord,*[3] allege] that having had no supplies of Blacks since the warr with France, and the Whites in their service growing out of their times and becoming free, their Plantations are falne under a great Scarcity of hands, so that they have not sufficient for the management of them. [Like conditional permission is granted, with the additional stipulation] that the Commissioners of the Customes on conferring with the merchants Trading to Virginia upon the intended Repartition for this yeares Trade do think fitt to assigne the aforesaid number of men to the Petitioners for Their respective Dividends.[4]

[6] Endorsed: "Sworn to before the Rt. Hon'able the Lt. Govr. and Councill. Test: W. Edwards, Clk Coun." Throughout April, 1692, the council gathered information concerning the *Society* and on June 24 transmitted a letter to the Lords of Trade relating to the case. *Ex. Jour. of Col. Va.,* I. 219, 235-236, 252-253, 261.

[69] [1] *Acts P. C. C.,* II. 219. The brackets are used in the *Acts.*

[2] Feb. 2, 1693, "Owing to the illness of Arthur Bayly, one of the owners of the *Katherine*, by whom the arrangements under the Order of 3 November were to be made, that ship was left out of the Virginia list. Hence Sir Richard Levett, though a person of considerable interest in that trade, has no ship assigned him for his share in that distribution: but Mr. Bayly offers the 13 men who were assigned for his ship *Ann* towards the *Katherine's* complement of 30, and his Majesty grants another seventeen out of the 30 assigned to Milford Haven, but not yet apportioned, for the voyage to Guinea and Virginia" (*ibid.,* p. 220). "The *Katherine* is allowed, besides her 30 seamen, 1/3 of that number foreigners, and 1/5 of the whole complement landsmen, for looking after the negroes." *Ibid.,* p. 221.

[3] For the fate of the *Concord,* probably on a later voyage than the one for which permission is here granted, see *post,* p. 76.

[4] To secure sufficient seamen for the navy it was customary to limit the number allowed to merchant vessels. In 1690 the Privy Council had allowed to the Maryland and Virginia trade 1200 English seamen, in addition to foreigners, who might make up one-quarter of the crew. The apportionment of this number among the merchants of each port was left to the Commissioners of Customs. The London traders to Virginia and Maryland had in 1690 been allotted 800 of the total, in 1691 their allotment was increased to 1000. *Acts P. C. C.,* II. xxiii-xxiv.

70. Act for laying a Duty on Slaves, 1699.[1]

An act for laying an imposition upon servants and slaves imported into this country, towards building the Capitoll.

Whereas the state house of this his majesties colony and dominion in which the generall assemblyes and general courts have been kept and held hath been unhappily destroyed and burnt downe, and it being absolutely necessary that a capitoll should be built with all expedition, and forasmuch as a more suitable expedient cannot be found for avoiding the laying a levy upon the poll for the building the same than by laying an imposition upon servants and slaves imported into this his majesties colony and dominion,

Be it enacted by the Governour, Councell and Burgesses of this present generall assembly and the authority thereof, and it is hereby enacted, That from and after the publication of this act . . . twenty shillings for every negro or other slave which shall be imported into this his majesties colony and dominion shall be from time to time paid and satisfyed to his majestie, his heirs and successors for and towards the erecting and building a convenient capitoll for this his majesties colony and dominion and for no other use, intent or purpose whatsoever, which said sume or sumes shall be paid by the importer or importers of such and for the better levying and collecting the said duty and impost,

Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted, That from and after the publication thereof no servant or servants, negro or negroes, imported into this country shall be landed or put on shoar out of any shipp or vessell before due entry first made with the officer or collector appointed for the customes in such port or place where the same shall be imported, nor before the master of the said shipp or vessell hath made oath to such officer or collector who is hereby impowered and required to administer the same of the number of servants or slaves imported in such shipp or vessell and of the reputed place of the birth of such servant or servants, nor before the duty due and payable for the same shall be fully paid and satisfyed to such officer or collector, and that every warrant for the landing of such servants or slaves shall be under the hand and seale of the said officer or collector respectively upon paine that all such servants or slaves as shall be landed or putt on shore contrary to this

[70] [1] Hening, *Statutes of Virginia*, III. 193-195. This act was renewed in August, 1701, expired Dec. 25, 1703, and was revived in May, 1704 (*ibid.*, pp. 212-213, 225). The renewal of 1701 allowed a drawback of three-fourths of the duty on any slaves exported from the colony within six weeks of entry. For a brief period after Dec. 25, 1703, the law apparently lapsed, as that passed in 1704 is entitled, "An act reviving Impositions". The measure seems to afford no ground for the belief that it was animated either wholly or in part by a desire to prohibit, or even to check, the traffic. There may have been about 6000 slaves in Virginia at this time. Bruce, II. 108.

act or the vallue thereof shall be forfeited and lost and shall be recovered of the importer or proprietor of the same.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted, That if any master of shipp or vessell shall witingly or willingly make a false entry of any such servants or slaves and be thereof convicted he shall forfeit and pay for every such offence the sume of one hundred pounds sterling, and if any collector or officer shall directly or indirectly take or receive any bribe, recompence or reward to connive at any false entry of any such servants or slaves, or if any person or persons shall give or pay any such bribe or reward he or they so offending shall forfeit and pay the sume of one hundred pounds sterling, all which penaltyes and forfeitures in this act expressed shall be divided into three equall parts, one third part thereof to his majestie, his heirs and successors towards the better support of the government and the contingent charges thereof, one other third part to the governor for the time being, and the other third part to him or them that will sue or informe for the same by action of debt, bill, plaint or information in any court of record within this his majesties colony and dominion, in which no essoigne protection or wager of law shall be allowed.

[Collectors were to be appointed by the governor; all sums raised were to be accounted for to the treasurer of the colony; the act was to be in force three years.]

71. Lieutenant Governor Francis Nicholson to the Board of Trade, 1700.[1]

James Town, August 1, 1700.

. . . I have an account that there will be very few hogsheads of old tobacco left in the country after 4 or 5 ships are sailed, one of which is Capt. Joseph Moonday, who came lately from Guiny and brought into Yorke River about 230 negroes and I heard they were sold from 28 *l.* to 35 *l.* per head; the greatest price that has been known. There were as many buyers as negros, and I think that, if 2000 were imported, there would be substantial buyers for them. They expect several ships from Guiny with negros, but I am afraid that no more will come.[2] . . .

[71] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1700, p. 452; C. O. 5: 1360, p. 31. "Endorsed: Recd. 19th, Read 21, October, 1700." Francis Nicholson was lieutenant governor from Oct. 16, 1690, to Oct. 16, 1693, and from Dec. 9, 1698, to Aug. 15, 1705.

[2] On Aug. 27, 1700, Nicholson wrote to the Board of Trade: "I do not hear of any more negroes being come in, which I am sorry for, being they would make so much more tobaccos, which I hope would increase His Majesty's revenue; therefore wish that the African Company and others that trade thither would send in some, and that whilst the people have money to buy them, for it may so happen that if negro's don't come in within a year or two that people may dispose of their money some other way." *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1700, p. 497.

72. Journey of Franz Ludwig Michel to Virginia, 1702.[1]

April, 1702.

Most of the wealth consists in slaves or negroes, for if one has many workmen, much food-stuff and tobacco can be produced. These negroes are brought annually in large numbers from Guiné and Jamaica (the latter of which belongs to England) on English ships. They can be selected according to pleasure, young and old men and women. They are entirely naked when they arrive, having only corals of different colors around their necks and arms.[2] They usually cost from 18 to 30 pounds. They are life-long slaves and good workmen after they have become acclimated. Many die on the journey or in the beginning of their stay here, because they receive meagre food and are kept very strictly. Both sexes are usually bought, which increase afterwards. The children like the parents must live in slavery. Even if they desire to become Christians it is only rarely permitted, because the English law prescribes that after seven years service they are (in that case) to be freed in accordance with the Mosaic law.[3] When a slave is bought from the captain of a ship, he is not paid at once, but the slave so bought usually plants tobacco in order that the captain may be paid with it. Lately, before my departure, I was over night on a ship, which several days before had come from Guiné with 230 slaves.[4] They get them there

[72] [1] "Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701-December 1, 1702." Translation in *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XXIV. 1-43, 113-141. The selection here printed is from pp. 116-117. The German original is in the Stadtbibliothek in Bern; see Faust, *Guide to Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives,* p. 72. Michel was at the time of writing this entry on his way to visit some Swiss families, possibly forty miles from Williamsburg.

[2] It is to be hoped that the traveller's information was more accurate at other points than here. Few owners of slave cargoes would have been so reckless as to send negroes north of the Caribbean waters without the protection of clothing, though it may have happened occasionally.

[3] Michel is likewise mistaken about the existence of law or custom granting freedom after seven years' service to Christianized slaves, though in the early days of negro slavery a sense of the impropriety of holding Christians as slaves retarded efforts to convert the imported negroes. To do away with this obstacle to Christianizing the blacks the assembly passed a law in 1667 declaring that baptism did not alter the condition of a person "as to bondage or Freedom" (Hening, II. 260). In 1670 an act, not to be found in Hening but known by a reference to it in 1682 (*ibid.,* pp. 490-491), defined as slaves imported servants who were not Christians. This raised a difficulty which apparently had not been foreseen. West India slaves were often Christians, and when such was the case they could not be sold in Virginia. The act was therefore repealed and a law declaring slaves to be those servants whose native country was not Christian (excluding Turks and Moors) was substituted. The purpose of this legislation seems obvious. The colony was searching for a formula which should declare the status of the negro to be that of a slave, while it excluded indentured servants from such a category. For further discussion of the effect of baptism on the status of the blacks in Virginia see Catterall, *Judicial Cases,* I. 57-59; see also Neill, *Terra Mariae,* pp. 146-147.

[4] There seems here no reason to accept the editor's assumption that Michel was referring to French Guinea. The term Guinea was used very loosely and tells no more than that the negroes were not from the Gambia region but came from the Gold and Slave coasts. Indeed, it is occasionally used as synonymous with West Coast of Africa.

for a small sum, as also gold and ivory, but a hundred of them died on the journey to Virginia. It is said to be a very unhealthy climate. Half of the sailors died also, including the brother of the captain, who had sailed along as clerk. The others were sickly and yellow in their faces. It often happens that the ships must be left in Guiné, because everybody dies of sickness. The captain, to whom I refer, was named Schmid. He almost shared the same fate. I was surprized at the animal-like people. The savages (Indians) are so far better breed. Among such people food tastes so badly, that one can hardly stand it. The negro fever is due to this, because it is their common sickness. . . .

73. Answer of Thomas Starke to James Westmore, 1702.[1]

Jud: 11° die Nov 1702.
S. Keck, Herne

The further Answear of Thomas Starke defendant to the Bill of Complaint of James Westmore Complainant,

All advantages of Exceptions to the manifold uncertaintyes and insufficiencyes in the Complain [an]ts said bill of Complaint conteined materiall or effectuall in the Law for him this Defendant as he is advised to make answeare unto, he this Defendant answereth and saith that during the time of the Voyage and since he this defendant did pay or caused to be paid to the Complainant or his order the severall summes of money which are mentioned in severall Bills drawne by the Complainant on this Defendant and in the receipts given this defendant for the same the dates and Contents of which this defendant hath herein incerted and are as follows *vizt.*

Deale the Thirty first day of October one Thousand Seaven Hundred.

Sir Be pleased to pay unto Valentine Boules on order the Summe of fourteen pounds (value received of him) for the use of your Shipp *Affrica* Galley as per advice from your humble Servant to command James Westmore. To Thomas Starke Merchant in Mincing Lane London.

August the nineteenth One Thousand Seaven hundred and one. Received of John Sheffeild on Account of the Ship *Affrican* Gally Twenty Eight Pounds as witness my hand James Westmore.

[73] [1] P. R. O., Chancery Proceedings, Class C 5, Bridges Division, bundle 277, no. 10. "Plaintiff Defendant Date Subject County
Westmore, James Starke, Thomas 1702 Money (answer) Middlesex"
From the reference to Starke to be found *ante,* no. 69, it is clear that he was a Virginia landowner as well as a London merchant.

Received August the Twenty first One Thousand Seaven hundred and one of John Sheffeild more Twenty nine pounds fifteen on the above account JAMES WESTMORE.

September the Sixth One thousand Seaven Hundred and one Received of John Sheffeild Thomas Sanders his obligation for fifty nine pounds which I promise to be accountable for or to returne to him or to his order as witness my hand JAMES WESTMORE.

VIRGINEA October the [*blank*] One thousand Seaven hundred and One. At thirty dayes Sight of this my third of Exchange my first nor Second not paid pay unto Captaine John Rogers or order the full summe of Six pounds Sterling it being for Provisions for the use of the Shipp *Affrica* Galley at time make good payment and putt it to the Account of your humble Servant JAMES WESTMORE. To Mr. Thomas Starke Merchant in London.

VIRGINEA October the Seaventeenth One thousand Seaven hundred and One. Att thirty dayes sight of this my first Exchange Second nor Third paid Pay to Miles Cary or order the just summe of Thirty four pounds Eight Shillings Sterling for the Virginea dutyes and Port Charges of your Shipp the *Affrica* Gally and place the same to the said Ships account JAMES WESTMORE. To Mr. Thomas Starke Merchant in London.

VIRGINEA October the Twenty first One Thousand Seaven hundred and one Att thirty dayes sight of this my first of Exchange my Second or Third not paid Pay unto Mr. William Syers or order the Summe of Two pounds Sixteen Shillings and Six pence for the use of the Shipp *Affrica* Gally and place to account of your humble Servant JAMES WESTMORE. To Mr. Thomas Starke merchant in London.

Received the fourteenth of October One Thousand Seaven hundred and one Five Pounds on account of my husbands wages due upon the Shipp *Affrica* Gally my Husband James Westmore Comanders arrivall in Virginea. SARAH WESTMORE.

Received December the Sixth One Thousand Seaven hundred and one the Summe of Six pounds upon account of my wages I say received per me JAMES WESTMORE.

Received December the Thirtieth One thousand Seaven hundred and one five pounds for account of disbursements on the *African* Gally I say received per me JAMES WESTMORE.

Received January the t[en]th One thousand Seaven hundred and one the Summe of Twenty pounds on account of Ship *African* Gally I say received per me JAMES WESTMORE.

Received January the Thirty first one Thousand Seaven hundred and one the summe of Tenn pounds on account of the Shipp *African* Gally I say received per me JAMES WESTMORE.

Received February the Twelfth One thousand Seaven hundred and one the summe of Twenty pounds on account of wages and disbursements Ship *African* Gally James Westmore Comander I say received JAMES WESTMORE.

And this defendant saith that the said severall moneyes were paid by this defendant on the account mentioned in each receipt and where the Receipt w[as] given generally the same was paid either towards wages or disbursements laid out for the use of the Ship as there should be occasion and not perticularly meant or intended by the defendant to be appropriated to any one Single or perticular account. And this defendant further saith that he hath been informed by the Complainant that he brought into York River Fifty Seaven Negroes alive and no more and that in the time of the sale of forty three of them and one Child Two dyed there and that the Complainant delivered to one Sheffeild this defendants Factor att Virginea Eleven of the said fifty seaven Negroes to be carryed to Maryland one of which Eleven dyed before they were sold. And this defendant hath lately received from the said Sheffeild an account of the sale and disposall of fifty three of them and one Child and no more together with the prizes for which they were sold and the names of the persons to whom sold which is as follows.

Sold to Elizabeth Darrell one man one woman and one girle att ninety one pounds. Sold to Phillip Smith Three Men and Three Women for one hundred Eighty three pounds.

Sold to Robert Nash One Man and one woman for Sixty one pounds.

Sold to John Moore Two Men Two women and a Child for One hundred Thirty two pounds.

Sold to William Thornton Two women for Sixty pounds.

Sold to Elizabeth Richardson one man and one woman for sixty one pounds.

Sold to John Royston one man one woman for Sixty one pounds.

sold to John Bannister One Man and One Woman for sixty one pounds

sold to William Thornton One Man and one Woman for Sixty one pounds

sold to William Howard One Man and One Woman for sixty one pounds

sold to Robert Pryer One Man and One Woman for Sixty one pounds

sold to George Pendexter Three Boys and one Girle for ninety two pounds

sold to Henry Fox Two Men for Sixty two pounds

sold to Nathaniell West One Man and Two Women for ninety one pounds

sold to Seth Wickins One Girle for Thirty pounds

sold to Samuel Clayton One Woman for Thirty pounds

sold to Stephen T—n one Woman for Thirty pounds

sold to Thomas Saunders One Man and One Woman for fifty nine pounds

sold to William Stone One Boy and One Girle for forty two pounds

sold to Joshua Cecill Two Women for fifty one pounds

sold to Thomas Cook One Man and one Woman for fifty two pounds

sold to John Beale One Woman for Twenty four pounds

sold to Samuel Quekett one Girle for Twenty one pounds Tenn shillings

sold to Thomas Stone one Girle for Twenty one pounds and Tenn shillings

allowed for one Man six pounds, amounting in the whole to One thousand five hundred and five pounds but this defendant has as yett received no more then the summe of Eight hundred Twenty seaven pounds and five shillings on the said Account And this defendant doth admitt that this defendant was to allow the Complainant the severall Comission mentioned in the Complainants bill to be agreed to be paid by the defendant to the Complainant pursuant to the Articles of the Eighth day of August One thousand Seaven hundred made between this defendant and the Complainant but this defendant saith that it appeares by the said Article to which this defendant referrs himselfe that the Complainant was not to be allowed such Comission money till all the accounts of the Voyage were settled and adjusted which this defendant doth insist the Complainant hath not performed And this defendant saith that this defendant did send severall letters to the Complainant relating to the Voyage the Coppyes of which this defendant hath taken from this defendants book of letters and are as follows

James Westmore: LONDON October the twenty Second one thousand Seaven hundred. I have here inclosed an Invoyce and bill of lading for the Cargo of goods Shipt on board your Shipp *Affrica* Gally consigned to your selfe as also instructions for the disposall of the same And these are to desire you to make your best of your way into the Downes with all speed possibly you cann with safety then with the first oppertunity saile from thence and make the best of your way to the Grand Coast [2] in Guinea and there purchase what Guinea Grain, Teeth and Gold dust you cann in a day or two or three not to exceed as you go along the Grand Coast and if with a day or two att Cape Coast or thereabouts to purchase what Corne you think is needfull and from thence to Cape Formoso

[2] The context suggests that the Gold Coast is meant.

which make the Bite in Guinea and if you should have a good passage thither that in probability you are before the Shipp that now goes out along with you that intends for New Callebarr I would have you goe downe a long shoare from Cape Formoso to New Callebarr and at every opening where you may with Safety anchor and send your Boate on Shoare and trade for Negroes [and] Teeth and if any encouragement you may stay a day or two att a place especially at Tone and another place adjacent. I am informed there is plenty of Slaves and Teeth and if any encouragement you may stay six or seaven dayes if it be in the Month of December or the beginning of January for if I were not afraid of the other Shipp being before you att Callebarr I should not desire your being there before the middle of January. If Negroes present you may buy a hundred or more as you shall see fitt before you come to Callebarr. endeavour to buy what Teeth you cann if plenty. buy no small ones. At all these places where you shall trade you must shew all your small Comodityes that are not Staple att New Callebarr and aske for them more then I have barred them att, especially what they seem to fancy and alwayes observe to persuade them to take of your Hatts Pewter some Clapper Bells Round Brass Bells Shirts Knives Lookinglasses Trunks Chaires Tables Flints and some Cases of Spiritts for they are not Staple Comodityes att New Callebarr and Bandy as other goods are. What Slaves you buy in them places lett them be very likely to believe you may buy them for Eight or Nine Iron Barrs per head but you may give to Tenn or more for very likely men and I would have you att all these places buy what Yeames you cann and when please good you shall arrive att New Callebarr take all care possible you cann to find out the best depth of Water over the Barr which I am informed is to Eastward take time before you venture over and send out your Boats to sound all about to find out the best depth of water. For your Governance to goe over New Callebarr as follows *videl*[*i*]*cet* New Callebarr is the Eighth or Ninth opening from Cape Formoso a very fair large opening larger than any of the Rest which when you have well opened and Fogo Point which is on the westside of it bares North and North and by west distance about three Leagues then you will have a Spitt of Sand which lyes to the westward of Fogo Point about Two Miles from you which you will see above water or else the Sea to breake upon itt and when you have stood so farr to the Eastward as to bring Bandy Point which lies on the Eastermost side of the River and the Eastermoste parte of Bollante Cope Island to be just shutt in with Bandy Point will bare North East and by East or East or East North East then you may steer in with Bandy Point East North East or North East and by East your sounding being without the Barre five four and about three Fathom water hard sand and when you are upon the Pilch [Pitch?] of the Barr which is about a Cables length over you will have about three Fathom att High water likewise the Spit of Sand which lyes from Fogo Point to the Eastward will be a Breast of you. To know when you are over the Barr you will find the water deeper from three to four five Six and Seaven Fathom water soft clay ground and when you are over the Barr you may Steer away more Northerly to bring Bandy Towne open which lyes on the Eastside of the Eastermost Rivers there being Two Rivers And when you have the River fair open you may runn up keeping the Eastside a board from Tenn to Fifteen Fathom water graduate sounding and soft ouzey ground and bringing Bandy Point South west and Bandy Towne South you may anchor in Fifteen Fathom water about a Musquett shott of Shoare. the water Ebbs and Flows hereabout Seven or Eight Foott and when please God you are gott over saile up to the Point which is near Callebar and then anchor where you may ride open to Bandy as well as to New Callebarr

(as I am informed) so that the Negroes may see you to come on board out of both places and by that meanes you will have an oppertunity of trading from both places and agreeing with them for the purchase of your Slaves at a reasonabler rate then if you went wholly to one place and have a quicker dispatch. The people att New Callebarr are much greater than the people of Bandy but there are more Shipps go to Bandy than new Callebarr especially Dutch and Portugueese the Chanell being better to Bandy than to New Callebarr so that Slaves and Teeth are dearer att Bandy than att New Callebarr and also I am informed that there is more plenty of Slaves and Teeth at New Callebarr than att Bandy. When please God you arrive there you will be sensible of the trade of each place therefore leave it wholly to your discretion where to cutt a trade at one or both places and which will engage to furnish you cheapest and quickest there cutt for the most and if they should pretend to keep up their Slaves High you must declare you will be gone. Formerly Men Slaves have bought for Nine and Tenn, Women for Seaven Pecys [3] and girles for five and six Iron Barrs per Head But rather than lye there if you cann have a quick dispatch you may cutt a trade for Twelve for Men Nine for Women and Six or Seaven for Boys and Girles as you shall see they reserve. The trade which you cutt with the Kings is alwayes the highest, those Slaves which are brought by others out of the Countrey you may buy cheaper. If they should hold upp their Slaves higher than is expected your holding off Two or Three dayes will make them comply with you if there be no other Shipps but if there be you must doe as well as you cann. I have inclosed an account what Custome used to be given to the Kings to Trade. Note That Iron Barrs is the Staplest Comodity there and you haveing great plenty of them may give Seaven or Eight Iron Barrs with other goods for a Man Slave and for a Woman five and Six Iron Barrs with other goods there is no certainty for Boys or Girles of any sort of goods but as you cann agree and have to spare. In Copper for Men Three or Four Copperr Barrs for Women Two Copper Barrs that being the next Staple Comoditye and in other goods you must make upp the Rest of the Barrs you are to give. You may be asked for Guinea Stuffs but you have none. you have a good quantity of Blew Callicoes which is in great esteem there but you cannot sell them for more than a Copper Barrs length for a Copper Barr nor you must not sell them for less. the Pewter is not soe much desired but will goe off for Slaves with other goods. Beads Manelices [4] Clapper Bells and severall other goods are in very good esteem and will go of with Iron and Copper for Slaves. I cannot direct you how much of each sort of all the goods you shall certainly give for a Slave for some will have more or less of each sort only your Iron and Copper them sorts you must keep att a certainty as near as you cann for Men Slaves but for Women Boys and Girles you may lessen the Quantity of Iron and Copper and make them take more of other goods that you have most off. Alwayes those goods that are not much desired putt off for Boys and Girles Teeth and Yeames and all the parcells of goods that are not Staple being not of a certaine value there you must endeavour to gett more for them then I have barred them att but if you cannot gett so much for Hatts Shirts Chaires Tables Cases of Knives Flints and Horse Bells and Trunks and looking glasses and Cases of Spiritts you may abate. I doe beleive I have advised you the needfull as to the sale of the Cargoe which with your discretion doubt not but you will buy your Slaves as cheape and dispose of your Cargoe as well as others have done. You have a Cargoe enough to buy four hundred and fifty Slaves and above three

[3] Possibly a misreading of accies.
[4] Manelloes, the metal rings frequently mentioned in African trade.

Tunn of Teeth and some gold dust and Provision sufficient for the Slaves therefore desire you will endeavour to buy all the Teeth you cann refuseing none that are large. At the first of your Slaving you may venture to dispose of the value of Seaven or Eight hundred Barrs for Teeth and Mallegatoes. I would have you if it be not loss of time to fill the Partition of the Beane room with Mallegata and what dry Casks you have empty. you must observe that all Teeth that have any Rents Cracks or any part broaken off are much less in value then if they be clear. You must not buy any Negroes that are above Thirty yeares of Age and take perticular care that both Men and Women Boys and Girles be all clear from any distemper burzen [brusen?] or any sore upon them alwayes takeing the doctors advice upon every Negroe that you buy so that you may buy none but what are healthy sound and clear limbed alwayes keeping an account entring every day of the Month what Negroes and quantity of Teeth Mallegata Yeames and Gold dust you buy and the perticular quantityes of what goods you give in Barter for each Negroe or Negroes and for each Tooth and Teeth and each quantity of Yeames Gold dust and Mallegata that you shall buy of any one Man att one time. And when you have bought four hundred and fifty Slaves or more and also Teeth Gold dust and Mallegata and Provisions as much as your Cargoe will purchase or that if it should soe happen Contrary to expectation that you cannot purchase above four hundred Slaves or not soe many without tarrying a long time for them and that per sicknesse or any other reason that you shall judge it best to Saile from thence with what you have You must make the best of your way to Virginea and go up the Bay to the opening of Yorke River and come to anchor without the River so that you may not be obleiged to enter your Ship there and send one of your Mates with your Boate to Tyndall Point and there he must hire a horse and ride up to Mattapony in King and Queen County and goe to Mr Henry Fox and there you shall receive orders where to go with your Negroes and in the mean time take perticular care and also at all other times that none of your Negroes is runn a shoare for if any be your Ship and Cargo will be co[n]fisticated to the Government and you and your Shipps Company to the Owners here. And you must deliver to Mr John Sheffeild to whom my order is which you will receive from Mr Henry Fox all your Negroes, Teeth, Mallegata, and Gold dust for to take an account and weigh and give bills of lading for them to be delivered att London to me freight free And when you are slaved and come from Guinea you must fill up Bills of lading mentioning the number of Slaves Quantity of Teeth Mallegata and Gold dust that you have then on board and consigne them to Mr John Sheffeild or my Assignes in Virginea for my account and Company And what remaines of the Cargoe if any deliver to Mr John Sheffeild or my orders in Virginea which you will receive at Mr Foxes. The Portugueese that come to Bandy and St Thomay[5] where you touch to water and take in Provisions they generally do buy the Remaines of Cargoes with gold they purchase att other places so hope you will putt of[f] all your Cargoe And as soon as you come from Slaving Copy out the whole disposall of your Cargoe for both Men Women Boys and Girles Slaves and also for Mallegata Gold Teeth and Provisions and likewise an Invoyce of what goods you left that you may have ready to enclose and send per any Ship that you shall meett with bound for England adviseing how many Negroes you had then liveing and a perticular account in every respect of the Voyage to that day that in case of your Mortality I may know what to demand of them that shall succeed you. And when please God you arrive att Virginea you must deliver a coppy of the same to Mr John Sheffeild or to my order which

[5] San Thomé.

you shall receive from Mr Henry Fox sealed up and directed to me in London. In Case of your Mortality which I pray God in his Mercy to prevent as soon as you find yourselfe ill deliver a Copy of all your Barters and disposeing of the Cargoe and goods unsold and what Negroes, Teeth, Mallegata and Gold dust and all perticulars as above directed to your Second Mate or any other that you cann best trust so that nothing may be concealed from me and the owners per the Cheife Mate or him who takes possession after you and take care that the Boatswaine and other officers keep the Ship cleane and them and no other of your Men abuse the Negroes and also be sure you keep a continuall Centry to prevent your Negroes getting to your Armes or any riseing per them. Wash your decks with Vinegar and smother between decks with Pitch and Tarr every other day or as you shall see occasion and prevent your Negroes coming up in the Night as much as you cann for the Cold dews in the Night hath been the cheife occasion of the Negroes Gripes and endeavour what you cann to make your Negroes Chearfull and pleasant makeing them dance at the Beating of your Drumm etc. In fair weather keep them upon decks as much as you cann giveing them dramms when occasion and they that have the Gripes to Boyle water and thicken it with Flower and chaulk for them and also to rellish your Beans and other food for your Negroes with some of your Beefe as you shall see occasion and for change lett them have a day in a week of Grout [6] or more if there be enough. All this I leave to your discretion to order as you shall see fitt. Take a perticular care that your doctor and his Mate doe daily their duty in looking after their Negroes that they want for nothing, the whole benefitt of the Voyage lyes in your care in Preserving the Negroes lives. trust not to the Account your Officers shall give you of your Provisions and Stores but examine them yourselfe every week and that you see your Cooper search the Water Casks every week that if any leake it may be prevented. trust to no man but see that every man do his duty in his Station and that the Steward Boatswaine Cooper Carpenter and Gunner give in writeing every week what Stores is expended dureing the whole Voyage and that you enter them in a booke to be delivered to me when please God you returne and that you take care your Yeames are well dryed and stowed away where they cann take no whett and not be bruised and be sure you purchase Yeames enough early and use no Beans nor Grout nor meat while you are a Slaving nor till after you are come away from St Tomay not till your Yeames are almost spent without they will [not?] keep. These b[e]ing all at present that I cann think of only praying to God for your health and a prosperous Voyage I am your Friend THO. STARKE.

Post: Faile not to lett me hear from you per all oppertunityes especially when you first go into a Port and when you depart from thence and be sure you alwayes advice what letter or letters with their severall dates which you shall have received from me after your last writeing to me. When please God you arrive at St Thomay enquire for Raphaell Luin Coeltha from whom I received a letter per Doctor Young concerning the Ship *Concord* Henry Foster deceased late Commander giveing an Account that he had in his possession the Produce of the Ship *Concord* her Negroes and English Cargoe which as I am informed per the doctor that the Governour seized and putt to publick sale and turned all the Men out of the Shipp to shift for themselves and would not allow them Provisions nor nothing else for their support t[——] the occasion of this I cannot understand but am afraid the doctor and the Shipps Company that was liveing belonging to the *Concord* joyned with the Dutch Captain

[6] Grout was a coarse meal. The term is occasionally used for malt before fermentation.

Mathias Spreque who lent hands to bring the *Concord* from Bandy, Therefore I desire you will enquire and gett what prooffe you cann of the Doctors and Dutchmans proceedings whether they made sale of any Negroes or goods out of the Shipp and what designe and where the doctor did designe to go with the Ship or dispose of the Cargoe there and what reason caused the Governour to seize of the Shipp Slaves and Cargoe and to gett account of the Shipp and her Materialls the Number of Slaves the perticulars of all the English goods and every thing that was on board with Account of the Sales and prove it as well as you cann before a Notary for to bring to me haveing no account of the Sales or perticulars from Raphael Luin Coeltha. Your care in examining into the truth of this matter will obleidge your Friend T: S:

Invoyce of Merchandize loaden on board the *Affrica* Galley James Westmore Commander bound for the Groyne [7] Gold Coast and Bite in Guinea for four hundred and fifty Slaves Mallegeta Elephants Teeth and Gold dust consigned to ditto James Westmore under the Marke and number as per Margent the perticulars being barred amounts to. October the Twenty Third One Thousand Seaven hundred and are to be disposed of as follows videlicet A.

Number One A Caske Containing Fifty Three Pint Pewter Tankards at one Iron Barr each Fifty Barrs. Twenty dozen Pewter Spoons at Eighteen per Iron Barr Thirteen one quarter Iron Barrs.

A Caske Number Two containing Fifty Four pounds Pewter Basons at one Iron Barr each Fifty Barrs. Fifty one pound ditto at one Copper Barr each Twelve and an halfe Iron Barrs.

A Caske Number Three containing One Thousand Manelies at Sixteen per Iron Barr Sixty Two and an halfe Iron Barrs. Tenn dozen Brass Large Clapper Bells at Four per Iron Barr Thirty Iron Barrs.

A Caske number Four containing Forty dozen small Clapper Brass Bells at Six per Iron Barr Eighty Iron Barrs.

A Caske number Five [*word erased*] containing Sixteen gross of Pipes [*space*].

Number Six a Caske containing Eighteen Gross of Pipes [*space*].

Number Seaven containing Twenty Four Carolina Beavers laced at Five Iron Barrs each one hundred and Twenty Iron Barrs. Eight dozen large lookinglasses at one Copper each Twenty four Iron Barrs. a Trunk Four Iron Barrs.

Number Eight containing two Nests Trunks containing Eight Trunks each Nest at Eight Iron Barrs each Nest Sixteen Iron Barrs.

Number Nine containing Two Nests Trunks containing Eight Trunks each Nest at Eight Iron Barrs each Nest Sixteen Iron Barrs.

Number Tenn containing Two Nest of Trunks containing Eight Trunks each Nest at Eight Iron Barrs each Nest Sixteen Iron Barrs.

[7] Coruña, Spain.

Number Eleven containing Eight dozen Iron Hatchetts at one Copper Barr per Hatchett Twenty four Iron Barrs.

A Caske Number Twelve containing four hundred Copper Barrs at four per Iron Barr a hundred Iron Barrs.

A Chest Number Thirteen containing four hundred Copper Barrs at four per Iron Barr one Hundred Iron Barrs.

Number Fourteen containing four hundred Copper Barrs at four per Iron Barr one hundred Iron Barrs.

A Chest Number Fifteen containing One hundred and Twenty peices Blew Baffs [bafts] each containing Eighteen Yards at one Copper Barr per yard five hundred forty Iron Barrs. A five for Chest att five Iron Barrs five Barrs.

Number Sixteen containing Six Cane Chaires at four Iron Barrs each Twenty four Iron Barrs.

Number Eighteen [Seventeen] containing six cane chaires at four Iron Barrs each Twenty four Iron Barrs.

Number Eighteen containing Six Cane Chaires att four Iron Barrs each Twenty four Iron Barrs.

Number Nineteen containing Six Cane Chaires at four Iron Barrs each Twenty four Iron Barrs.

Number Twenty Two Ovall Wainscott Tables at Eight Iron Barrs Each Sixteen Iron Barrs.

Number Twenty One containing Two Ovall Wainscott Tables at Eight Iron Barrs each sixteen Iron Barrs.

Number Twenty Two One large Wainscott Table att Twelve Iron Barrs.

Number Twenty Three containing One ditto att Twelve Iron Barrs.

Number Twenty Four containing Seaventy Bunches small goosebery Beads containing five Marshes [8] each Bunch at five Copper Barrs per Bunch Eighty Seaven and an halfe Iron Barr. One hundred and Eight Bunches dove coloured ditto containing five Marshes each Bunch att five ditto per Bunch, One hundred Thirty five Iron Barrs. Forty three Bunches of Purple ditto containing five Marshes each Bunch att five Copper Barrs each Bunch fifty three Iron Barrs and Three Quarters a Chest four Iron Barrs.

Number Twenty Five containing Six Dozen Speckled Shirts at six Copper Barrs each One hundred and Eight Iron Barrs. Two dozen fine ditto at Two Iron Barrs each forty eight Iron Barrs. Two dozen fine ditto att Two Iron Barrs each forty eight Iron Barrs. Forty dozen Bone haft Tower head Knives att Eighteen per Iron Barr Thirty Iron Barrs. Six Cases Pewter Haft Knives att Two Iron Barrs each Twelve Iron Barrs. Six Cases Black Haft ditto at

[8] An obsolete word for meshes.

One and an halfe Iron Barrs each nine Iron Barrs. One Thousand Flints at Twenty five One Copper Barr Tenn Iron Barrs. A chest Four Iron Barrs.

Number Twenty Six containing five Peices White Cotton Two pounds fine Thread and Halfe a Hundred of Needles.

Number Twenty Seaven containing Three Hundred one quarter and Seaven pounds Suttle Three Hundred Seaventy One pounds of Tobacco.

Number Twenty Eight containing five hundred dozen Horse Bells att Two dozen per Iron Barr Two hundred and fifty Iron Barrs.

A Caske delivered to the Master forty two dozen of Knives at Sixteen per Iron Barr Thirty one Iron Barrs and Three Quarters.

Thirteen Stuffe Coates att Four Iron Barrs each Fifty two Iron Barrs. Three dozen Red Capps att one Copper Barr per cap Nine Iron Barrs. One Paire Seizors att [*space*]. One paire markeing Irons att [*space*].

One Bagg containing Seaventy Eight Pounds, Tare Two pounds, Nett Seaventy Six pounds Rowled Tobacco.

Eighty cases of Spirritts at four Iron Barrs each Three hundred and Twenty Iron Barrs.

A Caske containing Seaventy Seaven Gallons Ditto Containing Seaventy Nine Gallons is One hundred fifty and Six Gallons of Spiritts.

Two Iron bound Puncheons of Beef [*space*].

Three thousand six hundred sixty three whole Iron Barrs is Three Thousand Six hundred Sixty Three. Four hundred forty eight Peices Iron Barrs is One hundred Sixty Three Iron Barrs.

Two Oxen containing Thirteen Hundred one Quarter and Seaven pounds of Beefe.

Forty Five Bushells of Grout [*two or three words obliterated*].

Thirty five Quarter of Beans Delivered to the Doctor. Two Paire of Sheets.

Six Thousand five hundred Fifty Three Iron Barrs and one quarter.

I haveing barred all the goods as above and on the other side I shall not enumerate here upon the severall perticulars.

When you first come to Callebar or Bandy the Kings belonging to each towne will demand custome upon your first trading and upon the cutting the trade you may pay the Custome for Two Hundred Slaves and so as you buy to pay the Custome which is two Manelioes per Head in such goods as you shall think fitt or cann pay in but be sure you agree before you pay Your Custome what you shall give for Men and Women Slaves and the value you must deliver your severall goods att and if possible doe not agree to give above Tenn Iron Barrs for Men Slaves and Seaven or Eight for Women and five or six for Boyes and Girles. When I first traded there Men were sold for

Eight or Nine Iron Barrs and Women Boys and Girles under proportionably but since the trade hath been spoiled per some Strangers which have given Twelve for Men Nine for Women and Boys and Girles five six or seaven Iron Barrs per Head and if you cannott gett them under you must do so to All which I leave to your discretion to cutt a trade as Low as you cann but I hope you [will] not abuse my liberty and give more than you need to do. It is usuall to make some present to the Kings and great Men which are called dashes to the value of an Iron Barr to some and to the value of One Copper Barr or two to the others as you will see reason if it be a little more especially to a King you may present him with a laced Hatt or something else that he shall fancy if it be to the value of five or six Iron Barrs as you will see his kindness in Trade with you deserve and be pretty free with your Liquors to him and them that are your cheife traders and treat them handsomely for it is usuall for the Kings and Great Men to present a Negroe or two for their kind entertainment and dashes and others will present you with some small gifts of Teeth etc. Note that Yeames are bigger or lesser and are bought from one hundred to one Hundred and Eighty per Iron Barr. The Biggest and Best Kings Yeames are one Hundred per Iron Barr and though I mention only Iron Barrs to buy them I mean the value of an Iron Barr in other goods which are not Staple Comodityes for Slaves But if you have Iron to spare you may give Iron att all places where you trade. buy Yeames that you may have early as many as you shall have occasion for for the Slaves you are to buy. I am informed that King William the King of Bandy played the Rogue with Captain Foster and kept up his Slaves at a very High Price untill Foster had cutt a trade with King Robin att New Callebar, as soon as he see that he lett him have Slaves which before he would not and Fosters people being Sick and he and his Mates dying the doctor informs me that King William did come on Board and encourage the Negroes to rise and had not a Dutch Man arrived and assisted them to carry away the Shipp the Doctor sayes that he does believe King William would have destroyed them. Therefore I would have you tell King William that if he don't treat you very Civilly I will send a Shipp that shall fire and destroy all the Towne and that I did intend to have presented him with a Scepter and Crowne but haveing this Account I send none. All this I leave to your discretion to act as you shall see fitt. I sent per Captain Gray a Scepter and Crowne to present to King Robin if he deserved itt. Here underneath are the names of severall great Men and traders att Bandy *viz.* King William, Alderman Booby, Adam Jeffry, Captain John, Captain Tom Bolio, Duke Tundo, Lame Dick, Captain Serco, John, Godfrey, Keach, Gundy, Guinea Company and others. Your Cargo being considerably more than will Slave you be sure to encourage them to bring Teeth on Board and buy all you can and send your Boate up into the Rivers to buy Teeth as well as Slaves. . . . [9]

Note that I have not taken any notice of the value of pi[ece]s Cotton, Thread, Tobacco, Beans, Spiritts, Beefe and grout which are for the use of the Negroes. I pray take perticular care that your Shipps Company do not make use of the Tobacco Liquors or anything else that is for the use of the Negroes nor nothing imbezilled but duly given to the Negroes as there is occasion. the Cotton are to make them Mantles that are not well. Note that when you are a Slaving all your Iron Barrs your Boatswaine delivers out of the hold and all other goods you must take into your great Cabin and keep them under Lock and Key and appoint one Man that you cann trust to deliver out what goods you

[9] The section omitted gives directions for buying teeth.

send for For you must not carry any of the Negroes you trade with into your Cabin where your goods are but keep them upon quarter deck and their Bargain with them and send downe to him that is in your Cabin for what goods you sell or want to see and you must alwayes write upon a peice of paper what goods and the quantity you will have sent unto you and upon the delivery of that Tickett to him that is intrusted with your goods he deliver the goods and file upp the Tickett and so for what Iron you want you must send a Tickett mentioning the number of Barrs that you would have the Boatswaine deliverr att a time and the Boatswaine must file upp your Ticketts and every Night you must compare with the Boatswaine and the Man that delivers the goods out of the Cabin and see your Account that you have kept of the goods sold do agree with the Ticketts you have sent to them that day your Ticketts being dated the Month and day per this meanes daily observing this method you cannot loose any goods and file up your Ticketts as you adjust with them and keep them for Vouchers to answear your Account of Sale And alwayes when you first open any Chest Caske or Bundle examine the whole contents of each number before you dispose of any and be sure Alwayes shew all sorts of your severall goods which are not Staple and force as many off as you cann. Your Tables Chaires Trunks and other goods which is not common with them doe not let them know but that you have but very few of them sorts. I desire that you will take perticular care that your Ships Company do not drink of Palme Wine or any other Liquors to disorder them and that they do not lye open in the nights to the Air where the dews may come upon them which practice hath caused a great Mortality and overthrown many Voyages. And remember that your Bunches of Beads have all five Marshes in them and that you must unloose them all and bind them upp in four Marshes.

London October the Twenty Eighth One Thousand Seaven hundred. *James Westmore*: This day received yours of the Twenty Seaventh Currant per your Wife who is gott well home and am satisfyed with your Sailing and hope these will find you Safe in the Downes and faile not to send me a perticular account from the Gunner Carpenter and Boatswaine of the goods they have received for stores and otherwayes from every Tradesman and also what salt was used in repacking the Meat *vizt.* West Ship-Carpenter, Canning Blockmaker, John Todd Ropemaker, Edward Thorne Smith, John Padley Dealeman, and what others that I have not named as Millison Sailmaker and the Cooper etc. I am afraid you have forgott Forelocks and Riveтts for the Shackles. I do not find any note for them. I have here inclosed a letter to Captain Roger Gray and not Sealed that you may read it and after you have read it Seale it up and deliver it to him he being wholly hired per me and all his Cargoe my Adventure only One Eighth part that I lett Captain Keach have. I desire you and he will joyne your Interests together for the most advantage you cann in Slaving. If he be not slaved before you arrive see that you may not prejudice each other but both to contrive and study your severall interests as one and if any other Ship or Shipps should be Slaving both you to hold together for your owne Benefitts. I have since considered of your touching upon the Gold Coast and these are to countermand my former orders that you must not touch upon the Gold Coast only the grain Coast as you go along to buy Mallagata and that must be with very little hinderance of time. When you come to Cape Formosoe go directly to New Callebarr and if you find Shipps there that you cannot have a quick dispatch you may send your longe Boate down to Tone and a long Shoare as far downe as to Cape Formoso as you shall think fitt for do verily believe

there is soe many Ships gone to Old Callebarr that you cann have no trade there. I pray God direct you. I leave all to your discretion to act as you shall see reason. I bought Thirty five Quarters of Beanes but as I remember you have but Twenty Eight quarter on Board and I haveing paid the Tenn per Cent to the Affrican Company [10] you may take Seaven quarter more on board and per reason you do not touch upon the Gold Coast to buy corn I would have you buy Seaven quarter of Beans. I gave Twenty Shillings per quarter but if you cannot buy them soe you must give a Shilling or Two or Three more rather then go without them. they must be Old Beans or else they will not keep and if you have time and cannott gett them att Deale you may have them at Sandwich. inquire there for Mr Thomas Jenning, he I am well acquainted with and he will give you creditt upon your drawing a bill on me if you shew him but this part of the letter. The cheife Mate and second Mate, Boatswaine, Gunner, Doctor and his Mate as also John Phelps, Ralph Scott and John Reade have all signed to the agreement of paying of wages but the Carpenter and Carpenters Mate nor none of the other seamen have done it. Therefore I have sent you on the other side a Coppy what I would have them sign to which is as the Mates and the rest have done and when signed send me it upp. I hope you have putt the man that pretends to be a Cooper at worke that you may see what he cann doe and let me know how you approve of him and all mens names you must send me that you have Shipt which I did not pay at Gravesend and what wages. I hope your doctor is on board. he had of me Two Paire of Sheets. one paire of them were very large. I pray see that he have them on board. this is all I cann think off. I pray God send you a fair wind and be sure to take the first oppertunity to saile and in all things observe your orders. praying to God for your health and prosperous Voyage I am your assured Freind THO. STARKE.

Wee the subscribed, Vincent Hostwell Carpenter, Richard Jones Carpenters Mate and soe name every Man that have not signed and when all their names are mentioned then you must say have shipt ourselves on board the Ship *Africann* Galley James Westmore Commander bound for Guinea and from thence with Slaves to Virginea and back to London to have as follows *viz.* Vincent Hostwell Carpenter three pounds per Month, Richard Jones Carpenters Mate one pound fifteen Shillings per Month, and all the rest as their Wages are. Upon the arrivall of the Shipp *Affrican* Galley at Virginea or any of his Majestyes Plantations in the West Indies which shall be her delivering Port of Slaves etc. then and there their wages to be due but in case the said Shipp should mis carry which God forbid and not to arrive at Virginea or any other of his Majestyes Plantations to deliver her Negroes and loading then no wages to be due nor demanded. Witness our hands the day of the Month and year and soe all to subscribe.

If you should find that they are not willing to doe it you must omitt it rather than breed any difference but first you may make only for the Carpenter and his Mate and gett their hands which I doe beleive they will not deny doing it per reason all the Officers have done it and it is very probable that all the rest will follow.

LONDON November the Twenty first One Thousand Seaven hundred. *James Westmore*: I hope these will find you in health and safe arrived att New Callebar. I am greatly concerned that there is so many Ships bound for New Callebarr there being three Shipps bound there which went out with you besides Captain Gray and Captain Edwards per whom these goe and others

[10] The duty provided by the act of 1698. See this work, I. 424.

as I am informed is designed thither which will not be long after him all which I fear cannot gett their Complement of Slaves there but do hope you may gett a Trade att Tone and other places adjacent as formerly directed You being acquainted with the trade and severall places in the Bite leave it wholly to your discretion to send or go with your Ship to any place or places where you cann best procure your Slaves but desire you will first send your Boat and be well assured of your Slaving before you remove your Ship and if it should soe happen that you cannot buy your Slaves at the prices I have formerly advised you must give such prices as you cann buy them att and rather than you should lye a long time there and run the hazard of your health Ships Company and Negroes and not to go of from thence in good time before the Rains to Virginea in July I would have you saile with Three hundred Negroes if you cannott gett more, all which I leave to your discretion praying to God to direct you for the best. As I formerly advised you that I would have you consult and advise with Captain Gray and assist him what you cann endeavouring for his Interest next unto your owne and if it should so happen that you should find a place where you cann Slave better than where you are I would have you keep that to yourselfe untill you are Slaved but after you have accomplisht what you designe and have secured your owne Slaves than acquaint Captain Gray and give him your advice for his Slaving and in all things do you and he hold together and conceal from others your intention and management in your Slaveing whereby it may be a benefitt to your selfe and Captain Gray. I had rather you should go away for Virginea with Three hundred Slaves than to tarry there the Raines and run the hazard of Sickness in your Shipps Company and Slaves in the time of the Raines for it may soe happen that you may loose more Slaves in tarrying the time of the Raines and with the Sickness that may be occasioned by the Raines in your voyage to Virginea than you may buy in the time of the Raines and if Captain Gray should loose soe many men as should disable him and you have men to spare I would have you supply him or his Shipps Company if he be dead to enable them to proceed their Voyage and so I have writt to him to do the same if please God you should have the like occasion and he be capable of spareing any help. Conclude praying to God for your health and good success in all your endeavours assuring you that your honest and Prudent Management shall ever be rewarded in future concerns by him who is your Reall Freind T. S.

And this defendant doth beleive that the said severall letters herein before sett forth are true Coppyes of such originall letters as this defendant did all the severall times for that purpose mentioned send to the Complainant but for this defendants greater certainty therein this defendant doth referr himselfe to the Originall letters now in the Complainants Custody as this defend't supposeth. And this defendant saith he doth not remember that he hath at any time sent the Complainant any other letters then what this defendant hath herein and in his former answear set forth without that that any other matter cause or thing in the Complainants said bill of Complaint conteined materiall or effectuall in the Law for him this defendant to make answear unto and not herein and hereby well and sufficiently answered confessed or avoided traversed or denyed is true, all which matters and things this defendant is and shall be alwayes ready and

willing to averr justify maintain and prove as this honourable Court shall award, and therefore humbly prayes to be hence dismist with his reasonable costs and Charges in the behalfe most wrongfully susteined etc.[11]

74. Case of the *Dolphin* and the *Mermaid*, 1705.[1]

[*Petition of Sir Richard Levett and William Lone to the Queen.*]

Feb. 18, 1704/5.

Sir Richard Levett and William Lone, in behalf of themselves and the rest of the owners of the *Dolphin* and *Mermaid* now lying in Bristol outward bound for Callabar. These ships, carrying letters of marque, and being lately arrived from Virginia,[2] where they delivered in Sept. last 546 slaves for the benefit of the inhabitants there and in Maryland, and paid also to the said Governments 546 *l.* by virtue of an Order of Councill in those Colonies made for all ships bringing slaves there to pay 20 *s.* per head for every slave towards the building of a Colledge and other charitable uses,[3] and were afterwards not permitted by the said Governours of Virginia and Maryland to take in any of the growth of those Plantations, unless they would continue there untill a convoy should present from some other of your Majesty's Plantations, there being no convoy there to convoy them to England, altho' built on purpose to saile without convoy, nor were permitted to clear in their ballast directly from thence for England, but were obliged upon their being cleared, to give bond to touch at the Island of Maderas, which severe usage being of great discouragement to your Majesties subjects adventuring their estates for the support of your Majesties Plantations and to trade in general, Petitioners pray for H. M. letters commanding all and every of the Governours of your Majesties Plantations in the West Indies or Virginia, into what Port soever the said ships shall of choice put in or by contrary winds be forced into, not to detain them beyond the

[11] The manuscript ends with the words "inc p a° 1702 Bill res ad Meeres. Wm. Lightfoot", in a different handwriting from the rest of the record.

[74] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1704-1705, pp. 63-64. The covering letter of Sir Charles Hedges, recently appointed secretary of state, was sent with this petition to the Board of Trade Feb. 21, 1705. Hedges did not ask for an opinion on the "impressment of men, for which there is a standing rule" (*ibid.*, p. 388; C. O. 5: 1314, no. 39, and 5: 1361, pp. 50-53). There is a confusion of dates in the *Calendar,* which has caused the placing of Hedges's first letter after the reply of the Board of Trade.

[2] The *Mermaid,* Capt. James French, a London not a Bristol vessel, was reported among the Virginia arrivals Aug. 8, 1704. The *Dolphin* does not appear among the Virginia entries until June 13, 1707. She probably entered in Maryland alone on the voyage of 1704. See *ante,* no. 14, and *post,* no. 130.

[3] This must refer to the act passed in April, 1704. If the petitioners are correct, the purpose for which the revenue from the duty was to be applied was not that stated in the earlier acts which this continues.

time their Commanders shall judge agreeable to the interest of the owners, nor that any of their ship's crew shall be lyable to be imprest by any of your Majesty's Commanders of ships of war, etc.[4]

[*Representation of the Board of Trade.*][5]

March 2, 1704/5.

Though it do's in the Generall very much contribute to the security of a trade that all ships bound from the Plantations to England do saile with convoy according to your Majesty's Instructions to your Majesty's Governors in America, yet forasmuch as these two ships are designed for the coast of Guinea and from thence to Jamaica, with negroes, which may likewise promote the trade with the Spaniards, so that the time of their arrival at, and departure from the Plantations cannot be so well ascertained as to depend upon convoys, and they being light sailors and of force, we have nothing to object why your Majesty may not grant your orders to your said Governors to permit the said ships to sail without convoy for the present voyagge to be performed within 12 months.

[4] The Privy Council at the same time had two further requests from these petitioners, one for protection from impressment, on the score that it rendered impotent African vessels which might be useful to her Majesty's service; the second a request for passes to sail without convoy to Calabar and Virginia. Lone, who was evidently managing the business, attended the meeting of the Board of Trade on Feb. 23, and was directed to obtain fuller information from the masters in Bristol. On Feb. 27 he reappeared with the statements of the masters, to learn that the Board of Trade could make no report until it had a statement from the Privy Council or the Queen on the Order in Council involved. The petition here printed was returned to Secretary Hedges on Mar. 2, with the representation which follows. The petition itself bears the following endorsement: "H. M. approves of the Report so far as that the ships shall not be stopt for convoys, letters to the governors accordingly; as to the press, care is taken for that in a Gen'll Standing Order, to the Governor and Commander." The request for passes to sail at once was referred to the Admiralty, on whose recommendation it was granted Mar. 13 (*B. T. Jour.,* 1704-1709, pp. 99, 102; C. O. 5: 1361, pp. 55-56; *Acts P. C. C.,* II. 456). Though the object of the convoy system was to protect English shipping, merchants objected to it strongly and requests for passes to sail without convoy were frequent. The grounds on which such special requests were made were the necessities of some needy community, the perishable nature of the cargo, or some service done for the government which entitled the doer to reward. The form of procedure in considering such petitions may be seen in *Acts P. C. C.*, II. 544. Among the vessels for which special consideration was asked were the *Thomas and John,* for a voyage to Guinea and Virginia, Jan. 25, 1702; the *Morris* to Guinea and Virginia, "with negroes for the petitioners' and others plantations in Virginia", Apr. 12, 1702; the *Alexander,* Giles Love, to Guinea and Virginia, Jan. 8, 1708; the *Dolphin,* Samuel Payne, to Guinea, Virginia, and Maryland, October, 1708. *Ibid.,* II. 388, 393, 492, 544.

[5] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1704-1705, pp. 64-65. A paper similar in substance is to be found in *Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, 1706-1708, new ser., VII. 275-276, among the papers of a select committee appointed (1707) to receive proposals for fitting out privateers in the West Indies (see *Journals of the House of Lords*, XVIII. 341, 342). A circular letter in accordance with the representation of the board was prepared on Mar. 6, 1705. *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1704-1705, p. 428.

75. Act for laying an Imposition on Liquors and Slaves, 1705.[1]

Forasmuch as the late Impositions upon liquors and upon servants and slaves imported into this colony and dominion have proved very usefull and advantageous, and that no better expedient can be found to lessen the levy by the poll or to defray the charge of any publick design than impositions of that nature. . . .

And be it further enacted, That the sum of twenty shillings shall be paid for every negro or other slave which after the said five and twentieth day of May shall be imported or brought into this colony and dominion from any port or place whatsoever by the importer or importers of the same.[2]

[No slaves to be landed until due entry is made.]

Provided always, and it is hereby further enacted, That if the importer of any liquors or slaves for which the dutys and customs according to this act shall be paid shall within six weeks after the importation thereof into this colony and dominion be desirous to export the same or part thereof in such case the said importer shall give . . . a particular account of the slaves he intends to export to the collectors with whom at their importation they were entered and shall subscribe the same and declare upon oath that the duty or custom for the liquors and slaves he desires to export were at the entry duly answered and paid according to this act, and that the said liquors and slaves shall be directly carried out of this dominion and not sold, delivered or put on shore within the same and then it shall be lawfull for the said collector and he is hereby required and enjoyned to allow to the said importer three-fourths of the duty or custom paid for the said liquors and slaves so to be exported, any thing in this act contained to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted, That if the master of any ship or vessell importing slaves after the publication of this act shall wittingly or willingly make a false entry of any of the slaves so imported and be thereof convicted he shall forfeit and pay for every such offense the sum of one hundred pounds sterling, and if any collector of the dutys upon slaves shall directly or indirectly take or receive any bribe,

[75] [1] Hening, *Statutes,* III. 229-235. This was renewed in 1710 for three years, and again in 1712 for two years (*ibid.,* p. 482; IV. 30). In the same session of the assembly was passed: "An act for raising a publick revenue for the better support of the government of this her majesty colony and dominion of Virginia, and for ascertaining the sallary of the Councill. . . . And be it also further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted, That every ship or vessell which shall at any time hereafter come into any port, creek, harbour or road within this colony and dominion, and shall be there entered in order to unlade and put on shore goods, merchandises, passengers, servants or slaves, shall pay six pence per poll for every passenger, servant, slave or other person imported in her the marriners belonging to and in actuall pay of the said ship or vessell and every one of them excepted." This was repealed in 1708 by proclamation and renewed in 1710. *Ibid.,* III. 344-349, 490.

[2] Here follows the subject-matter of the third paragraph of the act of 1699, *ante,* no. 70.

recompence or reward to connive at any false entry of any negroes or slaves imported as aforesaid, he shall forfeit and pay the sum of one hundred pounds sterling and be forever afterward disabled in his said office and rendered uncapable of holding any office or imployment relating to the customs in this colony and dominion, and the person or persons giving or paying such bribe or reward shall forfeit and pay the sum of one hundred pounds sterling.

And for an encouragement to import mony into this colony and dominion,

Be it further enacted, That whatsoever person or persons shall pay any of the impositions, dutys or customs accruing due by virtue of this act in good and lawfull mony of his or their own importation into this colony and dominion to be proved by the oath of the party paying the same such person or persons shall have an abatement and allowance of ten per cent in all dutys so paid and sattisfyed, and every collector of the duties so paid is hereby authorized and required to make allowance accordingly.

And be it further enacted, That upon any entry payment or drawback where an oath is directed and injoyned by this act, the collector of the dutys where such entry or payment shall be made or drawback allowed be impowered and required and such collector is hereby impowered and required to administer the oath.

And be it further enacted, That the several impositions, dutys or customs by this act laid upon liquors and slaves be from time to time paid and sattisfyed to our sovereign lady the Queen, her heirs and successors to and for the uses, intents and purposes hereafter mentioned, and to and for no other use, intent or purpose whatsoever.

And be it further enacted, That the severall forfeitures and penaltyes which shall or may arise by virtue of this act shall be divided into three equall parts, one third part whereof shall be to our sovereign lady the Queen, her heirs and successors for and towards the better support of this government and the contingent charges thereof, one third part to the governor of this colony and dominion for the time being, to and for his own proper use and behoof, and the other third part to him or them that will informe or sue for the same, to be recovered with costs in any court of record within this colony and dominion, wherein no essoin, protection, or wager of law shall be allowed.[3] . . .

[The collectors to be appointed by the governor, to account to the treasurer, the governor, the Council and Burgesses.]

[3] The subject-matter of the fifth and sixth paragraphs of the act of 1699 follows.

And be it further enacted, That this act shall continue in force for two years from the said five and twentieth day of May [1706] and no longer.[4]

76. Journal of the Board of Trade, 1707.[1]

November 28, 1707.

Mr. Perry, Mr. Hide, Mr. Milner and other Virginia and Maryland merchants attending. . . .

These gentlemen being further asked what benefit or disadvantage they find in the plantations by allowing seperate traders to the coast of Africa, they said that the separate traders had furnished to the plantations above 800 negroes annually, since the passing of the late Act, and that the company had sent none to Virginia or Maryland since, nor for seaven years before, that the said negroes (such as are merchantable) are sold from 25 to 26 a head; that the separate traders have paid to the company considerably more by the ten per cent. than the said company have laid out upon their forts and fortifications; and that the said seperate traders have no protection from the said forts, but on the contrary have received all the discouragement imaginable from the company's factors there.

77. Edmund Jennings to the Board of Trade, 1708-1710.[1]

Virginia November the 27th, 1708.

May it please yr Lordships, It was the 11th of last moneth and the Fleet then sailed, before I had the honr to receive yor Lordships of the 15th of April concerning the Negro Trade Since which I have endeavoured by the means of the proper Officers, and the informations of the ancient Inhabitants, to answer Yo'r Lordps Commands, and in

[4] On Dec. 21, 1705, Governor Edward Nott wrote to the Board of Trade: "I understand there hath been brought into the Country this summer about 1800 Negroes sold generally for 54 *l.* sterl. a Man and Woman, at the Least, all these Except a few are imported since the imposition Act Expired" (C. O. 5: 1361, p. 421). J. C. Ballagh (*History of Slavery in Virginia,* p. 15n.) says that the committee which was revising the Virginia laws continued the duty act of 1705 for two years. This however does not agree with Hening, according to whom the duty act expired in April, 1705, was revived in October, but was not to go into effect until the next May. This corresponds with the suggestion in Governor Nott's letter, that for a time there was no duty. For the importation in the summer of 1705 see *post,* no. 130. In April, 1706, the assembly was considering an act laying a duty of 20 *s.* to defray the cost of a house for the governor. See *Journal of the House of Burgesses,* 1702-1712, pp. 180, 183, 194, 195, 199, 201-203.

[76] [1] *B. T. Jour.,* 1704-1709, p. 430. For some account of the contentions of the African Company and of the separate traders see this work, II. 50-68, 75-78.

[77] [1] *N. C. Col. Recs.,* 1662-1712, I. 693-694. With minor differences, this letter is also to be found in *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1708-1709, pp. 156-157; C. O. 5: 1316, no. 15; C. O. 5: 1362, pp. 365-368. "Signed, E. Jenings. Endorsed. Recd. 16th April, Read 3rd May, 1709." See also *B. T. Jour.,* 1708/9-1714, p. 25. Jennings was president of the council of Virginia and acting governor between the death of Edward Nott in August, 1706, and the arrival of Alexander Spotswood as lieutenant governor, June 23, 1710.

Order thereto have herewith sent yo'r Lordships an account of all the Negros imported into this Colony from the 24th of June 1699 to the 12th of October last past distinguishing those imported by the Royal African Company (679), and those by Seperate Traders (5928),[2] wherein yo'r Lordships will perceive the latter have had much the greater Share. As to the particular Rates at which those Negros have been sold, they have been variable according to the Different times of their coming in and the quality and ages of the Slaves, but the medium for men and women may be reckoned from 20 to 30 pounds a head for those sold by the Company and from 20 to 35 £ a head for the like kinds sold by the Seperate Traders, who in gen'll have sold theirs at a higher rate than the Company.

How the Country was supplyed with Negros before the Trade to Affrica was laid open in the year 1698, I have endeavoured to Inform my Self from some ancient Inhabitants conversant in that Trade as well as by recollecting what hath happened in my own knowledge, and find that before the year 1680 what negros were brought to Virginia were imported generally from Barbados for it was very rare to have a Negro ship come to this Country directly from Africa since that time, and before the year 1698, the Trade of Negros became more frequent, tho not in any proportion to what it hath been of late, during which the Affrican Company sent several Ships and others by their Licence (as I have been informed) having bought their Slaves of the Company brought them in hither for Sale, Among which I remember the late Alderman Jeffrys and Sr Jeffry Jeffrys were principally concerned, but all this time the price of the Negros was currant from £18 to 25 per head for men and women and never exceeded that Rate. Whether the opening the Trade to Africa having created an Emulation between the Company and the Seperate Traders which should outbid the other in the purchase of their Slaves there, or whether the dexterity of their Factors there in taking advantage of the prevailing humour of our Inhabitants for some years past of buying Negros even beyond their abilities, or the Concurrence of both, hath raised the Rates of Negros so extravagantly I shall not pretend to determine but this I may venture to say that it will be much harder to lower the price again now 'tis raised unless there be the same Freedome of Trade continued as formerly for tho the Inhabitants of this Country in gen'll will not be so fond of purchasing Negros as of late being sensibly convinced of their Error which has in a manner ruined the Credit of the Country yet there will still be some that must, and others that will at any rate Venture to buy them, and if

[2] The lists enclosed in this letter, together with all other figures on the amount of Virginia importation, have, for convenience of printing, been placed at the end of the material on Virginia, nos. 130-134. They should be used in connection with the material which precedes them.

the Company alone have the Management of the Trade, they'l find pretences enough to keep up the price if not to impose what higher rate they please, which the buyer must submit to, knowing he cannot be supplyed by any other hand. As for Vessells trading directly from this place to the Coast of Africa I never knew of any nor is the same practicable this Country not being provided with Comoditys suitable for carrying on such a Trade. This is the best account I am able to give in answer to yor Lordships Commands wherein if I have failed or mistaken in any point I beg yo'r Lordships favourable Construction thereof Since I can with truth assure yo'r Lordships that no man hath a greater Desire to serve yo'r Lordships.[3] . . .

P. S. The Instructions to our late Governour were sealed up at his death, and were not opened till I had the hon'r of being intrusted with the Government by her Majesty's late Instruction, else I should not have failed in sending yr Lordships the amount of Negros required therein.

VIRGINIA, Jany 11, 1709/10.[4]

. . . I am sorry my letter of Nov. 27 concerning the negro trade hath given your Lordps. the trouble of a new enquiry. The difference in the price of negros between the Company and the separate traders was occasioned by the dilligence of the latter in sending their ships early, and thereby gaining the advantage, once or twice, of a better market than the Company who came after them; for when negros come in about the beginning of the summer, the planters are abundantly more fond of them, and will give greater prices for them, because they are sure of the advantage of their labours in that years crop, whereas negros bought at the latter end of the year, are of little service till the next Spring, and this is the true reason of that

[3] The last sentence is not in the *Calendar*, the postscript is (p. 157). On the same day Jennings wrote that the number of negroes in the colony was about 12,000, an increase of "laboring tithable persons" for the past three years of 3000, chiefly the result of the importation of negroes. This number the Board of Trade might have expected to be greater when they compared it with negro importations, but he explained that in addition "to the distempers usual among new negros wch carry off not a few of them, many of our poorer sort of inhabitants daily remove into our neighbouring Colonys, especially to North Carolina". *N. C. Col. Recs.*, 1662-1712, p. 692; *B. T. Jour.*, 1709-1714, p. 25; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, p. 158.

[4] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1710-1711, p. 4. Endorsed, "Recd. 3rd, Read 20th April, 1710". On July 27, 1709, the Board of Trade wrote to Jennings: "The accounts of negroes you have sent us will be made use of as occasion shall offer. But it came too late for the last Session of Parliament, where the African trade was under consideration. However, we have reason to beleive that the next winter that Trade will be further look'd into, and then your accounts will be of service. But there is one particular wherein we are yet in the dark, *vizt.*, you say that the Company have sold their negroes from 20 to £30 a head, and the separate traders from 20 to £35. We wish you had explained the reason of this difference, and therefore desire you to do it the first opportunity" (*ibid.*, 1708-1709, p. 429). In its report to the House of Commons in 1709 the board estimated the annual demand of Maryland and Virginia at 4000 negroes. See this work, II. 63.

difference of price, and not that the Company have been at all more favourable to the planters in the sale of their slaves than the separate traders, for both have sold as dear as they could. . . .

78. Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood to the House of Burgesses, 1710.[1]

November 27, 1710.

. . . Wherefore give me Leave to Tell you That I fear The high Duty Intended on Negro slaves May be Interpreted as a prohibition of That Trade Which her Majesty is gratiously pleased to Countenance, as you may perceive by such her Royal Instructions which I now send you; and I hope it may not be yet too Late for you to make Some amendments That may shew you bear a Just Deference to her Majestys Most Gracious Recommendations. . . .

79. The Virginia Council to the House of Burgesses, 1710.[1]

Thursday, November 30, 1710.

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses: The Council having Taken into Consideration The Bill sent up from your house for Laying a Duty on Liquors and Slaves and being Desirous to Remove all Objections which may be Made against so good a Law as well as to preserve That good Correspondence with your house, which is Necessary for The Publick Service before They proceed farther on That Bill Think fitt to acquaint you That Complaints have been frequently made By The Traders That The former Imposition Acts have not Excepted Negro Children, and others Who by Accidental Infirmitys are not to be Sold for so much as The Duty Laid on Them And also That no Drawback hath been Allowed for Negros

[78] [1] *Journal of the House of Burgesses,* 1702-1712, p. 281. Hening (III. 482) gives the title of an act for laying a duty on liquors and slaves, which he says agrees almost verbatim with the first chapter of the act of 1705. There was however the important difference that the earlier act laid a duty of £1, the act now under consideration and soon to be passed placed a duty of £5, on imported slaves. The bill was well advanced toward passage when Governor Spotswood sent his protest (*Jour. of Burgesses,* 1702-1712, pp. 271, 273, 276). On Nov. 28, 1710, "The house proceeded to Take into Consideration The Message from The Governor Relating to The high Duty on Negro Slaves in The Imposition bill, and Thereupon, Ordered That The Comittee of Propositions and Grievances (according to The Directions of this house) Make a Suitable Answer to the said Message in the Address allready ordered to be, by Them prepared". The next day the committee reported the following: "The way we have Taken for Raising of Mony by Laying a Duty on slaves And Liquors, is what this house and former Assemblys have long Since thought Least Burthensome to The people And most Agreeable to The Constitution of this Government And Wee humbly Conceive The Manner in which it is now Laid, is very much for The Service of her Majesty, and The Advantage of The people We Represent Therefore pray The Bill as it now Lyes before The Councill, may have your Honours assent" (*ibid.,* pp. 282, 286). Alexander Spotswood was lieutenant governor of Virginia from June 23, 1710, to Sept. 27, 1722.

[79] [1] *Jour. of Burgesses,* 1702-1712, pp. 286-287.

Dying before Sale; Wherefore The Council propose That Your house will Consent That a Proviso be Added to the Bill: That all Such Negros as Either by Reason of Their Infancy or Any Accidental Disabillity happen to be sold for Less Than fifteen pounds shall pay no greater Duty Than one Third of What They are Sold for; and That for Negro's Dying before Sale and within Six Weeks after The Importacion a Drawback of The Whole Duty be Allowed.

And forasmuch as most of The Negros Imported from her Majestys Plantations are Either Such as are Transported for Crimes or Infected with Disseases, the Council Submit to the Consideration of Your house Whither it may not be proper That a higher Duty be Laid on Them Than on Negros Imported Directly from Africa, Allowing Still The Same Exemptions as above proposed. . . .

80. Journal of the House of Burgesses, 1710.[1]

Thursday, November 30th, 1710.

[The House] Resolved—That Leave be given to The Council to Amend The Bill for Laying a Duty on Liquors and Slaves by adding two proviso's prepared by This House on Consideration of their Message Relating to The Said Bill which Proviso's are in The Words following.

Provided allways and be it hereby Enacted That Nothing in This Act before Contained shall Extend or be Construed to Compell Importer or owner of Any Slave or Slaves into this Colony at any Time During The Continuance of This Act to pay the Duty by This Act Imposed on Slaves for any Negro or other Slave Male or female Child Which is not or shall not be at the time of Importation able to go Alone but that it shall and may be Lawfull for all Such Children to be Imported and Sold here Without paying the Duty by This Act Imposed or any part Thereof any Thing before in This Act Contained to the Contrary Notwithstanding.

Provided also That if by Virtue of This act a Duty be paid by the Importer, for any Negro or other Slave and Such Negro or Slave happen to Dye Within forty Days next after the Day of his or her Arrival into Any port of This Colony and be not Actually Sold it shall and may be Lawfull in Such a Case to and for The Collectors to whom The Said Duty shall be paid and Such Collector is hereby Required and Injoyned to allow and pay Back to The Said Importer the Duty paid for Such Negro or Slave in Case The Importer Making Demand of Such Drawback make Oath before The Said Collector That the Said Slave did Dye Within The Said forty Days and Was not Sold before his or her Death but not unless Such Oath be Made

[80] [1] *Jour. of Burgesses,* 1702-1712, p. 287.

any Thing in This Act to The Contrary or seeming to the Contrary Notwithstanding.[2] . . .

81. Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood to the Board of Trade, 1711.[1]

Virginia, Mch. 6th, 1710/11.

To the Lords of Trade: . . . For raising of which sum [2] and discharging sundry publick debts contracted since the last Assembly, which amounts to almost £1800, they have by another Act layed a duty on liquors and slaves for three years. The duty on liquors is the same that was laid the last Assembly; but that on slaves they have thought fitt to advance to five pounds a head, for all imported by water, and 20 *s.* on Indian slaves imported by land; I soon perceived that the laying so high a duty on negros was intended to discourage the importation, and therefore thought it necessary to use the arguments in my message of Nov. 27 (Journal of Assembly),[3] besides my endeavours with particular members for moderating that duty: but they urged what is really true, that the Country is already ruined by the great number of negros imported of late years; that it will be impossible for them in many years to discharge the debts already contracted for the purchase of those negros if fresh supplys be still poured in upon them while their tobacco continues so little valuable, but that the people will run more and more in debt, and must be forced to imploy their hands upon other manufactures. Whereupon finding them unanimously resolved rather to lose the Bill than to go contrary to the general inclinations of the country, I at last yeilded to pass the Act as they had prepared it after having been assured by the most considerable traders that this duty will be no discouragement

[2] The act was approved Dec. 9, 1710 (*ibid*, p. 298). DuBois (*Slave Trade*, p. 13) is mistaken in thinking that Spotswood went so far as to veto this measure, as his letter next printed makes quite clear. The duty act of 1710 was continued in 1712 for another three years (*Jour. of Burgesses,* 1712-1726, pp. 32, 35, 36, 40-42; *Jour. of Council,* I. 550, 552-553). On Dec. 29, 1713, Spotswood wrote to the Board of Trade: "They have likewise placed a further confidence in me, by allowing me without any controul to finish the Governor's house, and by agreeing that without limiting the sum the charge thereof shal be paid out of the dutys on liquors and slaves" (*Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1712-1714, p. 278). For earlier correspondence of Spotswood with the board see *post,* no. 132, n. 1. In 1714 a further measure was passed to remove the defects in the existing law (*Jour. of Burgesses,* 1712-1726, pp. 66, 97, 101-102, 110-112, 117; *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1714-1715, p. 84). Apparently no further duty was laid until 1723. Occasional petitions asked that the duty imposed by the act of 1710 be omitted. In November, 1712, Mr. Frederick Jones was allowed to bring in slaves from North Carolina duty free, as they had originally gone from Virginia. *Jour. of Council*, I. 541-542.

[81] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1710-1711, pp. 415-416; Va. Hist. Soc., *Collections,* I. 52, and VI. 11. The text here used is that of the *Calendar.* Endorsed: "Recd. 5th, Read 8th June, 1711."

[2] Note: "£2195 to build a house for the governor."

[3] Page 281 in the printed *Journal.* The text in the *Collections* reads, "to use the arguments which Your Lordsps will find in the Message of the 27th November, mentioned in the —— page of the Journal of Assembly marked No. 1".

to the negro trade, if tobacco becomes valuable, and on the other hand, tho' no duty were laid on negros, the country is not in a capacity to purchase any number while their tobacco is at so low a rate; and that this duty will only affect some few merchants that perhaps may import negros before they are acquainted with the circumstances of the Country, but none that are thoroughly versed in this trade. Since therefore the duty is only for three years, and that it will at least require so much time before the Country can possibly be in a condition to pay off the debts already contracted, I hope the passing this law, which is so necessary for the ease and satisfaction of H. M. subjects here, will not be disagreeable to H. M. Your Lordps will observe in the above mentioned message another exception I took against this Bill, which was, that the Virginia owners enjoyed a greater priviledge and exemption than H. M. British subjects. . . .[4]

82. Instructions to the Earl of Orkney, 1715.[1]

April 15, 1715.

102. You are to give all due Encouragement and Invitation to Merchants and others who shall bring Trade to our Colony or any way contribute to the Advantage thereof and in Particular to the Royal Affrican Company.

103. And as we are willing to recommend unto the said Company that the said Colony may have a constant and sufficient Supply of Merchantable Negroes at Moderate Rates in Money or Commodities so you are to take especial Care that Payment be duly made and within a competent time according to their Agreement.

[4] This applied to that portion of the act which dealt with the duty on liquors. On Mar. 20, 1711, Spotswood again wrote to the Board of Trade: "The unhappy circumstances of the trade of this Colony oblige me to lay before your Lordp's, the ill consequences which I am apprehensive it may have on that of Great Brittain without the application of some proper and speedy remedy. The great number of negros imported here (so long as there remained any money or credit in the country to buy them) and solely imployed in making tobacco, hath produced for some years past an increase of that commodity far disproportioned to the consumption that could be made of it in all the marketts which the war had left open" (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1710-1711, p. 430, printed in Va. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, new ser., I. 72, and VI. 11). Spotswood goes on to show that this condition is driving the people into manufacturing to supply their wants since tobacco will no longer do it. For the amount of importation which followed this act see *post*, no. 131.

[82] [1] *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XXI. 351-352. George Hamilton Douglas, Earl of Orkney, was governor of Virginia from 1697 to 1737, though during that time he never visited the colony. These instructions, with the exception of art. 105, are the same as those sent to Francis Nicholson Aug. 30, 1720, when he was appointed governor of South Carolina (C. O. 5: 400, p. 41, sects. 83-86), and are typical of those sent as a matter of routine. See those to Robert Hunter in 1707 (C. O. 5: 1362, p. 181, sects. 101-104) and to Orkney Dec. 15, 1727 (C. O. 5: 1365). In 1718 the Board of Trade directed an addition to the governors' instructions: "that they do not pass any Act which may any ways affect the trade or shipping of the Kingdom without a Clause Declaring that the said Acts shall not be in Force until they be Approv'd and Confirm'd by His Majesty". *Acts P. C. C.*, 1680-1720, p. 721.

104. And whereas the said Company have frequently great Sums of Money owing to them in our Plantations in America, they have been much hindered in the recovery of their Just debts there, and discouraged in their Trade by too frequent Adjournments of Courts, and it being absolutely necessary that all Obstructions in the Course of Justice be effectually remov'd You are to take Care that the Courts of Justice be duly and frequently held in our Colony and Dominion under your Government, so that all our Subjects in the said Colony, and Particularly the Royal African Company may enjoy the Benefit thereof, and not receive any undue hinderance in the recovery of their Just Debts.

105. And you are to take care that there be no Trading from Virginia to any Place in Africa within the Charter of the Royal African Company otherwise than prescribed by Law.

106. And we do further expressly Command and require you to give unto us, and to our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations an Account every half Year of what Number of Negroes the said Colony is Supply'd with, that is what Number by the African Company, and what by the Seperate Traders, and at what rates Sold.

83. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the Committee of Shipping, 1720.[1]

At a Com'ee of Shipping held February 14th 1720.

Agreed with Capt. John Mitchell to freight the Ship *Prince George* from the port of London to Cabenda in Guinea to take in there 350 Negroes and to proceed from thence to Virginia and there to deliver her Negroes att Six pounds ten Shillings per head freight for all delivered alive and three pounds five Shillings per head dead Freight for all shipt short of the 350 and the Capt. to be subject to the usual covenants in the Companys charter partys. The Ship to be ready to take in Goods by the 20th of this Instant. And to Depart Gravesend by the 20th of March wind and weather permitting.

84. Case of the *Callabar Merchant*, 1720-1721.[1]

[*Deposition of Alexander Bradford.*]

Surr ss.

Alexander Bradford late Cheife Mate of the *Callabar Merchant* Maketh Oath that the Said Ship (Thomas Kenedy being Master) was fitted out and Sail'd from Bristoll in the Month of September 1719,

[83] [1] T 70: 131, p. 57. Signed, "Wm. Dilke". On subsequent days the committee directed that the committee of goods ship 100 tons on the *Prince George,* and that they place on board cloths for 350 negroes. The cargo was to be consigned to Nurse Hereford, governor of Cabenda (*ibid.,* pp. 59, 60). For some account of further efforts of the company to supply Virginia with slaves see *post,* no. 133, n. 4.

[84] [1] C. O. 5: 1319, p. 53.

and was Bound for and proceeded to the Coast of Africa and had on Board no other Cargoe than what was proper for purchasing Negroes which was the Intent of the Voyage and the Negroes there purchased was to be Transported to the Collony of Virginia.

That about the 11th day of Xbr. att the Dawning of the Day in the Same Year the Said Ship in the prosecution of her Voyage being near to Old Callabar on the Coast of Guinia had the Misfortune to fall near Three Ships And a Brigantine wch proved to be all pirats one of which having Twenty Guns mounted And two hundred Men whose Commanders Name was England came up wth them, And Hoysted a black Flagg wth Death's Head in itt And Fired at the *Callabar Merchant* and Soon entered on Board her by force of Arms and Beat and Abused Several of the Said Ships Company and threatned to Burn the Ship with her Cargoe. And forced the Master Thomas Kenedy with the Ship and her Company to goe with them into the River of Old Callabar and whilst there the pirats fitted their Ships and Cleaned them. All which time the Master and Company of the *Callabar Merchants* were prisoners and the Ship in the possession of the said piratts and that the said pirats After they had fitted their Ships and Cleaned them Departed from that river forceing the *Callabar Merchant* to Saile with them to Cape Lopas, and from thence to the Iland of Anabona and near the Said Iland After having been Nine Weeks in the possession of the Said Pirats and their prisoners all that time Did Obtain Liberty to Depart from them and proceed on their Voyage to Virginia and at their Departure they put on Board Twenty one Negro Men wch they gave the Master as a Satisfaction for the Damage they had done him the Said Twenty one Negroes were all new Negroes for they could Speak no Europian Language.

That the *Callabar Merchant* was fitted with Stores And of Burden and Accomodations And also had Sufficient Cargoe to have purchased upwards of Three Hundred Slaves had She escaped falling into the hands of these pirats who took away and distroyed whilst they had the possession of the Said Ship the Following Goods (*Vizt.*).

One Hundred and Thirteen Copper Barrs, Six Iron Barrs, Six peaces of photas,[2] Twelve peaces of large Topseals, Twenty four peaces of romalls, Thirty peaces of Cuthleas, Ninty ps. of Brawles, four hundred forty five Bunches of Beads, Between three and four hundred weight of Nailes, Between four and five hundred weight of pewter, one hundred and four Laced Hatts, Seven plain Hatts, Ten Barrells of powder, one hundred and Eleven Tradeing Guns and Several other Goods damaged.

[2] Photas or photees, East India cottons, romalls, sometimes called sea-handkerchiefs, cuthless or cushlaes, probably coarse cotton cloth. These and many similar goods are frequently referred to in volumes I. and II. of this work.

And Also of the Ships Stores three ps. of Canvas, Six Casks of Beef and porke, two butts of Bread, Ten Anchors of French Brandy, three West India Barrels of Bottled Beer, Sixty Platform planks, Six Quoils of New Cordage, Two Firkins of Butter, and Fifteen Cheeses with all the Ships other Stores Except a Hundred of Bread and a Barrell of Bull Beef the Water and Negroes provision.

That We being forced from the Coast as Aforesaid And with but one half of our Compliment of Slaves (*Vizt.*) one hundred and Sixty, Thirty Six of which Dyed at Sea and Virginia Whereof this Deponent verily believes Twenty of them dyed partly and through the Ill useage they had from the pirats and by the want of provision at Sea, And the Superfluity After they arrived at Virginia, Also that the Slaves Brought into Virginia was for Want of Provision So Maugre that the price was much Diminished.

There was Also lost at Callabar and Cape Lopas Three Slaves which was Occasioned by not keeping a Strict Watch as Usual which was out of our power to do being so Harrassed And always under the Command of the Said pirats, And this Deponent further Saith that he had taken from him by the said pirats In wearing Apparrel to the Value of Seven pounds Ten Shillings.

ALEXR. BRADFORD

Jurat 24th die Martii 1720.
Coram me RA. HARSERY

[*Lieutenant Governor Spotswood to the Board of Trade.*][3]

May the 20th, 1720.

My Lords: . . .[4] There have also been bro't in hither last Month in the Ship *Callabar Merchant* of Bristol, Tho. Kennedy, M'r, one and twenty Negro Slaves, wch he delivered up to me as Piratical Effects, and upon wch I am to wait his Majesty's Commands. These Slaves were given to Capt. Kennedy by one Edward England, Commdr. of a Pirate Ship by whom Kennedy was taken on the Coast of Guinea last Winter and as the Pirats had detained him for some months and plundered him of sundry Goods, they pretended to give him these Negroes in recompense for his Losses. When Masters of

[3] Va. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, II. 338-340.

[4] Earlier in this letter Spotswood wrote of the capture of pirates who had the previous year been on the coast of Guinea, and who had in their possession when captured three negro men and a boy. The next year Spotswood wrote to the board of a Spanish privateer which had ravaged the Virginia coast. On Spotswood's protest all the prizes captured had been returned save a London sloop bringing negroes to Virginia, "Yet he would by no means part wth the Sloop wth the Negroes, wch was more valuable than both the others, but alledged that that Sloop was a lawfull Prize for having Redwood on Board, wch he said was the Growth of the Spanish Plantations, tho it was evident the same was brought from the Coast of Africa". *Ibid.*, p. 347.

Ships are so honest as to discover and Yield up what is thus given them in lieu of their own private losses, I cannot but recommend them to his Maj'ty's favour that some consideration may be had of their sufferings and damages. . . . And seeing Capt. Kennedy has in like manner acted so just a part in delivering up the Negroes given him by the Pirates, in consideration of the damages he and his Owners had sustained by their Means, I beg leave to recommend him, also, to Yo'r Lord'ps assistance for obtaining Reparation out of the produce of the Slaves he has thus delivered up to his Maj'ty's use.[5] . . .

The Case of Francis Stevens, Abel Grant, Tho. Melton, Samll. Allen and Samll. Fry, Merchants and Owners of the Ship "Callabar-Merchant" of Bristol.[6]

[March 22, 1721.]

That the said Ship the *Callabar Mercht.* was fitted out of Bristol in the month of Sept. 1719, with a Cargo proper for purchasing Negroes and no other, And also provision for the said Ship's Company and no more than a Sufficiency for the Voyage.

That the Master Thos. Kenedy was sent with the same from Bristol to Guinea with no other Intent than to purchase Negroes there, and from thence to transport them to the Collony of Virginia.

That being on the Coast of Guinea and near old Callabar, on the 11th Xbr. in the same year At the Dawning of Day, the said Ship fell near to three Ships and a Brigantine, wch weere all Pyrates, One of the Ships whose Commanders Name was England, came up with the *Callabar Merchant*, and the said Pyrate Ship hoisted a Black Flag, with Death's Head, and firing at the sd *Callabar Merchant,* soon enter'd on board her, beat and abused the said Master and his Men, and kept them as Prisoners for Nine Weeks, in which time they made use of, destroyed and took away great part of the said Ship's Cargoe, Provision, and Stores, and often threatening them to burn the said Ship, but at length the Master Kennedy obtained Liberty to depart from them with his Ship to proceed on his Voyage to Virginia, and at their parting with him, they put on board and gave him the said Kennedy Twenty one Negroe Men as a Satisfaction for the Damage they had done him.

[5] In a letter written on the same day to Secretary Craggs, Spotswood adds that he is keeping the negroes till he receives his Majesty's commands or application from their owners. Va. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, II. 343.

[6] C. O. 5: 1319, pp. 39, 41. On Mar. 28, 1721, Lord Carteret sent to the Lords of Trade and Plantations a letter on this subject, enclosing Spotswood's statement (C. O. 5: 1319, p. 9). Endorsed: "Mem'dm The Original return'd to the Treasury." Captain Kennedy made affidavit to the facts here related on Nov. 14, 1720 (C. O. 5: 1319, p. 39). Abel Grant was master of the Society of Merchant Venturers in 1729.

As soon as arrived at Virginia, the Master Kennedy acquainted the Honble. Alex. Spotswood Esq. Govr. thereof; W[h]o seized the said Negroes for his Majesty's use, and have only allowed for the same One Hundred and Twenty Six pounds, which is not one fourth part of the Value, Notwithstanding the Damage sustained by the said owners of the said Ship, occasion'd by the said Pyrates, amounts at least to twelve hundred pound Sterling, as per Affidavit, is made to appear.[7]

[*Journal of the Board of Trade.*][8]

WHITEHALL, March 28, 1721.

Mr. Erle, Member of Parliament for Bristol, attending with Mr. Francis Stevens, and desiring the Board to take into consideration the case of the said Stevens and others merchants and owners of the ship *Callabar Merchant* of Bristol, which was lately plundered by pirates on the coast of Africa, and brought some negroes to Virginia, given by the said pirates to the master of the said ship, in lieu of great part of her cargoe, so plundered; the said negroes being seized there for His Majesty by order of Colonel Spotswood, Lieut. Governor of that colony; a letter from Mr. Charles Stanhope, dated the 22nd instant, signifying the desire of the Lords of the Treasury that this Board would give them their opinion on the said case, was read; together with the case itself; as also the affidavits of the master and chief mate of the ship in proof of the facts set forth in the said case; and their Lordships observing to Mr. Erle and Mr. Stevens, that the negroes, which the owners of the said ship desire to have restored, or the value of them, may possibly be claimed by persons who were robbed of them by these pirates; Mr. Erle thereupon said, that security should be given to answer any Legal claim on that account if His Majesty should be graciously pleased to bestow the said negroes, or value of them, on the owners of the said ship and others concernd therein.

A Letter from the Lord Carteret of this day, referring to the Board an extract of a letter from Colonel Spotswood, Lieut. Governor of Virginia, in favour of Captain Kennedy, Commander of the said ship *Callabar Merchant*, was read; and their Lordships gave some directions for preparing a letter to the Treasury, relating to the case of the owners of the said ship.[9]

[7] This statement the owners sent to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, asking that Spotswood be instructed to deliver the negroes to them, or to find some other satisfaction for their losses. C. O. 5: 1319, p. 41.

[8] *B. T. Jour.,* 1718-1722, pp. 262, 263; C. O. 391: 30, pp. 83-84.

[9] In accordance with directions given by the board, William Popple, on Mar. 31, communicated to Charles Stanhope, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, the judgment of the board that if the owners of the *Callabar Merchant* would give security to answer for any legal claim which might be made for the negroes the board saw no objections to the satisfaction they asked being granted to them (C. O. 391: 30, p. 89, C. O. 5: 1365, pp. 227-228; *Cal. Treas. Papers,* 1720-1728, p. 52). The warrant carrying out this judgment was signed May 15.

85. Captain Edward Holden to the Owners of the *Greyhound*, 1723.[1]

Tindalles Point York River, Virginia
May the 26th, 1723.

Sir, this With my Humble Servis to you and the Rest of the Gentellmen Owners and to satisfie you of my Arivall hear from Barbados the last Night haveing 23 days Pasage from thence and brought in hear 172 Slaves and all butt 3 or 4 as outt a Littell of flesh the Rest full and harty free from any Destemper or Disorder 89 Men 63 Women 14 boys 6 Girles hear is No Slaves Came into this River this year and do Hope Slaves will bear a Good Price for I may be Bold to say thatt tiss allmost Imposible to bring in Likelier or Better hear or Elswhere on all Acctts then you have att Presentt onbord your Shipp. pray God send them as Well of. Sr I Wright to you from Barbados of my Proceedings thear of Delivering Mr. Crump and Heasell 25 Mawger Slaves butt when under Saill Lett them have 8 more 30 three in all and doe belive itt was for your Intrus or I had Nott don itt for thay InComodeing the Rest thatt Those as Was Well and Harty held itt much better then thay Would had the others been onbord as sone as I Came to the Mouth of the River the Pilott Came and Mr. Moor [2] has Order Me as sone as Entered to bring the Ship to West Pointt Wich I shall obey and God Willing to Morrow to Make the best of my Way up as he has Directted me. on the Coast of Africa and hear saw Nor herd of any Rougs[3] and Hope Never shall.

86. Augustine Moore to the Owners of the *Greyhound*, 1723.[1]

Virg'a June the 4th, 1723.

Gent'n, Your *Greyhound* Capt. Holden is lately arrived with 170 Negroes as the Capt. Saies, they have had a great Loss in the voiage by Mortality, however these that are here is Likely and full flesht. Capt. Canady [2] Arrived in Rappa. with Near 300 fine Slaves a day

[85] [1] Bristol Public Library, Bristol, Eng., Jefferies MSS., p. 68. At this period the London merchants were chiefly concerned with the Spanish trade, leaving that of Virginia and Maryland to the merchants of Bristol, many of whom had factors in these colonies. Probably the owner of the *Greyhound* was Isaac Hobhouse, head of an important commercial house of Bristol. See this work, II. 382-383, 387-388, 431-433, and *post,* no. 167.

[2] Augustine Moore.

[3] Pirates.

[86] [1] Jefferies MSS., p. 69.

[2] This may be a reference to the *Shirley,* a Bristol vessel which arrived in the Rappahannock River May 24, with 230 negroes. In the Naval Officers' List the name of the captain is given as Scanderet, *post,* no. 133.

or two before the *Greyhound* so that Maj. Tayloe [3] is intirely taken up to tend the Ship. his Sale began Six daies Since, the price Sett upwards of forty pounds per pair, but they went of very dull. wee begun our sales of the *Greyhound* yesterday at west point, set the price at forty pounds Sterl. a pair, where they took Six or Eight and forty two a Man and woman, a very poor Story after such a Loss in the voiage but this price was very well Considerd before Sett, the times being hazerdous and the great Number of Negroes Expected from the Comp. to Coll. Spottswood [4] and a Ship from London to Coll. Digges as made the Gent'n dull and not willing to buy at these prises, however have Sold upwards of fifty at the above prises, and hope shant be Longue before I gett them off, can only Say shall doe my best for your interest, and give all the Dispatch in my power. The advantages you prop'd in Rappa. by divideing the Negroes is over there being eneough of the kind there. I shant trouble you further at this time, shall advise per all opertunit's of our proceedings.

87. Captain Edward Holden to the Owners of the *Greyhound*, 1723.[1]

Matapani River Virginia

June the 22th, 1723.

Sir, this With my Humble Servis to you and the Rest of the Gentellmen Owners of the *Greyhound* and is to satisfie you how things is hear Concerning your Ship and Cargo. when I Came up to West Pointt acording to Mr. Moors Orders he Apointted a day of Sale and Sent hors and man Throw the Cuntry to aquaintt Gentellmen and Others of the Arrivall of your Ship With Slaves. The Day Came and a Greatt many Chaps Came from one place or another Likewise Major Tayloe Was there So because There shuld be No Exceptions Major Tayloe sett the price £40 Starling apair and so Whentt Presenttly for Rapahanock to Dispactt the *Serloo* so Mr. More sold thatt day fivety butt Nott under butt a Littell advance on sum itt being on Munday and the Sunday following being att Mr. Moors there Came Major Tayloe to see how things was so I porpose to send a Slope Round for Tobaco for I hope he Would Favor you with sixty or seventy Hoggds. for to send your ship sone away. His answer was he Could Nott promise one hoggd. for he must Dispactt the *Serloo* and the *Tayloe* when there and Tobaco being so scarce he Could Nott promise any. The Munday Morning he Whentt over the River for Rapahanock. there Was Six or Eight Men Coming over to Mr.

[3] Probably John Tayloe.
[4] See *post*, no. 133, n. 4.

[87] [1] Jefferies MSS., p. 72.

Moors to buy Slaves so hee Told them that twas all one between them both for the Slaves was Jointtly Consine to both and the thing Was the same so Take the Chapts with him to Rapahanock for to lessen the *Sherloos* Complementt. Mr. Moor has Left No Ways any thing slipt in Making the Utmost Dispactt Concarning your Intrust. I have had a Slope Gon for Tobaco this forttnight and do hope to have sum onbord with sixty Hoggds. in a few days more. Mr. Moor Tells me thince [since?] tis as itt tis he hops in a shortt time to gett me My Load of Tobaco for he is a man so much Respecktted by both Gentell and Simpell thatt if tis posible to be had he will have itt and others go without itt, for sum of the Bristoll men I belive Will Wantt of being full Considerablely. Major Tayloe has Nott been hear since Concerning Slaves or Els, butt God bepraise I have butt 19 Left and do hope thay will be gone soone. . . .

88. Augustine Moore to the Owners of the *Greyhound*, 1723.[1]

Virg'a June 25th, 1723.

Gent'n, My Last was the 19th instant to which refer. Little since done. I am in hopes to make the *Greyhound* a full Shipp of tob'o, and if weather proves good I hope she will leave us abt. the Last of Next Month. what Slaves wee have left goes of Slow and dull, yett am in hopes to gett Clear of them before the Ship Sailes.

Gov. Spotswood has sent in his Sloop to my Landing abt. 20 tonn of Iron to frtt. to Bristoll, he made an offer to shipp in the *Greyhound* what she would take in, which by Consent of Capt. Holden wee have agreed to discharge our ballace and take as much Iron as is Sufficient for the Shipp, the price is 7/6 per Tonn, which is 2/6 more than he has given to any of the Londoners this year. I thott this may be agreeable since its brott to the Shipp Side and no trouble therewith and the Iron very handy, and there can be (now) noe danger in Stowing tob'o in our ground tear, otherwise the guiney ballace woud prove injurious to the tob'o. I shant inlarge, but shall Use my indeav'rs for the dispatch of your Shipp, and am with Sincere respects.

89. Concerning an Act for laying a Duty on Slaves, 1723-1724.[1]

Extract of a Letter Dated in Virginia 25 June 1723

I Cant but think myselfe Obliged to lett you know that the Assembly here have passed a Law which Is to Take place next April, laying

[88] [1] Jefferies MSS., p. 75.

[89] [1] C. O. 5: 1319, p. 265. On May 30, 1723, the governor informed the council that he understood that the Burgesses were planning to lay a duty upon slaves. For

40/ per head Duty on Negroes.[2] This I presume the African Company will Oppose, and Not knowing but the Seperate Traders might Likewise Join In such Opposition made Me think this Notice the more Necessary.

They sett forth In their Law Abundance of good Uses the Money raised by these Impositions have been putt to, but If they would Likewise sett forth how much the Burgesses have Made Use of to pay themselves in Money they would find the Summ amount to Near or Upwards of £4000 for three Sessions of Assembly last past which Must Surely be thought very Ridiculous, nay this very Assembly, to pay themselves In Money have Broke Into a fund (as I think) appropriated for Bounties to those that Manufactured hemp and Tarr, so that If this Law passes the Money which will Arrise thereby must for a long time go to supply those funds which the Burgesses have Broke Into, for no reason that I know of, but because they think Money better pay than Tobacco.

To Mr. Richard Harris

[*Journal of the Board of Trade.*][3]

1723, November 19, WHITEHALL.

Mr. Lansdale, Mr. Hayes and Mr. Tryon, Three of the Directors of the Royal African Compy. attending, as they had been desir'd as also Mr. Peter Le Heup, Agent for the Colony of Virginia, Mr. Carey, Mr. Byrd, and Mr. Perry,[4] in relation to an Act pass'd in Vir-

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their information he sent his Majesty's instructions of Sept. 27, 1717, relating to the passage of acts "affecting the Trade and Shipping of Great Brittain", with the request that the council transmit them to the House of Burgesses (*Ex. Jour. of Col. Va.,* IV. 40). Richard Harris, to whom this letter was written, was a separate trader frequently called to testify before the Board of Trade. In a letter of Sept. 23, 1723, he puts forward a Virginia argument against the act here under consideration. C. O. 5: 1319, p. 255.

[2] See *Jour. of Burgesses,* 1712-1726, pp. 379-384, 395; Hening, IV. 118. The governor's assent to the act was given June 20. DuBois, who describes this act as imposing a "prohibitive" duty, writes of it as the beginning of a series designed to "check the slave trade", a purpose certainly not hinted at by the writer of this letter (*Slave Trade,* pp. 12-13, 213). The duty was lower than that in operation between 1710 and 1718, which was scarcely "prohibitive".

[3] C. O. 391: 32, pp. 214-217; *B. T. Jour.,* 1722/3-1728, p. 50. Those opposed to the act just passed lost no time in making their objections known. On Aug. 28 the Court of Assistants of the African Company directed the secretary to ask for a hearing before the Board of Trade (T 70: 124; C. O. 5: 1319, p. 251). On Nov. 12 the board, after reading a letter on the subject from Mr. Lynn of the company, set a date for a hearing and requested the attendance of Lynn, Harris, and Le Heup. C. O. 391: 32, pp. 204-205; *B. T. Jour.,* 1722/3-1728, pp. 47-48, 55.

[4] Micajah Perry the younger. Peter Le Heup (or Leheup) was agent for Virginia and later for Barbados; Miles Carey was a Bristol merchant with extensive Virginia trade. William Bryd, jr., at the time of his father's death in 1704, had returned to Virginia after a prolonged sojourn in England. Here he took over not only the management of the extensive Virginia property accumulated by William Byrd the elder, but also his father's public offices. About 1715 he returned to England, and in 1720 he was asked by Virginia to act as its London agent. Byrd's business training had been received in the office of Perry and Lane, who were thoroughly conversant with Virginia conditions. He had already appeared before the Board of Trade, and had also served as a member of the Virginia council. J. S. Bassett, *Writings of William Byrd,* p. xliv ff.

ginia, the last Session there, Entituled an Act to lay a Duty on Liquors and Slaves, the said Act was read, And their Lordsps after some Discourse with them thereupon, desir'd to know what Objections the said Company had thereto, Whereupon Mr. Tryon acquainted their Lordps in behalf of the Company, that they apprehended the Duties laid by this Act wou'd tend greatly to the Discouragement of the British Trade, but chiefly to the Slave Trade. That he cou'd not conceive this Act cou'd be in any ways beneficial even to the Colony of Virginia, as it had pass'd the Assembly but by a Majority of One or Two at most. That as no Negro cou'd be landed before the Duty laid by this Act was paid, he thought it a great Hardship, Since it frequently happen'd that in 300 Negroes imported 40 or 50 were not worth 5£ per Head, and that therefore he thought it wou'd have been more advisable to have laid this Duty on the Gross Sale, In answer to which Mr. Le Heup said, that as there had formerly been Acts pass'd which laid a Duty of 5£ per Head on Negroes, which was levied in like manner as prescrib'd by this Act, And as there had been no Objections made thereto, he cou'd not imagine there cou'd be any Reason to complain of the present Duty, which does not amount to half that Sum, And as the Colony of Virginia had expended most of their Money in promoting the Manufacture of Naval Stores upon the Incouragement of the Act of Parliament lately pass'd here Entituled An Act giving further Encouragement for the Importation of Naval Stores and for other purposes therein mention'd, it wou'd be very hard not to allow them leave to raise Mony after this way to supply their Deficiencies, and therefore he desir'd their Lordsps wou'd please to recommend this Act to His Maj'ty for His Royal Confirmation; Their Lord'ps then acquainted the said Company, that if they had any further objections to make thereto, they were ready to receive them. These Gentlemen being withdrawn, Order'd that the said Act be sent to Mr. West for his Opinion thereupon in point of Law.[5]

The Memorial of Divers Merchants, Trading to Africa and Virginia Humbly offer'd to the Right Honble. the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.[6]

Your Memorialists being Informed that there hath been lately an Act passed in Virginia and now lying before your Lordships for laying a Duty of forty Shillings per head to be paid by the Importer on all Negroes brought to that Colony after March next.

Your said Memorialists therefore in Duty to their Country as well as to this Honourable Board do Humbly pray leave to lay before

[5] Alured Popple to West, C. O. 5: 1365, p. 258; *B. T. Jour.*, 1722/3-1728, p. 50.
[6] C. O. 5: 1319, p. 130.

your Lordships the great Mischeif that this Law if Confirmed here, will not only Occasion to the Trade and Navigation of great Brittain, but will greatly Tend also to the Lessening of the Revenue arising from the Importation of Tobacco into this Kingdom.

By the Experience of all times it's Manifest that high Dutys or Impositions on any Commodity or Merchandize Naturally becomes a great Discouragement thereto and Lessens the Importation thereof.

Lessening or otherwise Discourageing the Importation of Negroes by the Dearness thereof into any of our Collonies, doth Consequently lessen the raising or Increasing its productions which in Virginia is Chiefly Tobacco.

The Less the Quantity of Tobacco raised, the Less our Navigation must needs be to Fetch it to Markett, and as the said Quantity Imported becomes less, so Consequently the Customs on the same and the Revenue arising thereby must be greatly dim[in]ished in proportion thereto.

The Less of any Commodity comes to Markett the Dearer 'twill always be, so as such Comodity by reason thereof may be in Danger of falling into the hands of our Rivall Neighbours, who can sell the same cheaper at foreign Marketts then we do, and nothing hath hitherto preserved our Tobacco Trade to us in the Marketts abroad, but the Cheapness thereof, and by our being able to undersell all other our Rivalls in that Trade.

Your Memorialists further Represent that this duty is laid in the most Burthensome manner possible, being on the Importer, who is obliged to pay the said Duty without any hopes of advantage in Respect thereto, on the Sale of his Negroes, forasmuch as they must be sold on their first Arrivall for whatever the planter will give for them, or else the Charge of keeping them will quickly eat out their Value, without any regard being had by the Buyer to any Duty or Imposition paid by the Importer.

Which Duty if taken in respect to the Navigation will appear to amount to between four and five pounds per Tonn on all Brittish Ships employed in carrying Negroes to Virginia, but if taken in respect to the Value of the Cargoes of Goods sent in them to purchase their Respective Loadings, then this Duty will appear to be above forty per Cent on their said Cargoes, most of wch consists almost wholy of our Woollen and other Brittish Manufactures, as may appear by the sev'll Instances underneath, wch will be in Effect a prohibition of the Negroe Trade to Virginia, as hath been the Case already in respect to Maryland, by reason of this Duty having been layd there,[7]

[7] Since June, 1708, Maryland had collected a duty of 20 *s.* a head on imported negroes; in 1717 an additional duty of 20 *s.* was added. See *ante,* no. 21, n. 2.

and wch was the Case formerly in Virginia when a high Duty was then in being.

There is no Instance of any other Nation suffering their Colonies to lay what Duties they please on the Trade of their Mother Countrys, nor was ever a Duty so high as this in Question, ever Attempted to be laid on us by any Nation in Amity with us on any Branch of our Trade or Navigation, much less is it to be endured from our Colonies for whose preservation and in whose Protection this Nation hath been at so great Expences in the late Warrs and at all other times.

But if our Colonies are thus Suffer'd or but Connived at, in laying their Impositions on any one Branch of our Trade, 'twill scarce end there, but 'twill become a president for them (and one Colony will also take Example by another) to go on laying their dutys from one thing to another, 'till they have Loaded all Trade in generall, for wch there will never be wanting specious pretences for their so doing, It being an easy thing to perswade an Assembly to lay any Duty wch may Affect England only or any body, but themselves.

The Legislature in order to Encourage the Exporting of all Goods as well as our own Manufactures having by Divers Acts of Parliament not only granted Drawbacks of the Customs paid Inward, but having taken off all Dutys on the Exports of Goods outwards, 'tis humbly hoped your Lordships will never suffer our Colonies to Load our Trade afresh in this manner, with such Unsupportable Duties as this on Negroes would be if Confirmed here.

The African Trade having been for divers Years past under great Discouragements by the many and great Losses sustained by Pirates whereby the Premiums for Assurance are become higher then during the late Warr, besides many other great and Necessary Charges the Adventurers are lyable to, they cannot therefore support the Load of any new duties or Expences whatever be they never so small.

'Tis true any Colony m[a]y very Lawfully lay a Duty among themselves not Injurious to the Trade of their Mother Country, and this on Negroes might have been so to, If instead of forty Shillings per head to be paid by the Importer, this Duty had been but two Shillings and Six pence payable on all Negroes in possession of the planters, in which case perhaps that Method would produce much more Money If 'tis wanted then the Duty now in Question, thô your Memorialists are Informed there is no occasion for this duty in regard the Publick Treasury in Virginia hath sufficient in Cash to supply the Uses which this Act is pretended to be for.

Your Memorialists humbly pray leave further to represent that this Duty will undoubtedly tend to the great discouragemt. of the Improving and Importing Hemp and all other Navall Stores from that Colony into this Kingdom, by making the Hands dear and scarce,

wch are so Necessary for raising the same and wch otherwise seems to be in a very Prosperous Method of Succeeding.

In Short this act is Calculated for preventing the Increase of the Growth of Tobacco and to discourage all small Freeholders who have but few hands, from Furnishing themselves with more, that being the Interest of the great Planters who have passed this Law, so as thereby the Less Tobacco being made by the former, that which is made by the Latter who are well furnished with Hands would sell so much the Dearer at Markett, But sure that can never be the Interest of Great Brittain and the Navigation belonging thereto.

But this Act being made in Direct Contradiction to, and Contrary to the meaning of his Majesties Order in Councill of 31 July 1717,[8] Whereby all Governours in America are directly forbid in Express words to pass any Act which may any ways Affect the Trade and shiping of this Kingdom, and whereas by the Preamble of the said Act, the reasons sett forth for passing the same are if duely Considered both Weak and Frivolous.

For these and many other Reasons Your Memorialists therefore Do Humbly hope Your Lordships will not think fitt that this Act ought to be Confirmed here.

JNO. COLMORE
RD. HARRIS
FRAN'S CHAMBERLAYNE
ROBERT CARY [9]

A Computation under Different distinctions in what manner and proportion the Duty of forty Shillings per head on Negroes to be imported into Virginia after March next will affect the Negroe Trade in that Colony.[10]

A Ship of one hundred Tonns usually carrys two hundred Negroes, the duty whereof being forty Shillings per head is four hundred Pounds which amounts to four pounds per Tonn on the Tunnage of the Ship.

The Cargoe for purchasing two hundred Calabarr Negroes being one of the sorts usually carried to Virginia commonly amounts to about one Thousand Pounds the Duty of Forty Shillings per head to be paid on the said Negroes being four hundred Pounds is an Imposition of forty per Cent on the said Cargoe.

[8] *Acts P. C. C.*, II. 721.

[9] Endorsed: "Recd Read Dec. 5th 1723." This memorial was presented to the board by Harris and Chamberlain, who were told that no action would be taken until there had been further hearings. On Dec. 10 West reported to the board that the bill under consideration imposed a duty of 40 *s.* on every negro imported into Virginia, leaving it to the board to decide whether this imposed a burden on the African trade. C. O. 391: 32, pp. 235-236; 5: 1319, p. 285.

[10] C. O. 5: 1319, p. 132. This was probably submitted to the board in connection with the memorial which precedes it. *B. T. Jour.*, 1722/3-1728, pp. 62, 64-66.

But if taken in respect to the Gross sales of a Ships Loading of Negroes inclusive of Freight, Assurance, Commission and all other Charges this Duty of forty shillings per head does amount to fourteen per Cent on the whole according to the sales of the last ships Negroes sold in Virginia wch being reduced to Sterling came out at fifteen Pounds five Shillings per head.

Or if this duty be taken on the Sales of the Neagroes after deducting from the said fifteen Pounds five Shillings, the Charges of Assurance, Commission and Contingencys thereon wch come to Twenty Seven Pounds per Cent, and wch are always first paid, then this duty of forty Shillings per head does amount to Twenty four per Cent on the remainder or thereabout being Eleven Pounds five Shillings and so in proportion to the whole Adventure including Freight and all proffitts thereon.

But in Case a Man was to hire a Ship and pay the Usuall Freight being about seven Pounds per head, and also this duty of forty shillings per head, and deducting the same there remains but two Pounds five Shillings clear of charges for each Negroe, wch Cost from five to Six pounds per head, and often much more on the Coast of Affrica besides Mortality in the Voyage.

So as this duty being taken every way or any way does appear to be an unreasonable and an insupportable Burthen on the Negroe Trade to Virginia and is in a manner a prohibition thereof.

And 'Tis not long since we have been enabled to gett ridd of the great oppression the Sweeds were laying upon us in respect to Pitch and Tarr, by our Importing those two Comoditys from our own Colonies, the Success whereof depending upon the Number of Hands, If we make them dear there will quickly be an end of the great Benefitt thereby to this Kingdom.[11]

To The Right Honble. The Lords Commrs. of Trade and Plantations. The Humble Petition of The Merchants of the City of Bristol Trading to Affrica.[12]

Sheweth, That since the Trade to Affrica have been free and open, it have been very much Enlarged and Improv'd, and the Several Plantations have been better supplied with Negroes to the great advantage of the Trade and Revenue of this Kingdom.

That The Assembly of Virginia have lately made a Law for Laying a Duty of Forty Shillings per Head on all Negroes to be Imported there after March next, to be paid by the Importer, which if Confirmed here, will much prejudice the Affrica Trade and consequently the Importation of Tobacco, and the Navigation of this Kingdom.

[11] Endorsed: "Recd Read Dec. 5, 1723."
[12] C. O. 5: 1319, p. 140.

This Duty if [it] shou'd take place being in Effect a Prohibition of Negroes into that Colony, as hath been fully set forth in the Computation laid before Yo'r Lordships by the Merchants of London.

Yo'r Petitioners Therefore humbly pray Yo'r Lordships will Discountenance such proceedings and not suffer a Law so pernicious to the Trade of this Kingdom, to be Confirmed, as likewise to prevent the like Practice in any other of the Colonies abroad. . . .

Jas. Hilhouse	Charles Scandrett
Jno. Parkin	Chr. Shuter
Graffin Prankard	P. Day
John Norman	John Price
Geor. Writehead	John Rich
Isaac Knight	John Vechell
James Jeanes	James Day
Ro. Addison	Noblet Ruddock
Jos. Jeffries	Phill Harris
John Scandrett	Isaac Hobhouse
John Scandrett Junr.	Wm. Challoner [13]

The Right Honble. the Lords Commissrs. for Trade and Plantacions, The Humble Memorial of Several Merchants of London Trading to Virginia and others,[14]

Sheweth, That there is a Bill lately passed in Virginia for laying a Duty upon Liquors and forty shillings per head upon Slaves which your Mem'lsts hope will meet with his Maj'ties Royall Approbation and humbly offer the following reasons for it which Yo'r Mem'lsts believe will answer all objections to it.

That the Colony of Virginia is in very great want of new Supplys having laid out all the funds they had before raised in Matters very much conducing to the Honour and Safety of that Government and particularly large Summs in Settling two new frontier Countrys in Virginia for bringing up Navall Stores and by having also by an Act of Assembly proposed severall Considerable Rewards for the Cultivating Navall Stores in Virginia which still subsist.

That this is no New Duty for that for twenty years togeather they have raised their funds in Virginia in this manner and particularly by the two last Bills of the same Nature (Sometime since Expired) have raised five pounds a head upon Negroes which Duty of five pounds a head was not objected to, nor has (that we know of) been of any bad Consequence to any Trade whatsoever.

[13] Endorsed: "Recd. Decem. 18, 1723 Read Jany 17th 1723/4."

[14] C. O. 5: 1319, p. 142. The new counties referred to below were Spotsylvania and Brunswick.

That this Duty of forty Shillings per head being so much less than the other and not large, in proportion to the Vallue Negroes sell for there, will not discourage the Purchasers nor the Importation therefore of them, the Virginians being always ready to buy Slaves when they have money.

That this Duty therefore will not be any prejudice to the Traders in this Commodity (as they may perhaps mistake it) by reason it is the Purchaser in this Case as in all others that pays the Duty where it is not Excessive.

That this Duty being entirely drawn back upon the Reexportation or upon Slaves that dye within a certain time it will not prejudice our navigation.

That in Maryland which is under a Lord Proprietor the same Duty of forty shillings per head is raised on Negroes and that the Trade of Virginia being Exactly of the same Nature as Marylands (which is not the case of other Colonys) It would therefore seem hard they should not meet with the same Indulgence.

That Tobacco the staple Commodity of Virginia is so heavily taxed here and there already as that it cannot possibly bear a further Duty.

Wherefore Yo'r Mem'lsts humbly hope this Bill may meet with Yo'r Lordships Concurrence and his Maj'ties Assent.

Chris. Smyth	Henry Dee	Wm. Hunt
Phill. Perry	Robt. Willimott	Humphrey Bell
John Hyde	Jona. Scarth	Samll. Haswell
Sam Hyde	Micajah Perry	Arthr. Dee
Ed Randolph	John Maynard	W. Quare [15]

[*Journal of the Board of Trade.*][16]

Janry. 17, 1723/4, Whitehall.

Mr. Chamberlaine, Mr. Morris, Mr. Harris, Mr. Carey, Capt. Bouchaur and Mr. Merriweather in behalf of themselves and others, Merchants of London and Bristol, attending according to appointment as also Mr. Le Heup Agent for Virginia Mr. Perry, Mr. Byrd and Mr. Bradley in relation to an Act pass'd at Virginia in 1723 entitul'd an Act for laying a duty on Liquors and Slaves. The several Letters and Memorials mentioned in the Minutes of 12th Novr. 5th Dec. last and 7th of this month were again read and considered, And

[15] Endorsed: "Received Jan'ry 9th Read Do 1723/4."

[16] C. O. 391: 33, pp. 11-19; *B. T. Jour.*, 1722/3-1728, pp. 64-66. After the reading of the Bristol memorial on Jan. 7 Mr. Le Heup, Mr. Carey, Mr. Harris, and as many of the Bristol merchants as possible were asked to attend the board meeting to consider the act. When they appeared on Jan. 10 they asked a postponement of the hearing as Mr. Byrd, best able to speak on the Virginia trade, was not present. C. O. 391: 33, pp. 1-2, 10-11.

a Letter from Mr. Lynn, Secry to the Royal African Company being read, in relation to the said Company's Intentions not to appear any more concerning the said Act, Mr. Morris in behalf of the African Traders, represented to their Lordships that he conceiv'd the Duty laid by this Act upon the importation of Negroes did very much affect the Trade and Shipping of Great Britain, being to be paid by the Importer. And considering that the prime Cost of Negroes upon the coast of Africa was 4, 5, or 6£ per Head the duty of 40 shgs. added to their prime Cost of £4 a Head would amount to 50 per cent, at £5 prime Cost to 40 percent at £6 prime Cost to £33. 6. 8. and so on in the like proportion. That he took this Duty to be so great a Burthen upon Trade that it amounted to a Prohibition.

Mr. Merriweather in behalf of the Bristol Merchants confirmed what Mr. Morris had said before.

Mr. Harris, who also appeared against the Act then observed upon the London Merchants Memorial in behalf of the Act, mentioned in the Minutes of the 9th inst. *viz.* That he thought it very great Hardship that the Merchants in Great Britain should be obliged to pay Duties to support their Funds there. And he thought that the Duties at present laid upon the Importation of Negroes was a greater Discouragement to the Planter and Cultivators there, than the Rewards proposed by the Assembly could be an encouragement. That since the duty of 40 shill. a head on Negroes had been established in Maryland he had not heard of any one British Ship that had been sent there with Negroes.

Mr. Carey who also appeared against the said Act, further observed upon what the said Merchants represented in their Memorial in relation to the Funds of that Colony being exhausted and to its being recited in the preamble of the aforesaid Act the Want the said Colony is in for Arms and Ammunition. That he had received certain Information from thence, that the old Treasurer had transferred to the New One Seven Thousand Pounds in Money, and that they had Twelve Hundred small arms always ready, and that he had lately shipt by order from Virginia an Armourer to take care of them.

Mr. Le Heup Agent for the Colony desired their Lordsps wou'd be pleas'd to report the said Act as fit for His Maje'tys Royal Confirmation because as the Colony had given £10 per Ton on Hemp as an encouragement for the planting and improving of Naval Stores, they had no other way to raise the said mony than by laying a duty on the importation of Negroes. That he did not conceive this duty could in any way affect the Trade and Shipping of Great Britain, because it must be the purchaser in the end that pays the duty. That this was no new duty and consequently, ought not to be complain'd of, since there had been Three Acts pass'd in Virginia that had con-

tinued in Force for eight Years from 1710 to 1718 which laid a Duty of £5 per Head on the Importation of Negroes.[17] That there never had been any Opposition made to the said Acts and that considering the said Duty was much greater than [that] at present complained of and that there were more Negroes imported into Virginia in those years when the Duties were so much higher than at any time before or since, he could not conceive with what Reason either the London or Bristol Merchants cou'd complain of the Act in question. He further offer'd as a proof of the Increase of the Importation of Negroes in the above said term of years that the Duty collected upon that Account amounted to upwards of £15,000.

Mr. Byrd then said that tho' the Importer pays down the Duty he is sufficiently reimbursed by the Buyer because what he pays down is that Country Mony and what he receives is Sterling which Country Mony is at 10 or 15 pr Ct. Discount, so that he could not see that the Merchant had any Reason to complain.

Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Harris then said in behalf of the Merchants who appear'd against the said Act, That they shou'd have no further Objection to it, provided it cou'd be made to appear that the Duty was to be paid by the planter—and Mr. Merriweather acquainted their Lordships in answer to what Mr. Leheup had said in relation to the Number of Negroes imported at the time that the Duties were high, that he believ'd at present there were about 15 or 1600 Negroes imported Yearly into Virginia by the Bristol and London Merchants, That the Bristol Merchants annually sent about 800. And Mr. Harris said the Merchants of London sent thither as many. He further said that an annual supply of 1500 Negroes was wanted in Virginia which was not contradicted by the Agent or the Gentlemen who appeared in behalf of the Act.

And Mr. Carey said that he believ'd if the Act was confirm'd and even supposing the Duty (as had been alleg'd) was to be paid by the Buyer it would chiefly tend to the Ruin of the Poorer planters because they cou'd not then be able to buy a sufficient Number of Negroes to cultivate their Plantations. And that as to the Two New Counties, for the Improvement of which the King had been Graciously pleased to remit the payment of any Quit Rents for Seven Years, he was so fully persuaded that the confirming of this Act wou'd be a great Hindrance to the planting the same that he having a considerable Quantity of Land there, which required many Negroes to cultivate the same, he shou'd not buy one if the said Act was confirmed.

[17] Of the duty acts between 1710 and 1718 to which Le Heup here refers Hening gives but two, those of October, 1710, and October, 1712. Hening, III. 482, IV. 30.

Mr. Harris then observed to the Board that there had been an Instruction sent to the Governor of Virginia, not to pass any Act which might affect the Trade or Shipping of Great Britain and referr'd it to their Lordsps, how far the said Act might interfere therewith.

To the Right Honoble. the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantation.

The Humble Petition of the Mayor Aldermen and Merchants of the ancient and loyall Corporation and port of Liverpoole in the County of Lancaster, Traders to Guinea, Virginia and other his Maj'ties forreign Plantations,[18]

Shews, That Your petitioners are inform'd that the Governour Councill and Assembly of Virginia have by an Act of Assembly or Law made in Virginia laid a Duty of fourty Shillings a Head on all Negroes imported into their province, which hath been transmitted thence for his Maj'ties Approbation, and which seems very much to prejudice the Trade of this port and indeed trade in generall and greatly discourageing to your petitioners.

Your petitioners therefore most humbly pray your Honours Consideration of the premisses and that you will please to Recommend in your Report to his Maj'tie that the same may not be Confirm'd by his Maj'tie, or that your petitioners may receive such other releife as to his Maj'ties Wisdom shall seem meet.

And Your petitioners shall ever pray etc.

Jam. Gibbon	James Perceivall	Wm. Webster
John Pemberton	Wm. Tatlock	John Seacome
Saml. Ogden	Joseph Clegg	Tho. Tillingham
Ja. Halsall	Dan Danvers	Bryan Blundell
Geo. Norton	Samuel Anejier	Richd. Gililary
Wm. Marsden	Tho. Cockshutt	Robt. Hornby
Hen. Stratford	John Scarbrick May.	Wm. Rolling
Edw. Trafford	Edw. Ratehouse	Jno. Goodwin
Tho. Steers	Richd. Norris	Wm. Hurnwall
John Pemberton Jun.	Josia Poole	Tho. Kendrick

[18] C. O. 5: 1319, p. 315.

[*The Board of Trade to the King.*][19]

VIRGINIA

To the King's most Excell. Ma'ty

May it please your Majesty, Having lately had under Our Consideration An Act pass'd in your Majesty's Colony of Virginia in 1723 Entitul'd An Act for laying a Duty on Liquors and Slaves, We have had the Opinion of Mr. West one of your Majesty's Counsel thereupon, and have likewise been attended by sev'l Merchants of London Bristol and Liverpool trading to Virginia in Negroes who complain against the said Act as laying a heavy Duty on the Trade and Shipping of Great Britain, We have also been attended by the Agent for the said Colony and several others in Behalf of the said Act, Upon which Occasion We humbly beg leave to represent to your Ma'ty that it appears to Us that there was formerly a Duty of five Pounds per Head laid on all Negroes imported into Virginia by three several Acts which continued in Force for eight Years from 1710 to 1718, And tho' We do not find that any considerable Objections were made at that time to the said Acts yet we must observe that by the Price the Negroes then bore, and by the smallness of the Number that was imported in those Years in Proportion to what have been imported since those Acts expir'd, and the Numbers that are necessarily wanted annually in that Colony this Duty must have been a great Hindrance to the Negroe Trade as well as a Burthen upon the poorer Planters; And tho' the Duty laid by this Act is much less than the former, We are apprehensive the same must be attended with some ill Consequences at this time, and will discourage the planting and cultivating Naval Stores especially in the two new Counties where great Numbers of Negroes will be wanting, and where your Majesty has been graciously pleas'd to remit the Payment of any Quit Rent for seven Years to encourage the settling and planting the same.

For these Reasons and considering this Duty is laid on the Importer by which the Trade of Great Britain will be affected, and there being no Clause inserted therein (pursuant to your Majesty's Instructions) to suspend its taking Effect till your Majesty's Pleasure shall be known thereupon, and that it does not appear to Us that the Colony has any immediate Occasion of Supplies We do not apprehend it can receive any Damage by the Repeal of the aforesaid Act since the Assembly may have time to pass a new Law not liable to the said Objections to raise the necessary Supplies for which this Act

[19] C. O. 5: 1365, pp. 269-271. On Jan. 22, 1724, after hearing the petition from Liverpool merchants, the board ordered that this representation be prepared. *B. T. Jour.*, 1722/3-1728, p. 67.

was design'd; Wherefore We humbly lay this Act before your Majesty for your Disallowance.

Which is most humbly submitted

WHITEHALL
Jany. 29, 1723/4.

J. CHETWYND
P. DOCMINIQUE
R. PLUMER
J. HOBART
T. PELHAM

[*Minutes of the Privy Council.*][20]

At the Councill Chamber WHITEHALL
the 21st Day of Febry. 1723/4.

Present: The Lords of his Maj'tys most Honoble. Privy Councill.

Upon reading this Day at the Board a Representation from the Lords Commissrs. of Trade and Plantations Dated the 29th of last Month for his Majesty's Disallowance of An Act, Past in the Colony of Virginia in 1723 Intitled, "An Act for Laying a Duty on Liquors and Slaves", It is thereupon Ordered in Councill, that the said Representation and Act, Be, and they are here by Referred, to a Committee of the Lords of his Majesty's most Honoble. Privy Councill to Consider thereof, and Report their Opinion thereupon, to his Majesty at this Board. A true Copy.

TEMPLE STANYAN.

[*Minutes of a Committee of the Privy Council.*][21]

At the Councill Chamber WHITEHALL
the 17th day of Aprill 1724.

Present: Lord President, Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Viscot. Townshend, Lord Bp. of London, Lord Carteret, Mr. Walpole Master of the Rolls.

By a Committee of the Lords of His Majestys Most Honourable Privy Councill.

In Obedience to an order in Councill of the 21th of February last, Referring to this Committee a Representation from the Lords Commissrs. of Trade and Plantations, relating to Yo'r Majestys' Disallowance of an Act passed in the Colony of Virginia in 1723, intituled, "An Act for laying a Duty on Liquors and Slaves", Their Lordships this day took the same into Consideration, and do find that Three Acts of the like Kind were formerly past in that Colony Lay-

[20] C. O. 5: 1319, p. 325; see *Acts P. C. C.*, III. 63-64.

[21] *Leg. Jour. of Council,* III. 1563; *Acts P. C. C.*, III. 64. Endorsed: "Report of the Committee of Council on the Act Laying a Duty on Liquor's and Slaves 1724."

ing a Duty of 5 *li* per Head on all Negroes imported there which Duty Continued from the Years 1710 to 1718; and tho' no Considerable objections were made at that time to the said Acts, yet it appears that by the price the Negroes then bore and by the Smallness of the Number that were imported in those Years, in proportion to what have been imported since those Acts Expired, and the Numbers that are necessarily wanted annually in that Colony, this Duty must have been a great hindrance to the Negro Trade as well as a Burthen upon the Poorer Planters; And although the Duty laid by this Act is much less than the former; The same must be attended with ill Consequences at this time, and Discourage the Planting and Cultivating Naval Stores, especially in the Two New Counties where great Numbers of Negroes will be wanting, and where Your Majesty hath been pleased to Remitt the Payment of any Quitt Rent for Seven Years, to Encourage the Settling and Planting the Same.

And it further appears: That this Act Lays the Duty on the Importer; whereby the Trade of Great Britain will be affected, and there is no Clause inserted therein (pursuant to Yo'r Majestys Instructions) to Suspend its taking effect, till Your Majestys Pleasure shall be known,

For which Reasons, and that there does not appear any immediate Occasion for the said Supplies, and that no Damage can arise from Repealing the said Act, Since the Assembly may have time to pass another Law to raise the necessary Supplies for which this Act was designed nor lyable to the said Objections Their Lordships Do agree humbly to offer their opinion to Yo'r Majesty that the said Act ought to be repealed and made Null and Void; and in regard the Governor of the said Colony hath acted Contrary to Your Majesty's Instructions by not inserting a Clause to prevent its taking effect till Your Maj'tys Pleasure should be known thereupon: Their Lordships are further of opinion that yo'r Majestys Pleasure should be Signifyed to him, That he do not on any pretence whatsoever presume to Give his assent to any Act of this kind for the future without inserting such a Clause as is before mentioned.

[*Order in Council.*] [22]

At the Court at St. James's
the 30th day of Aprill 1724.

Present: The King's most Excellent Majesty in Councill

Whereas by Commission under the Great Seale of Great Britain, the Governor, Councill and Assembly of his Majesty's Colony of Virginia in America, Are Authorized and Impowered to Make, Con-

[22] C. O. 5: 1319, pp. 329-330; 5: 1365, p. 272; see *Acts P. C. C.*, III. 64.

stitute and Ordain Laws, Statutes and Ordinances for the Publick Peace, Welfare and good Government of the said Colony—Which Laws Statutes and Ordinances are to be, as near as conveniently may be, agreable, to the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom, And are to be Transmitted to his Majesty for his Royall Approbation or Disallowance. And Whereas in Pursuance of the said Powers, An Act was Past in the said Colony of Virginia in 1723 And hath been transmitted, Intitled as follows *Vizt.* An Act for Laying a Duty on Liquors and Slaves Which Act (together with a Representation from the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations thereupon) having been Considered by a Committee of the Lords of his Majesty's most Honoble. Privy Councill. Their Lordships this day Reported Severall Objections against the Confirmation of the said Act: His Majesty taking the Same into Consideration, Is Pleased, with the Advice of his Privy Councill to Declare his Disallowance of the said Act. And pursuant to his Royall Pleasure thereupon the said Act is hereby Repealed, Declared Void and of none Effect—And his Majesty is hereby further Pleased to Declare and Order, that the Governor or Commander in Chief of his said Colony of Virginia, Do not on any Pretence whatever Presume for the future to Give his Assent to any Act of this Kind without inserting a Clause therein, Suspending the execution thereof till his Majesty's Pleasure shall be known concerning the Same:[23]

90. Account of Piracies on the Virginia Coast, 1724.[1]

An Account of the Piracies committed by the Spaniards on the Coast of Virginia in the Month of June 1724.

Capt. John Jones of the Ship *John and Mary* of Virginia bound from Guinea and having on board 175 Negros,[2] on the 5th of June was at Anchor about 2 Leagues distance from Cape-Charles in Virginia, when a Ship bearing British Colours bore down upon him, he believing it to be some Vessel bound to Virginia, and not at all apprehensive of any Pirate (having but the Night before spoke with Capt. Yeo of His Majesty's Ship *Enterprize,* who assured him there were none on the Coast,) did not offer to make Sail, but was surprized to find himself attack'd with a Command to strike his Colours and come on board in his Boat, and at the same time to see about

[23] Signed: "A true Copy. Jas. Vernon." On May 19, 1724, the board wrote to Governor Drysdale that the act laying a duty on liquors and slaves, "being in their Lordps opinion detrimental to the trade of Great Britain", had been repealed (C. O. 5: 1365, p. 275; *B. T. Jour.*, 1722/3-1728, p. 93). The repeal of the act was proclaimed in Virginia Oct. 27, 1724. Hening, IV. 118; *Ex. Jour. of Col. Va.,* IV. 75, 449.

[90] [1] *Boston Gazette,* July 13, 1724.

[2] The deposition of Capt. John Jones as to the facts of his capture may be found in C. O. 5: 1319, p. 415.

70 Small Arms presented at his Ship, and a threatning to fire into her if he did not immediately repair on board.

At his going on board in his Boat, he with four of his Men were immediately secured, he was carry'd into the Great Cabbin, to a Person call'd the Captain, who order'd about 14 Men, most Spaniards, to take possession of the *John and Mary,* to get her under Sail, and to follow him: They stood to the Northward with an easy Sail, and about 11 in the forenoon the same day met the Brigt. *Prudent-Hannah* of Boston bound for Virginia, The Spanish Ship gave chase to her, and coming up with her commanded the Master (Thomas Mousell) to come on board, he came in his Boat with only his Cabbin-boy, and his Boat was immediately sent back with six Spaniards to take possession of his Brigantine. That night the same Brigt. was order'd away with these 6 Spaniards to some of the Spanish Ports in the West-Indies, but to which is not known.

The two Captains, Jones and Mousell, were ordered to lie that night in the same Cabbin with the Spanish Captain, and Capt. Jones speaking Spanish, took the liberty to ask, on what account he had taken his Ship, he was given to understand, that he had a Commission from the Governour of Cuba, which the Spanish Captain told him he would let him see before they parted, but he was not so good as his word.

On the 6th of June the Spaniard with his Prize standing off E.N.E. from the Capes of Virginia, about 8 Leagues, made a Sail, which proved to be the Ship *Godolphin* of Topsham, bound for Rappahannock River in Virginia, The Spaniard hoisted an English Ensign, and put out a Pendant and an Union Jack, and stood off to intercept that Ship, and under these Colours fired a Great Gun for the *Godolphin* to bring too, which she did, and then the Master (Theodore Bane) being commanded off in his Boat the Spaniards with the same Boat took possession of his Ship.

The three Captive Masters continued on board the Spanish Ship, till Monday the 8th of June in the Morning, during which time, they received the following Information from several English and Irish Men of that Ships Crew *viz.* That the said Ship did belong to the Governour or Vice Roy of Cuba, that she is called the *St. Francis de la Vela,* that the Capt. is Don Benito, or according to the common Appellation given him by his Crew, Signior Don Benito, that he is a Knight of one of the Spanish Orders, that the Ship is a Bristol built Galley, first taken by the Sallee Rovers, retaken from them by a Spanish Man of War, sold at Cales by some Merchants, and by them Fraighted to the Spanish West-Indies, and that she was now fitted out at Port-Princess in Cuba, and hired to Benito by the Governour for a certain Sum of Money, which Benito is to get where he can, but

that the better to enable him to do it, that Governour has given him a Commission as a Guarde de Coaste. The Crew consists of about 60 Spaniards, including the Negros and Molattos, 14 English, and 18 French; among the English is one Rich. Holland an Irishman, who goes under the Name of the English Captain, and has a great sway on board, he was formerly at St. Augustines, and concerned in the taking sundry Vessels on the Virginia Coast, after the last Cessation of Arms: Benj. Evans formerly Mate of a New England Ship, is their Mate or Pilot, and very frankly told Capt. Mousell that his Brigantine was such a Vessel as they wanted to make a Privateer of; there are also John Smith and John Moore, Irishmen, who were of the Pirate Taylor's Crew, at his taking the *Cassandra* in the East-Indies. The next [rest?] of the English on board, and 15 of the French are said to be press'd men.

Capt. Jones by his free and ingenious behaviour, had got so much into the favour of the English and French, that they had promised his Ship should be released without being plundered, but the Spaniards outvoting them, his Scriptore and all his Chests were broke open, about *l.* 350 Sterling in Gold Dust, 1000 Gallons of Rum, about *l.* 200 worth of the Remains of his Guinea Cargo, together with 38 of his choicest Slaves, all Men, were taken away and carried on board this Spanish Ship, and he believes had not this Piratical Crew been frighten'd with the appearance of a Sail in the Offing, he had not escaped so well, but that fight [fright?] having put them in a great fear, they sent the Captains Mousell and Bane with the whole Crew of the latter, and the Cabbin boy of the former, on board Jone's Ship, and so left him to proceed to Virginia on the 8th of June about noon, but they carry'd Capt. Bane's Ship and Cargo off with them.[3]

Capt. Jones's loss is computed at near *l.* 1600, Capt. Banes's Ship and Cargo about *l.* 3000 and Capt. Mousell's Brigantine about *l.* 1200 with her Cargo.

Smith the Pilot of the Spaniards told Capt. Mousell that in this Cruize they had taken two New England Brigantines, commanded by Capts. Macarty and Burrington, but when he was asked what was become of the Men, he answered, that was not a proper Question;

[3] "London, Sept. 22. By the last Ship that came from Virginia there is Advice, that the *Godolphin* of Topsham, Capt. Bare, was arriv'd there. She was one of the Ships formerly mention'd to have been taken off the Capes of Virginia, in June last, by a Spanish Pirate, and plunder'd of all they had that was valuable. The Spaniards kept the Ship several Days and when they let her go, they put 20 Negroes on board; Part of the 36 Slaves they had taken on the 5th of June out of the *John and Mary*, Captain Jones, bound from Guinea to Virginia, and they made Capt. Bare sign a formal Bill of Lading for the said Negroes, and consigned them to Captain Martin, or Captain Jones. They stiled themselves in the said Bill of Lading, Lords of the High Seas." *Boston News Letter*, Dec. 17, 1724.

he also said they were to share all their Prizes at the Grand Camanus or Samanus.[4]

91. Petition of Samuel Jacob, 1726.[1]

[January 29, 1725/6.]

To the Kings most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of Samuel Jacob and several other Merchants of the Citty of Bristol whose Names are underwritten

Humbly Sheweth, That your Petitioners are Owners of the Ship *Commerce* of Bristol, and that having sent her to the Coast of Africa, to purchase Negroes, the Master of her, was order'd to proceed with them to Virginia, and there to sell them. That the said Ship arrived in York River about the 30th April 1724. And That upon Landing of the Slaves, your Petitioners Agent Mr. Augustine Moor, was Compell'd by the Naval Officer to pay Forty Shillings Current Mony [2] Duty for every Slave, (a particular Account of which is hereinto annexed given upon Oath before hugh Drisdale Esqr. your Majesty's Lieutenant Governour of the Collony of Virginia etc.) under pretence of an Act of Assembly having passed, by which the said Duty was laid on Slaves etc. Which Act of Assembly instead of meeting with your Majesty's Royal Approbation was by your Majesty in Council on the 30th April 1724 Declared void and of none effect; Whereupon your Petitioners directed their Agent in Virginia to Demand the repayment of the Sums thus Collected under Colour of Law, But hitherto have been unable to obtain it, the Treasurer of the said Collony, obstinately refuseing to repay the same.

We therefore most humbly pray your Majesty will be Graciously pleased, to give such Directions thereupon for our Relief, as your Majesty in your great Wisdom shall seem meet. And we shall forever Pray etc. [3]

Samuel Jacob	Isaac Knight	John Jacob
R. Addison	Joseph Thomas	Jno. Tate

[4] "On July 13, 4 Spaniards of this group were tried for piracy and sentenced to death" (*Boston Gazette*, July 20, 1724). The Grand Cumanas are south of Cuba.

[91] [1] C. O. 5: 1319, p. 547.

[2] The premium on sterling varied from twenty-five to thirty per cent. Virginia's circulating medium was Spanish silver, or tobacco notes, which were resorted to for lack of such silver. She issued no paper money until 1755. W. Z. Ripley, *Financial History of Virginia*, p. 154.

[3] This petition was referred by the Privy Council to the Board of Trade, on Jan. 29, 1726, with the affidavit of Augustine Moore (*Acts P. C. C.*, III. 123). The board took up the matter Feb. 24, "Mr. George Sargeant attending as he had been desir'd as also Mr. Leheup Agent for Virginia, in relation to the Order in Council of the 29th Janury last, referring the Board a Petition from sevl. Merchants of Bristol, complaining of a Duty being paid upon Negroes to the Naval Officer at Virginia mention'd in the Minutes of the 18th Inst. Their Lordships after some Discourse with these Gentlemen thereupon gave Directions for sending a Copy thereof to Major Drysdale, Lieut. Governor

92. Journal of the Board of Trade, 1726.[1]

[Apr. 29, 1726.]

Mr. Perry, a Virginia Mercht., being sworn acquainted their Lordships that by his Accounts, that province is very plentifully supplied with Negroes, and that there has been but very few of the Company's Ships at Virginia since he has been concerned in Trade, which is about three or four years.

Mr. Bradley,[2] being sworn, acquainted their Lordships, that he has been in the Trade to Virginia above 20 Years, and that the province has been well supplied with Negroes by the separate Traders. That the Labour of a Negroe produces about 15 *ll.* annual Duty to the Crown. That he believes Negroes are cheaper now than they were formerly; but admits that there was formerly a Duty of 5 per Cent. laid on Negroes which made them dearer.

93. The Board of Trade to Lieutenant Governor Hugh Drysdale, 1726.[1]

Whitehall, June 30, 1726.

. . . We send you inclosed a copy of a petition from some merchants of Bristol praying to be reimbursed some Duties they have paid in Virginia for Negroes imported there after the Act for laying a Duty on Liquors and Slaves had been repealed here, upon which occasion We desire you will let us know what Money has been collected by virtue of that Act and how the same has been applied.

We have no accounts in our Office from Virginia of the number of Negroes that have been annually imported there either by the African

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of Virginia, And that he desir'd to give their Lordships an Account how the Money already collected has been applied" (C. O. 391: 35, pp. 31, 36; *B. T. Jour.*, 1722/3-1728, pp. 219-220). On June 30, 1726, the board asked for an account of the money collected under the act of 1723. This request the Virginia council considered on Oct. 18, and ordered John Holloway, treasurer, to make the report requested. *Ex. Jour. of Col. Va.*, IV. 116.

[92] [1] C. O. 391: 35, pp. 170-171; *B. T. Jour.*, 1722/3-1728, p. 254. The evidence here presented was taken during an extended investigation of the African trade, conducted by the Board of Trade throughout the spring of 1726. *Ibid.*, pp. 232-271; C. O. 391: 35, pp. 87-110, 143-158.

[2] Bradley had appeared before the Board of Trade in 1724, when that body was considering the Virginia duty on slaves (*B. T. Jour.*, p. 64). It was in his employ that Captain Snelgrave visited Virginia in 1713. William Snelgrave, *New Account of Guinea* (1734), introduction.

[93] [1] C. O. 5: 1365, pp. 288-290. Drysdale was lieutenant governor from Sept. 27, 1722, to July 22, 1726. His sympathies in the controversy over the duties on negroes were apparently with the Virginians. On May 12, 1726, he wrote to the assembly: "You laid a Duty last Session on Liquors and Slaves imported as had been done by former Assemblies with very good Effect to make those Assemblies more Easy to the Country by Lessening the Levy per poll But the interferring interest of the Affrican Company has deprived us of that Advantage and has obtained a Repeal of that Law." *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1712-1726, p. 400; *Va. Hist. Reg.*, IV. 68.

Company or by the seperate Traders since the year 1718 and therefor We desire that you will send Us by the first opportunity as perfect an Account as you can get of the negroes imported yearly since that time distinguishing those imported by the African Comp. from those imported by others. . . . And we desire for the future a regular Accot. of the same may be annually sent to us.

94. Concerning an Act for laying a Duty on Slaves, 1728-1729.

William Gooch to the Board of Trade.[1]

My Lords, . . . I am now to make some observations on the Laws herewith sent, and shal begin with those which are not to take place untill they receive his Majesty's approbation.

And the first is, an Act for laying a Duty on Slaves imported and appointing a Treasurer.[2] By it a Duty of 40 *s.* an Head is laid on all Slaves imported into this Colony for sale to be paid by the Importer, with the usual clauses for the regular Collecting and Paying that Duty; and for drawing back the whole upon the exportation within three moneths. This Duty is to commence upon his Majesty's assent to the Act being publickly notified in this Dominion, and thence to continue for three years and no longer. The money arising from it is to be accounted for by a Treasurer, and disposed of to such Publick uses as the Governor, Council and Burgesses shall agree upon. I must observe to your Lordships that though the particular Services for which this money is intended are not express'd in the Act, yet there is a constant Charge wch annually arises for the prosecution of Criminals, for recompensing the Owners of Slaves condemn'd for capital offences, for discharging the Sallarys of many publick officers, and for keeping the capitol and other publick Buildings in repair;

[94] [1] C. O. 5: 1321, f. 79. Endorsed: "Letter from Major Gooch Lt. Go'r of Virginia to the Board without Date. recd. with his Dated Of July 18th, 1728. Recd. 30 July 1728." The reports of the naval officers, covering the period from Sept. 29, 1727, to Apr. 25, 1728, and distinguishing between negroes imported by the separate traders and those by the African Company, were received with this letter (*ibid.*, pp. 153-158). William Gooch was lieutenant governor from Oct. 13, 1727, to June, 1740, and again, this time as Sir William, from July, 1741, to June 20, 1749.

[2] Of this act Hening gives the title only, placing it in the spring of 1727, though it was approved Mar. 30, 1728 (Hening, IV. 182). A curious record in the *Journal of the Burgesses* suggests that the council rather than the Burgesses was desirous of placing the duty upon incoming negroes: Mar. 28, 1728, "A Motion being made That this House would come to a Resolution not to present the Bill which hath passed this House and the Council, For laying a Duty upon Slaves, in regard that the Council had been pleased to refuse to agree to the passing a Bill For lessening the Levy by the Poll, which was the true design of laying the duties by which the present Revenue in the hands of the Treasurer of Virginia hath been raised. Order'd, That the sd Motion be taken into consideration to morrow." No further mention of the motion appears. In commenting upon it the editor suggests that since the members of the council were large slave-holders it is easily conceivable that they were not unconscious that the revenue bill would increase the value of their property (*Jour. of Burgesses,* 1727-1740, pp. xvii, 49). For the progress of the bill through the House of Burgesses see *ibid.,* pp. 33-39, 52.

which cannot be supported without such a Duty as is here proposed, nor can anything of importance be undertaken for the benefit of the Publick without such a reserv'd Fund, seeing a Poll-Tax in Tobacco has been found grievous to the People, and through the incertainty of its value of very little encouragement to People to engage in the publick Service. But besides, 'tis the common topick among the People that while the like or a greater Duty on Negroes subsists and has continued for a long time in Maryland a Proprietary Government, it is hard that They who are under his Majesty's immediate Government should be restrained from the same means of securing and improving their Country; and from these considerations moved the Assembly to attempt the re-enacting a Law which had been formerly disapprov'd, in hopes, that its conformity now to the King's Instructions, and the necessity of a Fund for the publick service, will induce his Majesty to give it his Royal Sanction, for the short time it is to continue. The only objection, I think, that can be brought against this Law is, the private Interest of the Importer: but when it is considered that the price of Negroes will always be advanced in proportion to the Duty, they can't be sufferers by it. And the money will be taken out of their pockets, who are the advocates for it. If therefore your Lordships have no other Exception to this Law, I hope the united desires of all the People of this Colony will obtain your Lordship's favourable Representation of it to his Majesty. . . .

To the Kings most Excellent Majesty in Councill.

The humble Petition of the several Merchants of Liverpoole Trading to the Coast of Africa and Yo'r Majestys Plantations [3]

Sheweth, That an Act was past by the generall assembly of yo'r Majestys Colony of Virginia on the 30th of March 1728, Entituled an Act for laying a Duty on Slaves Imported, and for appointing a Treasurer, by which Act a Duty of forty shillings a head is laid and imposed on all Negroes imported into the said Colony to be paid by the Importers thereof which Duty is by the said Act applyed for lessening the Levy by the Poll, and Defraying any Publick charge whatever. That this Act is lately transmitted home in order to be laid before your Majesty for your Royal consideration. That Yo'r Petitioners humbly apprehend and represent the said Act to be contrary to yo'r Majesty's Instructions given to your Governor of Virginia and to express orders and Determinations made by Yo'r

[3] C. O. 5: 1321, pp. 143-144. The merchants of London and Bristol also petitioned against this measure (*ibid.*, pp. 127-128, 135). The names of the Bristol petitioners are not given; those for London are: Joseph Lowe, William Hunt, Edward Hankin, Edwin Sommers, Nutt and Baker, Samuel Bonham, Daniel Alford, Thomas Truman, Humphrey Morrice, William Gerrish, Samuel Travers, Richard Harris, and James Kirwan.

Majestys Royall Predecessors in Councill, as it lays a Duty on the British merchant to support the Expences of the Government of the Plantations and is prejudicial to the Trade of Great Britain which has been always discountenanced, and by a late order in Councill expressly forbid. Your Petitioners also humbly represent, that the laying this Duty on Negroes imported is unreasonable in it self, greatly Prejudicial to Yo'r Petitioners and the Negroe Trade in general (on which together with the Plantation Trade this Port entirely depends) highly Injurious to the true Interest of the Plantations and in the consequences of it destructive not only to the whole Plantation Trade, but to the Trade and Navigation of these Kingdoms.

Your Petitioners therefore most humbly pray Your Majesty that they may be heard in what they have to offer against the said Act and that Yo'r Majesty will thereupon be Graciously pleased to Disallow of and Repeale the same and strictly Enjoyn Yo'r Governor of Virginia not to pass any Act of the like nature for the future.

And Yo'r Petitioners shall ever Pray etc.

JOHN HUGHES May'r

GEO. NORTON	RICHD. GILDART
THOS. SEEL	WM. MARLDEN
JAMES PERCIVALL	GEO. FYRER
JNO. BOSTOCK	THES. COORE
WM. EDWARDSON	EDW. RATCHDALE
SAML. OGDEN	SYLST. MOORECROFT
JA. KESMAN	HUM TRAFFORD
MATT. NICHOLSON	EDWD. KENYON
THOS. COCKSHUTT	JOHN HUGHES
JA. PARR	JAMES CLINTON
JOHN HARDMAN	OWEN PRICHARD
JA. HALSALL	RO. ARMITAGE
JOHN PEMBERTON	SHIGT. WOODWARD
EDWD. TRAFFORD	WM. CROSBIE
FOSTER CUNLEFF	RA. WILLIAMSON
JOHN EARLE	THO. TARLETON
WM. BECKETT	BRYAN BLUNDELL
HEN. PIPPARD	JOHN SCAR[B]RICK

[*Francis Fane to the Board of Trade.*][4]

To the Right Honourable The Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.

My Lords, In Obedience to Your Lordships Commands Signified to me by Mr. Popples Letter of the 8th of Octobr. I have perused and Considered an Act Lately pass'd in Virginia Entituled an Act for Laying a Duty on Slaves Imported and for appointing a Treasurer; And I beg Leave to Observe to Your Lordshipps that the first Act of this kind which met with an Opposition from the Merchants of Great Britain was pass'd in the Year 1723 and Laid the same duty of 40 *s.* a head upon all Negroes imported into Virginia.

That Act I find underwent a Long Consideration and upon the 29th Janry. 1723/4 Your Lordshipps made a Report thereon to His Maj'ty Stating some former Acts Laying a Duty of 5 *l.* per head from 1710 to 1718 which the Merchants did not Complain of thinking the Colony of Virginia would soon find the Ill Effects of such an Act which they did, for from the Year 1718 to 1723 no Act was passed Laying a Duty on the Importation of Negroes.

And Your Lordshipps are of Opinion that though the Duty laid by the said Act in 1723 was much Less than the former, Yett the same must be Attended with Ill Consequences and would discourage the planting and Cultivating Naval Stores Especial in the Two new Countries where great Numbers of Negroes would be wanting and where His Majesty had thought fit to remitt the payment of any Quitt Rents for Seven Years to Encourage the Settling and Planting the Same.

For which reasons and Considering the said Duty was laid on the Importer by which the Trade of Great Britain would be affected, Your Lordships reported the said Act was proper to be repealed and that the Assembly might pass a new Law not Liable to the said Objections to raise the necessary Supplies for which the Said Act was designed.

The Said Act with the Report of Your Lordshipps being referred to a Committee of Councill the 17th April 1724 They made their Report Stating the Facts in the same manner with Your Lordships and giving their Opinion thereon in the same words with this Addition that His Maj'tys pleasure should be signified to the Governour of Virginia that he did not on any pretence whatever presume to give his Assent to any Acts of that kind for the future without Incerting a

[4] C. O. 5: 1321, p. 108, f. 217; Hist. MSS. Comm., *Fourteenth Rept.*, pt. X., *Dartmouth Papers*, II. 5; summarized in *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XVI. 85-87. The petitions called forth by the act of 1728 were referred to the Board of Trade in September (*Acts P. C. C.*, III. 64, 201-202; C. O. 5: 1321, pp. 125, 133, 141). Francis Fane acted as counsel to the board.

Clause to Suspend its taking Effect till his Majesties pleasure should be known thereon, pursuant to which Report 30th of April 1724 by Order in Councill of this Date his Majesty declared His disallowance of the Said Act and repealed the same and further ordered the Governour of Virginia not to presume for the future on any pretence whatever to Assent to any Act of this kind without incerting such a Clause as above mentioned.

I find by the Governor of Virginias Instruction he is particularly required not to pass any Bill wherein the Trade or Shipping of this Kingdom is any ways Affected unless a Clause be incerted therein Suspending the Execution thereof untill His Majestys pleasure be received thereon.

I must acquaint Your Lordshipps that there is a Clause in this Act Suspending the Execution of it till His Maj'ts pleasure is known; But I humbly apprehend for the following reasons that this Act is not fit to be passed into Law.

1st In regard to the great prejudice Virginia itself may sustain thereby for as this Colony cannot Subsist or be improved without the planters are furnished with large and constant supplies of Negroes and at the Easiest Rates so it cannot be supposed that the Merchants will so readily and freely Import them while they are clogged with Duties which raise the Value of them and discourage their sending a sufficient Number to the Colony or at least disable them from settling at such Easy rates as they might otherwise do; And I am informed Experience has Shewn the fatall consequences attending a Duty on Negroes, for from 1710 to 1718 when there was a Duty on them the Number of Negroes Imported into Virginia during these 8 years was very inconsiderable and those few Sold at Excessive prices, So that Laying a Duty on Negroes can only tend to make them Scarcer and Dearer the Two things that for the good of our Trade and for the Benefit of Virginia ought chiefly to be guarded against, since it is well known that the cheapness of Virginia Tobacco in European Marketts is the true Cause of the great Consumption thereof in Europe, And one would have therefore Expected rather to have Seen an Act allowing a premium on the importation of Negroes to have Encouraged the bringing them in than an Act laying so large a Duty to Discourage their Importation.

2dly As it affects Great Britain the Mother Country to Virginia in regard to the revenues of Great Britain and the dependancy of Virginia, That it Affects the Revenue of Great Britain is Shewn by the aforegoing reason for if Negroes will by this Act be rendred Scarcer and Dearer as I apprehend is very clear It must then of necessity follow that their Annuall Crops of Tobacco must grow Less and Less for want of a Sufficient Supply of Negroes the Number of

Hoggsheads Imported hither decrease and the Revenue arising from this Head be greatly reduced. That this Act is inconsistent with the dependancy of Virginia on Great Britain I take to be clear from considering that these Negroes are Purchased by the British Merchants that they are bought on the Coast of Africa in Exchange of Our own Manifacturies Imported from Great Britain to the Coast of Africa for that purpose and therefore for Virginia to lay a Duty on Negroes so purchased and brought to them is the same thing as Laying a Duty on the Importation of British Manifactures for the Obstructing the Importation of Negroes is in Effect the Same as if they Obstructed the Importation of British Manifacturies.[5]

December the 10th 1728

[*Journal of the Board of Trade.*][6]

October 14, 1729, WHITEHALL.

Mr. Leheup and Mr. Drummond being withdrawn, Directions were given for preparing the Draughts of Letters to the Governors of His Maj'ts several Colonies in America, where Acts have been pass'd laying Duties on Negroes imported there, recommending to them to procure Acts to be pass'd in their several Governments whereby other Duties may be substituted in Lieu of those on Negroes imported, in as much as the said Duties on Negroes do in some measure enhance the price of labour and consequently the price of several commodities produc'd in the Plantations, wherein our neighbours rival us in foreign markets.

95. ACT FOR LAYING A DUTY ON SLAVES, 1732.[1]

An Act for laying a Duty upon Slaves, to be paid by the Buyers. May it please your most excellent Majesty,

I. We your majesty's most dutiful and loial subjects, the representatives of your people in your colony and dominion of Virginia, now met in a general assembly, taking into our serious consideration,

[5] After extended consideration the act was repealed and an Order in Council to that effect issued Aug. 18, 1729. See C. O. 5: 1322, p. 53, and 391: 38, pp. 134-136, 240-241, 261; *B. T. Jour.*, 1728/9-1734, pp. 33-35.

[6] C. O. 391: 38, p. 261; *B. T. Jour.*, 1728/9-1734, p. 68. The representation which recommended the repeal of the Virginia act had been ordered by the board May 22, 1729 (C. O. 391: 38, p. 134). The Order in Council which repealed it (Aug. 18, 1729) was read at a meeting of the board on Sept. 23, 1729. *B. T. Jour.*, 1728/9-1734, p. 62.

[95] [1] Hening, IV. 317-322. The House of Burgesses, after receiving from Governor Gooch directions as to how to frame an acceptable bill, drew up one conforming to his suggestions which was presented May 31, 1731, and received the governor's assent July 1, 1732 (*Jour. of Burgesses*, 1727-1740, pp. xxiii, 131, 165). The two changes introduced in the bill were, the levying of the duty upon the buyer, and the making it an ad valorem not a specific duty. In October, 1733, suit was brought against Augustine Moore for failing to report negroes that had been anchored in Back River about twelve o'clock

the exigencies of your government here, and that the duty laid upon liquors will not be sufficient to defray the necessary expences thereof; do humbly represent to your majesty, that no other duty can be laid upon our import or export, without oppressing your subjects, than a duty upon slaves imported, to be paid by the buyers, agreeable to your majesty's instruction to your lieutenant-governour: We therefore beseech your majesty, that it may be enacted,

II. And be it enacted, by the Lieutenant Governor, Council, and Burgesses, of this present General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted, by the authority of the same, That from and after the passing of this act, there shall be levied and paid to our sovereign lord the king, his heirs and successors, for all slaves imported or brought into this colony and dominion, for sale, either by land or water, from any port or place whatsoever, by the buyer or purchaser, after the rate of five pounds per cent. on the amount of each respective purchase, within forty days next after such bargain or purchase, made; to and for the uses, intents, and purposes herein after mentioned, and to and for no other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever: And if any buyer or purchaser of any slave or slaves, chargeable with the said duty, by this act, shall fail or neglect to pay the same, within forty days after any such bargain or purchase, for such slave or slaves, as shall be then living, and to give a just and true account of the slaves by him purchased, and for how much, to the collector of the said duty, nearest the place where such buyer or purchaser inhabits, or where the vessel, importing such slaves, shall lie at the time of the sale, every such person, so failing or neglecting, shall forfeit and pay, five pounds current money, for every slave so concealed, or for which the said duty shall not be paid, according to the directions of this act, within the time aforesaid: And every collector, upon receipt of the said duty by this act imposed, is hereby enjoined and required to give a receipt under his hand, for the money by him received, expressing the number of slaves for which the same was paid, and the time of paiment thereof to the person paying the same.

III. And for a direction to the said collectors, in receiving the said duty in current money, where the contract shall be made for sterling, Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That when any bargain or contract shall be made, for any slave or slaves, in sterling money, there shall be answered and paid to the collector of the said duty, for the difference of money, after the rate of twenty pounds per cent. upon the amount of the purchase in sterling money, over and above the said duty of five per cent. by this act imposed, and no more.

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of July 1, the duty act having passed at or near four o'clock. The negroes were not entered until July 5, but judgment was rendered the defendant on the plea that anchoring in the river constituted importation. Catterall, *Judicial Cases*, I. 85-86.

IV. And be it further enacted, That when any person shall sell any slave or slaves for tobacco, or any other commodity, and not for sterling, or current money, the seller, at the time of sale, shall set a value upon such slave or slaves, so sold, in current money, according to which valuation the buyer or purchaser shall be chargeable with, and pay to the said collector or other person impowered to receive the same, the said duty of five pounds per cent.

V. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That if any person or persons, after the passing of this act, shall sell any slave or slaves for which the said duty is paiable by virtue thereof, to any person not being an inhabitant of this colony, such person or persons so selling, shall, at the time of the sale, receive the said duty, and account for, and pay the same to the collector of the said duty, nearest the place where the seller inhabits, or where the vessel importing such slaves shall lie at the time of the sale; upon pain of forfeiting, for every slave so sold, the sum of five pounds current money.

VI. Provided also, That no duty shall be paid or required of the buyer or purchaser of any slave born in this colony, or imported or brought into the same before the passing of this act, or for which the said duty shall have been once paid.

VII. [For slaves exported within a year after their importation, the duty shall be returned.]

VIII. But forasmuch, as it is very easy to convey slaves into the province of North Carolina, and to bring them back again, and thereby to evade the paiment of the duty aforesaid:

IX. Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That no drawback shall be allowed for any slaves carried or exported by land or water, into the said province of North Carolina: And when any person shall make such oath as aforesaid, in order to entitle himself to the drawback, he shall likewise swear, that the slaves intended to be exported, shall not be carried into the said province.

X. And to the end, the number of slaves sold, and the persons purchasing the same, and whether the duty by this act imposed, has been duly answered and paid, may be more certainly known and discovered:

XI. Be it further enacted, That all and every person and persons, to whom after the passing of this act any slaves shall be consigned, or by whom any slaves shall be sold and disposed of, for which the buyer or purchaser shall be chargeable with the paiment of the said duty, by virtue of this act, do and shall, within three months after any slave shall be imported or brought into this colony, by land or water, transmit to the next collector of the duties by this act imposed, a list or manifest, in writing, of the number of slaves by him

sold, to whom, and for how much; and therein shall distinguish and express at what time such slaves were sold, and the place of abode of the buyers, respectively, and how many slaves, if any, remain unsold; and if any slave shall remain unsold after the expiration of the said three months, in that case, such list or manifest as aforesaid, shall be transmitted as aforesaid, to the said collector, within twenty days after the said remaining slaves shall be all sold: And every buyer or purchaser, liable to the paiment of the duty on slaves, by virtue of this act, shall, if thereunto required by any collector of the said duty, at any time after the expiration of forty days from the time of such bargain or purchase, at the usual place of such buyer or purchaser's abode or residence, produce and shew to the said collector, such receipt as is herein before directed to be given, upon paiment of the said duties, to manifest the paiment thereof; and if such buyer or purchaser shall fail to produce such receipt, such failure shall be taken for a conviction, that the duty, for which no receipt shall be produced, hath not been duly answered and paid; and such buyer or purchaser, shall be liable to the forfeitures and penalties by this act inflicted, for concealing purchased slaves, or not paying the duty within the time herein before limited and appointed for paiment thereof.

XII. And be it further enacted, That if any buyer or purchaser of any slave or slaves, chargeable with the paiment of the duty by this act imposed, shall have imported into this colony, any sum or sums of money, and made such proof, and obtained such certificate, as in and by an act of this present session of assembly, intituled, An Act for laying a duty on Liquors, is mentioned and directed, upon producing such certificate to the collector of the said duty, such collector is hereby authorised and required, to make an abatement or allowance of fifteen per cent. in the paiment of the duty for any slave or slaves bought or purchased by the importer thereof; and upon paiment of the said duty, the collector thereof shall endorse on such certificate the sum by him received.

XIII. [The penalties incurred under this law shall be divided between the informer and the governor.]

XIV. [The governor is to appoint collectors.]

XV. And be it further enacted, That all and every sum and sums of money raised, or to be raised, by virtue of this act, shall be constantly accounted for by the collector or collectors thereof, upon oath, and paid to John Holloway, esq. treasurer, or to the treasurer of Virginia, for the time being: And the said John Holloway (and in case of his death, or disability, the treasurer for the time being, who shall be appointed in the same manner as is directed and prescribed by one act made in the twelfth year of the reign of the late king George the first, intituled, An Act for appointing a Treasurer);

shall give security in the sum of one thousand pounds sterling; and shall have all the powers and authorities, in the execution of his office, and the same salary for receiving the duty imposed by this act, as in and by the said last mentioned act are given and allowed: And the said John Holloway, and the treasurer for the time being, shall account for the duties aforesaid, to the governor, council, and burgesses of the general assembly, upon oath.

XVI. And the said duty is hereby appropriated, and shall be applied for the lessening the levy by the poll, and to and for such other use and uses, as the general assembly, from time to time, shall direct and appoint.

XVII. And this act shall continue and be in force, for four years next after the passing thereof, and no longer.[2]

96. Colonel William Byrd to the Earl of Egmont, 1736.[1]

Virginia, July 12, 1736.

. . . Your Lord'ps opinion concerning Rum and Negros is certainly very just, and your excludeing both of them from Your Colony of Georgia will be very happy. . . .

I wish my Lord we coud be blesst with the same Prohibition. They import so many Negros hither, that I fear this Colony will some time or other be confirmd by the Name of New Guinea. I am sensible of many bad consequences of multiplying these Ethiopians amongst us. They blow up the pride, and ruin the Industry of our White People, who seing a Rank of poor Creatures below them, detest work for fear it shoud make them look like Slaves. Then that poverty which will ever attend upon Idleness, disposes them as much to pilfer as it dos the Portuguese, who account it much more like a Gentleman to steal, than to dirty their hands with Labour of any kind.

Another unhappy Effect of Many Negros is the necessity of being severe. Numbers make them insolent, and then foul Means must do what fair will not. We have however nothing like the Inhumanity here that is practiced in the Islands, and God forbid we ever shoud. But these base Tempers require to be rid with a tort Rein, or they will be apt to throw their Rider. Yet even this is terrible to a good

[2] In August, 1734, this act was renewed for another period of four years, which would carry it to July, 1740: "Whereas the act of this general assembly, made at the last session, intituled, An Act for laying a Duty upon Slaves, to be paid by the Buyers, hath been found very easy to the subjects of this colony, and no ways burthensome to the traders in slaves: To the end therefore that a competent revenue may be raised, for preventing or lessening a poll tax" (Hening, IV. 394). By frequent renewals the measure was carried to July, 1751. It seems then to have lapsed until February, 1752, when it was revived, and by repeated re-enactment continued until all importation into Virginia was forbidden.

[96] [1] *American Historical Review,* I. 88-89; Bassett, *Writings of Byrd,* p. lxxxv. The Earl of Egmont was the first president of the Trustees of Georgia. See *post*, no. 393.

naturd Man, who must submit to be either a Fool or a Fury. And this will be more our unhappy case, the more Negros are increast amongst us.

But these private mischeifs are nothing if compard to the publick danger. We have already at least 10,000 Men of these descendants of Ham fit to bear Arms,[2] and their Numbers increase every day as well by birth as Importation. And in case there shoud arise a Man of desperate courage amongst us, exasperated by a desperate fortune, he might with more advantage than Cataline kindle a Servile War. Such a man might be dreadfully mischeivous before any opposition could be formd against him, and tinge our Rivers as wide as they are with blood, besides the Calamity which woud be brought upon us by such an Attempt, it woud cost our Mother Country many a fair Million to make us as profitable as we are at present.

It were therefore worth the consideration of a British Parliament, My Lord, to put an end to this unchristian Traffick of makeing Merchandize of Our Fellow Creatures. At least the farther Importation of them in Our Colonys shoud be prohibited lest they prove as troublesome and dangerous everywhere, as they have been lately in Jamaica, where besides a vast expence of Mony, they have cost the lives of many of his Majesty's Subjects. We have mountains in Virginia too, to which they may retire as safely, and do as much mischeif as they do in Jamaica. All these matters duly considerd, I wonder the Legislature will Indulge a few ravenous Traders to the danger of the Publick safety, and such Traders as woud freely sell their Fathers, their Elder Brothers, and even the Wives of their bosomes, if they coud black their faces and get anything by them. . . .

97. Journal of the House of Burgesses, 1736.[1]

August 18, 1736.

Mr. Carter reported, That the Committee, to whom it is referred to prepare and draw up a State of the Duty upon Slaves, and the several Paiments that have been made, with the Amount thereof, had had under their Consideration, such Accounts of that Duty for the Years 1732, 1733, and 1734, as have hitherto been returned into the Treasury; and having discovered diverse fraudulent Concealments of that Duty, had agreed upon a Report; which he read in his Place: And afterwards delivered the same in at the Table, where it was again read, as follows:

[2] In 1730 Governor Gooch had reported to the Board of Trade that there were 30,000 negroes in Virginia in a population of 114,000. C. O. 5: 1322.

[97] [1] *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1727-1740, p. 259.

That it appears to the Committee, That considerable Numbers of Slaves have been imported into this Colony, from the West-Indies, and other His Majesty's Plantations in America, consigned to the Masters of Vessels importing the same; or to Merchants, Strangers or Passengers, on board such Vessels, who have sold the Slaves to them respectively consigned; and then departed this Colony, without rendering any Accounts of the Sales, or paying any Duty for such Slaves.

That others have been consigned to, and imported by, diverse Inhabitants of this Colony; and in their Accounts delivered to the Naval Officers, are said to be kept by the Importers, for their own Use; but nevertheless, have been actually sold, and no Accounts of the Sales rendered, nor Duty paid.

That the Method of accounting for the said Duty, as hitherto practiced, is irregular and defective, and has occasioned Concealments to a considerable Value, by Persons who have bought Slaves, but never paid the Duty; which will more fully appear, when your Committee shall be enabled to perfect their Inquiries by the Accounts of the Sales not yet delivered in, or laid before the House.

And that to prevent the lessening of Public Revenue, by such Practices for the future, it will be necessary to prepare, and bring in a Bill, for the better and more effectual Collecting the Duty upon Slaves, to be paid by the Buyers; and for preventing Frauds.

Ordered, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill, for the better and more effectual Collecting the Duty upon Slaves, to be paid by the Buyers; and that the said Committee do prepare, and bring in the same.[2]

98. Act for laying a Duty on Slaves, 1736.[1]

An Act for laying a Duty upon Liquors imported by Land; and better securing the Duty upon Slaves; and for other purposes therein mentioned.

VII. Be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That from henceforth, the buyer of any slave or slaves, imported or brought into this colony, as aforesaid, shall pay the said duty down, or secure the same to be paid, within forty days after such purchase, to the collector: And if such slave or slaves, for which the duty has been paid, shall happen to die within forty days, limited in the said former act; upon oath thereof made before any justice of the peace, such buyer shall draw back the whole duty, and the collectors thereof are hereby required to repay the same.

[2] The bill was introduced and first read on Sept. 7, 1736, and received the assent of the governor Sept. 23. *Ibid.*, pp. 290, 315.

[98] [1] Hening, IV. 471-474.

VIII. [One collector only in each district is empowered to receive the duty.]

IX. And to the end, the said buyers of slaves, chargeable with the duties, may be more speedily known, Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That all and every person and persons to whom any slaves shall be consigned, for sale, shall, within two months after the arrival of the ship importing the same, deliver to the collector of the duties on slaves, in the district where the same shall be imported, a true manifest or account of the slaves by him sold, the name and place of abode of every person buying the same, the respective prices at which each slave was sold, and how many of the said slaves, if any, remain then unsold: And if any slave or slaves shall remain unsold, after the expiration of the said two months; in that case, the like manifest or account shall be transmitted to the collector, within twenty days after the remaining slaves shall be all sold; and shall, on the last mentioned manifest make oath before some justice of the peace: Which oath the said justice is hereby impowered and required to administer: That the manifests by him delivered or transmitted to the collector do contain a true account of all the slaves sold by him or them out of such ship, including as well the slaves allowed to the masters and officers as privileged slaves, if he sold the same, as those properly belonging to the owners of such ship, or vessel: And every master of a ship or vessel importing slaves, shall, before his clearing, deliver the like manifest, upon oath, of all the priviledged slaves imported, to whom sold, and at what price; and the collector shall within ten days next after the said respective manifests are returned to him, deliver to the treasurer of the said duty, for the time being, a true account of all the persons who have purchased slaves, and have not (within the said forty days after such purchase) satisfied and paid the duties paiable for the same; and so from time to time, after the expiration of the said forty days; and such return duly made, shall entitle the collector to his salary for the duty, out of the forfeitures, or any former paiment, when the same shall be recovered, in the manner herein after mentioned.

X. And for the better recovery of the duties aforesaid, which have heretofore or hereafter shall become due and paiable, it shall and may be lawful for the treasurer of the said duty, for the time being, to commence and prosecute any action or information, *qui tam,* in the general court, for recovery of any penalty inflicted by the said former act, altho' the same shall not amount to ten pounds sterling; and no act or time of limitation shall be pleaded, or judged to be a bar to any such action.

XI. And whereas, divers persons to whom slaves imported have been consigned, as well as the importers of slaves, taking advantage

of certain words in the said former act, have taken and chosen for themselves certain slaves, and have returned the same in their accounts of sales to the collectors of the said duties, as kept for their own use, and therefore have refused to pay the duty for the same, when the said act, or any thing therein contained, is not capable of any such construction: Therefore, for the recovery of such duties as have heretofore been defrauded by the said pretences, and for preventing the like abuses for the future,

XII. Be it further enacted, That all and every person and persons who heretofore have withheld the said duties upon such pretences, as aforesaid, and shall not pay the same to some collector thereof, within two months after the passing of this act, shall forfeit and pay the penalties in the said former act inflicted; and all and every person and persons hereafter failing to pay the said duties, upon the like pretences, shall be also liable to the same penalties: To be recovered, as in this act directed. . . .

XVI. And whereas it appears, that some collectors of the duties upon liquors and slaves, do sometimes delay to account with the treasurer half-yearly, for the duties by them received, whereby losses may be occasioned to that revenue, Be it further enacted, That such collectors be and are hereby required to account with the treasurer every half year; (to wit,) on the twenty-fifth day of April, and the twenty fifth day of October, every year, or within fifteen days afterwards, upon pain of forfeiting one half of their commissions; to be deducted out of their accounts, by the treasurer; and to be by him carried to the credit of the public treasury.

99. Instructions to the Earl of Albemarle, 1737.[1]

November 9th, 1737.

. . .

And in order to the better Execution of the Laws and Statutes abovementioned, upon the first Notice of the Arrival of any ship or ships within the Limits of any Port of or belonging to your Govern-

[99] [1] C. O. 5: 1366, pp. 237-238. The second Earl of Albemarle was governor in chief of Virginia from Sept. 6, 1737, to Dec. 23, 1754. A draft of Albemarle's commission, drawn up Sept. 28, 1737, contained the following clauses: "Whereas Acts have been passed in some of Our Plantations in America for laying Duties on the Importation and Exportation of Negroes to the great discouragement of the Merchants trading thither from the Coast of Africa. . . .

"It is Our Will and Pleasure that you do not give your Assent to or pass any Act imposing Duties upon Negroes Imported in Our said Colony under your Government payable by the Importer, or upon any Slaves Exported that have not been sold in Our said Colony and continued there for the space of twelve Months. . . .

"And We do further expressly command and require you to give unto us and to our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, an Account every half year of what number of negroes Our said Colony is Supplied with, that is what number by the African Company and what by the Seperate Traders, and at what Rates sold." *Ibid.*

ment which have or are suspected to have on Board any Negroes Goods or Commodities of the Growth Produce or Manufacture of the East Indies, Madagascar, or any other parts or Places beyond the Cape of Bona Esperanza, within the Limits of Trade granted to the United East India Company, pursuant to the aforementioned Act of the Ninth and Tenth of King William; You shall immediately cause the Officers of Our Customs in your Governement (and any other Officer or Persons in Aid of them) to go on Board such ship or ships and to Visit the same and to Examine the Masters or other Commanders, the Officers and Sailors on Board such ship or ships and their Charter-parties, Invoyces, Cocquets and other Credentials Testimonials or Documents, and if they find . . . that there are on Board any such Goods, Commodities or Negroes as is above mentioned, that they do give Notice to the Master or other person having then the command of such Ship or Ships forthwith to depart out of the Limits of your Government, without giving them any Relief Support Aid or Assistance altho it should be pretended, that such Ship or Ships were or the same really should be in distress, want, disability, danger, of sinking, or for or upon any other reason or pretence whatsoever. And that you Our Governor or Commander in Chief do by no means suffer any Goods, Merchandize or Negroes from on Board such Ship or Ships to be landed or brought on Shore upon any Account or Excuse whatsoever. And it is Our further Will and Pleasure that if any such Ship or Ships being Foreign having on Board any such Goods, Merchandize, or Negroes do not upon Notice given to the Master or other person having the Command thereof as soon as conveniently may be, depart out of the Limits of your Government, and from the Coasts thereof, without landing selling or Bartering any of the said Goods or Negroes, You Our Governor or the Commander in Chief for the time being, shall cause the said Ship or Ships and Goods and Negroes to be seized and proceeded against according to Law. But if such Ship or Ships having such Goods or Negroes on Board and Ent'ring into any Port or Place or coming upon any of the Coasts or Shoars of Our said Colony under your Government, do belong to our subjects and do break Bulk, or sell Barter, Exchange or otherwise dispose of the said Goods or Negroes or any part thereof contrary to Law, you are, to take care that such Ship or Ships, with the Guns, Tackle, Apparel and Furniture thereof, and all Goods and Merchandize Laden thereupon, and the proceed and effects of the same be immediately seized, and that the Laws in such case made and provided be put in Execution with the greatest care, diligence and application. But if any ship belonging to the Subjects of any Foreign State or Potentate, having on Board any Negroes or East India Commodities shall be actually bound to some

Place or Port in the West Indies belonging to any Foreign Prince or State from some European Port and such ship shall happen to be driven in by necessity and be in real distress, the same may be supply'd with what is absolutely necessary for her relief. But you shall not take, have or receive, nor permit or suffer any person to take, have or receive any Negroes [2] or other the said East India Commodities in payment or satisfaction for such relief. That if any Officer of our Customs or other Officer employed by you Our Governor or Commander in Chief in Visiting searching or seizing such Ship or Ships, Goods, Merchandize or Negroes be corrupt, negligent or remiss in the discharge of his Duty therein, We do hereby require you to suspend him from the Execution of his said Office. . . .

100. Act for laying a Duty on Slaves, 1738.[1]

An Act, for amending and further continuing an Act intituled, an Act, for laying a Duty upon Slaves.

I. Whereas, the duty upon slaves imported, as the same is laid, by one act of assembly made in the fifth and sixth years of his majesty's reign, intituled, An Act, for laying a Duty upon Slaves, to be paid by the Buyers; which said act was continued by one other act, made in the eighth year of his majesty's reign hath been found, by experience, to be an easy expedient for raising a revenue towards the lessening of a poll tax, always grievous to the people of this colony and is no ways burthensome to the traders in slaves. And whereas, the method of collecting the said duty upon slaves, prescribed by the said first recited act; and by one other act, made in the tenth year of his majesty's reign, intituled, An Act for laying a Duty upon Liquors imported by Land: and better securing the Duty upon Slaves; and for other purposes therein mentioned; hath proved very inconvenient, and given great opportunities for frauds: Therefore, for amending and further continuing the said first recited act:

II. Be it enacted, by the Lieutenant-Governor, Council and Burgesses, of this present General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that every importer of slaves into this colony, either by land or water, for sale, if such importer shall sell the same himself; or if such slaves shall be consigned to any other person, than the person or persons who shall take upon him or them, the sale and disposal of such slaves, shall be, and he, and they, are hereby appointed collector and collectors of the said duty, upon the slaves so imported and sold by him, or them, respectively. And upon

[2] While the returns from the naval officers in the years immediately preceding this fail to show negro importation from Madagascar, reference to the reports for the years 1718-1727 discloses a surprising amount of such importation.

[100] [1] Hening, V. 28-31. See *Jour. of Burgesses,* 1727-1740, pp. 333-386, *passim.*

all other slaves, in case such importation shall be by water, that shall be imported in the same ship or vessel, belonging to the master, or other officer, commonly called privileged slaves: And every buyer or purchaser of any slave or slaves so imported, shall, upon the sale and delivery of such slave or slaves, pay down the duty, mentioned in the said first recited act, to such collector or collectors; or give his promisory note, for paiment of the same, within forty days after the time of such sale and delivery. And in case any slave or slaves, for which the duty shall be so paid, or secured to be paid, as aforesaid, shall happen to die, within the said forty days, and the buyer or purchaser shall make oath thereof, before some justice of the peace, it shall and may be lawful for the said collector or collectors; and he and they are hereby impowered and directed, upon producing and delivering a certificate of such oath to him or them, to refund and pay back to the buyer or purchaser, the said duty, if the same shall have been paid; or deliver up the promisory note given, for the payment thereof, as the case may be. And if any importer of slaves, or other person or persons taking upon him or them the sale and disposal of slaves, as aforesaid, shall neglect or refuse to receive the said duty; or take notes for the paiment thereof, as herein before is mentioned; every such person and persons shall be and is, and are hereby made chargeable with the paiment of the said duty, in the same manner, as the buyer or purchaser is made chargeable by the said first recited act, or by this act.

III. Provided always, That if any importer of slaves, or other person or persons, taking upon him or them, the sale and disposal of slaves so imported, shall not be an inhabitant or inhabitants of this colony; in such case, the buyers and purchasers of any slave and slaves so imported, shall pay the duty aforesaid, to the naval officer of the district where the ship or vessel, in case the same shall be imported by water: And if such slaves shall be imported by land, then to the naval officer who shall live nearest to the place where such slaves shall be sold, in the manner prescribed by the first recited act, and the said act made in the tenth year of his majesty's reign; and such naval officer is hereby appointed collector of the said duty accordingly.

IV. [Collectors shall account for the duties, and receive the salary of six pounds in the hundred.] And such collector or collectors, if he or they have had the sale and disposal of any slave or slaves, shall, at the time of such accounting, deliver to the treasurer of the duties upon liquors and slaves, upon oath, a true manifest or account of all the slaves by him or them sold, the name and place of abode of every person buying the same, the respective prices at which each slave was sold, and how many of the said slaves, if any, remain then

unsold; and also, a true account of the names of such buyers who have paid the duty, and the sums received from each person respectively, together with a list of such persons, if any, whose promisory notes shall be then due and unpaid; and shall then deliver to the treasurer all such notes as shall be then due, and payable; and shall have and receive the same salary upon such notes, as if the money was actually paid into the treasury: [Penalty for unpaid notes may be sued for.]

V. Provided always, That it shall and may be lawful for the treasurer to compound the said penalty, either before or after action brought.

VI. And be it further enacted, That so much of one clause of the said first recited act of assembly, that imposes a penalty of five pounds upon every buyer of a slave, who shall not pay the duty, and give an account of the slave or slaves by him purchased, to the collector of the said duty according to the directions of the said act; except as to such buyers who shall purchase any slave or slaves of any person not being an inhabitant of this colony, be, and is hereby repealed: but the same, as to such last mentioned buyers, shall be still in force. And the said first recited act of assembly, made in the fifth and sixth years of his majesty's reign, and the said act made in the tenth year of his majesty's reign, so far as the same concerns the said duty upon slaves, for so much of the said acts as are not repealed or altered by this act, shall continue, and be in force, from and after the first day of July, which shall be in the year of our lord, one thousand seven hundred and forty, for and during the term of four years from thence next following, and no longer: And that so much of the said acts as are contrary to any thing contained in this act, shall be, and is hereby repealed, and made void.[2]

101. Minutes of the House of Burgesses, 1744.[1]

October 18, 1744.

Mr. Ludwell moved for Leave to bring in a Bill, for reviving and continuing the Act, intituled, An Act, for laying an additional Duty

[2] In 1740 an act "for laying an additional Duty upon Slaves, to be paid by the Buyer, for encouraging persons to enlist in his Majesty's service: And for preventing desertion", laid an additional duty of five per cent. on the amount of each purchase of slaves, which brought the total duty to ten per cent. This was to remain in force till July 1, 1744 (Hening, V. 92-94; *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1727-1740, pp. 416-434). In 1738 a special committee of the assembly had reported that the arrears in the payments of the duty on imported slaves between Apr. 25, 1736, and Oct. 25, 1738, amounted to £1399 8 *s.* *Ibid.*, p. 384.

[101] [1] *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1742-1749, p. 139. For the consideration of the duty acts in 1742, see pp. 15-69. The act here referred to had lapsed July 1, 1744. A second attempt to restore the duty to ten per cent. was made in 1748, when in the course of renewing the act for laying a duty upon slaves, which had now been in existence since 1732, a motion was made that the committee framing the bill have power to receive a clause laying an additional five per cent. duty. The motion was lost. *Ibid.*, pp. 275, 309, 319, 322-323.

upon Slaves, to be paid by the Buyers; and for encouraging Persons to inlist in His Majesty's Service, and for preventing Desertion; for so much thereof as relates to the laying an additional Duty upon Slaves, to be paid by the Buyer: And the Question being put thereon? It passed in the Negative.

102. Francis Jerdone to William Buchanan, 1750.[1]

May 26, 1750.

. . . What would you think of an African concern of a small vessel yearly to this place. I believe Capt. Archb'd Crawford would suit you for that business very well. I would be content to stand a small share on condition that I had the sales thereof, and I can see no reason why we may not expect the same success other people have, which to be sure is encouraging, else so many would not drive at it. There is not the least fear of selling here, for there is in general as many Purchasers as there is slaves imported, and the pay is always better than for any other commodity and without something of this sort I must be under the necessity of leaving this town, for my expenses are too great for my present wages. . . .
Per the *Sally*

103. Act for laying a Duty on Slaves, 1754.[1]

An Act for the encouragement and protection of the settlers upon the waters of the Mississippi.

III. Be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, there shall be levied and paid to our sovereign lord the king, his heirs and successors, for all slaves imported or brought into this colony and dominion for sale, either by land or water, from any part or place whatsoever, by the buyer or purchaser, after the rate of five per centum, on the amount of each respective purchase, over and above the duty already laid upon slaves imported as aforesaid; [2] which said additional duty shall be paid, col-

[102] [1] *William and Mary Coll. Quar.*, XI. 157. Francis Jerdone came to Yorktown, Va., about 1746. Here he acted as factor for William Buchanan and William Hamilton, London merchants. That he accumulated considerable property in slaves is evidenced by his will made on July 10, 1770. *Ibid.*, XI. 7.

[103] [1] Hening, VI. 417-420, February, 1754. A comment made by the editor of the *Journals* in reference to the passage of "an act for reviving the duty upon slaves, to be paid by the buyer, for the term therein mentioned", applies to much of the legislation regarding the duties on importation of slaves after 1750: "The fight over its passage arose from the fact that in enhancing the price of slaves the law would, it was seen, increase the difficulty experienced by men of small means in securing laborers for their farms. It was thus, to an extent, a fight between the rich and the poor." *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1752-1758, p. xiv.

[2] On Feb. 27, 1752, the five per cent. duty to be paid by the buyer, which had lapsed July 31, 1751, was revived for four years: "whereas the public debts contracted

lected and accounted for, in such manner and form, and according to such rules, and under such penalties and forfeitures, as are mentioned, prescribed, and appointed, for the paying, collecting and accounting for the duty already raised and imposed upon slaves imported, by the several acts of Assembly now in force, and made for that purpose; and that every article, rule and clause contained in the said acts, concerning the paying, collecting and accounting for the said former duty shall be used, exercised, and put in practice, for paying, collecting and accounting for the said duty hereby imposed, as if the same articles, rules, and clauses were inserted in this act.[3] . . .

104. Act for laying a Duty on Slaves, 1755.[1]

An Act to explain an act, intituled, An act for raising the sum of twenty thousand pounds, for the protection of his majesty's subjects,

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for his majesty's service, during the late war with France, and also for rebuilding the Capitol, are yet unpaid, and cannot be discharged without the aid of the duty laid by the aforesaid act, which hath, by experience, been found easy to the people here, and no ways burthensome to the traders in slaves" (Hening, VI. 217-221; *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1752-1758, pp. 16-97, *passim*). On Nov. 15, 1753, the committee on trade was instructed to bring in a bill continuing this act, which would expire Feb. 27, 1756. The continuing act received the assent of the governor on Dec. 19 (*ibid.*, pp. 124, 131-135, 170). A study of the lists of arrivals in Virginia (*post*, no. 134) may give some notion of the effect of these duties; see also no. 105, n. 4.

[3] On May 10, 1754, Dinwiddie wrote to James Abercomby: "I now send You Copy of the Printed Journal of last Assembly; read seriously the Act for encouraging and (the) Protection of the Settlers upon the Waters of the Mississippi. You will observe several Things in it inconstitutional and derogatory to the prerogative of the Crown, particularly that Part wch gives the Power of the application of th Money by a Committee therein named, among whom are some of the Council, contrary to their Consent or Approbat'n." In February, 1754, an appropriation of £10,000 (to be raised by a tax on the importation of slaves, on wheel carriages, and on licenses for ordinaries) was made for the defense of such settlers (Va. Hist. Soc., *Collections: Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie*, I. 156). This act was renewed in May, 1755, to continue from Feb. 14, 1757, to Feb. 14, 1760 (Hening, VI. 468-470). It was again renewed in February, 1759, to continue for five years, which extended it to Feb. 14, 1765 (*ibid.*, VII. 282; *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1758-1761, pp. 65, 95), and in May, 1763, for another five years, which carried it to February, 1770. Hening, VII. 639-640.

[104] [1] Hening, VI. 466. The term for which this act was passed was three years but apparently it continued in force until its repeal in May, 1760 (*ibid.*, VII. 363). "An examination of the various measures of taxation resorted to in the progress of the war discloses an interesting example of the laying of a protective tariff under the guise of a measure designed to increase revenue, and an example of the selfishness fostered by such a system. In May, 1755, an additional duty of ten per cent. was laid on slaves imported into the Colony. The duties already imposed on them amounted to about ten per cent. All these duties were renewed in 1757, to continue for seven years. The rate was so heavy as to cause a marked falling off in the number of slaves imported, but the price of those in the Colony advanced, of course, to the extent of the duty imposed, with the result of increasing the wealth of the large land-holders and slave-holders and of rendering it more difficult for the small farmers to extend their operations. Earnest efforts were made by the latter to break the monopoly thus created, but it was not until 1760 that these efforts were crowned with success. In the May session of that year, the provision to take off the ten per cent. additional tax was attached as a rider to the bill for raising troops for the Cherokee Expedition. To the last those who profited by the duty fought for its retention" (*Jour. of Burgesses*, 1758-1761, p. xvi). The act of repeal read, "inasmuch as the same prevents the importation of slaves and thereby lessens the fund arising from the duties upon slaves" (Hening, VII. 363). See *Dinwiddie Records*, II. 86, for a discussion of the use to which the money was to be put.

against the insults and encroachments of the French; and for other purposes therein mentioned.

X. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, there shall be levied and paid to our sovereign lord the king, his heirs and successors, for all slaves imported, or brought into this colony and dominion for sale, either by land or water, from any part or place whatsoever, by the buyer, or purchaser, after the rate of ten per centum, on the amount of each respective purchase, over and above the several duties already laid on slaves, imported as aforesaid, by an act, or acts of Assembly, now subsisting, and also over and above the duty laid by an act, intituled, An act for the encouragement and protection of the settlers upon the waters of the Mississippi; made in the twenty-seventh year of his present majesty's reign, and continued this present session of Assembly, for the further term of three years, which said additional duty, shall be paid, collected, and accounted for in such manner and form, and according to such rules, and under such penalties and forfeitures as are mentioned, prescribed, and appointed for the paying, collecting, and accounting for the duties already raised and imposed upon slaves imported, by the several acts of Assembly now in force; and that every article, rule, and clause, contained in the said acts, concerning the paying, collecting and accounting for the said former duties, shall be used, exercised, and put in practice, for paying, collecting, and accounting for the said duty hereby imposed, as if the same articles, rules, and clauses were inserted in this act.

105. Peter Fontaine to Moses Fontaine, 1757.[1]

March the 30th, 1757.

Dear Brother Moses: . . . Like Adam we are all apt to shift off the blame from ourselves and lay it upon others, how justly in our case you may judge. The negroes are enslaved by the negroes themselves before they are purchased by the masters of the ships who bring them here. It is to be sure at our choice whether we buy them or not, so this then is our crime, folly, or whatever you will please to call it. But, our Assembly, foreseeing the ill consequences of importing such numbers amongst us, hath often attempted to lay a duty upon them which would amount to a prohibition, such as ten or twenty pounds a head,[2] but no Governor dare pass such a law, having in-

[105] [1] James Fontaine, *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, pp. 351-352. On Mar. 2, 1756, Peter Fontaine had written, "The other evil you mention, our intestine enemies, our slaves, increase daily. . . . When our mother country shall vouchsafe to consider us a part of herself, she may perhaps not suffer such multitudes to be brought from Africa to pleasure a company, and overrun a dutiful colony" (*ibid.*, pp. 347-348). The Reverend Peter Fontaine, rector of Westover parish, died in July, 1757.

[2] No attempt of this sort seems ever to have advanced far enough to become a matter of record. Not since 1728 had a specific duty, large or small, been introduced in the legislature. The ten per cent. duty proposed in 1748 was, as has been noted, defeated in the House of Burgesses before it was so much as incorporated in a bill.

structions to the contrary from the Board of Trade at home, By this means they are forced upon us, whether we will or will not. This plainly shows the African Company hath the advantage of the colonies, and may do as it pleases with the Ministry.[3]

Indeed, since we have been exhausted of our little stock of cash by the war, the importation has stopped; our poverty then is our best security. There is no more picking for their ravenous jaws upon bare bones, but should we begin to thrive they will be at the same again. All our taxes are now laid upon slaves and on Shippers of tobacco, which they wink at while we are in danger of being torn from them, but we durst not do it in time of peace, it being looked upon as the highest presumption to lay any burden upon trade.[4] This is our part of the grievance, but to live in Virginia without slaves is morally impossible. Before our troubles you could not hire a servant or slave for love or money, so that unless robust enough to cut wood, to go to mill, to work at the hoe, etc. you must starve, or board in some family where they both fleece and half starve you. There is no set price upon corn, wheat and provisions, so they take advantage of the necessities of strangers, who are thus obliged to purchase some slaves and land. This of course draws us all into the original sin and curse of the country of purchasing slaves, and this is the reason we have no merchants, traders, or artificers of any sort but what become planters in a short time.

A common laborer, white or black, if you can be so much favored as to hire one, is a shilling sterling or fifteen pence currency per day; a bungling carpenter two shillings or two shillings and six pence per day; besides diet and lodging. That is, for a lazy fellow to get wood and water, £19, 16. 3. current per annum; add to this seven or eight pounds more and you have a slave for life. . . .

106. Minutes of the House of Burgesses, 1759.[1]

March 15, 1759.

Mr. Charles Carter, from the Committee of Propositions and Grievances, reported, That the Committee had had under their Con-

[3] It is to be remembered that the Royal African Company ceased to exist in 1752, and only a committee of merchants maintained an organization. The new, regulated company, could do no trading in its corporate capacity. See this work, II. 474-485.

[4] When this was written three statutes imposed duties on incoming negroes: the original act placing a five per cent. duty on them; the act first passed in 1754 for the protection of Mississippi settlers (*ante*, no. 103), which imposed a second five per cent. duty; and the act of May, 1755, to prevent French encroachments, which laid a further ten per cent. upon imports (*ante*, no. 104). The existence of this twenty per cent. imposition in 1757 tells nothing of the effect of such a duty in normal times. The years 1756-1760 were years of active war upon the seas. The commerce in slaves was of necessity checked and many slave cargoes captured. In addition, Virginia's tobacco crop of 1756 was a poor one, as was that of 1758 also. See May 15, 1756, Francis Jerdone to Messrs. Alex. Speirs and Hugh Brown, *Wm. and Mary Coll. Quar.*, XVI. 126-129; Oct. 5, 1758, William Allason to his brother, *Richmond College Historical Papers*, II. 122.

[106] [1] *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1758-1761, pp. 95, 112.

sideration divers Propositions, from Several Counties, to them referred, and had come to several Resolutions thereupon. . . . Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That that Part of the Petition from the County of King George, praying that the Duty on Slaves may be lessened is reasonable.[2] . . .

March 30, 1759.

A Motion was made for Leave to bring in a Bill To oblige the Importers of Slaves, for their own Use, to pay a Duty; and the Question being put thereupon, It passed in the Negative.[3]

107. Act for laying a Duty on Slaves, 1759.[1]

An Act to oblige the persons bringing slaves into this colony from Maryland, Carolina, and the West-Indies, for their own use, to pay a duty.

I. Whereas great numbers of negro and other slaves, imported to the provinces of Maryland, North-Carolina, and other places in America, have been there brought by the inhabitants of this colony, and from thence transported hither, whereby not only the payment of the duties on slaves has been evaded, but the duties imposed by the laws of those countries have been born by our people; for prevention whereof, Be it enacted, by the Lieutenant-Governor, Council, and Burgesses, of this present General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted, by the authority of the same, That from and after the passing of this act, there shall be paid to our sovereign lord the king, his heirs and successors, for all slaves imported or brought into this colony and dominion from Maryland, North-Carolina, or any other place in America, by the owner or importer thereof, after the rate of twenty per centum on the amount of each respective purchase, really and bona fide made, by such owner or importer, in such province or other place in America; to be applied towards discharging the publick debts of this colony, and to such other publick uses as the general assembly shall from time to time direct.[2] . . .

[2] The colony had placed an additional ten per cent. duty on slaves in 1757, to take effect July 9, 1758, and to be in effect seven years, though it was actually repealed in March, 1761, as being "found very inconvenient" (Hening, VII. 81, ch. 1, sect. 22, and 383, ch. 1, sect. 6). In spite of the favorable report of the committee the House rejected as much of the petition as requested that the duty on slaves be lessened. *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1758-1761, p. 96.

[3] The same motion was carried on Nov. 8, 1759, and a bill framed. *Ibid.*, pp. 141-146.

[107] [1] Hening, VII, 338; see *Leg. Jour. of Council,* III. 1228 On Dec. 1, 1759, Francis Fauquier, lieutenant governor, wrote to the Board of Trade, "The Assembly broke upon the 21st Novr. after having passed . . . an Act to prevent Frauds on Negro duties". In the same session a bill was introduced to amend the duties on negroes and one to lessen them. The former was sent to the council on Nov. 15 but was not passed; the latter never reached the council. *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1758-1761, pp. 141-152, *passim,* and 282.

[2] This was to be effective until Apr. 20, 1767. In the autumn of 1766 it was renewed for another three years and two years later it was again extended for three years. Hening, VIII. 191-192, 336-337; *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1765-1769, pp. 39, 42, 46, 47, 52; *Jour. of Council*, III. 1356.

108. Lieutenant Governor Fauquier to the Board of Trade, 1760.[1]

W'msburgh, June 2d, 1760.

My Lords, . . . At the end of the supply Bill the House of Burgesses added a Clause to encrease the duty arising by the importation of slaves, by reducing it to ten per cent instead of twenty, which was the method I most approved in the late Act relative thereto of which I wrote yr Lord'pps a full account in my letter of the 17th of Decembr. by the *Deliverance,* Capt. Whyte, who I hope, is safely arrived, tho' we have not heard of her. She carried the Box of public papers and Acts.

The incertitude of the proceedings of the General Assembly of this Colony, has struck me on many occasions and seems to be so inherent in the nature of the Members, as to be characteristic of the People. This Act was passed this Session in the lower House, but by a single voice, on account of this Clause; and it is apprehended will occasion a Battle in the next Session whenever the assembly meets again; for the contest on this occasion is between the old Settlers, who have bred great quantity of Slaves, and would make a Monopoly of them by a duty which they hoped would amount to a prohibition; and the rising Generation who want Slaves, and don't care to pay the Monopolists for them at the price they have lately bore, which was exceedingly high.

These reasons your Lord'pps may guess are not urged in the arguments on either side; but, I believe are the true foundation of the Squabble. . . .

109. Lieutenant Governor Fauquier to the Board of Trade, 1760.[1]

W'msburgh, Septr. 1, 1760.

My Lords, . . . The Box of public papers and Acts, among which was the Negro Act, was ship'd on board the *Deliverance* Captn. White who was lost on the Coast of France, the Duplicate of those acts went by the *Jacob and Johanna,* Captn. Clarkson, who sailed the latter end of May, who I hope is safely arrived and that your Lord'pps are in possession of the Acts of that session.

I am truly sensible that a Governor or Commander in Chief is not to ask the advice of the Council assigned him by His Maj'ty, whether he shall obey the Instructions of His Maj'ty; but in regard to this Act, it was attended with some particular circumstances, which in-

[108] [1] *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1758-1761, pp. 284-285.
[109] [1] *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1758-1761, p. 288.

duced me to take that step, from which I thought I ought not afterwards to recede. The Act did not lay any new duty; if it had, I should most certainly have refused it without taking advice upon it; but it only provided against a Fraud daily practiced to avoid a duty, originally laid and by other subsequent Acts continued long before I arrived in the Colony. But the Act, in express terms (which could not be avoided, to give it its intended force and effect) contradicted the Instruction; in this situation and under these circumstances I applyed to the Council for their advice what I should do? who, all but one, were unanimous that the sense and spirit was by no means broke in upon, as no new duty was imposed by the Act; as your Lord'pps will find by their reasons inserted in the minutes of the Council and by a Duplicate I sent as soon as I heard of the loss of the *Deliverance*. I have been unfortunate, for duplicates of all these papers, were sent by the *New York* Packet which was taken by the French and Ransomed; but the papers were all thrown overboard and lost; however there is now an end of this affair, as in the next Session, this Act was repealed and the duty lowered from twenty to ten per cent, to answer the same purpose as was intended by the former Act; *vizt.* to encrease the money coming into the Treasury from the said duty. . . .

110. Act repealing a Duty on Slaves, 1761.[1]

An Act for recruiting and further continuing the regiment in the service of this colony, and for other purposes therein mentioned.

VI. And whereas by an act of the general assembly made in the thirtieth year of the reign of his late majesty king George the second, entitled, An Act for granting an aid to his majesty, for the better protection of this colony, and for other purposes therein mentioned, an additional duty of ten per centum was imposed on all slaves imported or brought into this colony for sale, either by land or water, from any port or place whatsoever, from and after the ninth day of July one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight, during the term of seven years, to be paid by the buyer or purchasers thereof on the amount of each respective purchase, over and above the several duties laid on slaves imported as aforesaid by any act or acts of assembly then subsisting, which said additional duty of ten per centum hath been found very inconvenient: Be it therefore further enacted by the

[110] [1] Hening, VII. 381-383; *ante*, no. 106, n. 2. Even with this decrease in the duty it seemed too high to some Virginians: Mar. 12, 1761, "Resolved, That the Petition of sundry Inhabitants of the Northern Neck, praying that the Duty on Slaves of Twenty per Cent. may be reduced to Five per Cent. be rejected". *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1758-1761, p. 211.

authority aforesaid, That so much of the said in part recited act of assembly, and every article and clause thereof as relates to the imposing, collecting and paying, the said additional duty on slaves, be, and the same are hereby, repealed and made void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.[2]

March, 1761.

111. Lieutenant Governor Fauquier to the Board of Trade, 1763.[1]

Answers to enquiries sent to me by the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantation Affairs by their Lordships' most obedient Servant Francis Fauquier.

January 30, 1763.

Revenue, 6 *d.* poll on every person not a mariner imported into the colony. Laid by Act of Assembly 32 Car II. to support of government and contingent charges. By 25 Geo. II. duty of £5 per cent on all Slaves imported upon the price for which they are sold and continued by several subsequent acts and applied to the discharging of the debt contracted in the former war and for rebuilding the Capitol. 27 Geo. 2d lays an additional duty of £5 per cent to enable the Treasurer to repay the sum of £10,000 which by this act he was empowered to borrow. This is also continued by several subsequent acts and is now in force and it is applied toward defraying the expenses of the last war. . . .

112. Jerman Baker to Duncan Rose, 1764.[1]

February 15, 1764.

The African Trade to Virginia must soon be at an end, for the people will not soon pay for the Negroes they have already bought for observe, I don't call these Negroes paid for when purchasers

[2] On Sept. 15, 1761, Fauquier wrote to the Board of Trade: "It may be necessary for me to explain the motive for the last Clause of the Chapter 1st intituled: 'An act for the Recruiting and further continuing the Regiments in the service of this Colony, and for other purposes therein mentioned'. In the year 1755 there was an Act for laying an additional duty of ten per cent on the importation of Negroes to be paid by the Buyer; in the year 1758 this Act was continued in force for a longer time, than the act of 1755 provided for; when they determined to take off this additional duty, they by mistake repealed the Act of 1755 which laid the duty but was expired, instead of the Act of 1758 which continued it, so that this Clause became necessary, and was thought not an improper Rider to a money Bill." *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1758-1761, pp. 296-297.

[111] [1] Harvard University, Widener Library, Sparks MSS., no. 43, vol. IV., pp. 67, 71. In May, 1763, an act was passed to amend the acts laying duty on slaves. *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1761-1765, pp. 181-196, *passim*.

[112] [1] *Wm. and Mary Coll. Quar.*, XII. 242. Jerman Baker was clerk of the meeting in which Chesterfield County decided on non-importation. Duncan Rose was a London merchant.

have a Load of protested Bills to take up, which is a grievance I am afraid will bear Harder upon them than the paper currency does upon the grumbling merchants in London.[2] . . .

113. Negroes sold in Virginia, 1765.

[*Captain Charles Thomas to Lieutenant Governor Fauquier.*] [1]

Norfolk July 26th, 1765.

Sir, I am informed by Mr. Thomas Newton that it is represented to you by some in the Northern Government, that I Clandestinly or by force carried off several free men from the Coast of Africa at the time I was there in his Vessel. It gives me much concern that I should be accused of an Action that I shoud Condemn in another, and that I did bring off one man which I believe might be free born I readily own, and I at the same time I took him on Board was really to serve the Person without advantage to my Owner. One Blackney of the Brigantine *Catherina* from the Island St. Thomas's had a man left on Board him as a pawn, and as he was going off the Coast before I could leave it which was about the first of May I gave him two Slaves for him, and as he pretended to be one of great Credit I did not in the least doubt but the Person who left him as a pledge for Goods received woud redeem him before I left the Coast, and that I did use my utmost Endeavours to get him of my hands is a real truth, but whether I was imposed on by the Captain, or that his friends wanted to get clear of him I am yet ignorant off. Being in great distress for want of Provisions from the ill Treatment I received from some of the Natives who took from me sundry Merchandize and coud get nothing from them I made my Case known to King Peter who sent his son young Peter, second King of that Country on Board to see further into the particulars I had informed

[2] The writer expresses the hope that a bounty on hemp will turn the planters from tobacco, and Virginia may again enjoy the "halcyon days she knew 20 Years ago, when they lived in peace and plenty and feared a Debt in England as the worst of calamitys". Debts received much attention in the correspondence of Virginia merchants and British principals during the next few years. See letters of William Allason to various English merchants (*post*, no. 134, n. 55, and *Richmond Coll. Hist. Papers*, II. 126-128, 131, 135, 138-141). Of the Virginia currency Allason wrote to his brother in 1763: "What few [dollars] there is circulating this way is sold currently for 6/8 Virginia Cur'y tho by the Laws of the Colony they are not to pass for more than 5/9 and even at the high price they are picked up by those who are either Traveling to Maryland or Pennsylvania or have payment to make there" (*ibid.*, p. 128). To Robert Bogle, London, he wrote: "Our Exchange seems to be falling for instead of 62½ wch was current Bills now bought a 60 pct and tis imagined they'll be much lower against April General Court" (*ibid.*, p. 129). The letters of Richard Corbin also cast some light on the troubles of this period. He attributes the difficulties of the planters to their own extravagances, caused in part at least by excessive issues of paper money. *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XXX. 82.

[113] [1] Gertrude Kimball, *Correspondence of the Colonial Governors of Rhode Island* (1903), II. 369. This letter is an enclosure in that to Governor Ward of Aug. 8, 1765.

off, he voluntary left one of his Friends on board as a Security for his promise that he woud either Compel them to make Satisfaction or bring as many as he coud get and deliver them up as Spoilers of their Country; accordingly on or about the 27th April 1763 he brought off three men tyed and delivered them according to their Custom as Slaves and he together with Robert Gray, (who both before and after) I had Considerable dealings with put them in Irons. from [that] time to June 3d I traded without being molested, my Boat being every day a shore and often myself in her, and Endeavoured to get them redeemed as my Officers can Testifie were they here, but so far from getting clear of them that the Natives abused them every time they came to trade. This Sir is a faithful account of the whole Affair and that I was justifyable as it is commonly practised, other Vessels having the Natives on Board on the same footing.

To The Honble. Francis Fauquier Esqr.

[*Thomas Newton and Company to Lieutenant Governor Fauquier.*][2]

NORFOLK July 27th, 1765.

Sir, Your favour of the 22d. Instant I recd., also Mr. Ward's Letter and Mr. Owin Morris's Deposition setting forth that Capt: Charles Thomas brought from the Coast of Guinea several free Negroes, Capt: Thomas sailed from Virginia in Sloop belonging to Messrs. Sparling Bolding and self, sometime in November Seventeen hundred and sixty two, he arrived here with his Slaves in October 1763, soon after went up James river and there sold them, which is all we know of the matter. Capt: Thomas is in Town shall desire him to inform your Honour more fully of the Charge against him, we shall be very sorry that any person or Persons should suffer by his disconduct.

[*Lieutenant Governor Fauquier to Governor Samuel Ward.*][3]

W'MSBURGH, Augst. 8th, 1765.

Sir, Soon after the Receipt of your Letter, some affairs of this Colony required that I should call a full Council; at that board your Letter and the Deposition of Mr. Morris were read and considered. Some of the Members said that they knew Captain Thomas, who had been long in the Employ of Mr. Newton of Norfolk and that he was a Man who had always bore a very fair Character, and they were persuaded if I would lay the whole Affair before Mr. Newton that

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 371; see p. 232, n. 62.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 368-369.

he would make enquiry into it, and that from the Knowledge they had of that Gentlemans Integrity, I might safely depend on what Information he should give me. I accordingly sent your Letter and other papers to Mr. Newton: his, and Captain Thomas's Answers to them, and my Letter sent with them, I have inclosed to you for your full Satisfaction, as to what has been transacted in this matter: and shall only observe upon them, that to me there appears an air of Truth and Candor throughout Captn. Thomas's Narrative, which is descriptive of the Character given him by some Gentlemen of the Council. I do not perceive that I can go any further in this Business on the footing it now stands; for tho' Mr. Morris's Information may be a ground work for a prosecution it must fall for want of Evidence. If you think his Answer not satisfactory you may be assured I shall readily give you all the assistance I can legally do, to bring this Affair into daylight, It being a Duty I owe to his Majesty and consequently to all his Subjects.

To Saml: Ward Esqr.

114. Act for laying a Duty on Slaves, 1766.[1]

An act for laying an additional duty upon slaves imported into this colony.

I. May it please your most excellent majesty, we your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the representatives of your people in your colony and dominion of Virginia, now met in general assembly, taking into our serious consideration the exigencies of your government here, do humbly represent to your majesty that no other duty can be laid upon our import or export without oppressing your subjects, than an additional duty upon slaves imported or brought into this colony, to be paid by the buyers, agreeable to your royal instructions to your lieutenant-governor: We therefore humbly beseech your majesty that it may be enacted; And be it enacted by the Lieutenant-Governor, Council, and Burgesses, of this present General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same,

[114] [1] Hening, VIII. 237-238. The act of 1752, renewed in 1759 and to expire on Apr. 20, 1767, was brought forward on Nov. 27, 1766, but was defeated in the House of Burgesses on Dec. 1. Three days later a substitute bill was presented, to continue and amend the act reviving a duty on slaves (*Jour. of Burgesses*, 1765-1769, pp. 39-75, *passim*; Hening, VIII. 190). In January, 1766, the *Gentleman's Magazine* (p. 45) thus referred to the slave trade: "Petitions have been presented from the principal merchants etc. of Bristol, York, Liverpoole, and other trading places, complaining of the hardships they labour under by the great decay of trade to the American colonies, and to the coast of Africa." Despite the English protests Mr. Henry Lee presented to the house on Mar. 28, 1767, the act here printed, which was promptly passed by both houses of the assembly with a direction to the committee of correspondence to direct the Virginia agent to use his endeavors to procure his Majesty's assent to the bill. This is the act which was disallowed on Aug. 12, 1768. *Acts P. C. C.*, V. 164-165.

That from and after the passing of this act there shall be levied and paid to our sovereign lord the king, his heirs and successors, for all slaves imported or brought into this colony for sale, either by land or water from any port or place whatsoever, by the buyer or purchaser, after the rate of ten per centum on the amount of each respective purchase over and above the several duties already laid upon slaves imported or brought into this colony, as aforesaid, by any act or acts of assembly now subsisting in this colony. . . .

II. And be it further enacted, That the said duty is hereby appropriated, and shall be applied for the lessening the levy by the poll, and to and for such other use and uses as the general assembly from time to time shall direct and appoint.

III. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That the execution of this act shall be suspended until his majesty's approbation thereof shall be obtained, and that from and after obtaining the same, this act shall continue and be in force for and during the term of seven years, and no longer.[2]

115. Concerning Acts for laying Duties on Slaves, 1770-1772.

[*Petition of the Merchants of Liverpool, 1770.*][1]

To the Right Honorable and Honorable the Lords of Trade and Plantations

The Humble petition of the Merchants of Liverpool trading to Africa, and the Colonies whose names are subscribed, *Sheweth,* That your Petitioners are informed that the Assembly of Virginia have lately passed an Act to lay an additional duty of 5 per cent on all Negroes imported there from Africa.[2]

That your Petitioners are fully satisfied that that Act passed with no general view to the Public good but to the Private Emolument

[2] Since this was to be suspended until the king's consent had been given, it is probable that the act of 1769 providing for an additional duty of ten per cent. was merely a reiteration of this measure (Hening, VIII. 337-338). On Nov. 11, 1769, the Burgesses resolved that the duty act which was to expire Apr. 20, 1770, ought to be renewed, as well as the act laying a duty on slaves brought in from other colonies. Two bills were introduced and referred to committee to be welded into one, which was done and the resulting measure returned to the Burgesses (*Jour. of Burgesses*, 1766-1769, pp. 249, 263, 275, 289, 302, 352, 353; Hening, VIII. 336-337). An act to take effect Feb. 14, 1770, and to be in force till Oct. 25, 1771, was also passed in this session, laying a five per cent. duty for the "better support of contingent charges of government". *Ibid.*, pp. 342-348.

[115] [1] Sparks MSS., no. 43, vol. IV., p. 85. The members of Parliament from Bristol were instructed on Feb. 6, 1770, to oppose a Virginia duty act laying a ten per cent. duty ("Calendar of the Records of the Merchant Venturers", II. 177). On Nov. 23, 1770, the Board of Trade sent a representation to the king on two Virginia acts. *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XVII. 217.

[2] This probably refers to the act laying a five per cent. duty which was passed in 1769, to go into effect after Feb. 14, 1770. Hening, VIII. 342-348.

only of the Law makers whose Estates (the most considerable in that Country) would rise in value for the present in proportion as the number of Negroes is diminished which must inevitably be the case was this Bill to pass into a Law.

That there is now and has been for several years past a Duty of ten per cent upon all Slaves imported into the Colony of Virginia which though nominally paid by the purchaser of such slaves is in reality a Tax on the Merchant Importer and of course a great discouragement to this valuable branch of Commerce.

That it is needless to inform your Lordship of what vast consequence the Trade to Africa is to the Merchants and Manufacturers of this Kingdom and with respect to Virginia or any other of the adjacent Colonies on the Continent of North America nothing can be more manifest than that the cultivation of Tobacco Corn and Hemp must encrease in proportion to the number of hands employed for that purpose the two former of which Commodities are purchased principally by foreigners and are a real source of wealth both to this Kingdom and the Colonies.

Your Petitioners therefore humbly hope for your Lordships countenance and support in preventing the sinister views of Selfish men from interfering with and opposing the general good.[3]

[*Richard Jackson to the Board of Trade, 1770.*][4]

July 18th, 1770.

An act for laying additional Duty upon Slaves imported into this Colony. As this Act does not extend to felons transported from Great Britain I see no objection to it in point of Law, yet it rests with Your Lordships to determine how far it may be expedient in point of Commercial policy to approve so high a Duty on the importation of a considerable article of British Commerce. It is true the Duty is payable by the purchaser but this Provision is well known to be a mere delusion as all such Duties must in the end be paid by the Purchaser but being paid by the purchaser raise the price and thereby may probably lessen the demand. This too is an additional Duty and therefore the more burthensome but on the other hand perhaps the increase of Negroes by importation in a Country where the present Stock rather increases by procreation may perhaps be not improperly checked especially at a time when there is a new vent

[3] Signed by 56 persons; endorsed, "Recd. July 7th Read July 10th, 1770".
[4] Sparks MSS., no. 43, vol. IV., p. 84.

opened (the ceded Island)[5] which it is of so much importance should be speedily and plentifully supplied.[6]

[*Lord Dunmore to the Earl of Hillsborough, 1772.*][7]

WILLIAMSBURG 1st May 1772.

My Lord, The Acts of Assembly, Journals etc. are not yet ready for Sending, but I transmit to your Lordship an Address of the house of Burgesses, in their last Sitting, to his Majesty praying that the legislature of this Colony may not be restrained from passing a law which, as it appears to me, is evidently calculated for the good of this Country, and, with it, the interest of Great Britain. I hope your Lordship will present the said Address, and endeavour to dispose His Majesty to acquiesce in the desire of a Country whose loyalty and affection have been allway Conspicuous, and whose importance to the Mother Country, gives them a title to expect to be considered before those trading people in England, whose particular interest it may be to oppose this request.

The people of this Colony are very anxious for an Act to lay an additional duty upon the importation of Slaves, in order to restrain the introduction of people, the Number of whom, already in the Colony, gives them Just cause to apprehend the most dangerous Consequence therefrom, and therefore makes it necessary that they should fall upon means, not only of preventing their increase, but, also of lessening their number, and the interest of the Country would Manifestly require the total expulsion of them.

At present the Negroes are double the Number of white people in this Colony,[8] which, by the natural increase, and the great addition of new imported ones every year, is Sufficient to allarm not only

[5] The reference is probably to Grenada, since its demand for labor greatly surpassed that of the other ceded islands, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago.

[6] A year later (July 5, 1771) William Allason wrote to Thomas B. Martin: "No negroes of any kind offering for sale, by which it has not been in my power to execute your order" (*Richmond Coll. Hist. Papers*, II. 146). We know that Virginia was still considered a possible market, for in April, 1771, the Vernons of Newport had directed Capt. John Duncan to deliver his cargo of 71 negroes to Col. John Thornton at Rappahannock (this work, III. 248). The decline in the amount of the trade was not peculiar to Virginia: "By various Accounts from the Coast of Africa, and the West Indies we are informed that the Slave Trade is so fallen off that it is imagined some very extraordinary Event cannot be far distant in Favour of a wretched Race of Individuals whose Complexion have, for Centuries exposed them to all the Severities and Indignities of Servitude, that alone terminate with their Lives." *Va. Gazette*, Sept. 17, 1771.

[7] C. O. 5: 1350, f. 91; see Hist. MSS. Comm., *Fourteenth Report*, pt. X., *Dartmouth Papers*, II. 113. The Earl of Dunmore was governor in chief of Virginia from July, 1771, to June, 1775.

[8] This was in all probability a highly exaggerated estimate of the number of negroes in Virginia. One statement for 1770 gives 187,606 negroes in a total population of 447,008 (Greene and Harrington, *American Population before the Federal Census of 1790*, 1932, p. 141). For estimates at various dates see Gray, *Agriculture in the Southern United States*, II. 1025.

this Colony, but all the Colonies of America; but Supposing that, by unremitted observance of their conduct, a rigorous exertion of the Laws relating to them, and the most examplary punishment of all the refractory (a lamentable necessity for a Country to be under) they might so far Suceed as ever to prevent any insurrection from being Contrived among them, yet in case of a War (which may probably often happen) with Spain, or indeed any other power, that might make an attack upon this Colony, the people, with great reason, tremble at the facility that an enemy would find in procuring such a body of men; attached by no tye to their Masters or to the Country, on the contrary it is natural to Suppose their Condition must inspire them with an aversion to both, and therefore are ready to join the first that would encourage them to revenge themselves; by which means a Conquest of this Country would inevitably be effected in a very Short time; it cannot therefore but be a Matter of the greatest concern, to find proper means of averting a Calamity so alarming.

DUNMORE.

[*Address of the House of Burgesses to the King, 1772.*][9]

To the King's most excellent Majesty, The humble Address of the House of Burgesses of Virginia.

Most Gracious Sovereign, We your Majesty's dutiful and loyal Subjects the Burgesses of Virginia, now met in General Assembly, beg Leave with all Humility to approach your Royal Presence.

The many Instances of your Majesty's benevolent Intentions and most gracious Disposition to promote the Prosperity and Happiness of your Subjects in the Colonies, encourage us to look up to the Throne, and implore your Majesty's paternal Assistance in averting a Calamity of a most alarming Nature.

The Importation of Slaves into the Colonies from the Coast of Africa hath long been considered as a Trade of great Inhumanity, and, under its present Encouragement, we have too much reason to fear will endanger the very Existence of your Majesty's American Dominions.

We are sensible that some of your Majesty's Subjects in Great Britain may reap Emoluments from this Sort of Traffick, but when we consider that it greatly retards the Settlement of the Colonies with more useful Inhabitants, and may in Time, have the most

[9] C. O. 5: 1350, f. 95. Signed, "Payton Randolph, Speaker". This is the address drawn up by Benjamin Harrison, Archibald Cary, Edmund Pendleton, R. H. Lee, R. C. Nicholas, and Richard Bland and adopted April 1 (*Jour. of Burgesses*, 1770-1772, pp. 257, 283-284). The assembly also passed an act laying a duty of £5 per head on imported slaves. See *post*, no. 118.

destructive Influence, we presume to hope that the Interest of a few will be disregarded when placed in Competition with the Security and Happiness of such Numbers of your Majesty's dutiful and loyal Subjects.

Deeply impressed with these Sentiments, we most humbly beseech your Majesty to remove all those Restraints on your Majesty's Governors of this Colony which inhibit their assenting to such Laws, as might check so very pernicious a Commerce.

Your Majesty's ancient Colony and Dominion of Virginia hath at all Times and upon every Occasion been entirely devoted to your Majesty's sacred Person and Government, and we cannot forego this Opportunity of renewing those Assurances of the truest Loyalty and warmest Affection, which we have so often, with the greatest Sincerity, given to the Best of Kings, whose Wisdom and Goodness we esteem the surest Pledges of the Happiness of all his people.[10]

In the Earl of Dunmores
of the 1st May 1772.

[*Order in Council.*][11]

[Orders in accordance with a Committee report of 6 Dec., agreeing with a Board of Trade representation of 23 Nov., referred to them on 26 Nov., about two Virginia acts of Dec., 1769, (a) for laying an additional duty upon slaves imported into this colony, and (b) for the better support of the contingent charges of government.

The Board of Trade represented that by these two acts, the first of which has a suspending clause,] Additional Duties are Imposed upon the Importation of Negroes to the Amount of fifteen per Cent. upon every purchase (payable by the purchaser) over and above all other Duties upon Slaves imported, laid by former Laws now in force; And that these Duties which amount in the whole to twenty five per Cent. upon every purchase must have the effect and are they apprehend, intended to operate as an entire prohibition to the importation of Slaves into Virginia; [that the strongest reasons had been given for disallowing an act of 1728 for laying a duty on slaves imported into Virginia (*cf. Acts of the Privy Council,* III, pp, 64-5) :] that in the Year 1731 it was thought fit to allow the Governors of Your Majestys Colonies, to consent to Laws laying moderate Duties upon Negroes imported, provided such Duties were paid by the purchaser, and not by the Importer, and they humbly apprehend that

[10] On Dec. 19 an order of a committee of the Council referred this address to the Board of Trade, where it was read Jan. 25, 1773. Hist. MSS. Comm., *Fourteenth Report,* pt. X., *Dartmouth Papers,* II. 113, 131.

[11] *Acts P. C. C.,* V. 286-288.

it was under the Sanction of that permission, that Laws in the Colony of Virginia, subsequent to that period, laying Duties of ten per Cent. upon Negroes Imported have been suffered to pass, and therefore both from principle and experience the said Lords Commissioners might well entertain a Doubt of the propriety of the policy, on which that permission was grounded, and are able to show that the Distinction made between Duties paid by the Importer and the purchaser is fallacious, and that in fact the operation of either mode is the same; Yet they should not have suffered that Doubt and opinion to have now opposed themselves to a practice, that has without Complaint from the Merchants of this Kingdom universally prevailled in all Colonies which Import Slaves, had those Duties in the present Case, been confined within the Limits of Moderation; But when the privilege of laying moderate Duties payable by the purchaser is extended so far, as to have the effect of a prohibition, the objections made to the practice in the Year 1729 do stand forth in their full force and extent; For which Reason and for as much as the Merchants of Bristol Liverpool and Lancaster trading to Affrica, have both by their Representatives and by Memorials stated to the said Lords Commissioners the prejudice which these Laws will be of to the Trade and Commerce of those ports, it becomes their Duty, agreeing with them in opinion humbly to propose, that the first mentioned of these Laws may be disallowed; permitting the other which is made to continue only to October 1771, and has also reference to other matters which will require a different consideration, to expire by it's own Limitation; And that Your Majesty's Governor may be Instructed that he do not for the future give his assent without Your Majesty's permission first obtained to any Law, by which the Duties of ten per Cent. upon Slaves imported into that Colony imposed by former Laws shall be increased.

[On 4 Dec. the Committee ordered the instruction to be prepared (P.R.). It forbade the continuation of the act of Nov., 1769, and the enacting of any measure) by which the Importation of Slaves shall be in any respect prohibited or obstructed.

[Reference to the Committee, and by them on 19 Dec. [1772] to the Board of Trade, of a letter from Lord Dunmore to Lord Hillsborough, with an] Address of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, humbly beseeching His Majesty to remove all restraints upon His Majesty's Governors of that Colony, which inhibit their assenting to such Laws as might check the Importation of Slaves into the Colonies from the Coast of Africa, The Importation of such Slaves having long been considered as a Trade of great Inhumanity and under its present Encouragement, they have too much reason to fear will endanger the very Existence of His Majesty's American Dominions.

116. The Virginia Association of 1770.[1]

The Association entered into last Friday the 22d instant, by the Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses and the Body of Merchants, assembled in this city. . . .

Fourthly, That we will not import or bring into the colony or cause to be imported or brought into the colony, either by sea or land, any slaves, or make sale of any upon commission, or purchase any slave or slaves that may be imported by others, after the 1st day of November next, unless the same have been twelve months upon the continent. . . .

Signed in Williamsburg, this 22d of June, 1770.[2]

117. Thomas Jett to Captain Thomas Ward, 1770.[1]

July 5, 1770.

Mr. Hunter is now with me and at last has given me the commission account of Champe, Ward and Hunter, for the Slaves sold by them, wch acct. you have now enclosed, the Ball. thereof in your favour £826. 6. 6 besides Interest, you have also Inclosed the several accts. of Disbursements and expenses ch'd by him, one third of which you are debited for as well as the loss in the sundry Tob'o shiped by the return of the Guinea ships, all which he insists upon being right. The Commn. acct. for sales of the slaves consigned Messrs. Ward and Hunter he cannot yet make out but promises to do it.[2] . . .

[116] [1] *Va. Hist. Reg.*, III. 19-20; *Massachusetts Gazette and News Letter*, July 26, 1770. This of course preceded the address of the House of Burgesses of 1772 (*ante*, no. 115). For importation during the years immediately preceding the Association see *post*, no. 134 and notes.

[2] This closely resembles the non-importation agreement of the preceding year. The governor on May 17, 1769, had dissolved the Burgesses, whereupon the "late representatives" met at the house of Anthony Hay, elected Peyton Randolph moderator, and agreed, "Fifthly, That they will not import any Slaves or purchase any imported, after the First day of November next, until the said Acts of Parliament are repealed" (*Jour. of Burgesses*, 1766-1769, pp. xxxix-xli). Even before the agreement went into effect Virginia importation had declined: "Our trade here is very dull for want of Currency and consequently want of Payments. Our produce you know will seldom command money but [at] a considerable loss. The assotiators here are not so numerous as with you the merchants being chiefly Factors, who imports Goods as formerly no notice taken of it." William Allason to William Gregory, Oct. 20, 1769, *Richmond Coll. Hist. Papers*, II. 142.

[117] [1] *Wm. and Mary Coll. Quar.*, XXI. 88. Thomas Jett had been factor in Leeds, Westmoreland County, for John Morton Jordan, a merchant of King George County. *Ibid.*, XVII. 20.

[2] On July 24, 1769, Jett wrote to John Backhouse, a Liverpool merchant, "Mr. Hunter is now with me but can't furnish the accounts of the Guinea concern till some time next month". On Sept. 1 he added: "Mr. Hunter has not yet made any settlement relative to Capt. Ward's Guinea concerns. Assure Capt. Ward that he will do all he can to render him service in that disagreeable partnership." On July 5, 1770, he again wrote to Backhouse: "Inclosed you have Copy of our Acct. Cur't the credit therein of £30. 10. 0 for Int. on Hodges protest you will please acct. with Capt. Quinney for, Mr. James Hunter is now with me, and has made out his acct. of the African Commn. with Cap. Ward." *Ibid.*, XVII. 21, XXI. 85.

118. Act for laying a Duty on Slaves, 1772.[1]

An act for continuing and amending several acts, and reviving one act, for laying duties upon slaves imported.

I. Whereas an act of assembly, made in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of his late majesty king George the second, intituled An act for reviving the duty upon slaves to be paid by the buyers, for the term therein mentioned; and one other act of assembly, made in the thirty-third year of his said late majesty's reign intituled An act to oblige persons bringing slaves into this colony from Maryland, Carolina, and the West-Indies, for their own use, to pay a duty; which several acts have, from time to time, been continued by several other acts, will expire on the twentieth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-three, and it is found expedient and necessary that the said acts should be further continued and amended: And whereas an additional duty of five per cent. was laid on all slaves imported into this colony, by an act passed in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of his late majesty king George the second, intituled An act for the encouragement of the settlers upon the waters of the Mississippi, which duty was continued for five years, by an act passed in the third year of the reign of his present majesty, and was afterwards revived by an act, passed in the tenth year of his present majesty, intituled An act for the better support of the contingent charges of government, which expired on the twenty-fifth of October last, and it is necessary that the same should be revived: Be it therefore enacted, by the Governor, Council, and Burgesses, of this present General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted, by the authority of the same, That so much of the said act, intituled An act for the better support of the contingent charges of government, as relates to the imposing, collecting, and accounting for, the said additional duty of five per cent. upon slaves shall be revived, and that it shall continue and be in force, from and after the twentieth of April next, for and during the space of six years, and from thence to the end of the next session of assembly.

II. And whereas it is represented to this present general assembly, that many frauds have been committed by some importers of slaves into this colony, who do not enter them with the proper officers at all, and by others who make sham and pretended sales of slaves, by exposing them at public auction, in large numbers, the importer or owner still retaining the real property, and afterwards disposing of such slaves at advanced prices, whereby the country, in some instances, is totally deprived of the duty, and, in others, the said duty is greatly lessened: For remedy whereof, Be it enacted, by the Gov-

[118] [1] Hening, VIII. 530-532.

ernor, Council, and Burgesses, of this present General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted, by the authority of the same, That from and after the tenth day of June next, every owner or importer of any slave or slaves, from any country or place whatever, either by land, or water, shall, within the time prescribed by law, for reporting at the customhouse the cargo of any ship or vessel, and within the time prescribed by the said last mentioned act, for delivering to the county court clerks a list of all slaves imported or brought from any part of America, deliver in, upon oath, to the naval officer of each district, or to the county court clerks respectively, as the case may be, a true and perfect list or manifest of all slaves by him or her imported; and if any owner or importer shall fail so to do, he or she shall forfeit and pay the sum of twenty pounds for every slave so secreted, or of which such owner or importer shall fail to give in such list or manifest, to be recovered with full costs, by action of debt, by the informer, for his own use, in any court of record within this dominion. And every naval officer, and county court clerk, shall, within two months after such list or manifest is delivered to him, transmit an exact copy thereof to the treasurer of this colony for the time being; and every officer or clerk failing herein, shall forfeit and pay the sum of ten pounds, to be recovered with costs of suit by the said treasurer, in his own name, but for the use of the public, by action of debt in any court of record.

III. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That for every slave imported into this colony from Maryland, Carolina, and the West-Indies, or any other part of America, except such as are excepted by the said act, there shall, from and after the said tenth day of June next, be paid to our sovereign lord the king, his heirs, and successors, in lieu of the twenty per cent. ad valorem, a duty of five pounds by the head, to be collected and paid to the treasurer of this colony for the time being, and by him accounted for in the same manner as by the said recited acts is directed.

IV. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That so much of the said recited acts of assembly, and every clause and article thereof as is not altered by this act, together with this act, shall continue and be in force from and after the twentieth day of April, which shall be in the year of our lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-three, for and during the term of five years, and from thence to the end of the next session of general assembly.

V. [The duties to be paid to Robert Carter Nicholas, treasurer.][2]

[2] "[Three Virginia acts of April, 1772 . . . (b) for continuing and amending several acts and reviving one act for laying duties upon slaves imported; and (c) to compel ships importing convicts, servants or slaves infected with the goal fever or

119. Notices of Sales, 1772.[1]

June 4, 1772.

Two Hundred very likely African Slaves will be sold at Petersburg, on Thursday the 11th of this Instant (June). The Terms of Payment will be made known on the Day of Sale. Tobacco at the Cash Price, and Merchants Notes payable in Williamsburg, will be received; and five per Cent. will be discounted for ready Money. Hugh M'Mekin, Ninian Menzies, John Walker and Co.

N. B. The Slaves are all remarkably healthy, and none of them exceed twenty five years of Age.

July 9, 1772.

Just arrived from Africa, the Snow *Nancy,* James E. Colly Commander, with about two Hundred and fifty fine healthy Windward and Gold Coast Slaves, the Sale of which will begin at Osborne's, on James River, on Wednesday the 29th Instant (July) and continue until all are sold. Merchants Notes, payable at the General Courts in Williamsburg, will be received in Payment. John Lawrence, William Call and Co.

July 30, 1772.

Just arrived from Africa, the Snow *Thomas,* Thomas Lewis, with two Hundred fine healthy Slaves; the Sale of which will begin at Osborne's, on James River, on Thursday the 13th of August, and continue until all are sold. Burnley and Braikenridge.

N. B. We propose to give Credit where good Security is given.

Aug. 20, 1772.

Just arrived from Africa, the Ship *Union,* Charles Pole Commander, with about two Hundred and eighty fine healthy Gold Coast Slaves, the Sale of which will begin at Osborne's, on James River, on Wednesday the 26th of this Instant (August) and continue until all are sold. Merchants Notes payable in Williamsburg, at the General Courts, will be received in Payment. John Lawrence, William Call and Co.

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small pox to perform quarantine—are disallowed, on the Committee report of 5 April, agreeing with a Board of Trade representation referred to them on 26 March:] . . .

"[The second act revives and continues part of an expired act of 10 George III, which laid an additional duty of 5% on the purchase of slaves imported, although the Governor had been instructed not to assent to any such act for the future. . . .]"

The third act was disallowed because it would act as a total prohibition of the importation of convicts. *Acts P. C. C.*, V. 362-363.

[119] [1] *Va. Gazette*, June 4, July 9, 16, 30, Aug. 6, 13, 20, Sept. 24, Oct. 1, 22, 1772. For other notices of sales see *post*, no. 134, notes.

Sept. 24, 1772.[2]

Just arrived from Africa, the Ship *Prince of Wales,* James Bivins Commander, with about Four Hundred fine healthy Slaves: the Sale of which will begin at Bermuda Hundred, on Thursday the 8th of October, and continue until all are sold. JOHN WAYLES, RICHARD RANDOLPH.

120. ROBERT PLEASANTS TO ANTHONY BENEZET, 1774.[1]

VIRGINIA, 2d mo. 22d, 1774.

Dear friend. . . . I think the Phisition has handled the subject of Slavery in a masterly manner, altho I suppose he may have very little reason to expect to share with his antagonist the thanks of the African Company, but let that be as it may, he will receive what I expect will be more agreeable to him, the approbation of Judicious sencible men. I highly approved and sincerely wish the several petitions to the King and Parliament may have the desired effect, but I fear there is not virtue and resolution sufficient to forgo or withstand a present (tho false and imaginary) interest in the continuation of a wicked and destructive Trade. I have sent one of the papers containing the address and advice to those Mercht., to the Printer, and doubt not they will shortly appear in our *Gazette* and as it seems the attempts of our Assembly to prohibit the further Importation of Slaves by an imposition of high Dutys, has been frustrated (as I find is the case in N. york) does thou not think that Acts of the Colonys making all free after a certain term of Servitude like other foreigners taking place at a future period so as that all concerned in the Trade might have notice of such law, would not be (when accompanied with pertinent reasons) more effectually to put an end to it, and be more likely to be approved by the King and Council than a prohibition by Duties for I have been told our Governor (and its not unlikely others also) has instructions to pass no such laws. I just drop this hint for thy consideration. . . .

121. RESOLUTIONS RELATING TO SLAVE TRADE, 1774.[1]

[June, 1774.]

At a General Meeting of the Freeholders and Inhabitants of Prince George's County, Virginia, the following Resolves were proposed and unanimously agreed to. . . .

[2] On May 27 and June 3, 1773, the following notice appeared in the *Gazette*: "A Small Cargo of Choice Gold Coast Slaves, well assorted and healthy, also a fine Fellow who understands the Sailmaking Business, will be sold at Alexandria, on the Potowmack River, on Wednesday the 9th of June, for Cash, or good Bills. BALDWIN MATTHEWS BUCKNER."

[120] [1] *Wm. and Mary Coll. Quar.*, second ser., I. 109. Pleasants, a Virginia Quaker, was the president of the Virginia Abolition Society. *Ibid.*, I. 168.

[121] [1] Peter Force, *American Archives*, fourth ser., I. 493-494, 686, 687; *Va. Gazette*, June 30, 1774.

Resolved, That the African Trade is injurious to this Colony, obstructs the population of it by freemen, prevents manufacturers and other useful emigrants from Europe from settling amongst us, and occasions an annual increase of the balance of trade against this Colony. . . .

[August 1, 1774.]

At a very full Meeting of Delegates from the different Counties in the Colony and Dominion of Virginia, begun in Williamsburg the first day of August, in the year of our Lord 1774, and continued by several adjournments to Saturday, the 6th of the same month, the following Association was unanimously resolved upon and agreed to: . . .

2d. We will neither ourselves import, nor purchase any slave or slaves imported by any other person, after the first day of November next, either from Africa, the West Indies, or any other place.[2]

122. Proceedings of the Committee of Correspondence, 1775.[1]

Committee Chamber, Norfolk, March 6, 1775.

Trusting to your sure resentment against the enemies of your Country, we, the Committee, elected by ballot for the Borough of Norfolk, hold up for your just indignation Mr. John Brown, Merchant, of this place. We are fully sensible of the great caution with which publick censure should be inflicted, and, at all times, are heartily disposed to accomplish the great design of the Association by the gentle methods of reason and persuasion. But an unhappy proneness to unmanly equivocation, which has so much distinguished Mr. Brown, and for which he has, in more than one instance, been censured by the voice of the people, added to the present manifest discovery of his secret and most direct attempt to defeat the measures of the Congress, in the case now before us, and of some very

[2] Sept. 7, 1774, Allason to Andrew Sproule, a Norfolk merchant: "The demand for negroes this way never was worse than at present, for not only money but Tobacco and every other produce of the Country comes in very slowly" (*Richmond Coll. Hist. Papers*, II. 156). On Sept. 5, the Virginia delegates to the Continental Congress presented a "Summary View of the Rights of British America" which contained the words: "For the most trifling reasons, and sometimes for no conceivable reason at all, his majesty has rejected laws of the most salutary tendency. The abolition of domestic slavery is the great object of desire in those colonies, where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state. But previous to the enfranchisement of the slaves we have, it is necessary to exclude all further importations from Africa; yet our repeated attempts to effect this by prohibitions and by imposing duties which might amount to a prohibition have been hitherto defeated by his majesty's negative: Thus preferring the immediate advantages of a few African [British, in later copy] corsairs to the lasting interests of the American states, and to the rights of human nature deeply wounded by this infamous practice." *Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (ed. Ford), I. 440.

[122] [1] Force, *Am. Arch.*, fourth ser., II. 33-34.

unjustifiable steps taken to conceal his disingenuous conduct, hath precluded us from the milder methods we would wish to adopt, and compelled us to give the publick the following narration: On Thursday, the 2d of March, this Committee were informed of the arrival of The Brig *Fanny,* Captain Watson, with a number of Slaves for Mr. Brown; and, upon inquiry, it appeared that they were shipped from Jamaica as his property, and on his account; that he had taken great pains to conceal their arrival from the knowledge of the Committee; and that the shipper of the Slaves, Mr. Brown's correspondents, and the Captain of the Vessel, were all fully apprized of the Continental prohibition against that article. These circumstances induced a suspicion that Mr. Brown had given orders for the Slaves himself, which he positively denied, asserting that he had expressly forbidden his correspondents to send any, as being contrary to the Association, for the truth of which he appealed to his own letter-book. The Secretary being desired, at the request of Mr. Brown, to attend him to inspect the orders said to have been given, reported that he had had some slight and hasty glances at letters written between the middle of December and beginning of January, and was sorry to say he had seen one directed to Mr. Henderson, and another to Mr. Livingston, both of the date of December, and a third to Messrs. Campbells, of the first of January, all containing positive and particular orders for remittances to be made him in Slaves; at the same time hinting the necessity of secrecy, as it is an article, he writes, he could not avowedly deal in. The Secretary also reported, that he had seen a postscript, written a few days after the determination of this Committee, directing the return of a Slave imported from Antigua, in which postscript Mr. Brown writes his correspondent to send him no more than two Negro lads, as it would be dangerous to sell them here. But his orders to his other correspondents appear to have been so positive that they were complied with, notwithstanding his friend writes him that good Slaves would sell to more advantage in Jamaica than in Virginia. From the whole of this transaction, therefore, we, the Committee for Norfolk Borough, do give it as our unanimous opinion, that the said John Brown has wilfully and perversely violated the Continental Association, to which he had, with his own hand, subscribed obedience; and that agreeable to the Eleventh Article we are bound "forthwith to publish the truth of the case, to the end that all such foes to the rights of British America may be publickly known, and universally

contemned, as the enemies of American Liberty, and that every person may henceforth break off all dealings with him."

MATTHEW PHRIPP, Chairman.

JAMES TAYLOR	JOHN BOUSH
JOHN HUTCHINGS	JAMES HOLT
JOHN LAWRENCE	NIEL JAMIESON
JOSEPH HUTCHINGS	ROBERT TAYLOR
THOMAS NEWTON, JR.	THOMAS CLAIBORNE
THOMAS RITSON	SAMUEL INGLIS

Extract from the Minutes.

WILLIAM DAVIES, Secretary.

123. ACT FOR PREVENTING THE FURTHER IMPORTATION OF SLAVES, 1778.[1]

WILLIAMSBURG, October, 1778.

I. For preventing the farther importation of slaves into this Commonwealth, Be it enacted by the General Assembly, That from and after the passing of this act no slave or slaves shall hereafter be imported into this commonwealth by sea or land, nor shall any slaves so imported be sold or bought by any person whatsoever.

II. Every person hereafter importing slaves into this commonwealth contrary to this act shall forfeit and pay the sum of one thousand pounds for every slave so imported, and every person selling or buying any such slaves shall in like manner forfeit and pay the sum of five hundred pounds for every slave so sold or bought, one moiety of which forfeitures shall be to the use of the commonwealth, and the other moiety to him or them that will sue for the same, to be recovered by action of debt or information in any court of record.

III. And be it farther enacted, That every slave imported into this commonwealth, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, shall, upon such importation become free.

IV. Provided always, That this act shall not be construed to extend to those who may incline to remove from any of the United States, and become citizens of this, provided, that within ten days after their removal into the same they take the following oath before some magistrate of this commonwealth: "I, A. B. do swear, that my

[123] [1] Hening, IX. 471-472; see *Jour. of the Senate,* 1778, pp. 8-10; *Jour. of the House of Delegates,* pp. 19-23. The vigorous protest against the slave trade incorporated in the constitution adopted by Virginia is to be found in Hening, IX. 112-113. The part taken by the state in the debate over the slave trade in the Constitutional Convention is reviewed by Alton B. Parker in "The Foundations in Virginia", *Wm. and Mary Coll. Quar.,* second ser., I. 10.

removal to the state of Virginia was with no intention to evade the act for preventing the farther importation of slaves within this commonwealth, nor have I brought with me, or will cause to be brought, any slaves, with an intent of selling them, nor have any of the slaves now in my possession been imported from Africa, or any of the West India islands, since the first day of November, 1778. So help me God." Or to travellers and others, making a transient stay in this commonwealth, bringing slaves with them for necessary attendance, and carrying them out again.[2]

V. Provided also, and be it farther enacted, That this act shall not be construed to extend to persons claiming slaves by descent, devise, or marriage, or to any citizens of this commonwealth being now the actual owners and proprietors of slaves residing or being in any of the United States and removing such slaves into this commonwealth.

VI. And it is farther enacted, That so much of an act of assembly made in the year 1753, intituled "An act for the better government of servants and slaves", as comes within the purview of this act, shall be, and the same is hereby repealed.[3]

124. Thomas Newton to Governor James Monroe, 1801.[1]

February 4, 1801.

Mr. Wm. Pennock, agent for the Navy, has just informed me that Capt. Baron, of the *Chesapeake* Frigate, has sent in here a vessel belonging to one of the N. England Governments, which had a cargo of slaves on board bound to the Havanna from Guinea. About 30 slaves are now on board the prize; the remainder were taken on board the Frigate, for the vessel was short of provisions and too thick stowed to proceed with the whole of them. Capt. Baron's humanity

[2] Such exceptions were certain to raise difficult questions in administering the law. See *Cal. Va. St. P.*, VIII. 255-256.

[3] In 1793 Virginia took a further step: "And be it further enacted, That in case any slave shall be brought or come into this state from Africa or the West India islands, directly or indirectly, upon information thereof given to any justice of the peace, it shall be his duty to cause such slave to be apprehended immediately and transported out of this commonwealth, and the expense attending such transportation, shall be paid by the person importing such slave, recoverable in the name of the justice directing such slave to be transported, by warrant before a single magistrate" (*Statutes at Large of Virginia*, new ser., I. 239). The procedure by which slaves were to be apprehended and sent from the state was stated in some detail in an act passed in 1801 (*ibid.*, II. 301). In the years that followed 1793 the interest shifted from the trade to the question of emancipation. The object of Judge Tucker when he sent his queries to Jeremy Belknap of Massachusetts was to remove the obstacles to emancipation. Importation into the state he obviously believed to be ended and the share of Virginians in the trade to other colonies was considered too small to demand attention. Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, first ser., IV. 191-211.

[124] [1] *Cal. Va. St. P.*, IX. 197-198. Most of the material relating to the nineteenth century illustrates difficulties in no sense peculiar to Virginia but rather related to her history in some incidental manner.

is much applauded in doing it, as it has probably saved the lives of so many human beings. The vessel is moored at Craney Island, and none will be permitted to land. I shall be obliged to your Excellency for instructions how I am to act on this subject, as it is a new case. Mr. Pennock has wrote to the Secretary of the Navy on the subject, but as our Laws prohibit the importation, and the Law of Congress directs the capture of vessels trading to Guinea, I am at a loss how to act. . . .

About 30 slaves are bro't in.[2]
25 Do. on bd. *Chesapeake* Frigate.

125. Philip Norborne Nicholas to Governor James Monroe, 1801.[1]

February 11, 1801.

Your favor of yesterday with its inclosures I duly received, and have considered with much attention the subject upon which you request my opinion.

By an Act of Congress passed on 22d of March, 1794, entitled "An Act to prohibit the carrying on the slave trade from the United States to any foreign place or country", after a clause prohibiting the slave trade to be carried on by any citizens or residents of the United States to any foreign country, it enacts, "and if any ship or vessel shall be so fitted out as aforesaid for the said purposes, or shall be caused to sail so as aforesaid, every such ship or vessel, her tackle, furniture, apparel and other appurtenances shall be forfeited to the United States, and shall be liable to be seized, prosecuted and condemned in any of the Circuit Courts, or District Court, whence the said ship or vessel may be found and seized." [2] This act although it provides for the forfeiture of the vessel etc. in case it is contravened, is silent as to the disposition of any slaves that may be found on board any vessel engaged in this illicit trade. The Act of Virginia Assembly which passed upon the subject of the importation of free negroes and mulattoes into this Commonwealth on the 10th of Dec., 1793, in the 4th Sec. declares, "That in case any slave shall be brought or come into this State from Africa or the West India Islands, directly or indirectly, upon information thereof given to any Justice of the Peace, it shall be his duty to cause such slave to be apprehended immediately, and transported out of this

[2] On Aug. 28, 1802, Newton wrote: "If there are any condemned negroes to be transported, there is an opportunity to sell about 30 to a place from which there will be no danger of their returning to Virginia." *Cal. Va. St. P.,* IX. 318.

[125] [1] *Ibid.,* pp. 199-200.

[2] *Statutes at Large of Virginia,* I. 347-349.

Commonwealth, and the expence attending such transportation shall be paid by the person importing such slave, recoverable in the name of the Justice directing such slave to be transported by warrant before a single Magistrate.[3] It is clear from this clause of the Act of Assembly, that persons of the description therein mentioned, were intended by the Legislature to be entirely excluded from the State limits, since it makes it the duty of the Magistracy to cause such slaves to be apprehended immediately and transported out of the Commonwealth.

The Act of Congress does not conflict with this Act in its provisions since it is silent as to the disposition of negroes on board of vessels engaged in this traffic. I am aware that it may be said that the power to try such vessels in the Courts of the United States, necessarily gives the power to bring such vessels and their cargoes into any port of the United States. I am also aware that the laws of the Union when constitutionally made, are paramount to the State laws, and that where there is a conflict, the latter must yield to the former. I cannot, however, think that a State law can be repealed and nullified by an Act of Congress by a side Wind or new implication. The provisions of the Act of Congress ought to be express, and if such act can exist and be reconciled with the State law, I do not think that the State law will be construed to be repealed.

As I see nothing in the Act of Congress interfering with the act of our Assembly, I suppose the latter is still in force.

If it be so there can be no doubt that the negroes which are mentioned in Col. Newton's letter, and which are stated to come from Africa, are excluded by our laws from this State.

126. Case of the *Sally*, 1801.[1]

The Secretary of the Treasury, to whom was referred the petition of Elias De Butts, William Combs, and others, praying compensation for damages sustained by the seizure and detention of a vessel and cargo, libelled on suspicion of being engaged in the slave trade, and afterwards acquitted and restored to them, respectfully submits the following report:

The Schooner *Sally*, of Norfolk, sixty tons burthen, and with a crew of six or seven men, arrived in the river Patuxent in the month of November, 1801, without any papers whatever on board, the master, Elias De Butts, having, as was stated by the crew, ordered

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 239.

[126] [1] *American State Papers, Commerce and Navigation*, I. 726. This is signed by Albert Gallatin. An American vessel, the *Richmond*, which sailed to St. Helena, "from thence to Mozambique, on the coast of Africa, with a design of proceeding afterwards with a cargo of slaves to the Havannah", may have had a Virginia connection, but the editor knows of no proof that such was the case. Catterall, *Judicial Cases*, I. 26.

her to that port, and proceeded himself to Baltimore. Under those circumstances, the collector of Nottingham took possession of the vessel on the seventeenth of November, and caused the cargo to be landed. On the 27th of the same month Captain De Butts made his appearance, and produced the papers of the vessel. By these it appeared that she was the property of William Combs, of Norfolk, and that she had cleared on the 10th of October from Charleston, S. C. for Cape de Verd Islands. From distress of weather on the voyage, and having sprung a leak, she had put in to the Chesapeake. The cargo consisted of 20 hhds. of tobacco, 6 do. of rum, 20 bbls. flour, 36 do. bread, 25 kegs crackers, 34 pair oars, 937 feet inch plank, 241 feet scantling, 54 pair hand cuffs, and sundry chains, bolts, staples, and long bars, a small box glass beads, and 37 shaken hogsheads. The three last articles were omitted in the manifest. The collector, under all the circumstances of the case, inferred that the vessel was intended for the slave trade, and applied to the treasury for instructions. After consulting the attorney general, it was decided that the vessel should be libelled, under the acts prohibiting the slave trade; and the grounds on which that decision was made will appear from the following extracts of letters from the Secretary of the Treasury to the collector of Nottingham, and to the Comptroller of the Treasury, both under date of 30th November, 1801. The letter to the Collector was as followeth:

Upon a full view of the circumstances stated in your letter, and of those which appear on a comparative view of the actual cargo, and that entered in the manifest of the Schooner *Sally,* late from Charleston, the presumptive evidence that she was intended for the slave trade is such as to make it the duty of the Executive to have a prosecution instituted, leaving it to the ordinary course of law to decide whether the equipment of the vessel was actually for that purpose or not.

The reasons which induce that determination are, that certain parts of the cargo, *viz.* hand-cuffs, etc. could be intended only for the slave trade; that other parts of the cargo were essentially necessary for the same object, *viz.* principally the scantling and planks for partition; and the 35 shaken hogsheads to be filled with the necessary water for the return voyage; that the cargo itself, though not, if considered alone, a subject of suspicion, affords corroborating proof of intention, inasmuch as it was precisely such as was calculated for the trade, *viz.* rum, tobacco, beads, and provisions, and that those parts of the cargo, which, from their nature, were most likely to disclose the object, *viz.* the hand-cuffs, shaken hogsheads, and beads, were omitted in the manifest. To these may be added the conduct of the captain, when forced by stress of weather into the Chesapeake, *viz.* passing by Norfolk, where the vessel belongs, ordering her to as private a place as he could devise, and going himself to Baltimore with the vessel's papers.

The district attorney will receive instructions to institute the proper suits, and, until you shall hear from him, you will be pleased to detain the vessel and

cargo, taking, however, such steps as may be essentially necessary for the preservation of both.

The manifest, clearance, etc. are forwarded to the district attorney. The temporary register remains with the captain. A circumstance, though not necessarily connected with the intended prosecution, appears rather mysterious. The vessel belongs to a Mr. Combs, of Norfolk; Captain De Butts, who seems to have acted for him, chartered the vessel, as he says, for himself and two other persons in New York or Charleston. Neither his authority from the owner, nor the charter party, nor any articles of agreement between the co-partners for the voyage, are produced; it seems that, if every thing was fair, and the object of the voyage innocent, those papers would have been exhibited in proof thereof. . . .

The vessel and cargo were accordingly libelled by the district attorney of Maryland; but no other proofs appearing on trial, they were acquitted by the district judge, on the 7th of January following; and on the 11th of the same month the collector was served with the order for restoring, which was accordingly complied with. The appeal filed by the district attorney did not prevent the restoration of the vessel and cargo, and was intended merely to settle a point of law, *viz.* whether such prosecutions should, as admiralty suits, be decided by the court or be tried by a jury. The question has been decided, contrary to the opinion of the district attorney, in favor of the jurisdiction of the court without the intervention of a jury.

Subsequent to the restoration of the vessel and cargo to Captain De Butts, the owner, William Combs, who is one of the petitioners, came to Nottingham in pursuit of his vessel, which he stated to have been kept by the captain contrary to his wish, and the intended voyage to Africa to have commenced without his knowledge. He executed, on the 26th Jan. 1802, an instrument of writing, exonerating the custom house officers from any damages that might arise in consequence of the seizure of the vessel; and he made, at the same time, an affidavit, stating, amongst other things, that when Captain De Butts took the command of his vessel, in March 1801, no handcuffs, chains, bolts, bars or locks, were on board, and that he verily believed those articles to have been taken on board at Charleston, on her intended voyage for Africa. This was intended to rebut the assertion that those suspicious articles were merely iron ballast which had been on board previous to Captain De Butts taking command of the vessel.

Mr. Combs failed in his attempt to regain possession of the schooner. Captain De Butts took her to Baltimore, where, having signed accounts for wages to the seamen, she was libelled by them, and sold on that account. That was altogether a proceeding of the parties, and how the matter was settled between the owner and the captain is not known.

In estimating the damages actually arising from the seizure and subsequent proceedings, it will be recollected that the detention of the vessel, from the 17th November to the end of that month, was solely owing to the conduct of the captain in going to Baltimore, and carrying the papers with him. From the first day of December, 1801, to the 11th day of January following, a period of 42 days, the vessel and cargo were detained by reason of the seizure and prosecution instituted by order of Government; and to that extent injury and actual damages have been sustained by the parties.

Whether they are entitled to remuneration on that account, is a question which must depend on the evidence on which the seizure was made. That point did not, and could not, come before the court. The decree merely states that it appears to the court that the schooner was not fitted, equipped, etc. for the purpose of carrying on a trade and traffic in slaves; but not, as is stated in the petition, that there appeared no evidence to justify the seizure. All the facts as they were at the time stated, and on which Government proceeded, appear in this report, and will be found more at large in the correspondence and papers hereto annexed.

From these, a correct opinion on the question of compensation by government may be formed. But it is proper to add, that, if the proceedings were instituted on erroneous or insufficient grounds, there was not at least any wish to oppress the parties. For, by the absence of the captain on the arrival of the vessel, and consequent omission to make report and entry, within the time limited by law, there being distilled spirits on board, a forfeiture of the rum, and two penalties, of five hundred and one thousand dollars, had unquestionably been incurred: for neither of which was any prosecution instituted. The vessel and cargo having been libelled for what was considered the greater offence, it was thought that the loss of the whole property, in case of condemnation, would be a sufficient punishment for all the offences, and that, in case of acquittal, which presupposed innocence of being concerned in the slave trade, it would be oppressive to add a rigid recovery of the other penalties to the injury caused by the unavoidable detention of the vessel and cargo.

127. Fontaine Maury to Governor James Monroe, 1802.[1]

August 12, 1802, New York.

Some little time ago three French ships of war arrived at this port from Gaudaloupe, via Carthagena, where they touched with the view to sell or otherwise dispose of a number of renegade negroes they

[127] [1] *Cal. Va. St. P.*, IX. 317-318.

have on board, but the Spanish Government not permitting them to be landed, they proceeded hither and dispatched a vessel to General Le Clerc for further instructions as to the mode of disposing of them, which they daily expect to receive. The number of these unfortunate half-starved wretches, already arrived and momentarily expected in the other ships of war, amount to 1500, and the best information I can collect, after having been at due pains to procure it, I have little doubt but they will attempt to dispose of them along the Southern coast in a clandestine manner. They have in many instances offered them for sale in this city, in open violation of the laws. Sixty of them have been taken sick and thrown into the Marine Hospital, and daily additions may well be expected to that number.

Although this information may not in every respect be correct, yet I believe it so, and in consequence of the extreme agitation of the public mind I have deemed it expedient to impart it to you, with a view that you may make such use of it as you may think necessary and proper to guard against a measure which must highly endanger the peace and tranquility of the State you represent and those south of it.

I have written to the Secretary of State and to Governor Mirar and Genl. Moultrie and Col. Wade Hampton have communicated with Governors of the Carolinas and Georgia on the subject.

128. Colonel William Davies to Governor James Monroe, 1802.[1]

Collectors Office, Norfolk
August 24th, 1802.

Captain Drummond, entered at this office just arrived from Charleston and reports that on his passage two days ago spoke a French frigate from Cape Francois full of negroes, off Cape Hatteras and appeared to be steering for the Capes of Virginia, and that there was a report at Charleston when he left it (which was confirmed by Capt. Cowper a passenger from Charleston lately arrived from Cape Francois) it was the determination of the French Government there to transport from St Domingo such of the Blacks as had borne arms against the French. As the arrival of these people might possibly be a subject of executive regulation, I have thought it my duty to make this communication to you. . . .

[128] [1] *Cal. Va. St. P.*, IX. 318; MSS. Va. State Library. Endorsed: "Wm. Davies on the subject of Negroes on board the French ships of War from St. Domingo, 1802 Aug. 24th His Excellency James Monro Esquire, Governor of Virginia, Rich."

129. Act to amend the several Laws concerning Slaves, 1806.[1]

January 25, 1806.

1. Be it enacted by the general assembly, That if any slave or slaves shall hereafter be brought into this commonwealth, and shall either be kept therein one whole year, or so long at different times as shall amount to one year, or shall be sold or hired within this commonwealth, in every such case, the owner shall forfeit all right to such slave or slaves, which right shall absolutely vest in the overseers of the poor of any county or corporation, who shall apprehend, or shall attempt to apprehend such forfeited slave or slaves within their jurisdiction, in trust for the benefit of the poor of such county or corporation. . . .[2]

5. . . . if the jury shall find that the said slave or slaves were brought into this commonwealth, and have remained therein, contrary to the provisions of this act, the court shall make an order, directing him, her or them to be delivered to the overseers of the poor, to be by them sold for cash and applied as herein directed. . . .

8. Every person hereafter bringing into this commonwealth any slave or slaves, contrary to this act, shall forfeit and pay the sum of four hundred dollars for every slave so brought in; and every person selling, buying or hiring any such slave or slaves, knowing the same to have been brought in contrary to the provisions of this act, shall forfeit and pay the sum of four hundred dollars for every slave so bought, sold or hired; which forfeitures shall accrue to the use of the commonwealth, to be recovered by action of debt or information, in which the defendant shall be held to special bail; judgment shall be rendered without regard to any exception for want of form, and an attorney's fee of twenty dollars shall be taxed in the bill of costs. . . .

130. Negroes imported into Virginia, 1699-1708.

A list of all Ships and Vessells that have come from the Coast of Africa by the way of Barbados And Imported Negroes into Her Maj'ts Colony and Dominion of Virginia from the 24th day of June 1699 to the 12th day of October 1708.[1]

Time of Importation	Ship's Name	Of what Place	Master's Name	Negroes imported by	
				The Company	Separate Traders
Sept. 1, 1701	*Neptune*	London	Henry Forty		79
Dec. 27, 1701	*Expectation*	Bristoll	Wm. Levercombe		67
Apr. 24, 1702	*Ann Bonaventure*	London	Fra: Martyn		90
					236

[Notes to nos. 129 and 130 on p. 173.]

A List of all Ships and Vessells that have come directly from The Coast of Africa and Imported Negroes into Her Maj'ties Colony and Dominion of Virginia from the 24th day of June 1699 to the 12th day of October 1708.[2]

Time of Importation	Ship's Name	Of what Place	Master's Name	Negroes imported by	
				The Company	Separate Traders
July 8, 1700	*Nicholson*	London	Joseph Munday[3]		229
July 9, 1701	*Two brothers*	London	Roger Gray		60
July 10, 1701	*Shrewsbury* Gally	London	Jona. Gladiman		154
July 28, 1701	*African* Gally	London	James Westmore		57
Sept. 1, 1701	*Warner*	London	Jno. Jarman		184
Sept. 2, 1701	*Nicholson*	London	Joseph Munday		262
May 27, 1702	*Mary*	London	Ambrose Smith		143
Aug. 5, 1702	*Callibar Merch't*	London	Ph: Gadsdon		181
June 4, 1703	*Angola* frigat[4]	London	Thomas Arnold	92	
Sept. 1, 1703	*Ann*	Bristoll	Hump: Howard		64
Aug. 7, 1704	*Ann* Gally	London	Nicho. Gellibrand		81
Aug. 8, 1704	*Mermaid*	London	James French		229
Sept. 1, 1704	*William*	London	Wm. Martyn		110
Sept. 4, 1704	*Postillion*[5]	London	John Tozer	76	
Oct. 20, 1704	*Eagle* Gally	London	Wm. Snelgrave[6]		229
Oct. 21, 1704	*Codrington*	London	Francis Squerrel		262
June 29, 1705	*Dorothy*[7]	London	Edward Tomas	75	
July 9, 1705	*London* Gally[8]	London	John Bickford		240
July 9, 1705	*Jno. Bonaventure*	London	Anthony Ford		420
July 24, 1705	*Constant Abigal*	London	Jno. Vanburgh		148
Aug. 26, 1705	*Wm. and Mary*	London	Wm. Bell		90
Aug. 13, 1705	*Thomas and John*[9]	London	Robert Ransom		292
Aug. 20, 1705	*Claron* Frigat	London	Thomas Smith		109
Aug. 21, 1705	*Angola* Frigatt	London	Thomas Arnol[d]	214	
Aug. 27, 1705	*Phoenix* Sloop[10]	London	Tho: Durham	51	
Apr. 19, 1706	*William*	London	Jno. Collingwood		120
May 13, 1706	*Neptune*	London	Wm. Thurticle		243
June 3, 1706	*Eagle* Gally	London	Wm. Snelgrave		300
Sept. 18, 1706	*Waking Lyon*	Bristoll	Arnol Wimtell		154
Sept. 24, 1706	*African* Gally	Bristoll	Francis Bond		196
June 13, 1707	*Dolphyn*	London	Nevinson Taylor		175
Aug. 21, 1707	*Ann* Gally	London	Alexander Miller		209
[*illegible*]		Bristoll	Wm. Love		158
Aug. 29, 1707	*Bridgwater*	London	Wm. Cooke	171	
May 19, 1708	*Eagle* Gally	London	Wm. Snelgrave		296
May 24, 1708	*Jno and Constant*	London	Saml. Parker		297
				679	5692[11]

[129] [1] *Va. Statutes,* new ser., III. 251-253.

[2] The intervening sections deal with the procedure of magistrates in bringing action against the owners of slaves thus brought in.

[130] [1] C. O. 5: 1316, 15i, p. 51. See *ante*, no. 20.

[2] C. O. 5: 1316, 15ii, p. 52.

[3] "Capt. Joseph Moonday who came lately from Guiney and brought into Yorke River about 230 negroes, and I heard they were sold from 28 *l.* to 35 *l.* per head; the greatest price that has been known. There were as many buyers as negros, and I think that, if 2000 were imported, there would be substantial buyers for them. They expect several ships from Guiny with negros, but I am afraid that no more will come" (Nicholson to the Board of Trade, Aug. 1, 1700, *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1700, p. 452). For the

[*Notes to no. 130*—continued:]

adventures of another Captain Monday see *ante,* no. 15.

[4] Items relating to these and other voyages of the vessels here listed are to be found in T 70: 282. On Sept. 7 and Oct. 15, 1703, the master, Thomas Arnold, drew bills of £95 and £113, on the Royal African Company, credited to the *Angola.* In a list of protested bills of exchange for negroes sold by Mr. Henry Fielding, from the first voyage of the *Angola,* the Virginia names are: Edward Mathews £33, Constance Jones £18 and £19, Thomas Powell £38, George Ridley £4 and £28, John Robinson £3, Thomas Wellborn £18, John Bernard £1, John Stubbs £3, John Podgitt £5, Thomas Reede £25. The English merchants drawn upon are John Hyde, Richard Lee, Robert Dunckley, Francis Lee, Arthur Bailey, Richard Franklin, Robert Bristol and Company, and Micajah Perry and Company. Over ninety bills drawn on Perry and Lane or on Micajah Perry alone are listed in T 70: 282, as well as eighty Virginia drawers of bills. For this material the editor is indebted to Professor Curtis Nettles of the University of Wisconsin.

[5] A bill of exchange for £220 was drawn by the master of the *Postillion* to be placed to the account of that ship on Oct. 4, 1704. The "Ballance for Sales of Negroes per the *Postillion* sold by Henry Fielding" is represented by seven bills of exchange: Richard Anderson £45, drawn on Perry and Company, £25, on Robert Wise; G. Corbin £22, on A. Bailey; William Lyne (?) £18, on Thomas Wharton; Edward Berkeley £35, Richard Littlepage £110, and Thomas Butts £110, all on Perry and Company. The dates of these bills extend from Jan. 1, 1705, to July 3, 1706. T 70: 282.

[6] This was probably the author of *A New Account of Guinea.* He writes of a later voyage in which he was in the employ of Messrs. Bradley, Virginia merchants.

[7] On July 21, 1705, Edward Tomlin (Tomas?) drew a bill of £59 on the African Company for value received from Gavin Corbin, to pay the wages of the seamen of the *Dorothy.* On July 11 he had drawn on the company for £310. Eleven bills of 1705 and 1706, "balance" of the *Dorothy's* account, include: Robert Peyton £26, Thomas Richeson £17, Christopher Carlton £26, Temothes Kallendar £15, John Collier £20, John Slater £20, Charles Collier £27, John Ellis £15, William Erbanck £23, William Collins £26, Anthony Murray £16. T 70: 282.

[8] "Power of Attorney from Mr. John Denew of London, merchant to Mr. Humphrey Brooke, of London, physician to sue etc. Mr. Miles Cary and Mr. William Churchill, of Virginia, or their heirs on account of debts in any wise appearing whether the same be upon account of a cargo of negroes sent and consigned to them in 1705 on board of the ship *London* Galley, or otherwise however. (Recorded in York Co., 21 Jan., 1716.)" *Wm. and Mary Coll. Quar.,* XXVI. 287.

[9] See *ante,* no. 74, n. 4. On Dec. 24, 1705, Governor Nott reported to the Board of Trade that Jonathan Yates, carpenter of the *Thomas and John,* had complained that Captain Ransom had beaten one of the seamen on board so severely as to cause his death. The surgeon on board however ascribed the death to fever. *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1704-1705, p. 740.

[10] In September Thomas Durham (Durban?) drew upon the African Company for £466, "expenses of the *Phoenix*". The records of the African Company contain for the years 1705-1706 a list of nine protested bills, amounting to £269, "on account of Negroes sold by Hen. Fielding". T 70: 282.

[11] In the letter which accompanied this list Jennings, president of the Council, gave 5928 as the importation of the separate traders. On Jan. 23, 1708, they reported to the Board of Trade that they had sent to Virginia 2734 negroes between 1704 and 1707 (*B. T. Jour.,* 1704-1709, p. 454). In 1710, during one of the recurrent struggles over granting to the African Company its former monopoly of the trade, the anonymous author of *A True State of the Present Differences between the Royal African Company and the Separate Traders* (London, 1710, p. 35) wrote: "If we enquire into Virginia which is so precious a Jewel in the British Crown, we shall find upwards of Fifteen Thousand Negroes in that Colony also: and I defy the African Company to prove that ever they have imported so many as two thousand into that particular Province, since they have been a Joint-Body." For 1709 the customs record shows that the *Prosperous* carried 125 negroes to Virginia, the *Leopard* 201. These cargoes belonged to separate traders. C. O. 388: 13, p. 104.

131. Negroes imported into Virginia, 1710-1718.[1]

A List Of All Ships and Vessels that have Imported Slaves into the District off Potomack river. Togather with the number of Slaves imported, of those dead, and not sold within 40 days, and of those drawn back for Exportation from the 10th of Xber, 1710 To the 10th of Xber, 1718.

Ships and Vessels Names	Of what place	M's Names	No. of Slaves		Slaves Dead	Slaves Drawn back	From whence
			Negroes	Indians			
		John Howson		1			
Cruizer	London	Geo. Griffin	84				Guinea
Hanh. Maria	"	Christ'r Fell	1				Amboy
		Tho. Whitledge and John Peck	2				Maryland
		Thos. Manning	1				"
Sarah Sloop	Virginia	X'r Conway	32		1		Barbadoes
George Gall.[2]	Glasgow	Davd. Buckling	21			2	"
Martha	Lyme	Jno. Wallis	15				"
Winifred Sloop	Virginia	Step. Chilton	3				"
		Jno. Wright	1				Maryland
		Fyall	2				"
		R. Alexander	1				Barbadoes and James River
Isabella	Grenock	Abr. Hastie	1				Barbadoes
		Rd Foley	1				Maryland
Potomack Slp.	N. England	Jer. Owen	1				N. England
		Dan. McCarty	8			8	Maryland
			174	1	1	10	

Virginia South Potomack District Jany. 15 1718/9.
Thomas Lee Recd. Nav Off'r.

[131] [1] C. O. 5: 1320, R 3, pp. 11, 13, 15, 19. These lists, sent by Spotswood to the Board of Trade, were received and read June 28, 1726 (for the report for 1712 see *post,* no. 132). Since many of the entries are undated they cannot be arranged in chronological order, and are therefore given under the separate Virginia districts. Later reports are thrown into one chronological list. These lists were probably made out in compliance with an order of May 28, 1702, and later dates: "Ordered that all the Navall officers of all and every the Districts within this Colony make up their Accompts of the Impositions on Liquors and Serv'ts and Slaves for all Ships entred or that shall be entred by them to the 24th day of June Next and make oath to the same before Mr. Treasurer as ussuall." *Ex. Jour. of Col. Va.*, II. 246.

[2] May 30, 1717, "The *George* of Glascow has about 190 slaves bound to Barbadoes or Virginia" (T 70: 6, p. 52). The bulk of this cargo had evidently been discharged in Barbados.

A List of all Ships and Vessells that have Imported Slaves into the District of York River together with the Number of Slaves Imported from the Tenth day of December 1710 to the Tenth day of December 1718.[3]

Ships and Vess'ls Names	Of what place	Masters Names	Number of Slaves		Slaves dead in time	Slaves drawn back	From whence
			Negroes	Indians			
Londo Mercht.	London	William Cant	1				London
Fryall	N. England	Nathl. Gerrish	16		1		Barbados
Digges Frigot	London	Edwd. Whitaker	1				London
Imported for William Rogers			1				
Sea Flower	London	James Deark	2				Fyall
Brought in by Capt. Fred Jones				2			No. Carolina
Lane Frances	Virginia	Robt. Minge	2				Barbados
Annah and Sarah	Bristoll	Arthur Lone	136		6		"
Mary	London	George Winter	109		7	6	"
Duke Cambridge	London	John Martin	28				"
Princess Ann	Bristoll	Peter Saxby	1				Bristoll
Elizabeth			1				Barbados
Anne Gally	London	Richd. Swanley	111		7		Guinea
Betty	Virginia	John Perrin	1				So. Carolina
Shallop belonging to Grace Watkins			3				Maryland
Oak	Liverpoole	Robt. Robinson	2				Barbados
Duke Cambridge	London	John Martin	152		12		"
Grayhound	Bristoll	Hen. Forrest	64		1		"
Shallop *George*	alias	a Long boat	3				Maryland
Sloop *Robert*	Barbados	Samuel Ring	1				Maryland
Three Sisters	Liverpool	John Hughes	109		4		Cabocorst Castle
Snow *Rebecca*	Bristoll	David Rees	135		6		Africa
Parnel Gally	"	Benj. Phipps	106				New Callabar
Sloop *Rachell*	Jamaica	Samuel Fox	43		3		Jamaica
Mary	London	Geo. Winter	6		1		Barbados

[3] The report for York River is signed by Burwell; that for Rappahannock by Christopher Robinson; that for the Upper James by Lightfoot.

Emra	Nevis	Benj. Fox	2				Nevis
Richd. and Alice	Virginia	Thos. Ballard	1				Barbados
Bewdley	London	Thos. Dansie	2				"
Mary Anne	Philade.	Edward Hardy	1				Philadelpha.
Duke Cambridge	London	William Keeling	147		14	11	Barbados
Sconer *Little bety*	Antigua	Peter Wather	5				Antigua
Maidstone	Bristoll	James Peace	111		1		Barbados
Ellin	Liverpool	Thomas Jackson	29		1		"
Oak	"	Robt. Robinson	24		3		"
Baylor	Bristoll	George Lilburne	66		3		"
Bootle	Liverpool	Robert Bootle	83		3	40	Bandy
Pink *Sarah*	Dublin	Thos. Nicholson	1				Barbados
Romsey Gally	Bristoll	Charles Porter	126		5		Bonny
Berkley Gally	"	Francis Putts	143		2		New Callabar
Higginson	London	John Mitchill	166		11		Old Callabar
Peterborough	Bristoll	James Edwards	93		6		Barbados
Robert and Jane	Antigua	John Bennett	96		1	1	Antigua
Mary	London	George Winter	82		3		Barbados
Parnel Gally	Bristoll	John Morrist	142		2		"
Grayhound	"	Henry Forrest	183		5		Bonny
Snow *Deligence*	Philadela.	James Peartree	58		3		Jamaica
Ferrand Gally	London	John Hodgson	61		5		Old Callabar
Brought in by Goodrich Lightfoot			1				
			2657	2	116	58	

A List Of all Ships and Vessells that have Imported Slaves into Rappahannock District together wth the Number of Slaves Imported of those Dead [and] not [sold] within forty days of those Drawn back for Exportation. From the 10th day of Decembr. 1710 to the 10th day of Decembr. 1718.

Ships and Vessels Names	Of w'h Place	Masters Names	Number of Slaves		Slaves Dead	Slaves Drawn Back	From w'h Place
			Negroes	Indians			
Mary and Eliz	London	Nathaniel Davis	113		22		Gambia
by land		by Jno. Smith	1				No. Carolina
Small Boat	Maryland	Paule ——	3				Maryland
Swift	Wt. haven	Albert Kilpatrick	1				Barbados
Content	Leverpoole	Wm. Evered	12				"
Industry	Bermuda	Jno. Smith	2				Providence
Content	Leverpoole	Wm. Evered	2				Barbados
Isbell	Greenock	Jno. Park	1				"
Two Brothers	Urbanna	Robt. Galbreath	1				Jamaica
Small Boat	Maryland	Jno. Orme	2				Maryland
Expectation	Bristoll	Frank Cobbett	3				Barbados
Charfield	"	Wm. Roberts	156		6		Gambia
Susanna	Rappahannock	Tho. Dearing	7		4		Barbados
Mary	Bristoll	Matt. Doye	1				Bristoll
Henry Gally	"	Henry Smith	99		7		Gambia
Employe	Leverpoole	Jno. Cowper	65		7		"
Princes Ann	Bristoll	Jno. Rogers	20		2		Barbados
Bensworth	"	Niehl Gardner	50		2		Gambia
Content	Leverpool	Wm. Evered	32		2		Barbados
Charfield	Bristoll	David Moore	72		12		Gambia
Bridgett	Urbanna	Peter N. Elligood	1		1		Barbados
Smith Gally	Bristoll	Jno. Darracott	30				"
Love	Bermuda	Saml. Saltus	1				Bermuda
			675		65		

A List Of all Vessels that have Imported Slaves into the Upper District of James River, together with the Number of Slaves Imported and of those dead and not sold within 40 days, and of those drawn back for Exportation from the 10 day December 1710 to the 10 day December 1718.

	Vessels Names	Of what place	Masters Names	Number of Slaves		Slaves Dead	Slaves Exp'd	from what Place
				Negroes	Indians			
1711			Robert Mumford		4			So. Carolina
			Wm. Mayer		4			"
			Robt. Hix		10			"
			Unwin and Jones		7			"
			Coleman and Thweet		11			"
			Jno. Eavans		3			"
1712			Jones and Clay		12			"
1713			Jno. Anderson		8			"
1714			Thos. Breay		1			No. Carolina
	Industry	Plymo.	Jos. Howell	2				Barbadoes
1715	*Charles*	Nevis	Jno. Solly	1				Nevis
	Elizabeth	New England	Jno. Steel	3				Barbadoes
			Jos. Thrift		1			So. Carolina
1716	*Duke Cornwall*	Plymo.	Willm. Butcher	9				Barbadoes
			Arthur Kavanaugh		1			So. Carolina
1717	*Mary*	Barbados	Petter Barnes	15				Barbadoes
	Henrico and Mary	Virginia	James Cocke	3				"
	Elizabeth	Bermuda	Thos. Bell	2				Barbadoes
	George	Virga.	Thos. Holinghurst	1				St. X'sttophers
	Dragon	New York	Jno. Lawrence	6				New York
	Avarila	London	[*illegible*]	1				London
	Baltimore	"	Wm. Dowell	50		1		Barbadoes
1718	*Postillion*	Barbadoes	Wm. Lock	21				"
			David Crawly		4			So. Carolina
	Henrico	Virga.	James Cocke	8				Barbadoes
	Eagle	"	Willm. Clark	42		6		Cherolyon
	Thomas	New England	Thos. Mousell	2		2		Barbadoes
				166	66	9		

A List of all Ships and Vessells that have Imported Slaves into the Lower District of James River, Together wth the Number of Slaves Imported, of those dead and not Sold within 40 days and of those drawne back for Exportation. From the 10th of December 1710 to the 10th of December 1718.

When Imported	Ships and Vessels Names	Of what place	Mast'rs Names	No. of Slaves		Slaves		From whence Imported
				Negr's	Ind'ns	Dead	Drawn Back	
Jan. 9, 1710	Sloop *Blackcock*	New York	Jno. Cooper	2				New York
May 13, / June 30, 1711	Ship *Reserve*	Man of War	Capt. Mathw. Tate	8				Barbadoes
July 13, 1713	Sloop *Sea Flower*	Boston	Nathl. Owen	9				Antigua
Nov. 13, 1714	" *Catherine*	Virginia	Wm. Mosely	3				Barbadoes
May 10, 1715	" *Robert*	"	Wm. Downes	3				"
June 17 "	" *Morant*	So. Carolina	Alex. Watson	36				So. Carolina
" 18 "	" *Jane and Mary*	Virginia	Thoms. Brabb	4				Barbadoes
Aug. 10 "	" *May Flower*	New England	Jno. Tucker	1				Boston
" 29 "	" *Mary*	New York	Andw. Meade	5				New York
Sept. 9 "	" "	Barbadoes	Jno. Jennings	88				Barbadoes
" 23 "	" *William*	Virginia	Jno. Chaple	2				So. Carolina
Oct. 31 "	" *Dolphin*	"	Hy. Nicholson	1				St. Christophers
Nov. 2 "	" *Dragon*	Bermuda	Thoms. Eve	1				Bermuda
" 4 "	" *William*	Virginia	Richd. Dwelle	11				Barbadoes
" 7 "	" *Neptune*	Nevis	Thoms. Nelins	4				Nevis
Dec. 14 "	" *Endeavour*	New England	Samll. Epes	1				Boston
May 25, 1716	" *Elizabeth*	Boston	Wm. Fleet	3				"
" 11 "	" *Philipie*	Barbadoes	Wm. Goffrey	77		2	1	Barbadoes
Aug. 15 "	" *Robert*	Virginia	Wm. Pitt	7				"
" 31 "	" *Swallow*	New York	Wm. White	2				New York
Sept. 12 "	Brig. *Pegancreek*	Virginia	Nich. Beguton	3		1		Barbadoes
Nov. 8 "	Ship *Mary*	Bristoll	Francis Westbee	27		8		"
Dec. 15 "	Sloop "	Virginia	Wm. Mosely	1		1		"
" 18 "	" *Neptune*	"	Jams. Angush	1				"
" 26 "	" *Endeavour*	Boston	Samll. Bosworth	1				Boston
Jan. 10 [1717]	Ship *Friendship*	Lieth	Walt. Fleeth	1				North Briton
Apr. 29 "	Sloop *Nightingale*	Boston	John Fripp	6		1		Barbadoes
May 2 "	Brig. *Hannah*	Bristol	Morgan Morgan	6		1		"
" 7 "	Snow *Fortune*	Britain	Josp. Alkins	2				"

"	20	"	Sloop *Robert*	Virginia	Jno. ——	4		1		"
June	3	"	" *Sarah and Mary*	"	Jas. Thompson	1			1	"
"	10	"	" *Suffolk*	"	Hen. Dowdale	35			2	"
"	11	"	Skooner *Marlbrogh*	Boston	Jona. Route	1				Boston
July	9	"	Sloop *Robt. and Jas.*	Philadelphia	Jno. White	8			2	Barbadoes
"	"	"	Ship *Eliz. and Ann*	Liverpool	Edwd. Sanford	12				"
"	17	"	Sloop *Good Success*	New England	Davd. Vaughn	3				"
Aug.	2	"	" *Dulton Ann*	Maryland	Robt. Dulton	6		1		"
"	16	"	" *Hannah and Mary*	Philadelphia	Samll. Hogsflesh	24		1	1	"
"	31	"	Ship *Molly*	London	Jno. Colvils	2				"
Sept.	9	"	Sloop *Robt.*	Virginia	Richd. Mewley	5			1	"
"	25	"	" *Dolphin*	"	Adam Kirkwood	1				"
Oct.	17	"	" *May Flower*	Bermuda	John Dorrell	3			1	"
"	"	"	" *Rachell*	Jamaica	Saml. Fox	1				York River
"	"	"			Capt. Finch	7		1	1	Nevis
Nov.	6	"	" *Phillipia*	Barbadoes	George Tucker	3		2		Barbadoes
"	17	"	" *Phillis*	"	Gresenhm. Salter	3		1		"
"	28	"	" *Jno.*	Virginia	Wm. Mosely	1				"
Mar.	3,	1718	" *Resolution*	New Engld.	Jos. Carver	3				Boston
			Lyme man of war	Britain	Capt. Ellis Brand	2				Britain
			From No. Carolina		John Bowland	1				No. Carolina
Apr.	23	"	Sloop *Robert*	Virginia	Richd. Mosely	16		2	1	Barbadoes
"	25	"	Skooner *George*	Jamaica	Thoms. Fry	1				Jamaica
May	6	"	*Clayton Gallup*	Liverpool	Edwd. Tarlton	30		5		Barbadoes
"	10	"	Sloop *John*	Virginia	Xphir Gardner	6				"
"	19	"	" *Neptune*	"	John Chapell	18		1	10	"
June	15	"	Ship *Sheppard*	London	Thoms. Woodward	21			11	"
"	19	"	" *Nightingale*	Bristoll	Jos. Merritt	157		7	2	"
July	9	"	Sloop *Content*	Bermuda	Jno. Argent	2			1	Bermuda
"	23	"	" *Robert*	Virginia	Richd. Mosely	3				Maryland
Aug.	28	"	" *William*	"	Wm. Wastcoat	1				Barbadoes
Sept.	6	"	" *Neptune*	"	John Tucker	35		4		"
Oct.	18	"	" *Sarah and Mary*	"	Jno. Rudock	2				"
Nov.	11	"	" *Jno.*	"	Heny. Dowdale	3				"
"	23	"	Sloop *Robert*	"	Richd. Mosely	6				"
			from So. Carolina by John Ghorin Indians			0	3			So. Carolina
						732[743]	3	40	35	

132. Negroes imported into Virginia, 1712.[1]

An Account of Negro Slaves imported from Africa into the Colony of Virginia in the year 1712.

Ships Names	Of what place	M'rs Names	From whence	Numb'r of slaves imported	By whom	District where sold and when	At what Price
Mary and Elizabeth	London	Nath. Davis	Gambia	113	Separate Traders	Rappahannock Nov. 1712	From 20 *ls.* to 28 a head

[132] [1] C. O. 5: 1316, O 141, p. 402. On Oct 26, 1711, by circular letter, the Board of Trade asked the number of negroes imported into Virginia, and on July 26, 1712, Spotswood replied that there had been no negroes imported from Africa since his arrival in Virginia, "nor like to be while the price of tobacco is so low, and the country so much in debt. There have been a few brought from Barbados and are generally such as have been first entered there, of which I doubt not your Lord'ps have accounts from thence." On Feb. 11, 1713, he sent to the board the list here given, writing: "I have also sent an account of the negroes imported from the coast of Africa, being but a small number in one ship last Fall; and there's no great reason to expect many more while the price of tobacco continues so low, and the country by that means so poor" (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1712-1714, pp. 16, 137, 139; *B. T. Jour.*, 1709-1714, p. 304; Sainsbury Trans., VIII. 322, 372, 400). The reply of the board to this letter predicted a speedy increase in the price of tobacco once the French trade was opened up. Relief and restoration of prosperity in the colony was delayed by a drought in 1714 which seriously damaged the tobacco crop, but by 1718 Spotswood reported a flourishing plantation. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1712-1714, p. 206; *Va. Hist. Reg.*, IV. 10.

133. Negroes imported into Virginia, 1718-1727.[1]

An Accot. of Negroes imported into the District of York River from the 25th of March 1718 to the 25th of March 1727 from the Coast of Africa.

Time of Importation	Ships Names	Of what place	Master Names	No. imported by African Comp'a	No. imported by Separate Traders	From what place
May 26, 1718	*Bootle*	Liverpool	Robt. Bootle		84	Sierralone
June 9	*Romsey* Galley	Bristol	Cha. Porter		125	Calabar
" 10	*Higginson*	London	John Mitchell[2]		169	Gold coast
" 23	*Peterborough*	Bristol	Ja. Edwards		93	Calabar
" 26	*Berkley*	"	Fra. Pitts		143	"
July 23	*Parnell* Galley	"	Ira. Morris		142	"
Aug. 11	*Greyhound*	"	Henry Forrdel		182	"
" 18	*Terrand*	London	Jno. Hodgson		61	Gold coast
May 18, 1719	*Prince Eugene*	Bristol	James Goodall		340	Madagascar
" 18	*Violet*	"	Stanly Harison		128	Guinea
June 28	*Africa*	"	Saml. Griffith		84	"
" 30	*Anne and Sarah*	"	Wm. Bretton		159	Calabar
July 4	*Mayflower*	London	Wm. Horsey		104	Gold coast
" 9	*Little John*	Virginia	Geo. Selburn		53	Calabar
" 25	*Berkley*	Bristol	Fra. Pitts		183	"
Aug. 18	*Sierralone*	"	R. Harris		103	"
" 21	*Moorhampton*	"	Jno. Maddox		61	Bonny
Sept. 1	*Greyhound*	"	Henry Forrdel		170	Calabar
" 8	*Colston*	"	Hugh Vaughn		123	"
Oct. 27	*Noblett*	"	Robt. Wetherby		146	Angola
Apr. 20, 1720	*Calabar*	"	Thos. Kennedy		156	Calabar
May 11	*Commerce*	"	David Moor		130	"
" 31	*Berkley*	"	Fra. Pitts		160	"

[133] [1] C. O. 5: 1320, R 55, pp. 331, 333, 335, 337, 339. A letter from Robert Carter to the Board of Trade June 29, 1727, contained the list of importations from 1718 to Lady Day, 1727, with the statement that since then upwards of 1200 had been received and that more were expected daily, but that none were from the African Company. Sainsbury Trans., IX. 329.

[2] For a later voyage which Captain Mitchell was to take to Virginia see *ante*, no. 83.

[3] "Philadelphia, August 3 [1721]. We hear, that there are Three Ships arrived in Virginia, the *Eugene, Henrietta*, and *Gascoign*, who

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Time of Importation	Ships Names	Of what place	Master Names	No. imported by African Comp'a	No. imported by Separate Traders	From what place
June 1	*Betty*	Bristol	Geo. Stretton		82	Calabar
July 7	*Tiverton*	"	Endas Sutherland		210	"
Aug. 4	*Hunter*	"	Jno. Maddox		55	"
" 16	*Mayflower*	London	Wm. Horsey		109	Gold coast
Apr. 6, 1721	*Greyhound*	Bristol	Hen. Forrdel		222	Calabar
" 24	*Margaret*	London	Jas. Capills		160	Goldcoast
May 9	*Swift*	"	Matt. Dick		153	Calabar
" 15	*Gascoigne*[3]	Bristol	Thos. Bryan		133	Madagascar
June 21	*Prince Eugene*	"	Evan Morgan		103	"
" 26	*Rebecca* Snow	"	Timo. Tyzack		59	"
" 26	*Sarah* Galley[4]	London	Jno. Bulcock	233		Gold coast

have been Slaving on the Coast of Madagascar, and are returned from thence very rich. The Pyrates on the Coast of Madagascar, who lie in wait for the East India Men, have forced from them what Provisions and Men they thought fit, but in return have made them some valuable Presents of Money, etc. The *Eugene* is seized in Virginia, and the Capt. sent on board the Man of War there, in Order to be carried home for his Tryal, not for any Dealings with the Pyrates, but for having on Board East India Goods. The two others are clear'd" (*Boston Gazette*, Aug. 21, 1721). Spotswood's account of this incident differs somewhat: "While I was employed on the Frontiers of this Government, Information was given to the Capt's of his Maj't's Ships of War on this Station, that certain Masters of Ships, lately arrived here from Madagascar, had there traded with Pyrats and Supplied them wth Arms and other Stores of War, upon which Sundry of the Comm'rs nominated by his Majesty for tryal of Pyracys in this Colony convened, and in conjunction wth the Capt's of the Men of War issued their warrants for bringing before them three of the Commanders of those Madagascar Ships, *vizt*: Richard Herbert of the *Henrietta*, of London; Chalonce Williams, of the *Gascoign* Galley, of Bristoll, and Jos. Stratton, of the *Prince Eugene*, of the same Port. The Evidence against the two former not Swearing convincing enough, the Comm'rs thought fitt to discharge them, but there appearing stronger proof ag'st the latter, they were of opinion that he ought to be sent home to Great Britain, to take his Tryal as an Accessary to Piracy, and that Application should be made for my warrant for sending him home in the —— Man of War, and in the meantime committed him to Capt. Wharwood's Custody. . . ." Spotswood made haste to return but found when he arrived that Captain Wharwood had already sailed, taking his prisoner but without the papers concerning the case. Spotswood to Secretary Craggs, July 28, 1721, Va. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, II. 351.

[4] In April, 1721, the *Sarah,* with 250 slaves, sailed from Cape Coast Castle for Virginia (T 70: 7, pp. 18-19). Though the shipments of the company to Virginia were small, the records show that some attention was given to this colony. On Dec. 12, 1712, the Committee of Accounts reported Mr. Robert Richardson as qualified to serve the company as chief merchant at any of its Guinea settlements, "he understanding Negroes proper for Virginia and Mary Land where he says he resided three years and travelled through most parts of those countreys". He was appointed to the Gambia factory early in January (T 70: 90, pp. 78, 84). Throughout 1721 committee reports frequently contain the item: "If too late for Virginia then send to Jamaica" (T 70: 123; see also T 70: 7, p. 26). On Dec. 16, 1721, and Jan. 4, 1722, enquiry was made as to how far the Virginia agents, Willis and Chiswell, were complying with their contract to make returns for the negro cargoes on the *Otter* and the *Sarah*. These were to be in pitch, tar, staves, planks, or any other lumber available (T 70: 123). In 1723 Spotswood had a contract for 400 slaves, part of whom were to be sent him from Gambia by the *Dove*. T 70: 7, pp. 63, 77, T 70: 91, pp. 205, 208, 215, T 70: 124, Feb. 21, 22, Mar. 2, Apr. 23, 1723.

"	27	*Henrietta*	London	Wm. Loyd		130	Madagascar
"		*Commerce*	Bristol	David Moor		124	Calabar
Aug.	15	*Otter*[5]	London	Thos. Foster	194		Gambia
Oct.	17	*Baylor* Sloop[6]	Virginia	Wm. Verney		117	"
"	30	*Mayflower*	London	Wm. Horsey		108	Gold coast
June	5, 1722	*Greyhound*	Bristol	Henry Forral		166	Calabar
July	18	*Happy Adam*	"	Henry Arthur		73	"
May	27, 1723	*Greyhound*	"	Edwd. Holdane		174	"
July	26	*Swift*	London	Matthew Dick		290	Angola
May	7, 1724	*Commerce*	Bristol	Henry James		231	Callabar
June	11	*John and Mary*	Virginia	John Jones		135	Windward coast
Sept.	22	*Little Stephen*	Bristol	Edwd. Little		98	Callabar
May	18, 1725	*Commerce*	"	Henry James		278	"
"	31	*Despatch*	"	Wm. Barry		170	"
June	8	*Providence*	Virginia	Egerton Cuttler		161	Windward coast
Apr.	28, 1726	*Betty*	Bristol	Jno. Bradshaw		144	Callabar
"	30	*Chester* Galley	"	Richd. Bacon		144	"
June	6	*Commerce*	"	Robt. Elton		143	"
"	10	*Norman* Galley	"	Jno. Bartlett		120	"
July	1	*Swift*	London	Matt. Dick		154	Gold coast
"	15	*Providence*	Virginia	Egerton Cutler		141	Windward coast
"	19	*Malonsbury*	Bristol	Thos Davis		135	Callabar
Sept.	3	*Speedwell*	"	Jno. Oven		196	"
Oct.	4	*Molley* Galley	London	Peter Hannah		163	Windward coast
"	10	*Greyhound*	Bristol	Edwd. Holden		205	Callabar
					427	8145	
						427	
						8572[7]	

[5] In the record of vessels sent out by the company the item for Mar. 14, 1721, is, "*Otter* Burth'n 170 Tun Saild Dec. 25th from Ireland Capt. Tho: Forster, Went to Cork to take in provisions from thence to Maderas for Wine, so to Gambia, thence with 240 Negros for Virginia. Cargo 470. 19. 10." On Apr. 25, 1722, the Virginia factors of the company, Willis and Chiswell, sent bills of exchange amounting to £605, on account of the cargo of the *Otter*. About the same time the *Sherbro* was to be dispatched for Sierra Leone for "wood and teeth if possible, if not 240 slaves for Virginia". That she might arrive in Virginia in the "proper season", she was to sail from the West Coast by the middle of June. Since the name of this vessel does not appear in the list of arriving vessels it may be that she obtained her cargo of wood and teeth. T 70: 123, pp. 17-18, T 70: 91, p. 133.

[6] "Our Merchants have Advice that the Ship *Baylor*, Capt. Verney, having been Slaving on the Coast of Guinea, and thence set Sail for Virginia, turn'd Pirate, the Negroes being thrown overboard. The said Ship was afterwards taken by a Dutch Cruizer, after a fight of four Hours." *Boston News Letter*, May 9, 1723.

[7] The number reported by the separate traders should be 8185 and the total 8612, rather than the sums here given. The report for York River is signed by William Robertson; that for the Upper James by Lightfoot; that for the Lower James by Wilson Cary; that for Rappahannock by Robert Carter, jr.

A General List of all Negro's imported from the Coast of Africa into the Upper District of James river from the 25th of August 1718 to the 25 Aprill 1727.

Entered	Vessels Names	Mast'rs Names	Where and when built	Owners Names	Of what place	African Company	Separate traders
Sept. 29, 1718	*Eagle*	Wm. Clarke	Virga. 1717	Henry Harrison	Virga.		42

An Accot. of all Negroes imported from the Coast of Africa into the Lowr. District of James Riv'r from the 25th Apll. 1718 to the 25th of Aprill 1727.

Time of Entry	Ships Names	Masters Names	Of what Place	Quan'ty Negroes
June 19, 1718	*Nightingale*	Joseph Merrit	Bristoll	One hund. fifty seven
Sept. 30, 1719	*Charlott*	Branson Oulson	London	Ninety four

An Accot. of Negroes Imported into the District of Rappahannock River from the 25th of March 1718 to the 25th of March 1727 from the Coast of Africa.[8]

Time of Importation	Ships Names	Of what place	Masters Names	No. imported by African Comp'a	No. imported by Separate Traders	From what place
Apr. 28, 1718	*Imploy*	Liverpool	Jno. Cooper		65	Guinea
May 31	*Henry* Galley	Bristol	Henry Smith		99	"
Aug. 13	*Bentsworth*	Bristol	Nichs. Gardener		48	"
Sept. 5	*Crutchfield*	Bristol	Robt. Bymer		76	"
Oct. 16, 1719	*Imploy* Snow	Liverpool	Jno. Cooper		94	"
May 17, 1720	*Mercury*	London	Geo. Christiall		466	Madagascar
Aug. 17, 1721	*Calabar Merch't*	Bristol	Thos. Kennedy		224	Africa
May 24, 1723	*Shirley* Galley	Bristol	Jno. Scanderet		230	"
May 31, 1725	*Illustrious* Galley	Bristol	Jno. Murphy		172	Bande
Apr. 29, 1726	*Despatch* Briga.	Bristol	Wm. Barry		180	Old Calabar
May 19	*Jno. and Betty*	Liverpool	Wm. Denton		90	Calabar
July 20	*Content*	Liverpool	Jno. Moreton		145	Gold Coast
Sept. 6	*Illustrious* Galley	Bristol	Anseln Bennett		189	Bonney
Apr. 24, 1727	*Benedicta* Briga.	Bristol	Jno. Roberts		108	Bermuda
					2186	

[8] Endorsed: "Rappahannock River, List of Negroes imported from Africa to Ladyday, 1727." From the Lower District of the James and that of South Potomac the report was, "No Negroes imported" (C. O. 5: 1320, R 55, p. 339). It is to be observed that the next document begins the record in April, 1727, with an entry in the Lower James district but from the West Indies, not from Africa.

134. Negroes imported into Virginia, 1727-1769.[1]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
[1727]									
Apr. 12	*Friendship*, Va.	Peter Norly Alligood	50	Plantation, 1725	W'msBurgh, Oct. 19, 1725	Nath. Newton	5	Jamaica	Lower James
June 20	*Samuel*, Va.	Christopher Gardener	40	" 1722	W'msburgh, Oct. 26, 1722	Samuel Baush	3	"	" "
July 10	*America*, B. of Bristol	Thomas Marshall	108	Connecticut, 1716	Bristol, May 3, 1720	R. Langher and Co.	133	Bristol[2]	Rappahannock[3]
" 17	*Jno. and Betty* of Liverpool	William Denton	78	Leverpoole, 1723	Leverp'l, Dec. 4, 1723	Jno. Pemberton and Co.	140	Leverpool	"
" 29	*Sherly* Gally of Bristoll	William Kennedy	80	Bristole, 1715	Bristol, Aug. 20, 1718	R't Veadham and Co.	219	Bristol	"
Sept. 11	*Rose*, Snow of Liverpool	James Christian		Leverpoole, 1726	Liverp'l, Aug. 3, 1726	Jas. Christian and Co.	125	Liverpool	
Nov. 14	*Resolution*, Bermuda	Danl. Gibbs	15	Berm'a, 1724	Ber'a, Mar. 6, 1724	Daniell Gibbs	1 Man	Turks Islands	York River
[1728]									
Mar. 16	*Cassels*, Bristol	David Mountgomery	80	New England, 1724	Brist., Oct. 23, 1725	Samuel Jacob	24	Affrica	York River[4]

[134] [1] C. O. 5: 1443. The lists which follow are rearrangements of the Naval Officers' Lists, which were sent home from time to time. The number of guns and men and the description of the vessels have been omitted and the lists from the different districts have been consolidated in chronological order. The form of the headings, the dates, and certain abbreviations has been changed, but the attempt has been made to retain the original spelling of proper names. Up to this point importations from Africa alone have been given; throughout no. 134 those from the West Indies are included.

[2] Unhappily, not the source of the cargo but the port from which the vessel originally embarked is here given.

[3] Lists from the Rappahannock district were signed by Robert Carter, jr., naval officer; those from the Lower District of the James by Wilson Cary; from York River, William Robertson; after 1730 Charles Carter signs the Rappahannock list.

[4] The report made by William Robertson to the Board of Trade, of the negroes imported into the York River district from the coast of Africa, gives this as the *Castle*, galley, with 211 negroes from Calabar, which is probably correct (C. O. 5: 1321, f. 157). Thomas Lee, naval officer of South Potomac, and Robert Carter, jr., reported no negroes from Africa between Sept. 29, 1727, and Apr. 25, 1728. There were no African negroes imported into the James River district for this same period. *Ibid.*, ff. 153, 155, 158.

[1729][5]									
Mar. 10	*William*	James Eaton	90	Virginia, 1715	Liverpool, Feb. 20, 1720	Thos. Seel	3	Hampton	York River
" "	*Olive branch*	David Burch	40	Bermuda, 1722	Pensylv'a, June 3, 1728	John White	1	Barbados	" "
[1731]									
Mar. 9	*Molly*, Virginia	Alexander Hamilton	20	Plant'n, 1726	W'msburgh, Oct. 20, 1728	Andrew Mead	10	Jamaica	Lower District of James River
Apr. 14	*Providence* Dublin	Joseph Taylor	35	Rings End, 1725	Whitehaven, Nov. 6, 1725	Robt. Dolloway and Co.	1	Whitehaven and Barbadoes	Rappahannock
June 23	*Three Sisters*	Edwd. Hubbard	90	New England, 1730	New England, 9'br. 11, 1730	Tephamia Eade	2	Antigua	York River
July 1	*Jamaica*, Bristol	Thos. Qurk					130		
" 31	*Abington*	Jno. Westcott	40	Newbury, 1728	Virga., Apr. 19, 1731	William Dalton	19	Barbadoes	Rappahannock[6] York River
Dec. 2	*Haswell*	Christ'r Brooks	150	London, 1729	London, Jan. 22, 1729	Samuel Haswell	6	London and Barbadoes	Rappahannock
[1732]									
Mar. 6	*Molly*, Virga.	Alexdr. Hamilton	20	Plan., 1726	W'msburgh, Oct. 2, 1728	Andrew Mead	8	Jamaica	Lower James
Apr. 22	*Drednought*	Jas. Whitechurch	80	New England, 1724	Bristol, Feb. 21, 1729	Henry Dampier[7]	226	New Callabar	York River
" 25	*St. Michael*	Thomas Sneal	80	Virginia, 1729	Virga., Feb. 9, 1729	John Ellegood	19	Barbadoes	" "
May 10	*Stanton*	Richard Williams	80	" 1727	Bristol, 7'br 2, 1728	John Lewis	8	Madeira and Barbadoes	" "
June 6	*Leverpoole Mercht.*	Matt. Golding	80	Leverpool, 1724	Leverp'l, 9'br 29, 1724	Foster Cunlief[8]	160	Gambia	" "
" 10	*Abington*	Jno. Westcott	40	N. England, 1728	Virga., Apr. 19, 1731	William Dalton	14	Madiera and Barbadoes	" "

[5] The list of arrivals for 1728 does not include the *Benedicta*, Captain Raymond, which left the Gambia River for Virginia about May 5, 1728 (T 70: 7, p. 137), and that for 1729 makes no mention of the *Katherine*, Capt. William Atkinson, sent from Boston in December, 1728. See this work, III. 37.

[6] This item comes from C. O. 5: 1323, f. 81, a report of negroes imported from the coast of Africa between Apr. 25 and Oct. 25, 1731, by private traders and by the African Company. The one vessel reported by Carter belonged to a private trader. The Virginian who wrote on Aug. 27, 1731, "I am told a Guinea man is expected Dayly", had long to wait if this list is complete. *Va. Hist. Reg.*, IV. 85.

[7] Henry Dampier was sheriff of Bristol in 1737 and 1751 and mayor in 1755. John Latimer, *Annals of Bristol: Eighteenth Century*, p. 473.

[8] Foster Cunliffe, who traded heavily in Virginia and Maryland tobacco, was a more important figure in the South Carolina slave trade than in that of Virginia. See *post*, no. 164.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
June 14	*William and Betty*	Jno. Whitlow	75	Maryland, 1728	Maryl'd, Mar. 26, 1729	John Goodwin	140	Gambia	York River
" 26	*Blackmoor*	William Bond	90	New England, 1723	Bristol, Apr. 15, 1730	James Laroche	260	Angola in Africa	" "
" 29	*Content*	Charles Adlam	120	New England, 1725	N. England, Jan. 11, 1725	Thomas Chamberlayne	201	Bonny in Africa	" "
July 1	*Jamaica*, Bristol	Thos. Qurk	70	Bristol, 1725	Bristol, Apr. 5, 1729	Will. Gordon[9]	130	Coast of Africa	Rappahannock
" 5	*Indian Queen*[10]	George Perry	120	Bristol, 1714	Bristol, Dec. 12, 1720	Richard Langher	236	Bonny in Africa	York River
Aug. 30	*John and Mary*	Francis Gains	25	Virginia, 1729	Virga., Aug. 8, 1729	John Perrin	3	Barbadoes	" "
Nov. 21 [1733]	Sl. *Sussannah* Virga.	John Merridith	30	Plan., 1730	W'msburgh, June 19, 1731	David Mead	12	St. Christopher	Lower James
Feb. 3	Sl. *Hampton*, Va.	William Brough	20	" 1729	W'msburgh, May 25, 1732	Samuel Barron	18	Barbadoes	" "
" 19	Sl. *Molly*, Va.	George Hull	20	" 1726	W'msburgh, Oct. 2, 1728	David Mead	19	Jamaica	" "
Apr. 2	B. *Jonathan* Liverpo'l	Joseph Harrison	65	" 1728	Jamaica, June 3, 1731	Bryan Blundell[11]	39	"	" "
" 3	S. *Jacob and Ann*, Va.	Daniel Pugh	30	" 1731	W'msburgh, Mar. 30, 1731	Daniel Pugh	31	"	" "

[9] James Laroche was sheriff of Bristol in 1734 and mayor in 1750; his son, Sir James, was a member of Parliament between 1772 and 1779 and in 1789 was a member of the Bristol committee created to oppose the abolition of the slave trade. "Mr. Chamberlayne", named among the principal Bristol tobacco traders in 1730 and 1740, had lived in Virginia. In 1785 William Gordon was enumerated among those Bristol merchants who, from small beginnings, had accumulated fortunes. Latimer, *Annals of Bristol*, pp. 463, 473, 477.

[10] In September, 1732, William Byrd spent the night at Tuckahoe, where he had some conversation with a Mrs. Fleming: "Put some Questions to her about the bad distemper that raged then in the Country. I mean the Bloody Flux, that was brought us in the Negro-Ship consigned to Colo. Braxton." This probably refers to one of the vessels arriving in the summer of 1731. Bassett, *Writings of William Byrd*, p. 341.

[11] A Liverpool merchant. See this work, II. 468, 492.

" 5	S. *Providence* Va.	Thomas Newton	25	" 1732	W'msburgh, Nov. 14, 1732	George Newton	17	"	" "
" 10	S. *Wm. and Jno.* Va.	John Brett	30	" 1728	W'msburgh, Feb. 14, 1728	John Nicholson	1	"	" "
" 27	*Elenora*	Thos. Powell	70	R. Island, 1725	Bristol, July 2, 1729	James Laroach	160	St. Christopher and Calabar	York River
May 28	*Goldfinch*	Abel Thomas	100	Bristol, 1716	Bristol, 8'br 29, 1726	Henry Dampier	260	Callabar	" "
June 7	*John* Galley Bristol	John Wilson	80	British, 1715	Bristol, Jan. 2, 1729	Charles Scandnet and Co.	227	Barbadoes	Rappahannock
" 8	*Bridget*	Will'm Clark	70	New England, 1724	Bristol, Dec. 19, 1728	Henry Dampier	182	Angola and Barbadoes	York River
" 19	*Jamaica* Galley Bristol	John Hitchings	90	British, 1725	Bristol, Oct. 12, 1732	Will'm Gordon and Co.	194	Guinea	Rappahannock
" 25	*Charming Ann*	Lan. Mason	25	N. Engl'd, 1726	N. Engl'd, July 3, 1731	Adam Muir	9	Barbadoes	York River
Sept. 1	Sl. *Bumper,* Boston	Saml. Moore [12]	25	Plan., 1726	Boston, Dec. 8, 1732	Samuel Moore	56	Guinea	Lower James
Oct. 6	*Indian Queen*	George Perry	120	Bristol, 1714	Bristol, Dec. 12, 1720	Walter Langher	280	Affrica	York River
Dec. 6	*Abingdon*	John Westcott	40	N. England, 1728	Virga., Apr. 19, 1731	John Perrin	1	Barbadoes	" "
[1734]									
Jan. 5	Sl. *Industry* Jama.	Archibald Cockburne	30	Plantation, 1730	Pt. Royal, Aug. 11, 1733	Wm. Thompson	3	Jamaica	Lower James
" 20	*Charming Becky* of Boston	Thomas Snow	15	Pensilvania, 1732	Boston, Jan. 21, 1733	John Cozens	1 Woman	Boston	Accomack
Feb. 2	Sl. *Providence* Virga.	Wm. Wishart	20	Plantation, 1732	W'msburg, Feb. 26, 1732	John Holt	5	Jamaica	Lower James
" 16	Sl. *Amity,* Glascow	George Blair	56	" 1729	Pt. Glascow, May 28, 1731	Richd. Oswald	23	"	" "
" 23	Sl. *Priscilla,* Va.	Charles Sinnot	25	" 1733	W'msburg, Apr. 21, 1733	David Mead	18	"	" "
Mar. 8	Sl. *Industry,* Va.	Edwd. Pugh	32	" 1733	W'msburg, Dec. 3, 1733	Edwd. Pugh	10	Barbadoes	" "

[12] For some account of Captain Moore's voyage see this work, III. 41-42.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
Mar. 29	*King Fisher*, Va.	John Farr	30	Plantation, 1719	W'msburg, Aug. 31, 1733	Saml. Riddick	12	Barbadoes	Lower James
Apr. 9	*Sussa.*, Va.	John Meredith	30	" 1730	W'msburg, June 13, 1731	Andrew Mead	4	Jamaica	" "
" 24	*Pye*, Snow	Charles Adlam	100	Bristol, 1733	Bristol, Sept. 11, 1733	Thomas Chamberlayne and Co.	41	"	Upper "
" 26	*Saunders*, Va.	Cornelius Calvert	50	Plant'n, 1732	W'msburg, Nov. 15, 1732	Cornelius Calvert	4	Antigua	Lower "
May 2	Sl. *Warwick*	John Darrell	20	Bermuda, 1730	Bermuda, Mar. 10, 1730	John Darrell and Co.	18	Barbados	Upper "
" 11	*Phoenix*, Va.	Alexander Murray	20	Plant'n, 1730	W'msburg, Jan. 11, 1730	John Tucker	1	"	Lower "
" 14	*Industry*, Va.	John Brown	70	" "	W'msburg, Oct. 21, 1730	John Hutchings	27	Jamaica	" "
" "	*Lively*, Snow, Bristol	James Seabon	80	" 1727	Bristol, Oct. 22, 1731	Edward Heylin	199	Guinea	" "
June 3	Brigt. *Henry and Benja'm*	Thomas Friend	70	Virginia, 1733	W'msburg, Dec. 21, 1733	Benjamin Harrison	13	Barbados	Upper "
" 6	*Ann and Eliza* Virga.	Peter Norly Elligood	100	Plant'n, 1731	W'msburg, Nov. 15, 1732	John Saunders	23	"	Lower "
" 13	*Glasgow*, St. Christ'rs	George Grear	110	" 1733	Annapolis, Oct. 9, 1733	John Erwing	12	St. Christophers	" "
" 15	*New Tryal* Barb'ds	Stephen Thompson	30	" 1728	Barb'ds, Feb. 11, 1731	Saml. Rylance	9	Barbadoes	" "
" 17	*Molly*, Barb'ds	Archibald Wager	30	" 1727	Barb'ds, Feb. 11, 1731	Walter Cadwell	30	"	" "
" "	*Industry*, Va.	Edward Pugh	32	" 1733	W'msburg, Dec. 3, 1733	Edward Pugh	29	"	" "
" 19	*Hampton* of Va.	William Brough	20	" 1729	W'msburg, May 25, 1732	Samuel Barron	29	"	" "

" "	*King George* of Va.	William Ballentine	40	" 1727	W'msburg Nov. 27, 1733	Saml. Skinner	5	St. Christophers	" "
" 22	Ship *Jno. and Robert*	John Hendrick	80	New England, 1727	London, Nov. 23, 1727	John Hendrick and Co.	6	Antigua	Upper "
" 26	*William*	Richd. Woolford	30	Virginia, 1733	Virginia, Mar. 20, 1733	Tho. Webley	3	St. Christophers	York River
July 24	*Thomas*	Henry Smith	50	New York, 1723	Liverpool, Mar. 3, 1732	Robert Dixon	100	Africa	" "
Aug. 1	*Bridget* Gally	Wil. Clark	70	New England, 1724	Bristol, Dec. 19, 1728	Henry Dampier	225	Angola, Africa	" "
" 5	*Aurora*	Timo. Tucker	100	Bristol, 1727	Bristol, Aug. 12, 1727	Thos. Chamberlayne	180	Africa	" "
" 20	*Fortune*, Barb'd	John Boys	50	Plant'n, 1731	Barbadoes, Oct. 10, 1732	John Boys	85	Gambo	Lower James
" "	*Liverpool Mercht.*, Liverpool	Matt. Goulding	80	Liverpool, 1724	Liverpool, Nov. 19, 1724	Foster Cundliff	156	Coast of Africa	South Potomack
" 26	Brigt. *Fortune*	John Boys	50	New England, 1731	Barbados, Oct. 10, 1732	John Boys	85	Lower James	Upper James
Sept. 30	*Sussa* of Va.	George Hull	32	Plant'n, 1730	W'msburg, July 4, 1732	David Mead	1	Barbados	Lower "
Oct. 5	*Pr'c Wm.* of Va.	Joseph Ivy	50	" "	W'msburg, Feb. 24, 1730	Anthony Walk	1	St. Christophers	" "
" 8	*Norfolk* of Va.	Henry Millers	100	" 1731	W'msburg, Oct. 23, 1731	Samuel Boush	4	Barbadoes	" "
" 12	*Experim't* of Va.	Lawrence Peper	40	" 1734	W'msburg, June 13, 1734	Lawrence Peper	2	Philadelphia	" "
" 22	*Eliza. and Abigal*, Bost'n	William Divers	20	" 1721	Piscat'ua, Aug. 24, 1732	Pierre Long	2	Boston	" "
" "	*Antelope*	Thos. Chandler	100	Shoreham, 1724	London, Aug. 26, 1724	Richd. Harris	286	Angola	York River
" 23	*Wm.* of Va.	William Parsons	30	Plant'n, 1731	W'msburg, May 12, 1731	William Parsons	1	Barbadoes	Lower James
Nov. 13	*Hampton*, Va.	William Brough	20	" 1729	W'msburg, May 25, 1732	Samuel Barron	2	"	" "

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
Dec. 2	*Ann and Fra'c* Va.	Thomas Snail	100	Plant'n, 1731	W'msburg, Nov. 15, 1732	John Saunders	1	Barbadoes	Lower James
" 10	*Charming Ann* Va.	John Nicholson	45	" 1732	W'msburg, Mar. 21, 1732	Nathl. Newton	2	"	" "
" 16	*Mary* of Berm'a	Nathl. Bascomb	35	" "	Berm'd, Oct. 7, 1732	Peter Pruden	1	"	" "
" 23	*Boyd,* St Xtop'rs	John Lambeth	50	" 1734	W'msburg, July 22, 1734	Alexdr. Campbell	1	Antigua	" "
" 24 [1735][13]	*Speedwell* Barb'd	William Richardson	40	" 1733	Barb'ds, Oct. 23, 1733	John Denny	7	Barb'does	" "
Jan. 13	*Nester,* Piscat'y	Joseph Bayley	35	" 1733	Portsm'th, Apr. 16, 1733	Joshua Peirce	1	New Hampshire	" "
Feb. 21	*Lyon* of Jamai'a	Randolph Sharman	20	" 1730	Port Royal, July 4, 1732	Benj. Haime	6	Boston	" "
" 24	*Sussa.* of Va.	George Hull	45	" 1730	W'msburg, July 24, 1732	David Mead	18	Jamaica	" "
Apr. 4	*George*	Edwd. Tarry	100	Philadel. 1724	Bristol, Nov. 8, 1728	Rich'd Henvill	284	Callabar old	York River
" 8	*Indian Queen*	Geo. Perry	120	Bristol, 1714	Bristol, Dec. 12, 1720	Walter Langher	172	Bonny, Africa	" "
" 15	*Bodmin*	Richd. Body	50	N. Eng'd, 1728	Bristol, Apr. 6, 1731	James Laroche	210	Bristol	" "
May 28	*Jenny,* Bristol	Edw. Bryan	50	Planta., 1726	Bristol, July 17, 1728	Walter Jenkins and Co.	245	Gambia	Rappahannock
June 18	*Doddington*	Jas. Copland	80	N. Engl'd, 1731	Liverpool, Dec. 4, 1733	Thos. Kendall	167	Gold Coast, Africa	York River

[13] The items for the Lower District of the James River and for the York River through June 18 come from C. O. 5: 1443; those for the Rappahannock and for the York River after June 18, from C. O. 5: 1444; the remainder of the items, from C. O. 5: 1446. The naval officers are Wilson Cary for the Lower James, Lewis Burwell for the Upper James, A. Churchill, Rappahannock, and William Robertson, York River.

" 27	*Oliver* of Va.	William Mowat	35	Plant., 1733	W'msburg, Apr. 1733	Alex'r McKenzie	2	Antigua	Lower James
July 8	*Susanna* of Va.	George Hull	30	" 1730	W'burg, July 1732	David Mead	3	Jamaica	" "
" 14	*Ann*, Brist.	Phil. Protheroe	126	British, 1724	Bristol, Aug. 29, 1729	Will. Gordon and Co.	222	Guinea	Rappahannock
" 18	*Speedwell*	William Richardson				John Denny and Co.	8	Lower James	Upper James
" 22	*Lively*	Francis Cullam				Thos. Ball and Co.	139	Liverpool by way of Guinea	" "
" "	*Saunders* of Va.	Corn's Calvert	30	Plant., 1732	W'burg, Nov. 1732	Corn's Calvert	2	Barbados	Lower "
" 28	*Brice*	Wm. Sanders	130	Bristol, 1734	Bristol, Nov. 29, 1734	Jas. Laroche	414	Angola	York River
Aug. 6	*Sarah and Ann* of Berm.	Jno. Adderly	25	Plant., 1732	Berm., Aug. 1732	Thos. Joell	3	Antigua	Lower James
" 11	*Henry* of Berm.	John Todd	25	" 1729	Berm., Jan. 1732	Edw. Todd	23	Bermuda	" "
" 14	*Pretty Betsey*	Jno. Boys	60	N. Engl., 1733	London, Mar. 1734	John Boys and Co.	155	Guinea	Upper "
Sept. 17	*Industry* of Va.	John Westcott	32	Plant., 1733	W'burg, Dec. 1733	Edw. Pugh	4	Barbados	Lower "
" 24	*Ann* of Va.	Simon Hancock	30	" 1732	W'burg, Apr. 1732	John Phripp	12	Berm.	" "
Oct. 11	*Hampton* of Va.	John Tucker	20	" 1729	W'burg, May 1732	Samuel Barron	5	Barbados	" "
" 30	*Providence* of Va.	Alex'r Bayns	20	" 1733	W'burg, Nov. 1733	James Ivy	4	Jamaica	" "
Nov. 17	*Success* of Va.	William Davis	35	" "	W'burg, July 1735	John Pugh	3	"	" "
Dec. 24	*Ann*	James Dickinson	30	Berm., 1730	Berm., Sept. 1730	Col. Francis Jones and Co.	10	Berm.	Upper "
[1736][14] Jan. 12	*Bermuda Merchant*	Giles Corbusier	45	Plant., 1735	Berm., Sept. 1735	Giles Corbusier	6	St. Christoph.	Lower James

[14] The items for York River and the Rappahannock districts come from C. O. 5: 1444; those for South Potomac from C. O. 5: 1445; the remainder from no. 1446. The naval officers for the James are the same as in 1735; for the South Potomac, Henry Lee; for the Rappahannock, A. Churchill; for York River, James Pride.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
Feb. 2	*Neptune*	Seth Harvey	25	Plant., 1734	Berm., Oct. 1734	John Harvey	1	Berm.	Lower James
Apr. 5	*Pr. of Orange*	Japhet Bird	80	Bristol, 1730	Bristol, Sept. 3, 1735	Edw. Hylin	251	Brist. and Calabar	York River
" 22	*Hatley*	Ralph Barres	160	London, 1717	Lond., Nov. 11, 1717	Geo. Hatley	6	London	" "
May 5	*Thomas*	Hen. Smith	50	N. York, 1723	Leverpool, Mar. 3, 1732	Robt. Dixon	137	Gambia	" "
" 8	*Domingo*	Will. Williams	40	Plant., 1731	St. Christp., June 1733	Will. Williams	2	St. Christoph.	Lower James
" 10	*Saunders*	Corn's Calvert	30	" 1732	W'burg, Nov. 1732	Corn's Calvert	3	Barbad.	" "
" 19	*Liverp. Mercht.*	Matt Goulding	80	Liverpool, 1724	Liverpool, Nov. 19, 1724	Foster Cunliff	193	Africa	South Potomack
" 20	*Saunders*	Edw. Archer	25	Plant., 1735	W'burg, Feb. 1735	Edw. Archer	1	Antigua	Lower James
" 21	*Aurora*	Tim. Tucker	100	British, 1727	Bristol, Aug. 1727	Thos. Chamberlain	160	Bonny	" "
" 22	*Reb'a and Batchelor*	Will. Robinson	151	Berma., 1734	Bermuda, Dec. 4, 1734	Jno. Robinson	1	Bermuda	York River
" 26	*Hampton*	John Tucker	20	Plant., 1729	W'burg, May 1732	Saml. Barron	3	Barbad.	Lower James
June 7	*Providence*	Joseph Ivy	24	" 1732	W'burg, Feb. 1732	John Holt	2	Jamaica	" "
" 10	*Prince William*	Will. Hayes	70	Leverp., 1726	Leverp. Oct. 10, 1733	Robt. Dixon	166	Gambia	York River
" 14	*Alice,* Liverpool	Thos. Hamilton	60	British, 1717	Liverpool, Jan. 23, 1733	Thom. Seel	90	Guinea	Rappahannock
" 28	*Antelope,* Liverpool	James Hurst	120	" 1724	Liverp, Aug. 22, 1735	Henry Birch and Co.	229	Barbadoes and Guinea	"
" "	*St. George*	Julius Caesar Parke	150	Plant., 1730	London, Dec. 1735	Joseph Beezley	2	Barbados	Lower James

July 2	*Betty*, Snow	James Phelps	90	Bristol, 1730	Bristol, Nov. 25, 1730	Abraham Hooke [15]	400	Affrica	York River
" 5	*Pretty Betsey*	John Boys	60	Plant., 1733	London, Mar. 1734	John Boys	135	Gambo	Lower James
" 11	*Stannage*	Thom. Hill	80	Liverpool, 1732	Liv., May 1732	Thos. Hill and Co.	180	Gamboa	Upper James
" 12	*Pretty Betsey*	John Boys	60	N. Engl., 1733	London, Mar. 1734	John Boys and Co.	135	Lower James	" "
" 19	*Abingdon*	Jno. Westcott	40	New England, 1728	Va., Apr. 19, 1731	John Perrin	2	Medeira and Barbadoes	York River
Aug. 6	*Withers* Galley	William Muff	100	Bristol, 1731	Bristol, Aug. 13, 1731	Jno. Brick-dale [16]	275	Affrica	" "
" 11	*Swallow*	John Cott	60	" 1729	Bristol, Oct. 1, 1729	John Beecher	196	"	" "
" 13	*Ann and Fran's*	William Connor	100	Plant., 1731	W'burg, Nov. 1732	John Ellegood	3	Barbad.	Lower James
" 28	*Indian Queen*	John Blanning	120	Brit., 1714	Bristo., Dec. 12, 1720	Walt. Langher and Co.	201	Guinea	Rappahannock
Oct. 9	*Industry*	John Westcott				Ja. Ward	6	Barbados	Hampton
" 22	*Unity*	Charles White				Charles White	1	Span. Town	"
" 23	*Ann*	Phil. Prodero	90	Bristol, 1729	Bristol, Aug. 29, 1729	Humphrey Met-ton	310	Bonny	York River
Nov. 1	*Tryall*	John Dickinson				John Dickinson	1	Jamaica	Hampton
" 4	*Ann*	James "	30	Berm., 1730	Berm., Sept. 1730	Francis Jones and Co. of Bermuda	3	Berm.	Upper James
" 5	*Saunders*	John Thomas				John Sears	4	Bermuda	Hampton

[15] Abraham Hooke was sheriff of Bristol in 1706 and master of the Society of Merchant Venturers in 1712. Latimer, *Annals of Bristol*, pp. 534, 537.

[16] John Brickdale is among the Bristol merchants who advanced from poverty to considerable wealth, being worth at his death £100,000 (*ibid.*, p. 462). "The Ship *Withers* is just arriv'd from the Coast of Africa, with near 300 choice Slaves, which are to be put to Sale at York this day, and to continue there 'til Saturday next: And at West Point on Monday, the 16th Instant, and there to continue 'til they are all sold, by G. BRAXTON." *Va. Gazette*, Aug. 9, 1736.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
Nov. 8	*John and Mary*	Richd. Tillidge	25	Virginia, 1729	Virginia, Aug. 8, 1729	John Perrin	1	Barbadoes	York River
" "	*John*	Hezekiah Ober				John Fourell	2	Montserat	Hampton
" 12	*Increase*	Will. Darrell	25	Berm., 1735	Berm., Apr. 1736	Will. Riddell and Co. of B.	1	Barbad.	Upper James
" 13	*Elizabeth*	Rob. Robinson				Fra's Jones	2	Bermuda	Hampton
" 19	*Brunswick*	Will. Shippard	55	Char. Town, 1734	Ch. Town, Mar. 1734	Thom. Jennor and Co. of C. T.	1	Boston	Upper James
" 26	*Henr. and Benj.*	Thos. Friend	70	Virg., 1733	W'msburg, Dec. 1733	Benj. Harrison of V.	1	Jamaica	" "
" "	*Charming Ann*	John Browne				Nath. Tatem	1	Antigua	Hampton
" 30	*Mary and Elizabeth*	Bristow Brown				Nath. Bascomb	2	"	"
[1737] [17]									
Feb. 4	*Clotilda,* Wthaven	Elihu Bouch	25	Brit., 1726	W'haven, Dec. 30, 1727	John Gate and Co.	7	W'haven and Barbadoes	Rappahannock
" 17	*Priscilla*	Chas. Sinnott	25	Plant'n, 1733	Virg., Apr. 21, 1733	David Meade	1	Jamaica	Hampton
Mar. 8	*Phoenix*	Joel Hutchinson	30	" 1730	Virg., Jan. 11, 1730	John Tucker	2	St. Christoph.	"
Apr. 6	*Saunders*	John Thomas	25	" 1735	Virg., Feb. 11, 1735	Edw. Archer	3	Anguilla	"
" 21	*Mary and Elizabeth*	Bristow Brown	20	" 1730	Berm., Oct. 26, 1730	Nath. Bascomb	4	Bermuda	"
May 2	*Sarah*	John Tucker	25	" 1732	Virg., Dec. 7, 1736	John Tucker and Co.	5	Barbadoes	"
" "	*William,* Wthaven	Jas. Taylor	45	Brit., 1730	Wthaven, Oct. 9, 1736	Jas. Taylor and Co.	2	"	Rappahannock

[17] C. O. 5: 1444, 1445, and 1446. From this point the district of the Lower James is usually designated as the Hampton district. The naval officers are the same as in the preceding year.

" 10	*Elizabeth*	Robt. Robinson	35	Plant., 1736	Berm., Oct. 5, 1736	Fra's Jones	2	Bermuda	Hampton
" 12	*Anne*	Will. McNary	30	" 1732	Virg., Apr. 18, 1732	John Phripp	3	Jamaica	"
" 13	*Saunders*	Corn. Calvert	30	" "	Virg., Nov. 15, 1732	Corn. Calvert	1	Barbadoes	"
" 28	*Eliz. and Margaret*	Will. Wishart	14	" 1735	Virg., Dec. 4, 1735	Edw. Pugh	7	Antigua	"
" "	*Molly*	Anthon. Moseley	15	" "	Virg., Feb. 17, 1735	Ant. Walke	2	Barbadoes	"
" 30	*Neptune,* London	Thos. Boyd	150	" 1735	New Engl'd, Jan. 5, 1735	Richard Boydcot and Co.	20	Antigua	Rappahannock
June 6	*Frances*	Mason Miller	50	" 1736	Virg., Sept. 22, 1736	Sam. Bough	36	St. Christoph'r	Hampton
" 7	*Phoenix*	Habijah Savage	20	" 1733	Virg., Feb. 7, 1736	Habijah Savage	4	Jamaica	"
" 15	*Alice,* Liverpool	Egerton Cutter	60	Brit., 1717	Liv., Jan. 23, 1733	Thom. Seele	124	Gambia	Rappahannock
	Johnson[18]	Jas. Gildart	120	Maryland, 1727	Maryland, July 15, 1727	Richd. Gildart	495	Angola	York River
	Hobhouse[19]	John Bartlett	150	Bristol, 1716	Bristol, July 30, 1736	Mich. Beedier	310	Affrica	" "
" 30	*Liverpool Mercht.*	James Bootle	80	Liverpool, 1724	Liverpool, Nov. 19, 1733	Foster Cunliff	190	Coast of Africa	South Potomack
July 4	Brig *Thomas*	Henry Smith	50	New York, 1723	Liverpool, Mar. 9, 1732	Johnson Gildart	97	" " "	" "
" "	*Brice*[20]	Abm. Sanders	130	Bristol, 1734	Brist., Nov. 29, 1734	Jas. Laroche	409	Angola	York River
" 21	*Greyhound* Bristol	Edw. Holdon	160	Brit., 1736	Brist., Nov. 15, 1736	Isaac Hobhouse and Co.	232	Bristol and Guinea	Rappahannock

[18] Notices in the *Va. Gazette*, Apr. 8 and 22, 1737, announced the arrival of this vessel with 490 "choice young Slaves", consigned to Thomas Nelson. On the 29th the *Gazette* contained the following item: "Cleared. Apr. 23. Ship *Johnson*, of Leverpoole, James Gildart, Master, for Maryland, with 260 Slaves and some returned Goods."

[19] The *Va. Gazette* of June 10, 1737, contained notice of the arrival of an unnamed vessel with 330 negroes consigned to "Col. Moore". This may have been the *Hobhouse*, referred to by name in the issue of June 17.

[20] The *Brice* also carried "214 Scrivillos [small tusks], 44 Teeth, 7 Weight Mallageta Pepper", an unusual cargo for Virginia. *Ibid.*, July 15, 1737.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
July 23	*Abingdon*	Jno. Westcott	40	New England, 1728	Virginia, Apr. 19, 1731	John Perrin	4	Madeira and Barbadoes	York River
Aug. 1	*Antigua Merchant*	Arthur Payne	100	N. Engl., 1730	Boston, May 1730	Arthur Payne and Co. of London	11	Lower James [21]	Upper James
" 30	*Stannage*	Thos. Hill	80	Liverpool, 1732	Liverp., June 1732	Thos. Hill and Co., Liv.	183	Liv. by way of Gamba	" "
Nov. 8	*Rebecca and Freelove*	John Brett	40	Plant., 1735	Virg., Oct. 11, 1735	Willm. Hunter	1	Barbados	Hampton
" 12	*Anne*	James Dickinson	50	Berm., 1737	Berm., Oct. 28, 1737	Jas. Dickinson and Co.	4	Bermuda	"
Dec. 1	*Pembrooke*	St. George Tucker	50	" 1734	Berm., Mar. 5, 1735	Joseph Stowe	1	"	"
" "	*Tryall*	Tobias Lear	25	Plan., 1728	N. Hampsh., Feb. 17, 1728	Will. Adams	1	Boston	"
" 3	*Glasgow*	James Bulkley	110	" 1733	Boston, Dec. 18, 1733	Alex. Potterfield	24	St. Christoph'r	"
[1738] [22] Jan. 28	*Sarah*	Joshua Thomas	80	" 1732	Boston, July 4, 1732	Jac. Wendall	1	Boston	"
Feb. 23	*Merrimack*	John Robinson	40	" 1732	Boston, Jan. 26, 1736	John Nelson	1	"	"
Mar. 24	*Susannah*	Thom. Nil[?]	30	" "	Virg., July 4, 1732	David Meade	1	Jamaica	"
Apr. 6	*Frances*	Benj. Butterfield	35	" 1728	Berm., Nov. 5, 1728	Nath. Butterfield	1	Bermuda	Lower James
" 14	*Bridget* [23]	Robt. Quirke	70	N. England, 1724	Boston, Nov. 13, 1724	James Day	190	Affrica	York River

[21] This vessel had come from London by way of Antigua. *Va. Gazette*, Aug. 19, 1737.

[22] C. O. 5: 1444, 1446.

[23] "Williamsburg. This Week a Ship arriv'd in York River from Guinea, with upwards of 200 Negroes, which are consigned to Col. Braxton" (*Va. Gazette*, Apr. 14, 1738). The vessel meant was probably the *Bridget*, the arrival of which was reported by name in the next issue of the *Gazette*.

May 16	*Unity*	James Corbet	60	Brit., 1728	Dumfries, Sept. 16, 1737	James Corbett	81	St. Christoph'rs	Lower James
" 22	*Phoenix*	Thom. Newton	50	Plant., 1733	Barb., May 10, 1737	Sam. Salmon	33	Barbados	" "
June 9	*Aimy*	Habijah Savage	60	" 1737	Maryl., Nov. 24, 1737	Fra'c Hutchins	16	"	" "
" 12	*Frederica*	John Goodwin	30	" 1736	Philad., Aug. 3, 1736	Robt. Ellis	67	Georgia	" "
" 26	*St. Michael*	Joel Hutchinson	50	" 1738	Virg., Apr. 17, 1738	John Elligood	1	Barbados	" "
July 3	*Walpole*[24]	Ric. Joynson	90	Leverpoole, 1718	Lev., Aug. 1737	Ric. Gildart and Co., Liv.	180	Liv. by way of Guinea	Upper James
" 13	*Wm. and Betty*	James Moore	60	Plant., 1734	Virg., Feb. 11, 1734	James Brown	1	Jamaica	Lower "
" 24	*Industry*	Wm. Hancock	20	" 1737	Virg., Nov. 7, 1737	Simon Hancock	2	Barbados	" "
" "	*Alice,* Liverpool	Egerton Cutter	60				121	Gambia	Rappahannock
" 27	*Molly*	Jno. Thompson	35	Virginia, 1734	Virginia, Feb. 11, 1736	Fran's Willis	3	Barbadoes	York River
Aug. 5	*Faulcon*[25]	Halden Young	100	Shoreham, 1725	London, Feb. 3, 1734	James Pearse	348	Angola	" "
" 12	*Nancy*	Sam. Johnston	35	Pensilvan'a, 1736	Philad., Nov. 1736	Will. Davidson and Co. of Irel'd	1	Barbad.	Upper James
Sept. 8	*Glasgow*	James Bulkley	110	Plant., 1733	Boston, Oct. 18, 1733	Alex Potterfield	21	St. Christoph'r	Lower James
Oct. 20	*Ann*	James Dickinson	50	" 1737	Bermd., Oct. 28, 1737	Sam. Barrons	3	Bermuda	Hampton
" 25	*Three Friends*	John Farr	40	" 1734	Boston, Apr. 26, 1735	Wm. Drummond	9	Antigua	"
" 26	*Grampus*	John Brigges	45	Virginia, 1737	Virginia, Dec. 14, 1737	John Lewis	1	N. England	York River

[24] The cargo of the *Walpole*, which included six tons of redwood as well as the negroes, was consigned to "Sec'y Carter". *Va. Gazette*, Aug. 11, 1738.

[25] The *Faulcon* brought ivory as well as negroes (*Va. Gazette*, Aug. 25, 1738). An item in the *Gazette* of Aug. 4 may refer to this vessel: "There is a Ship arrived from Guinea, with about 300 Negroes consign'd to Col. Moore." The *Gazette* of July 28 mentions the Hon. Thomas Lee as the consignee of a "Negro Ship lately arriv'd at Hampton, and gone up to Potomack".

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
Nov. 6	*Ruby*	Paul Ruynter	30	Plant., 1730	Berm., Sept. 12, 1730	Richd. Leycraft	5	Bermuda	Hampton
" "	*St. Michael*	Joel Hutchinson	50	" 1738	Virg., Apr. 17, 1738	John Ellegood	5	Barbados	"
" 13	*Thistle*	John Wilson	160	" 1726	Pt. Glas., Feb. 29, 1731	Colin Dunloppa	1	Philadelph'a	"
Dec. 12	*Exeter*	Nehem. Duncome[can]	20	N. Providence, 1733	Chas. Tn., Mar. 1734	Jno. and Edw. Atkins of S. Carolina	7	S. Carolina	Upper James
" 24	*Race Horse*	John Odiorne	55	Plant., 1738	N. Hamp., Dec. 7, 1738	John Rindge	1	Boston	Hampton
" 26	*Nassaw*	Jno. Miller	50	N. Engl., 1731	Boston, Aug. 1731	Thom. Jonnice and Co. of Chas. Town	2	"	Upper James
[1739][26]									
Feb. 19	*Hopewell*[27]	Jno. Armstrong	25	New England, 1733	N. England, Jan. 29, 1738	Robt. Gibbs	1	Rhode Island	York River
May 3	*Jane*	Edw. Rooke	30	Plant., 1738	Virg., Oct. 16, 1738	John Snead	10	Antigua	Hampton
" 4	*Ruby*	Wm. Tarrant	25	" 1737	Virg., June 15, 1737	John Tucker	2	Barbados	"
" 21	*Boyde*	Jno. Lambeth	50	" 1734	Virg., July 22, 1734	John Lambeth	1	St. Christoph'r	"
" 28	*Cross* Gally[28]	Jos. Pitman	100	Bristol, 1731	Bristol, Aug. 11, 1738	John Crosse	266	Affrica	York River

[26] C. O. 5: 1444, 1445, 1446.

[27] Notice of the arrival of this sloop is to be found in the *Gazette*, Mar. 9. In a summary of imports from Dec. 25, 1738, to Mar. 25, 1739, this one negro is the only one mentioned. *Va. Gazette*, May 18, 1739.

[28] "The *Crosse*-Galley, Capt. Joseph Pitman, Master, lately arrived from Africa, with a choice Cargo of Slaves. The Sale whereof will begin on Monday the 4th Instant, at West-Point, And as soon as discharg'd, will prepare to receive a Freight for Bristol. . . . HARMER and KING." *Ibid.*, June 1, 15, 1739.

" 31	*Anna*[29]	James Strachan	140	Thames, 1730	London, Mar. 1736	Jno. Hanbury of London	380	Guinea	Upper James
June 5	*Black Prince*[30]	Jno. Sipson [Simpson]	75	New England, 1735	London, Apr. 28, 1738	Will. Gorrish	112	Affrica	York River
" 18[31]	*Robert*	Sam. Rogers	28	Plant., 1735	Virg., Mar. 14, 1736	Robt. Cooke	2	Barbados	Hampton
" 25	*Margarett*	Thos. Williamson	30	" 1738	Virg., Feb. 24, 1738	Thoms. Williamson	1	"	"
" 29	*Dove*[32]	Wm. Corrin	50	Leverpoole, 1718	Lev., Feb. 1730	Foster Cunliffe of Lev.	106	Gamboa	Upper James
July 3	*Betty*	Jno. Winter	170	Brit., 1723	[*Illegible*], May 5, 1738	Capn. James Peirce	273	Guinea	Rappahannock
" 10	*Vine*	Egerton Cutter	65	" 1729	Liv., Jan. 12, 1738	Thom. Seele and Co.	156	Liv. and Gambia	"
" 11	*Martha and Mary*	Saml. Cooper	35	Plant'n, 1734	Berm., May 8, 1734	Nich. Hinson	11	Barbadoes	Hampton
" 14	*Eagle*	Ric. Jenings	30	" 1737	Berm., June 9, 1737	Will. Riddle	15	Antigua	"
" 20	*St. Michael*	Jno. Nicholson	50	" 1738	Virg., Apr. 17, 1738	John Ellegood	1	Barb.	"
" 22	*Anne*	Will. Ivy	30	" "	Virg., Feb. 17, 1738	James Ivy	7	Jamaica	"
" 23	*Robert and John*	John Cooke	40	" "	Virg., Sept. 11, 1738	Robt. Cooke	1	Madeira and Barb.	"

[29] The cargo of the *Anne* was consigned to Isham and Richard Randolph (*ibid.*, June 8, Aug. 10, 1739). Of the terms on which Virginia consignees sold slaves we know little. Col. William Byrd, in a letter to Mr. Andrews of Rotterdam concerning the migration of Palatines, wrote: "This [eight per cent.] is the Allowance Our Negro Sellers have, which Sell for more than Double these People will, and consequently afford twice the Profet." *Am. Hist. Rev.*, I. 90.

[30] "That the *Black Prince*, Capt. John Simpson, of London, is lately arrived from the Gold Coast, with a Cargo of choice Slaves, the Sale of which began at York Town on the 7th Instant, and is to continue there till the whole Cargo is disposed of. She is intended to take in Tobacco at Seven Pounds per Ton, for London. THOMAS and WILLIAM NELSON." On June 29 the master of the *Black Prince* advertised for tobacco; then added: "I find it has been industriously reported for many Years, that Ships which come from Guinea here with Slaves, are never after in a Condition to take in Tobacco, which is very absurd and ungenerous, and a great Discouragement to bring Negros here: But I cannot think any Man, who has any Notion of a Ship, can ever imagine anyone will venture his Life and Fortune to Sea in a Vessel that is not Seaworthy. However, to clear up all Doubts of that kind, if any Gentleman has a Mind to ship any Tobacco on board me, I will cause a Survey to be made of my Vessel by whom they shall desire, and her Condition shall be reported accordingly. . . . JOHN SIBSON [SIMPSON]." *Va. Gazette*, June 8, 22, 29, 1739.

[31] The *Gazette*, Aug. 24, 1739, adds one entry, that of the *John and Mary*, Rich. Tillidge, which entered from Madeira and Barbados on June 14, with one negro.

[32] The *Gazette* of July 6 and Dec. 14, 1739, announced the arrival of 106 negroes consigned to John Carter.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
Aug. 7	*Prince of Orange*	Japhet Bird	80	Bristol, 1730	Bristol, Sept. 3, 1735	Edward Heylin	200	Africa	York River
" 14	*Molly*	Jno. Northcott	45	Plant., 1733	Virg., June, 1734	Theo's Pugh	4	Barb.	Hampton
" 16	*Liverpool Mercht.*	Matt. Goulding	80	Leverpool	Leverpool, Nov. 29, 1729	Foster Cunliff	130	Africa	South Potomack
Sept. 8	*Sea Nymph*	Thom. Ashington	120	N. Englands Letters for Comm.		Will. Whitaker	1	Maryland	York River
Oct. 15	*Hannah*	Joshua Baker	25	Plant., 1736	Virg., Apr. 23, 1737	Alexr. McKenzie	1	"	Hampton
" 29	*Rebecca and Freelove*	John Brett	40	" 1735	Virg., Oct. 1735	Wm. Hunter	11	Jamaica	"
Nov. 8	*Little Molly*	Henr. Miller	25	" 1738	Virg., Nov. 22, 1738	Sam. Boush	1	"	"
" 24	*Mary*	Benja. James	50	" 1739	Berm., Mar. 1739	Fran. Jones	7	Bermuda	"
" 26	*Mary*	Israel Brownlow	30	" 1738	Berm., Mar. 1738	Israel Brownlow	8	"	"
[1740][33] Jan. 14	*Bredah*	Wm. Pitman	40	" 1736	Berm., Dec. 1736	Jerem. Burch	4	S. Carolina	"
" 19	*Breda*	Wm. Pitman	40	Bermuda, 1736	Berm., Dec. 1736	Jeremiah Burch of Bermuda	4	Lower James	Upper James
" 21	*Anne and Mary*	Chas. Sinnot	60	Plant., 1734	Virg., Oct. 1738	David Mead	3	Jamaica	Hampton
Mar. 3	*Charity*	George Gibbs	30	" 1739	Berm., Jan. 1739	George Gibbs	1	Bermuda	"
" 17	*St. Michael*	Isaiah Nicholass	50	" 1738	Virg., Apr. 1738	John Ellegood	1	Barbados	"
" 31	*James and Margaret*	Edw. Gastelon	40	Free br. cond.	Antigua, Oct. 1730	James Mcdowell	5	St. Christoph'rs	"

[33] C. O. 5: 1444, 1445, 1446.

Apr. 14	*Little Molly*	Henr. Miller	25	Virg., 1738	Virg., Nov. 1738	Sam. Boush	2	Barbadoes	"
" "	*Mary*	Is'r Brownlow	30	Berm., 1738	Berm., Mar. 1738	Is'r Brownlow	1	Bermuda	"
" 17	*Anne*	Geo. Walker	50	N. Eng., "	N. Eng., Mar. 1739	Jas. Stockley	32	St. Christoph'r	"
" 19	*Ann and Francis*	Andr. Nicholass	100	Virg., 1731	Virg., Nov. 1732	John Ellegood	3	Barbad.	"
" 26	*Caledonia*	Geo. Moncrieff	115	N. Eng., 1738	N. Eng., Mar. 1738	George Moncrieff	20	Antigua	"
" 29	*Catherine*	Alex. Murray	25	Virg., 1738	Virg., Oct. 1738	Theophilus Pugh	4	Barbad.	"
May 2	Snow *Bridgett* Liverpool	James Carrel	50	Leverpool, 1738/9	Leverpool, Mar. 18, 1739	Henry Pepper and Co.	53	Africa	South Potomack
" 13	*Cornwall*	Jos. Richards	140	Bristol, 1719	Bristol, Aug. 22, 1737	Jas. Laroache	284	Barbadoes	York River
" 22	*Molly*	Jno. Northcott	45	N. Eng., 1733	Virg., June 1734	Theophilus Pugh	16	"	Hampton
June 4	*Marlborgh*	Jno. Blaning	100	Bristol, 1711	Brist., Apr. 21, 1711	Jno. Brickdale	260	Calabar	York River
" 9	*Pugh*	Christoph. Gardner	25	Virg., 1737	Virg., Dec. 1737	Theophilus Pugh	8	Barbad.	Hampton
" 13	*Tryal*	Hugh Brown	50	Brit., 1729	Irwin, Jan. 1730	Robert Brown	16	St. Christoph'r	"
" 18	*Saunders*	Corn. Calvert	40	Virg., 1739	Virg., Mar. 1739	Cornelius Calvert	1	Antigua	"
" 21	*Anne*	Oliv'r Leycroft	30	Berm., 1730	St. Christ., Feb. 1738	Richd. Rowland	31	St. Christoph'r	"
" 24	*Crusier*	Wright Westcott	20	" "	Barb., July 1730	Bart. Newton	2	Barbad.	"
July 11	*Boyde*	Jno. Lambeth	50	Virg., 1734	Virg., July 1734	Alex. Campbell	6	Jamaica	"
" 28	*Williams*	Jona. Lambert	100	Bristol, 1735	Bristol, Oct. 2, 1738	John King	230	Guinea	York River
Aug. 4	*Charming Sally*	Jno. Maxwell	50	Plant., 1736	St. Christ., Mar. 1739	Andr. Lessley	36	St. Christoph'r	Hampton
" 10	*Swan*	Joseph Doggett	40	N. Engl., 1739	Boston, Jan. 1739	Sam. Doggett and Co., Marshfield	1	Boston	Upper James

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
Aug. 10	*Little Molly*	George Cabonis	40	Virg., 1737	W'msburg, Dec. 1737	Nath. and Benj. Harrison of Virg.	1	Barbad.	Upper James
" 11	*Chesterfield*	William Woods	87	New England, 1738	Bristol, Nov. 16, 1739	Isaac Hobhouse	186	St. Christophr.	York River
" 16	*Vine*	James Murrey	30	Virg., 1739	Virg., Oct. 1739	Will. Hix	4	Antigua	Hampton
" 20	*Dove*	John Lee	50	Liverpool, 1718	Liverp., Feb. 1730	Foster Cunliffe of Liv.	62	Guinea	Upper James
Sept. 1	*Anne and Mary*	Charles Sinnot	60	N. Eng., 1734	Virg., Mar. 1740	David Mead	7	Jamaica	Hampton
" 11	*Fanny*	Wm. Furmidge	25	Plant., 1736	St. Christ., Aug. 1739	Clemens Chapman	2	St. Christoph'r	"
" "	*Catherine*	Alex. Murray	25	" 1732	Virg., Oct. 1738	Theophilus Pugh	15	Barbad.	"
" 12	*Palmtree*	Will'm Rice	100	Bristol, 1737	Brist., Nov. 21, 1737	Jas. Laroche	120	Bonny	York River
" 13	*Mary Anne*	John Cutter	80	Plant., 1738	Boston, Apr. 1739	John Boutin	70	Affrica	Hampton
" 24	*Gambia Merchant*	Eger't Cutter	90	Brit., 1729	Liv., Mar. 4, 1739	Thom. Seele and Co.	139	Gambia	Rappahannock
" 29	*William*	Wm. Conner	25	Virg., 1740	Virg., May 1740	Wm. Crawford	7	Jamaica	Hampton
Oct. 10	*Anne*	Oliv'r Leycroft	30	Plant., 1730	St. Chr., Feb. 1738	Richd. Rowland	2	St. Christoph.	"
" 13	*Lucy*	Thos. Goodman	40	Virgin., 1739	W'msburg, Apr. 1739	Benj. Harrison of Virg.	3	Jamaica	Upper James
" 17	*Adventure*	Alex. Bayne	35	" "	Virg., Dec. 1739	Saml. Smith	6	"	Hampton
Nov. 20 [1741][34]	*Speedwell*	Nehem'h Duncome	18	N. Providence, 1740	N. Prov., June 1740	Benj. Bullock of N. Prov.	2	N. Prov.	James River
Apr. 13	*Endeavour*	Jam's Hawkins	30	Plant., 1733	Boston, Apr. 1733	Jabez Sweet	2	St. Christoph'r	Hampton

[34] C. O. 5: 1444, 1445, 1446.

" 17	*Anne*	Wilson Newton	35	Virg., 1740	Virg., June 1740	Thom. Webley	3	" "	"
" 24	*Anne*	Joel Hutchinson	30	" 1738	Virg., Feb. 1738	James Ivy	2	Nevis	"
" 28	*Eleanor*	Jno. Thompson	30	Plant., 1737	Virg., Sept. 1740	John Thompson	10	Antigua	"
May 2	*Shear Water*	John Bradick	45	" 1739	N. Lond., Feb. 1739	Patrick Robinson	1	N. London	"
" 11	*Catherine*	Alex. Murray	25	Virg., 1732	Virg., Oct. 1738	Alex. Murray	2	Barbad.	"
" 14	*Griffin*	Joshua Dixon	40	Brit., 1740	W'haven, Jan. 20, 1738	Edw. Tubman and Co.	12	"	Rappahannock
June 3	*Roy'l Ranger*	Soloman Frith	45	Berm., 1740	Berm., Nov. 1740	Nath. Bascome	3	"	Hampton
" "	*Friendly Society*	Fr. Dickinson	80	" "	Berm., Nov. 1740	Thom. Tucker	26	"	"
" 26	*Joseph*	John Ingham	40	Plant., 1740	Berm., Nov. 1740	John Butterfield	1	Bermuda	"
" 30	*Nancy*	Jno. Malcome	70	Bristol, 1729	Bristol, Feb. 1729	Sam. Jacob and Co., Bristol	182	Affrica	Upper James
July 6	*Martha and Susanna*	Thom. Greatbeach	26	Plant., 1739	Berm., Mar. 1740	Hubbard Outerbridge	15	Antigua	Hampton
" 7	*Pugh*	Christoph. Gardner	25	" 1737	Virg., Dec. 1737	Theo. Pugh	3	"	"
" 9	*Seaflower*	John Edwards	50	Philadelphia, 1734	Bristol, Aug. 13, 1740	James Laroche	169	Africa	York River
" 10	*Cape Coast*	Wm. Smith	60	Boston, 1733	Liverpool, May 27, 1737	Foster Cunliffe	130	"	South Potomack
" 11	*Jane and Elizabeth*	Thos. Seward	35	Plant., 1738	Barb., May 1741	Codrington Carrington	2	Barb.	Hampton
" 27	*Polly*	Joseph Ivy	35	" "	Virg., Feb. 1738	James Ivy	18	St. Christoph.	"
Aug. 1	*Grand Master*	Thos. Hall	30	" 1734	St. Christ., Feb. 1740	James Varchild	10	" "	"
" 3	*Endeavour*	John Cooke	35	" 1737	Berm., Oct. 1737	John Pitt	18	Barbad.	"
" 17	*St. Michael*	Henr. Miller	50	" 1738	Virg., Apr. 1738	Joel Hutchinson	7	"	"
Sept. 1	*Oliver*	James Payne	140	" 1735	London, June 1739	John Douglas	10	Antigua	"

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
Sept. 2	*Dragon*	Constant. Hughs	15	Plant., 1738	Philad., Mar. 1738	Will. Grant	1	Philad.	Hampton
" 3	*Susanna*	Mason Miller	30	" 1740	W'msburgh, Feb. 27, 1740	Thom. Plummer and Co.	3	Barbadoes	Rappahannock
" 22	*Fanny*	Henr. Darrell	30	Bermud., 1741	Berm., Sept. 1741	Henr. Darrell and Co. of Berm.	1	Berm.	Upper James
" 30	*Molly*[35]	George Perry	70	N. Engl., 1737	Bristol, Feb. 1737	Jno. Crosse and Co., Brist.	206	Africa	" "
Oct. 16	*Jno. and Mary*	Richd. Tillidge	65	Virginia, 1736	Virg., Jan. 11, 1736	John Perrin	27	Barbadoes	York River
" 17	*Saunders*	Jonathan Calvert	40	Plant., 1739	Virg., Mar. 1740	Corn. Calvert	1	"	Lower James (Hampton)
" 20	*Sarah and Hannah*	Thos. Friend	35	Virg., 1741	W'msburg, Apr. 1741	Benj. Harrison of V.	10	Antigua	Upper James
" 20	*Industry*	Reo'd Malbone	70	Plant., 1740	Virg., Oct. 1740	John Hutchings	41[36]	Barbad.	Hampton
" 24	*Mary*	Sam. Smith	30	" 1738	Berm., Mar. 1739	Israel Brownlow	3	Bermuda	"
" "	*Joseph*	Will. Pitt	40	" 1740	Berm., Nov. 1740	John Butterfield	1	"	"
" 28	*Sarah and Elizabeth*	Wm. Wainwright	15	Bermuda, 1740	Berm., Oct. 8, 1740	Joseph Stowe	1	"	York River
Nov. 3	*Elizabeth*	Will. Higgs	30	Plant., 1739	Berm., Nov. 1739	Will. Higgs	2	"	Hampton
" 10	*Margt. and Mary*	John Millet	20	" 1741	Philad., Nov. 1741	Isaac Whitlock	1	Philad.	"
" 19	*Mary*	John Thibon	25	" 1739	Antigua, Oct. 1741	Will. King	2	Antigua	"

[35] "Williamsburg, Octo. 2 . . . This Week arriv'd in James River, the Snow *Molly* of Bristol, from Africa, with near 200 Slaves, consign'd to Col. John Allen, and Major Theophilus Pugh." *Boston News Letter*, Nov. 5, 1741.

[36] Given in another list as 33.

" 24	*Diamont*	John Sears	35	" "	Berm., May 1739	Fra's Jones	1	Bermuda	"
" 28	*Anne*	Chas. Griffin	30	" 1738	Virg., Feb. 1738	James Ivy	2	"	"
Dec. 3	*Pugh*	Adam Dixon	25	" 1737	Virg., Dec. 1737	Theo. Pugh	1	Barbad.	"
" 4	*Elizabeth*	Will. Godfrey	50	" 1740	Berm., Oct. 1740	Fra's Jones	4	Bermuda	"
" "	*Elizabeth*	Wm. Godfrey	50	" "	Berm., Oct. 1740	Francis Jones and Co.	2	Hampton	Rappahannock
" 14	*Anne and Mary*	John Irwin	60	" 1734	Virg., Mar. 1740	David Meade	10	Barbad.	Hampton
" 16	*Delight*	Jeremiah Wells	20	Berm., 1741	Berm., Nov. 1741	Thom. Gilbert and Co., Bermuda	1	Berm.	Upper James
" 28	*Endeavour*	Will. Morrice	35	Plant'r, 1737	Berm., Oct. 1737	Soloman Joell	1	Barbad.	Hampton
" 29	*Robert and John*	Benj. Boswell	40	" 1728	Virg., Sept. 1738	Robt. Cooke	2	"	"
" 30	*Molly*	Joseph Darrel	45	" 1739	Berm., Oct. 1739	Joseph Darrel	1	Berm.	"
" "	*Industry*	Joseph Dill	40	" 1740	Berm., Sept. 1740	Solom. Joel	1	"	"
[1742][37] Jan. 4	*Industry*	Joseph Dill	40	Bermuda, 1740	Berm., Sept. 27, 1740	William Morris	1	Hampton	York River
" 21	*Two Brothers*	Daniel Collins	40	Plant., 1736	Boston, Nov. 1740	Edw. Sheaff	1	Boston	Hampton
Mar. 9	*Pugh*	Adam Dixon	25	" 1737	Virg., Dec. 1737	Theoph. Pugh	6	Barbad.	"
" 25	*Two Sisters*	Chas. Sinnot	50	" 1741	Virg., Dec. 1741	Andrew Mead	34	"	"
" "	" "	Sam. Conyars	50	" "	Virg., Dec. 1741	David Meade	34	"	"
Apr. 2	*Nonpareil*	John Watkins	70	" "	Berm., Feb. 1741	Henr. Tucker	1	Bermuda	"
" 3	*Dragon*	Phil. Stevens	15	" 1738	Philad., Oct. 1741	Cont. Hughes	1	Philadelph.	"
May 12	*Sea Horse*	John Williams	50	" 1740	Boston, May 1740	Josiah Quinny and Co.	5	St. Christoph.	"

[37] C. O. 5: 1444, 1446.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
May 17	*Industry*	Reo'd Malborn	70	Plant., 1740	Virg., Oct. 1740	John Hutchings	1	Barbados	Hampton
" 20	*Mary*	John Thibon	25	N. Eng., 1739	Antigua, Oct. 1741	Will. King of Va. and Co.	3	Antigua	"
June 1	*Betty*	Isaac Revel	100	Virg., 1737	Virg., Oct. 1741	Spalding and Liderdale	6	Barbad.	"
" 7	*Anne and Mary*	John Irwin	60	N. Eng., 1734	Virg., Mar. 1740	Andr. and David Meade	6	St. Christop.	"
" 9	*Robert and John*	Benj. Boswell	40	Virg., 1738	Virg., Sep. 1738	Robt. Cooke of Virg.	1	Barbad.	"
July 6	*Amoretta*	John Crode	85	New England, 1726	Bristol, Dec. 4, 1739	Isaac Hobhouse	195	Africa	York River
" 13	*James*, Gally	Halden Young	140	London, 1720	London, Sept. 26, 1741	James Pearse	450	"	" "
" 19	*Vernon*	Henry Forrest	50	New England, 1739	Bristol, Oct. 15, 1741	Isaac Hobhouse	140	"	" "
" 24	*Sheppard*	Manr. Power	120	Brit., 1727	Brist., Sept. 23, 1741	James Day and Co.	320	Bristol	Rappahannock
" 28	*Sarah and Hannah*	Thos. Friend	35	Virg., 1741	W'msburg, Apr. 1741	Benj. Harrison of Virg.	1 woman	Barbad.	Upper James
" 29	*Vernon*	John Brown	96	Boston, 1741	Boston, Oct. 1741	Andr. Buchanan and Co., Glasg.	17	"	Hampton
Aug. 4	*Clyde*	John McCunn	70	New Engl., 1735	Greenock, Oct. 1737	John Wadross and Co., Glasg.	2	Antigua	"
" 5	*Vernon*	Jno. Brown					17 Negro Women	Lower Dist.	Upper James
" 9	*Breda*	Will. Young	40	Berm., 1736	Berm., Dec. 1736	Jerem. Birch of Birmingham	1	Bermuda	Hampton
" 12	*Clyde*	Jno. McCun	70	N. Engl., 1735	Greenock, Oct. 1737	Jno. Anderson and Co. of Greenock	2	Lower Dist.	Upper James

" 14	*Guy*	John Shurwin	80	Virg., 1742	Virg., Apr. 1742	John Hutchings of V.	3	Barbad.	Hampton
Sept. 6	*Molly*	Josh. Baker	35	N. Eng., 1741	Virg., May 1742	Alex. Hamilton of Virg.	14	"	"
" 7	*George*	Edward Lovey	100	Bristol, 1737	Brist., July 2, 1737	Samuel Jacob	310	Africa	York
" 15	*George*	Edw. Lovey	100	" "	Bristol, July 1737	Sam. Jacob of Brist.	282	York River	Upper James
Oct. 16	*Kitty and Nora*	Wm. Robertson	100	N. Engl., 1737	W'msburg, Aug. 1738	Jno. Lidderdale and Co., Virg.	3	Barbad.	" "
" 22	*Mary*	John Thibon	25	" 1739	Antigua, Oct. 1741	James Thibon of Antigua and Co.	2	Antigua	Hampton
Nov. 8	*Deborah*	Adam Montgomery	15	" 1742	Boston, Sept. 1742	Adam Montgomery	1	Rhode Island	"
" 29	*Nonpariel*	Danl. Gilbert	70	Berm., 1741	Berm., Feb. 1741	Henry Tucker and Co. of Berm.	1	Berm.	"
" 30	*Friendship*	Henr. Jennings	20	" 1742	Berm., May 1742	Henr. Jennings and Co. of Berm.	1	"	"
Dec. 4	*Charming Molly*	Nath. Butterfield	50	Plant., 1741	Berm., Dec. 1741	Nath. Butterfield and Co. of Berm.	1	"	"
" 10	*Elizabeth*	Benj. Gilbert	50	Berm., 1740	Berm., Oct. 1740	Robt. Robertson of Berm'a	1	"	"
" 20	*Molly*	Joseph Darrell	45	" 1739	Berm., Oct. 1739	John Harvey and Co. of Berm.	1	"	"
" 21	*Endeavour*	James Stitson	24	N. Hamps., 1724	N. Hamp., Dec. 1736	Ric. Salter of N. Hampsh.	1	Boston	"
" 23	*Endeavour*	" "	"	N. Engl., 1734	N. Hamp., Dec. 1736	Ric. Salter of N. Castle	1	Lower District	Upper James
" 23	*Esther*	Robt. Savage	50	Berm., 1742	Berm., Dec. 1742	Thos. Parsons and Co., Berm.	2	" "	"
" 28	*Robert*	Tho. Wood	15	Plant., 1742	Berm., Dec. 1742	James Congers and Co. of Virg.	5	Berm.	Hampton
[1743] Mar. 3	*Speedwell*	John Miers	15	Philad., 1737	Philad., Aug. 1739	Chas. Dingee of Philad.	1	Philad.	"

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
Mar. 10	*Royall Rangers*	Wm. Appleby	40	N. Providence, 1732	Berm., June 1742	Wm. and Mary Burrass	2	Bermud	Hampton
May 7	*Industry*	James Godfrey	70	Virg., 1740	Virg., Oct. 1740	John Hutchings of Virga	6	Barbad.	"
" 18	*Sea Flower*	Danl. Freeman	35	N. Engl., 1738	Boston, July 1738	Benj. Curtis and Co.	1	Boston	
" 23	*John and William*	John Gass	15	Philad., 1742	Philad., Nov. 1742	John Gass and Co., Philad.	1	Philad.	"
" "	*Sanders*	Jona. Calvert	50	Virg., 1742	Virg., Mar. 1742	Corn. Calvert of Virg.	3	Barbad.	"
" "	*Broomfield*	Joseph Sharp	55	Foreign built and Condemned May 8, 1742		John Crosse	164	Africa	York River
" "	*Kitty and Nora*	Wm. Robertson	100	N. Engl., 1737	W'msburg, Aug. 1738	Jno. Lidderdale and Co. of V.	3	Antigua	Upper James
" "	*Nancy*	Jno. Malcolme	70	Bristol, 1729	Bristol, Feb. 1729	Sam. Jacob and Co.	213	Guinea	" "
June 11	*Henrys*, Gally	Joseph Tuttle	120	" 1716	Brist., Aug. 2, 1737	Henr. Dampier	298	Africa	York River
" 13	*Goldfinch*	Walter Spurrier	100	" 1718	Brist., Sept. 18, 1740	James Day	200	"	" "
" "	*Williamsburg*	John Tate	100	" 1735	Brist., Oct. 2, 1738	John King	300	"	" "
" "	*Griffin*	Jas. Dixon	40	Brit., 1727	W'haven, Jan. 20, 1738	Joshua Dixon and Co.	4	Barbadoes	Rappahannock
" 23	*Williamsburg*	John Tate	100	Bristol, 1735	Brist., Oct. 1738	John King and Co., Brist.	150	York River	Upper James
" 27	*Phoenix*	Richd. Baker	80	Virginia, 1741	Virginia, Apr. 1741	Robt. Tucker of Virg.	2	Barbad.	Hampton
" "	*Sarah and Hannah*	Anth. Allen	35	" 1741	Virginia, May 1743	James Murray and Co. of Barbad.	2	"	"
July 18	*Windsor Castle*	Thos. Bell	25	N. England, 1742	Berm., Mar. 1743	John Pigot of Berm.	2	Berm.	"

" 20	*Industry*	James Godfrey	70	Virg., 1740	Virg., Oct. 1740	John Hutchings of Virg.	10	Barbad.	"
" 25	*Molly*	Joshua Baker	35	N. Engl., 1741	Virg., May 1742	Alex. Hamilton of Virg.	7	"	"
" 30	*Little Betty*	Richd. Gilbert	20	Virginia, 1736	Antigua, July 2, 1743	Thom. Kenyon	13	Antigua	York River
Aug. 8	*Content*	Will. Moody	40	" 1735	St. Christph., Mar. 1742	Chas. Day and Co. of St. Christ.	6	St. Christoph.	Hampton
" 13	*Young David*	Thom. Webster	40	Connecticut, 1741	Barbadoes, July 11, 1743	David Minuite	13	Barbadoes	York River
" 22	*William*	Chas. Griffin	25	Virg., 1740	Virg., May 1740	Wright Westcott	2	Berm.	Hampton
" 29	*Sanders*	Jona Calvert	50	" 1742	Virg., Mar. 1742	Corn. Calvert of Virg.	3	Barbad.	"
Sept. 1	*Sparrow*	John Prentis	50	Connecticut, 1739	Barbad., Nov. 1742	Thom. Walcott and Co.	2	"	"
" 7	*Vernon*	Henry Forrest	60	New England, 1739	Bristol, Oct. 15, 1741	Isaac Hobhouse	145	Africa	York River
" 24	*Elizabeth*	Rich. Ross	20	Berm., 1739	Tortola, Aug. 1742	John Bradford of Spa. Tn.	6	Spanish Town	Hampton
Oct. 6	*Cape May*	Richd. Smith	20	N. Jersey, 1743	Burlington, Sept. 1743	Ric. Smith and Co. of Cape May	1	Philadelph.	"
" 11	*Industry*	Reo'd Malbone	70	Virg., 1740	Virg., Oct. 1740	John Hutchings of Virg.	2	Barbad.	"
" 29	*Betty*	Will. Soper	100	" 1737	Virg., Oct. 1741	John Lidderdale of Virg.	1	"	"
Nov. 25	*Speedwell*	Sam. Curle	10	Philad., 1740	Phil., Sept. 1742	John Blakley of Phil.	2	Philad.	
Dec. 5	*Diamond*	Rich. Somersall	30	Berm., 1743	Berm., May 1743	Henr. Corbusier of Berm.	3	St. Christoph.	
" 9	*Joseph*	Will. Wainwright	40	" 1740	Berm., Nov. 1740	John Butterfield of Berm.	1	Berm.	Hampton
" 15	*Sarah*	John Hayles	45	New England, 1740	Virginia, June 29, 1741	John Harmer	2	Barbadoes	York River
" 22	*Industry*	Joseph Dill	40	Berm., 1740	Berm., Sept. 1740	John Argent and Co.	2	"	Hampton

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
[1744] Jan. 27	*James*	Thom. Mollynex	50	British, 1718	Liverpool, Dec. 1740	James Clinton	2	Barbadoes	Hampton
Feb. 25	*Endeavour*	John Gibb	25	N. Engl., 1740	Rhode Is., Sept. 1742	Nathan Nathans and Co.	3	Rhode Is.	"
Apr. 23	*Nansem'd* [?] Fregat	David Meredith	30	" 1737	Virg., Apr. 1742	Theo's Pugh of Virgin.	1	Barbad.	"
May 3	*Industry*	Reo'd Malbone	70	Virg., 1740	Virg., Oct. 1740	John Hutchings of Virg.	10	"	"
" 14	*Joseph*	Will'm Wainwright	40	Berm., 1740	Berm., Nov. 1740	John Butterfield	8	Antigua	"
" 16	*Fredericksburgh*	Jas. Monkhause	10	Plant., 1743	W'msburgh, July 8, 1743	Wm. Gale	6	Barbadoes	Rappahannock
" 21	*Peggy*	John Brett	60	Virg., 1743	Virg., Jan. 1743	Arch'd Taylor and Co. of Virg.	9	"	Hampton
" 29	*Barbados* Packet	Will'm Morris	100	" "	Barb., Mar. 1743	Barsell and Newton of Barb.	2	Antigua	"
June 4	*Amoretta*	Isaac Revel	85	N. Engl., 1726	Bristol, Dec. 1739	Joseph Iles and Co. of Brist.	165	Guinea via Barbad.	Upper James
July 2	*Molly*	Joshua Baker	35	" 1741	Virginia, May 1742	Alex. Hamilton of Virg.	5	Barbad.	Hampton
" 9	*Nonparrell*	Nath. Payne	20	Berm., 1739	Span. Town, June 1744	Chas. White of Spa. Town	14	Span. Tn.	"
" 11	*Bold Defiance*	Robert Nicholls	35	N. Engl., 1743	Boston, Sept. 1743	John Johnson of St. Chris.	72	St. Christoph.	"
Aug. 1	*Industry*	Reo'd Malbone	70	Virg., 1740	Virg., Oct. 1740	John Hutchings of Virg.	1	Barbad.	"
" 3	*Anne*	John Cooke	70	" 1742	Jamaica, Jan. 1742	John Cooke	2	Jamaica	"
" 10	*Peggy*	John Brett	60	" 1743	Virg., Jan. 1743	Arch. Taylor of V.	16	Barb.	"
" 11	*Cambridge*	Geo. Newton	64	" "	Virg., Mar. 1743	John Yaxley of V.	3	St. Christoph.	"

" 20	*Nesbitt*	Philip Hall	50	N. Engl., 1741	Antigua, Sept. 1743	John Chalmers of Antigua	4	Antigua	"
" 21	*Nansem'd* Frigot	David Meredith	30	" 1737	Virg., Apr. 1742	Theo. Pugh of Virg.	1	Barb.	"
" 24	*Sea Flower*	Robt. McKenny	30	Berm., 1743	Berm., June 1743	Thom. Hunt and Co. of Berm.	1	Montserrat	"
Sept. 5	*Two Brothers*	William Orchard	60	N. Engl., 1732	London, Mar. 1742	Will. Orchard and Co. of Lond.	15	Barbadoes	"
" 12	*Molly*	Thom. Crary	25	Condemned a prize at Antigua, Oct. 1743		Ralph Sampson	2	Antigua	York River
" 25	*Thomas*	David Wilson	50	Brit., 1735	Liv., June 16, 1741	Thos. Seel and Co.	114	Gambia	Rappahannock
" 29	*Bobby*	Paul Loyall	75	Virg., 1744	Virg., Apr. 1744	Robt. Tucker of V.	1	Barbad.	Hampton
Oct. 8	*Sheppard*	John Brown	120	Bristol, 1727	Bristol, Sept. 23, 1741	Abel Grant	207	Africa	York River
" 25	*Honest Industry*	Saml. Landon	15	N. York, 1742	Philad., Oct. 1744	Sam. Hazard of Philad.	2	Philadelph.	Hampton
Nov. 1	*May Flower*	Solom. Eden	20	Virg., 1743	Virg., Oct. 1743	John Hutchings of Va.	3	Bermuda	"
" 30	*Deborah*	Saml. Brown	35	Berm., "	Berm., Oct. 1743	Nath. Bascombe and Co. of V.	1	"	"
Dec. 24	*Peggy*	John Brett	60	Virg., "	Virg., Jan. 1743	Arch. Taylor and Co., Virg.	1	St. Eustatia	"
" "	*Esther*	Robt. Savage	50	Berm., 1742	Berm., Dec. 1742	Thom. Parsons and Co. of Berm.	1	Bermuda	"
[1745][38] Feb. 27	*Endeavour*	John Dickenson	40	" 1743	Berm., Aug. 1743	Fra's Jones and Co., Berm.	50	St. Christoph.	"
Apr. 15	*Peggy*	Wm. Robertson	60	Virg., 1743	Virg., Jan. 1743	Arch. Taylor and Co. of V.	3	Barbadoes	"
May 9	*May Flower*	Solo'm Eden	20	" "	Virg., Oct. 1743	John Hutchings of V.	2	"	"
" 17	*Polly*	Joseph Ivy	40	" 1744	Virg., May 1744	James and Jos. Ivy of V.	2	Antigua	"

[38] C. O. 5: 1444, 1445.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
May 25	*Bobby*	Paul Loyall	75	Virg., 1744	Virg., Apr. 1744	Robt. Tucker of V.	1	Barbad.	Hampton
June 11	*Fanny*	Max'm Calvert	70	" 1743	Virg., Feb. 1742	John Blackbourne and Co.	2	St. Christoph.	"
July 23	*Peggy*	Wm. Robertson	60	" 1743	Virg., Apr. 1745	Arch. Taylor and Co. of Virg.	30	Barbad.	"
" 25	*Elizabeth*	John Gibbs	40	Berm., 1744	Berm., Jan. 1744	Robt. Brown and Co. of Berm.	2	Berm.	"
Aug. 6	*Broomfield*	Joseph Sharp	55	Prize cond. at	Bristol, May 18, 1742	Walter King	187	Africa	York River
" 8	*Race Horse*	James Hawkins	30	Virg., 1742	Antigua, Feb. 1744	Andr. and Wm. Lislie of Ant.	5	Antigua	Hampton
" 16	*Orphan* of Tehoa	John Evarard	50	N. Engl., 1744	N. Hampsh., May 1744	John and Saml. Wintworth, N. Hamps.	12	Barbad.	"
" 24	*Ranger*	Ths. Elsworthy	50	" " 1740	Bristol, July 19, 1744	John Thompson	185	Africa	York River
" 29	*Mercury*	Will. Bacon	100	Brit., 1744	Liv., Dec. 3, 1744	Thom. Backhouse and Co.	140	Gambia	Rappahannock
Sept. 2	*Bobby*	Paul Loyall	75	Virg., "	Virg., Apr. 1744	Robt. Tucker of Virg.	3	Barbad.	Hampton
" 5	*Betsy*	Pat'k Lynch	15	Berm., 1742	Barb., Nov. 1743	Dominick Lynch of Barb.	19	"	"
Dec. 4	*Bobby*	Paul Loyall	75	Virg., 1744	Virg., Apr. 1744	Robt. Tucker of Virg.	11	"	"
[1746] Feb. 11	*Betty*	Wm. Moseley	40	" 1744	Virg., Apr. 1744	Sam Boush and John Tucker of V.	16	"	"
Apr. 1	*Peggy*	Will'm Robertson	60	" 1743	Virg., Apr. 1743	Arch'd Taylor and Co. of Va.	36	"	"

" 17	*Bobby*	Paul Loyall	75	" 1744	Virg., Apr. 1744	Robert Tucker	15	"	"
May 5	*Mercury*	John Goutskill	90	Plant., 1745	W'msburg, Apr. 24, 1745	Champ. and Co.	53	"	Rappahannock
" 8	*Betty*	Lem'l Willoughby	40	Virg., 1745	W'msburg, Nov. 1745	John Hood of V.	5	"	"
" 19	*Industry*	Trim'r Tatem	70	" 1740	W'msburg, Oct. 1740	John Hutchings of V.	55	"	"
June 9	*Peggy*	Corn. Calvert	60	" 1743	W'msburg, Apr. 1745	Arch. Taylor of Virg.	11	"	"
" 25	*Elizabeth*	Owen Loyd	60	N. Engl., 1743	St. Christp., Oct. 1745	Owen Loyd and Co. of St. Chr.	24	St. Christoph.	Hampton
" 27	*Cunliffe*	Jno. Johnson	220	Virginia, 1742	Liverpl., Aug. 15, 1743	Foster Cunliffe of Liverpool	90	Barbadoes	York River
July 3	*Betty*	Will. Moseley	40	" 1744	Virg., Apr. 1744	Will. Ivy and Co. of V.	13	"	Hampton
" 25	*Bobby*	Paul Loyall	75	" "	Virg., Apr. 1744	Robt. Tucker of Virg.	11	"	"
" "	*Jolly Batchellor*	Jas. Newbold	40	Berm., 1744	Berm., Apr. 1745	Henr. Corbusier of Berm.	3	"	"
Aug. 2	*Gildart*	Richard Holme	90	Planta., 1731	Maryland, Dec. 31, 1731	Richd. Gildart and Co.	200	York	Rappahannock
" 6	*Joseph*	Will. Cox	40	" 1740	Maryland, Nov. 1740	John Butterfield of Berm.	1	Antigua	"
" 10	*Eltham*	James Pool	30	Virginia	Willms Burg, Mar. 24, 1739	Charles Seabrook	99	York River	Accomack
" 16	*Industry*	Trim'n Tatem	70	" 1740	Barb., July 1746	John Hutchings of V.	3	Barbad.	Hampton
" 21	*Gildart*	Ric. Holme	140	Maryland, 1731	Maryd., Dec. 17, 1731	Ric. Gildart, Liverpool	250	Gambia	York River
" 22	*Ann*						1	Turks Island	Hampton
" 27	*Peggy*	Corn. Calvert	60	" 1743	Virg., Apr. 1745	Arch. Taylor of Va.	1	Barbad.	"
" 28	*Two Brothers*	Will'm Jones	90	Boston, 1744	Boston, Dec. 24, 1744	Wm. Wancey, Brist.	254	Bonny	York River
Sept. 16	*Planter*	Thos. Foulks	70	Maryland, 1740	Liverp., Nov. 17, 1741	Ric. Gildart, Liverp.	226	Africa	" "

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
Sept. 17	*John and Elizabeth*	Nath. Adams	30	Prize	Boston, Jan. 1745	Henr. Barnes of Boston	2	Antigua	Hampton
" 20	*Johnny*	Will. Loyall	140	Virg., 1746	Virg., Apr. 1746	Robt. Tucker and Co. of Virg.	8	Barbad.	"
[1747][39]									
Feb. 27	*Rawleigh*	Edw. Bishop	180	" 1746	Virg., Dec. 1746	John Hutchings of V.	20	"	"
Mar. 21	*Delights Exchange*	Henr. Todd	40	Berm., 1745	Berm., Dec. 1745	Solo'n Joel of Berm.	2	Anguilla	"
[1749][40]									
Apr. 10	*Bobby*	John Loyall	75	Virg., 1744	Virg., Apr. 1744	Robt. Tucker of V.	6	Jamaica	"
" 14	*Industry*	Matth. Miller	60	" 1746	Virg., Nov. 1746	John Hutchings	6	Barbad.	"
" 19	*Batcheler*	Henr. Hodge	38	N. Engl., 1746	Anguilla, Apr. 1749	Alex. Wilson of Anguilla	1	Anguilla	"
May 2	*St. Andrew*	Wm. McLincock	70	Virg., 1748	Virg., Apr. 1748	Andr. Sprowle of Virg.	31	Antigua	"
" 5	*Salley*	Parteen Haire	40	" "	Virg., Aug. 1748	Robt. Tucker of Virg.	3	Barbad.	"
" 15	*Fanny*	James Haire	60	" 1747	Virg., Sept. 1747	Wilson Newton and Co. of V.	8	"	"
" 23	*Ann*	Mason Miller	196	" 1748	Virg., Jan. 1748	Goodrich Bush and Co. of V.	18	"	"
" "	*William*	Jno. Simmons	100	New England, 1734	Liverp., May 31, 1745	Robt. Hallhead	350	Africa	York River
June 26	*Susanna*	Edw. Tryer	40	New England, 1742	N. Eng., Nov. 19, 1742	Saml. Willis, Barbadoes	200	Barbadoes	" "
" 29	*Harry*	Chas. Tucker	75	Virg., 1746	Virg., Feb. 1748	Chas. Tucker of V.	155	"	Hampton

[39] C. O. 5: 1446.
[40] C. O. 5: 1444, 1446,

July 3	"	" "	"	" "	Wmsburg, Feb. 1746	Chas. Tucker and Co. of Va.	150	Lower District	Upper James
" 19	"	" "	"	" "	Wmsburg, Feb. 1746	Chas. Tucker and Co. of Va.	40	" "	" "
" 7	*John and Mary*	Ant'n Allan	100	" "	Wmsburg, Oct. 21, 1746	John Perrin, Va.	16	Barbadoes	York River
" "	*Industry*	Matth. Miller	60	" "	Virg., Nov. 1746	John Hutchings	1	"	Hampton
Aug. 2	*Eliz. and Mary*	Benj. Minors	50	Berm., 1745	Berm., Apr. 1749	Fran. Guichard and Co., St. Kitts	1	St Kitts	"
" 9	*Levant*	Wm. Miller	200	Bristol, 1740	Brist., Jan. 22, 1740	James Laroche, Brist.	252	Africa	York River
" 14	*Amoretta*	Sam. Timberman	50	N. Engl., 1734	Brist., Oct. 1748	Joseph Ives and Co. of Brist.	185	Brist'l via Africa	Upper James
" 18	*Providence*	Thom. Langley	60	Virg., 1748	Virg., Apr. 1748	Andr. Sprowl of V.	3	Barbad.	Hampton
" 30	*Southwell*	Jno. Brackenridge	300	Spa. Prize	Brist., Nov. 1748	Nich. Becker and Co.	284	Brist. via Africa	Upper James
Sept. 13	*Williamsburg*	John Tate	100	Brist., 1735	Brist., Oct. 1748	John King and Co. of Brist.	335	Bristol via Africa	" " Hampton
" 21	*Tryall*	Abram Saunders	90	Thames, 1724	Brist., Sept. 1744	Phil. Prothero [41] and Co. of Brist.	356	Bristol via Africa	" "
Oct. 11	*Ann*	Mason Miller	96	Virg., 1748	Virg., Jan. 1748	Goodrich Bush and Co., Virg.	3	Barbados	Hampton
[1750] [42] Mar. 17	*Scarbrough*	Benj. Tucker	50	French Prize	Mountserat, Feb. 1749	Kennedy Mulkor and Co.	1	Mountserat	"
May 1	*Kingston*	Anthony Allan	80	Virginia, 1748	Virg., Apr. 4, 1748	John Perrin, Virg.	1	Barbadoes	York River

[41] John King was mayor of Bristol in 1732; a Philip Protheroe served on the Bristol committee opposed to the abolition of the slave trade in 1787. Latimer, *Annals of Bristol*, pp. 535, 477.

[42] C. O. 5: 1444, 1445. In "A Computation of Negroes required for the use of the American Plantations", of 1750, occurs the following: "As no Gold Coast Slaves are required for North America, we distinguish the following Seperately:

Virginia and Maryland } for 14 Years past even Including the Refus'd Negroes sent there from Barbadoes have not annually amounted to 300. "

C. O. 388: 45, B. T. Commercial, ser. I., b. 7.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
May 17	*Beckey*	Rich. Baker	160	French Prize	London, Dec. 1749	Robt. Dinwiddie and Co.	2	St. Kitts	Upper James
June 7	*Olive*	John West	45	Maryland, 1749	Maryland, Jan. 31, 1749	Richd. Jackson and Co.	50	Barbados	South Potomac
July 7	*Charming Betty*	Jno. Skinner	130	Virg., 1747	W'msburg, July 1747	James Laroch and Co.	280	Bristol via Africa	Upper James
" 16	*Betty*	Sam. Willoughby	75	" 1746	Barb., Mar. 1749	Sam. Bedford and Co., Barbados	19	Barbad.	Hampton
" 20	*Joanna*	Corn. Calvert	145	" 1748	Virg., Mar. 1748	Robt. Tucker of Virg.	48	"	"
" 24	*John and Martha*	Wm. Clutsam	140	French Prize	Bristol, Oct. 1746	Jas. Williams of Brist.	17	Mountserrat	"
" 30	*Antigua* Packet	Dav'd Young	50	N. Engl., 1748	N. Engl., Mar. 1749	Geo. Walker and Co., Antigua	8	Antigua	"
" 30	*Johnson*	John Orr	200	Maryl'd, 1747	Maryl'd, Oct. 1747	Ric. Oswald and Co., Lond.	16	"	"
Aug. 2	*Success*	Jerm'h Cranston	40	New England, 1746	Virginia, Nov. 30, 1749	John Dalton and Co.	25	York	South Potomack
" 4	*Africa*	Alex'r Miller	90	N. Eng., 1742	Bristol, Oct. 1749	Joseph Ives and Co.	280	Bristol via Africa	Upper James
" 15	*Hope*	Jno. Clayton	60	Bristol, 1747	Bristol, Dec. 1749	John Harmer and Co.	153	Bristol via Africa	" "
[1751][43] Mar. 19	*Joseph*	Henry Jones	25	Phil., 1749	Phil., Dec. 1749	Jas. Jones, Phil'da.	31[44]	St. Kitts	Hampton
Apr. 12	*James Town*	John Mallory	40	Virgin., 1750	Virg., Nov. 1750	Edw. Champion, Travis and Co., Virg.	2	Barbad.	"
" 16	*Relief*	John Bayne	25	Berm., 1742	Virg., May 1750	Goodrich Bouch and John Cooke, Virg.	1	"	"

[43] C. O. 5: 1444, 1445, 1446.
[44] These are marked, "Legally Imported".

" "	*Providence*	Thom. Langley	60	Virg., 1748	Virg., Apr. 1750	Andr. Sprowle and Co., Virg.	1	"	"
" 19	*Antigua* Packet	David Young	50	N. Eng., "	N. Eng., Mar. 1749	Thom. Oliver and Co., Antigua	2	Antigua	"
" 22	*Industry*	Math. Miller	150	Virg., 1750	Virg., Oct. 1750	John Hutchings of V.	18	Barbad.	"
" 26	*George*	John Geran	10	Pennsva., 1750	Montseratt, Mar. 1750	George Washington, Montserrat	1	Montserrat	"
May 7	*Success*	Jerem'h Cranston	40	Hanover, 1746	So. Potomack, Nov. 30, 1749	John Dalton and Co.	16	Barbados	"
" 21	*Tryall*[45]	Abraham Saunders	90	Thames, 1724	Bristol, Sept. 24, 1744	Phil. Protheroe, Bristol	390	Africa	York River
" "	*Richard*	Jeremiah Defoy	40	Virg., 1749	Virg., Dec. 1749	Ric. Oswald and Co., London	4	Antigua	Hampton
June 7	*Anne and Susanna*	Mich. Boyes	47	" 1750	Virg., Jan. 1751	Will Robinson and Co. of Virg.	48	Barbad.	"
" 19	*Diamond*	Adam Wilson	40	New Bury, 1748	Nevis, Oct. 1750	Thom. Oglivie and Co., St. Christ.	13	St. Christoph.	"
" 22	*Jubilee*	George Snow	130	N. Engl., 1735	London, Oct. 1749	Robt. Dinwiddie and Co., London	10	Barbad.	"
" 26	*Frances*	Joel Dunn	40	" 1749	Barbad., May 1751	John Tucker of Barbad.	4	"	"
July 5	*Providence*	Saund's Calvert	90	Virg., 1749	Virg., June 1749	Robt. Minnors and Co., Virg.	3	"	"
" 17	*Phoenix*	Sam. Kelly	70	" 1748	Liverpl, Mar. 1750	Sam. Smith of Liverpool	3	"	"
" 30	*Hopewell*	Angus McDonald	36	" 1750	Virginia, Mar. 12, 1750	Wm. Ramsay and Co.	36	"	South Potomack

[45] "Last night arrived in York River the *Tryal,* Capt. Abraham Saunders, from Angola, with near 400 slaves consigned to Messrs. [Philip] Rootes and [Humphrey] Hill. 'Tis said she has buried very few, and that they are all exceedingly healthy" (*Va. Gazette,* May 16, 1751). John Blair also records the arrival of this vessel, though with no amplification. African news apparently interested him, for on Mar. 3, 1751, his diary record is: "Sad news from coast of Africa; a ship burnt, etc., and great mortality am'g the slaves of another." *Wm. and Mary Coll. Quar.,* VIII. 4.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
July 31	*Williamsburg*	Jno. Tate	100	Bristol, 1735	Brist., Oct. 1738	John King and Co.	295	Africa	Upper James
Aug. 9	*Norfolk*	Robt. Boyd	50	Virg., 1749	Virg., Dec. 1749	Will. Moseley and Co., Va.	1	Antigua	Hampton
" 13	*Caesar*	James Sword	230	" "	Virg., Aug. 1749	John King and Co., Bristol	5	St. Christoph.	"
Sept. 14	*Penelope*	Anthony Galter	180	N. Engl., 1749	Liverpool, Sept. 1750	James Pardoe and Co.	208	Africa	Upper James
" 21	*St. Paul*	Tublay James	80	Perth Amboy, 1742	London, Jan. 1752	Ric. Oswald and Co., London	124	"	Hampton
Oct. 11	*Fanny*	William Whitterong	40	Virginia, 1749	Virg., July 20, 1749	John Thompson, Va.	1	Barbadoes	York River
Dec. 9	*St. George*	Richd. Baker	40	Bermuda, 1751	Berm., May 8, 1751	Ric. Baker, Bermuda	6	St. Christoph'r	" "
[1752][46] Apr. 2	*Lilly*	John Thomas	160	French Prize	Bristol, Nov. 29, 1745	Christophr. Lilly, Bristol	19	"	" "
May 23	*Cumberland*	John Griffin	70	Liverp., 1739	Liv., Mar. 1, 1747	Edw. Deane, Liv.	103	Africa	" "
June 1	*Alice*, Gally	Richd. Jackson	120	N. Engl., 1751	Liverp., Sept. 3, 1751	John Kennion	260	"	" "
" 3	*Africa*	Alex'r Miller	90	" 1742	Bristol, Oct. 1749	Thom. Dean and Co.	260	Bristol via Africa	Upper James
" "	*Susanna*	Robt. Cowie	140	Spanish Prize	Bristol, Mar. 1748	Wm. Gordon and Co.	233	Bristol via Africa	" "
" 22	*Boyne*	Wm. Wilkinson	120	Dublin, 1744	Dublin, Feb. 1, 1748	Thos. Blair, Dublin	203	Africa	York River
" "	*Black Prince*	Wm. Miller	100	London, 1739	Brist., Feb. 19, 1749	Jas. Laroche, Brist.	214	"	" "
July 1	*Molly*	Isaac Wayne	150	Boston, 1750	London, July 9, 1751	Wm. Bowden, London	205	"	" "
" 7	*Phoenix*	Samuel Kelley	70	Virg., 1748	W'msburg, Sept. 1751	Samuel Smith and Co.	11	Lower James	Upper James

[46] C. O. 5: 1444, 1446.

" 9	*Ann* Galley	Alex. Robe	120	Bristol, 1729	Bristol, May 1750	John Lidderdale and Co.	240	Bristol via Africa	" "
" 29	*Hampton*	Edw. Wiltshire	110	N. Engl., 1750	Bristol, Oct. 1751	John King and Co.	273	Bristol via Africa	" "
Aug. 13	*Orrell*	Saml. Lacey	54	Liverp., 1744	Liverp., Aug. 22, 1749	Robt. Hallhead, Liverp.	8	Africa	York River
" 24	*Castleton*	Henr. Tindale	70	Lancaster, 1751	Lanc., Nov. 1751	Will. Butterfield and Co.	70	London via Africa	Upper James
Sept. 2	*Greyhound*	Jno. Davis	120	Boston, 1747	Boston, June 16, 1747	John Jones, Boston	336	Africa	York River
Oct. 5	*St. George*	Chas. Cooke	60	Plant., 1745	Liverp., Sept. 1750	Chas. Cooke and and Co. Liverpool	54	"	Hampton
" 8	*Levant*	James McMurdo	80	N. England, 1742	Brist., Oct. 6, 1750	James Laroche, Bristol	184 reported	"	York River
" 10	*Bonaccord*	Jas. Nisbet	50	Plant'n, 1752	W'msb'g, Mar. 21, 1752	James Gray and Co.	5	Antigua	Rappahannock
" 24	*Tryall*[47]	Joseph Little	90	Thames, 1742	Brist., Sept. 24, 1744	Phil. Protheroe, Brist.	182	Africa	York River
[1753][48] Jan. 13	*Expedition*	John Littledale	60	Plant'n, 1742	W'haven, Nov. 23, 1750	Edw. Tubman and Co.	19	Barbadoes	Rappahannock
" 19	*Hannah*	Jesse White	25	" 1751	R. Isl'd, June 1752	Alex. Bradeford and Co. R. Island	2	Anguilla	Hampton
[1754][49] Mar. 25 to June 24	*Luckey*, Galley	William Joell	40	" 1747	Berm'a, Jan'y 4, 1747	Richard Pitts and Co. Bermuda	3	Providence	"
	Rebecca	David Young	60	" 1753	Virginia, Apr. 24, 1753	Wilson Newton, Virginia	4	Antigua	"

[47] "Just arrived from Africa, the Ship *Tryal,* Joseph Little, Master, with a Cargo of choice healthy Slaves; the Sale of which began at York Town, on Thursday, the 26th Instant, and on Tuesday, the 31st, will begin at West Point, and continue till all are sold. JOHN ROBINSON, HUMPHREY HILL." *Wm. and Mary Coll. Quar.,* XIII. 11, from *Va. Gazette,* Oct. 27, 1752.

[48] C. O. 5: 1446.

[49] The dates of arrival of these vessels are hidden by the binding of the volume. All that can be deciphered is the quarter in which they entered.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
	Providence	Arch'd McCall	50	Plant'n, 1752	Virginia, Oct. 23, 1752	Thomas Newton, Virginia	8	Barbados	Hampton
	Fanny	William Haynes	25	" "	Virginia, Dec. 12, 1752	Thomas Walke, Virginia	8	Antigua	"
May 6	*Pride*	Thomas Bedford	50	Connecticut, 1751	Barbadoes, Mar. 26, 1754	Thos. Bedford, Barbadoes	6	Barbados	York River
" "	*Charming Ann*	Richard Baker	80	Bermuda, 1748	Bermuda, Jan. 8, 1748	George Tucker, Bermuda	4	Bermuda	" "
June 24 to Sept. 29	*Nancy*	Richard Wallis	90	Virginia, 1753	Virginia, Oct. 23, 1753	Alexander Watson, Virginia	31	Barbadoes	" "
	Betsey	Will Calvert	60	Planta., 1752	Virga., Oct. 23, 1752	Corn. Calvert, Virginia	6	Montserratt	Hampton
	Rebecca	David Young	60	" 1753	Virga., Apr. 24, 1753	John Elligood and Co., Va.	15	Antigua	"
" 10	*Judith*	Jeffery Power	60	Virginia, 1749	Virga., Dec'r 13, 1749	Thomas Reynolds, Virginia	3	Barbadoes	York River
" 17	*Africa*	Alex. Miller	90	N. Engl'd, 1743	Bristol, Oct. 10, 1749	Thomas Deans and Co.	240	Bristol via Africa	Upper James
Sept. 29 to Dec. 25	*Rose*	Wm. Cuthbert	50	British, 1746	Leverp'l, Sept. 6, 1751	David Patterson and Co., Liverpool	40	Barbadoes	Hampton
	Catherine and Mary	Steph'n Righton	35	Plant'n, 1752	Monst., Oct. 7, 1752	John Morson, Montserratt	3	Montserratt	"
	Lucky, Gally	Solomon Joell	40	" 1747	Berm'a, Jan. 4, 1747	Rich'd Pitts and Co., Berma.	2	Turks Island	"
	Industry	Saund's Calvert	40	" 1753	Virg'a, Sept. 25, 1754	Max Calvert, Virginia	2	Barbados	"
[1754-1755] [50] Oct. 10 to Jan. 5	*Charming Ann*	Edward Godfrey	25	Bermuda, 1753	Bermuda, Feb. 7, 1754	Edward Godfrey and Co.	4	Bermuda	Upper James

[50] C. O. 5: 1447.

Dec. 25 to Mar. 25	*C-'ple*	Will. Mullins	50	Plant'n, 1750	Virginia, June 14, 1750	John Hunter, Virginia	1	Jamaica	Hampton
Jan. 5 to Apr. 5	*Betsey*	James Cocke	80	Virga., 1750	Wmsburg, Oct. 23, 1750	Richard Cocke	2	Bermuda	Upper James
Mar. 25 to June 24	*Cha. Susanna*	John Wake	100	Planta. 1733	Virginia, Oct. 25, 1753	John Wake, Virginia	54	Jamaica	Hampton
	Fanny	Francis Peart	100	" "	Apr. 17, 1753	Charles Thomas and Co., Virginia	3	Antigua	"
June 24 to Sept. 29	*Frances*	John Loyall	140	" 1752	Virga., Aug. 10, 1752	Paul Loyall and Co., Virga.	37	Barbados	"
July 24 [1756-1757]	*Duke of Cumberland*	Henry Knowles	160	Bristol, 1733	Bristol, Apr. 18, 1753	John Lidderdale and Co.	301	Africa	Upper James
Mar. 25 to Sept. 29	*Kingston*	Robt. Thompkins	35	Virginia, 1754	Virginia, May 14, 1755	John Perrin, Virginia	1	Barbadoes	York River
Apr. 26	*Charm'g Ann*	Richard Baker	80	Bermuda, 1748	Bermuda, Jan. 28, 1748	Richard Cocks and Company	2	York	Upper James
Dec. 25 to Mar. 25 [1758]	*Sarah*	John Caldwell	35	Plant'n, 1754	N. Engl'd, May 27, 1754	William Filey and Co. of N. England	4	N. England	Hampton
Mar. 25 to June 24	*Polly and Hellen*	John Calvert	60	" 1757	Virginia, Apr: 28, 1757	Max. Calvert of Virginia	8	Barbados	"
	Jamestown	Francis Peart	40	" 1750	Virginia, Nov. 5, 1750	John Tucker, Virginia	1	"	"

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
June 24 to Sept. 29	*Frances*	John Loyall	140	Plant'n, 1752	Virginia, Aug. 10, 1752	Paul Loyall and Co. Virginia	26	Antigua	Hampton
Sept. 29 to Dec. 25 [1759]	*Mars*	Thos. Bureton	140	French Prise, 1758	Liverpool, May 13, 1758	James Gildart	8	Liverpool	Rappahannock
July 5 to Oct. 10 [1759-1760] [51]	*Nancy* of Virg'a	Ardis Lamont	60	Virga., 1759	W'msburg, Feb. 21, 1759	Mich. Christian and Danl. Dunton	10	St. Christophers	Accomack
Dec. 25 to Mar. 24	*Salisbury*	Thomas Martin	40	Salisbury, 1756	Boston, Sept. 19, 1758	Thomas Ivers and Co.	76	Africa	Hampton
Jan. 5 to Apr. 5	*Salisbury*	Thomas Martin	40	" "	Boston, Sept. 19, 1758	Thomas Ivers and Co.	58	Lower James	Upper James
	Industry	Chas. Smallwood					6	Barbados	Hampton
Apr. 5 to July 5	*Juba*	John Tallon	70	Liverpoole, 1750	Liverpoole, May 16, 1759	John Tallon and Co.	225	Africa	Upper James
	Eugene	William Strange	130	Virginia, 1747	Bristol, July 31, 1759	Thomas Deane and Co.	350	"	" "

[51] C. O. 5: 1448. The following item may refer to the *Juba*: "Capt. Angel spoke with a Liverpool Brig, with Slaves for Virginia, who gave an Account of Capt. Earl of this Port [Providence] on the Coast" (*Boston News Letter,* June 7, 1759). "Charlestown, July 7. On Wednesday last put in here for a supply of Water, the Ship *Black Prince,* of Bristol, Capt. William Miller Commander, from the Coast of Angola, with 500 Negroes, bound for Virginia" (*ibid.,* Aug. 2, 1759). The snow *Betsey,* Wright, bound for Virginia with 220 slaves was captured by the French in the summer of 1759. *Ibid.,* Aug. 23, 1759.

July 5 to Oct. 10	*Agnes*	Robert Duthie	110	Boston, 1757	Boston, Oct. 18, 1757	John White and Co.	202	Bance Island	" "
Oct. 4[53]	*Affrica* Packett	Robert Mawson	51	Britt., 1752	London, Apr. 3, 1760	James Wetherell London	60	Senegall	Hampton
[1761] May 8	*Industry*	Chas. Smallwood	140	Virginia, 1759	Virginia, Oct. 2, 1759	Jno. Hutchings	5	Barbados	York River
June 10	*Eadish*	Thomas Jordan	70	London, 1733	Liverpool, May 16, 1760	Wm. Davenport, Liverpool	154	Affrica	" "
" 11	*Granby*	Wm. Furlong	110	French Prize	London, Dec. 29, 1760	Andrew Pringle	37	Goree[53]	" "
Mar. 25 to June 24	*Alice,* Liverpool	James C. Murdock	130	Plant'n, 1747	Liverpool, Oct. 3, 1758	Bryan Blundell and Co.	122	Liverpool and Africa	Rappahannock
	Mary Liverpool	Daniel Kerr	90	British, 1737	Liverpool, May 10, 1757	Samuel Shaw and Co.	106 New Negroes	St. Christophers	"
	Bassa Liverpool	William Low	70	Plant., 1755	Liverpool, July 18, 1760	Chas. Cook and Co.	170	Liverpool and Africa	"
	Dove Liverpool	Hugh Williams	65	British, 1742	Liverpool, Sept. 11, 1759	Jas. Gildart and Co.	140	Liverpool and Africa	"
June 24 to Sept. 29	*William and Edward* Liverpool	William Foster[54]	30	" 1752	Liverpool, Aug. 9, 1760	Edmond Lyon and Co.	117	Liverpool and Africa	"

[53] "New York. August 25. Yesterday Captain Stag, in a Sloop, arrived here from Hampton, in Virginia, which he left last Monday, and reports, That on Thursday the 14th Instant, a French Privateer Schooner of 8 Guns and 70 Men, chased into James River, a Snow from Guinea with 200 Negroes on board, within two Miles of the Fort, but being checked by the Tide, a Pilot Boat that had been taken by the Schooner, boarded the Snow with 30 Hands, and carried her off: that the same Schooner a few Days before, had taken two Virginia Men outward bound, and killed one of their Pilots" (*Boston News Letter,* Sept. 4, 1760). The *News Letter* of Sept. 11 reports the taking of a Liverpool schooner with 200 negroes intended for Virginia. The two items probably refer to the same capture.

[53] "New York. June 15. On the 3d Inst. Capt. Chambers from Lisbon, spoke with a ship from Goree, with about 50 Slaves, bound into Virginia, who informed him, that Capt. Nicoll in a Brig belonging to New York, had been cut off on the Coast of Guinea by the Slaves." *Ibid.,* June 25, 1761.

[54] "Philadelphia, August 13. Captain Tull who arrived here last Week from Teneriffe, on the 18th ult. in Lat. 29 Long. 64, spoke with Capt. Foster, in a Brig belonging to Liverpool, bound from the Coast of Africa to South Carolina or Virginia, with 116 Slaves on board, all well." *Ibid.,* Aug. 27, 1761.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
	Peggy Liverpool	Cuthbert Davis	100	Plant., 1758	Liverpool, Sept. 10, 1760	Thomas Johnston and Co.	147	Liverpool and Africa	Rappahannock
	Hare Liverpool	George Colley	100	British, 1756	Liverpool, Mar. 26, 1759	Thos. Rumbold and Co.	258	Liverpool and Africa	"
July 5 to Oct. 10	*Nanny*	James M. Dowal[McDougall]	70	" 1754	Liverpool, Feb. 6, 1761	Sam. Shaw and Co., Liverpoole	110	Senegall	Hampton
	Greyhound	Alexander Robe	120	New Eng'd, 1747	Bristol, Sept. 9, 1760	Thomas Deane and Co.	215 Negroe Passengers 110	Africa	Upper James
[1762][55] Mar. 25 to June 24	*Nanny*	James McDougall	70	New Shoreham, 1754	Liverpoole, Feb. 26, 1761	Samuel Shaw and Co.		Lower James	" "
	Polly Liverpool	Robert Boyd	70	French prize made free Nov. 25, 1761	Liverpool, Dec. 1, 1761	Robert Landor and Co.	222	Liverpool and Africa	Rappahannock
April 7	*Little Betsey*	Benja. Hicks	25	Newport, 1761	Newport, Apr. 4, 1761	Benja. Hicks, Newport	64	Africa	York River
" 12	*Molly*	Sam. Peniston	25	Plant'n, 1762	Bermuda, Apr. 22, 1762	Sam. Peniston, Jno. and Saml. Paynters	1 Man 4 Women	Bermuda	Accomack
	Rising Sun	Jno. Easterbrook	30	" 1744	Boston, Jan. 8, 1761	Jas. Delap, Edwd. Bacon, and Andrew Gallet	10 Boys and Girls	Nantucket	"

[55] C. O. 5: 1449. The Naval officers were: Accomack, David Bowman, Rappahannock, Charles Neilson, Upper James, Lewis Burwell, York, James Pride. An undated letter from William Allason to Capt. Robert Douglas belongs to 1762: "Have no news only that our trade is very dull and no such thing as getting Payments. I believe the country never was [*illegible*] in debt to Britain than at this time. The present prospect of a crop is very [*illegible,* par]ticularly in the lower parts of the Country; occasioned by a very long drouth in the Spring, and now by an insect called the Canker worm, which destroys all the Tobacco that is young, in short by what I can learn the prospect below us is dismall. In the back parts of the Country they are tolerably well of. Our Excha. is got beyond all bounds. You'll think so when I tell you that 60 pct. is now current for Bills, occasioned some say by the many and large ommissions [emissions] of Paper money and the great number of negroes that has been imported for some years past." *Richmond Coll. Hist. Papers*, II. 124.

June 12	*Roebuck*	Thomas Gullan	100	French, 1758	Bristol, June 17, 1761	William Diaper and Co.	383 Negroe Passengers	Africa	Upper District
" 23	*William*	Joseph Cox	40	Falmouth, 1757	Portsmouth, May 26, 1758	Ebenezer Cobb and Co.	5	Boston	" "
June 24 to Sept. 29	*Panther* Liverpool	Benjamine Kempsted	50	British, 1754	Liverpool, Sept. 11, 1761	Richard Townshend and Co.	106	Liverpool and Africa	Rappahannock
	Lancaster Witch Liverpool	Henry Ross	120	French prize made free Sept. 20, 1759	Liverpool, Aug. 21, 1761	Wm. Ingram and Co.	186	Liverpool and Africa	"
	Hawke London	John Watson	90	French prize made free Sept. 5, 1760	London, Nov. 17, 1760	John Patterson and Co.	93	London and Africa	"
Aug. 6	*Duck*	William Vicker	14	Newbury, 1754	Portsmouth, Dec. 30, 1757	Benjamin Greenleaf	3	Piscataway	Upper James
Sept. 11	*Africa*	Stephen Hammond	15	Providence, 1758	Newport, Sept. 4, 1761	William Hagar and Co.	15	Amboy	" "
" 20	*Nanny*	James McDougall	70	New Shoreham, 1754	Liverpool, Feb. 26, 1761	Samuel Shaw and Co.	103	Africa	" "
Oct. 1	*Hector*	John Chilcott	200	French prize 1759	Bristol, Oct. 15, 1759	John Curtis and Co.	512	Angola	" "
" 7[56]	*Agnes*	Robert Duthie	110	Boston, 1757	Boston, Oct. 18, 1757	John Whyte and Co.	118	Gamba	" "
[1763][57] Apr. 5 to July 5	*Renown*	Samuel Pemberton	74	French prize, 1762	Liverpoole, Sept. 7, 1762	Thomas Birch and Co.	170	Africa	" "

[56] One cargo intended for Virginia in the autumn of 1762 failed to reach its market: "Philadelphia, Nov. 4. The Ship *King George,* Capt. Macky from Londonderry, is arrived here. On the 25th of October Capt. Macky fell in with the Ship *Phoenix* of London William Macgachan, from the Coast of Africa having on board upwards of 300 Slaves, bound to Virginia. On the 20th of October, they lost their Masts, had several feet Water in the Hold, and the Slaves and People being in great Distress for Provisions and Water, the Slaves rose, on which near 50 of them were killed, after which meeting with Capt. Mackay, the white People took to their Boats and got on board Capt. Mackay, who brought them in here." *Boston News Letter,* Nov. 18, 1762.

[57] This list does not contain the sloop mentioned in the letter of Thomas Newton, July 27, 1765, see *ante,* no. 113.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
	Little Sally	William Taylor [58]	10	Boston, 1759	Newport, Dec. 2, 1760	Thomas Tackle Taylor	60	Rhode Island	Upper James
June 14	*Elizabeth and Mary* Philadelphia	William Taylor	60	Planta., 1758	Phil., July 24, 1760	Corn'l Bradford and Co.	80	Africa	Rappahannock
June 24 to Sept. 29	*Xprishead*	William Adams	20	" 1763	Antigua, Dec. 24, 1760	Wm. Jarvis, Antigua	18	Antigua	Hampton
	Duke of York	Benja. Cooper	2[?]	Prize	St. Kitts, Aug. 15, 1761	Thos. Lambert, St. Kitts	10	St. Kitts	"
	Greyhound	Alex'r Shaw	100	Plant'n, 1758	Liverp'l, Apr. 19, 1762	Wm. Moore and Co., Liverp'l	8	Grenada	"
Sept. 26	*Jno. and Susanna*	James Mudie	80	Virginia, 1760	Virginia, Feb. 5, 1760	John Perrin, Va.	4	Antigua	York River
July 5 to Oct. 10	*Africa*	William Watkins	100	French prize, 1757	Bristol, Nov. 27, 1762	John Coghlan and Co.	259	Africa	Upper James
	Dumell	Gresham Spear	70	Virga, 1756	Boston, Oct. 8, 1762	E. Davis and Co.	80	"	" "
	Greyhound	Alexander Robe	120	New Eng'd, 1747	Bristol, Feb. 5, 1763	Thomas Dean and Co.	410 Negroe Passengers	"	" "
[1763-1764]	*Royal Charlotte*	William Taylor	35	Barkley, 1762	Newport, Mar. 2, 1762	Thomas Teackle Taylor	15	Rhode Island	" "
Oct. 10 to Jan. 5	*Pompey*	John Easton	40	Connecticut, 1762	N. London, Nov. 19, 1762	John Easton and Co.	81	Africa	" "

[58] The cargoes of the *Little Sally* and the *Royal Charlotte* (also commanded by William Taylor) were consigned by Samuel and William Vernon to Richard Adams. (For accounts of the sale of the negro cargoes and subsequent dealings with the Vernons see this work, III. 190-194, 214, 238-239, 260.) Adams's indebtedness to the Rhode Island firm continued for a number of years. "Virga. June 2d 1766. At Ten Days sight Pay Messrs Saml and Wm. Vernon and Co. One hundred and Twenty-four Pounds ten Shillings Virga. Currency and place the same to Acct. of Gent'm Yr most Obd. RICHARD ADAMS." New York Historical Society, Slavery MSS., box VI.

Mar. 25 to June 24	*Batchelor*	Ja. Eastment	40	Plan, 1758	Barbados, May 31, 1763	Jos. Niles and Co.	4	Barbados	Hampton
	John	Stepn. Seymour	30	" 1762	Berma., Nov. 8, 1762	Wm. Seymour and Co. Berma.	4	"	"
June 24 to Sept. 29	*Speedwell*	Nath. N. Mason	50	" 1762	Virg., Oct. 26, 1762	Nich. Wonycott, Va.	1	"	"
	Black Prince, London	John Watson	90	French prize made free Sept. 5, 1761	London, June 1763	John Watson and Co.	81	Africa	Rappahannock
July 5 to Oct. 10	*Hector*	John Chilcoth	200	Prize, 1759	Bristol, Oct. 15, 1759	John Curtis and Co.	480	"	Upper James
Sept. 29 to Dec. 25	*Hoope*	Fran. Peart	65	Plan., 1763	Virg., Mar. 9, 1763	Geo. Riddle and Co., Va.	9	Barbados	Hampton
	Peggy	John Calvert	50	" 1764	Virg., Aug. 9, 1764	Jno. Calvert and Co., Va.	5	Antigua	"
[1765][59] Mar. 25 to June 24	*Susanna*	John Westcott	40	" 1762	Virga., June 22, 1764	Wright Westcott and Co., Va.	10	Antigua	"
June 24 to Sept. 29	*Mary*	Danl. Caron	25	" 1763	Bermuda, Oct. 12, 1763	Wm. Riddle and Co., Berma.	2	Barbados	"
Oct. 9	*Little Archey*	Chas. Consaull	25	" 1764	Virga., Mar. 10, 1764	Arch'd Campbell and Co., Va.	8	Granada	"
" 14	*Prince of Whales*	Solomon Edey	55	" 1761	Barb., Dec. 10, 1764	Jno. Wickham and Co., Barb.	32	Barbados	"
" "	*Esther*	Seth Harvey	25	" 1762	Berm'a, Sept. 22, 1763	Thos. Joell and Co., Berm'a.	11	Nevis	"
Dec. 23	*Sally*	Thos. Hutchins	40	" 1765	Berm'a, July 3, 1765	Thos. Hutchins, Berm'a.	3	Barbados	"

[59] "New London Mch. 15. News from Barbadoes. Arrived there: A ship of 500 tons, from the Coast of Africa bound to Virginia but drove off the Coast." *Mass. Gazette and News Letter,* Mar. 28, 1765.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
[1766][60] June 25 to Sept. 29	*Dolphin*	Jno. Outerbrize	30	Plant., 1765	Berm'a, Apr. 5, 1765	John Outerbrize, Berm'a	4	Montserat	Hampton
	Bassa[61]	Richd. Clagg	70	" 1765	Leverp'l, Aug. 10, 1763	Chas. Cooke, Leverpool	108	Guinea	"
[1767] Sept. 29 to Dec. 25	*Hawke*	Wilson B. Bayley	30	" 1765	Virga., May 1, 1767	Jas. Dunlop and Co., Virga.	7	St. Kitts	"
	Blk Prince[62]	Chas. Thomas	80	" 1765	Virga., Aug. 22, 1765	Thos. Newton and Co., Virga.	40 New Negroes	Antigua	"

[60] C. O. 5: 1450. "Philadelphia, August 14. . . . Tuesday last arrived here the sloop ——, Capt. Harris, in 6 weeks, from the river Gambia on the coast of Africa, who informs us, that a strong garrison, with settlers and officers both civil and military had arrived on the coast from England, had made Senegal and Gambia into one province, by the name of Senegambia, and that the slave trade was almost spoiled by the customs and impositions of those settlers. He further informs us, that the slaves on board a brig, one Watson master, belonging to Virginia, then lying in the river, rose on the crew, and killed the master and all hands, then made for the land as fast as possible; but several vessels laying near, the crews of which retook the brig and all the slaves except 30; the masters of the vessels lying there put some hands aboard her, and she sailed for the West-Indies some time before Capt. Harris." *Mass. Gazette and News Letter,* Aug. 28, 1766.

[61] "Just arrived in James river, from Africa, The ship *Bassa,* Captain Richard Clegg, with a cargo of fine healthy Windward and Gold Coast Slaves; the sale of which will begin at Bermuda Hundred on Tuesday the 12th of August next, and continue until all are sold. July 30, 1766. THOMAS TABB, WILLIAM BOLDEN, JOHN LAWRENCE" (*Va. Gazette,* Aug. 1, 8, 15, 1766). The list here given is not complete. The *Gazette* of June 27 announced in similar terms the sale of the cargo of the *Apollo,* Capt. Elias Glover, consisting of two hundred negroes from the Windward and Gold coasts. The consignees were the same. A year later Tabb, Bolden, and Lawrence were advertising: "All persons indebted to the Subscribers for Negroes purchased out of the ships *Apollo* and *Bassa* in the year 1766 are requested to make payment immediately. Those who fail doing it before, or at the ensuing December Oyer court, may expect their accounts will be put into a lawyer's hands." *Ibid.*, Nov. 26, 1767.

[62] "Just arrived in James river from Africa, The ship *Black Prince,* Capt. Charles Thomas, with a cargo of fine Windward and Gold Coast Slaves; the sale of which will begin at Bermuda Hundred on Monday the fifteenth of September next, and continue until all are sold. THOMAS NEWTON and SON, August 30, 1766" (*ibid.,* Sept. 5, 1766, Supl.). In a later item the number of slaves is given as 120. *Ibid.*, Sept. 12, 1766.

[1767-1768] Dec. 25 to Mar. 25	*2 Friends*	Hump. Keeble	35	" 1764	Antigua, Nov. 21, 1766	Jno. Lavicourt and Co., Antigua	9	Antigua	"
	Defyance	Roger Stewart	36	" 1767	Virga., Jan. 8, 1768	Rog. Stewart and **Co.,** Virga.	10 New Negros	Jamaica	"
	Content	David Martin	40	" 1762	St. Kitts, Feb. 10, 1768	Wm. Priddie, St. Kitts	4	St. Kitts	"
Aug. 10	*Jubal*[63]	Joseph White	100	Prize, 1760	Boston, July 21, 1766	James Laroche and Co.	207	Angolal [Angola?]	Upper James
[1769] Jan. 25	*Clyde*	Matt. Buchan.	70	Virga., 1765	W'msburg, Feb. 1, 1768	Matt. Buchanan and Co.	2 Negro Passengers	Antigua	" "
May 16	*Amelia*[64]	Thos. Duncomb	120	Prize, 1760	Bristol, May 26, 1768	David Duncomb and Co.	234	Angolal	" "

[63] "Just arrived in James River, from Africa, The *Juba,* Joseph White master, with three hundred choice healthy Slaves, consisting of Men, Women, and Children, the Sale of which will begin at Bermuda Hundred on Monday the 29th of this instant (August) and continue until all are sold. BURNLEY and BRAKENRIDGE" (*Va. Gazette,* Aug. 11, 1768). On Sept. 8 the *Juba,* advertised her sailing to Bristol with tobacco, then added: "N. B. We have a few prime Slaves at the Hundreds yet for sale." In the *Gazette,* Mar. 23, 1769, appeared a notice concerning this cargo: "Hanover, March 22, 1769. All those planters who are indebted to the subscribers for Negroes purchased from on board the *Juba,* whose bonds are due in the April General Court, are hereby desired to be punctual in their payments, as no indulgence can be given. BURNLEY and BRAIKENRIDGE."

[64] "Just arrived in James river, from Africa, the ship *Amelia,* Thomas Duncomb master, with about 230 fine healthy Slaves, consisting of men, women, and children, the sale of which will begin at Bermuda Hundred on Tuesday the 6th of June next. May 17, 1769. JOHN WAYLES, THOMAS TABB." *Va. Gazette,* May 18, 25, June 1, 1769.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
June 20	*Othello*[65]	Goodman Halvorson	25	N. Eng., 1764	Newpt., Mar. 28, 1764	Willm. Vernon and Co.	90	Africa[66]	Upper James
Dec. 26	*Darby*[67]	John Allen	50	Salisb'y, 1764	Salem, Feb. 24, 1764	Jeremiah Lee	a Negro boy	Salem	" "

[65] The consignees of this cargo were Messrs. Adams and Griffin (this work, III. 238-240). John Duncan is named as captain in the accounts rendered to William Vernon; Goodman Halverson (Halverston) was one of the mates.

[66] Less importance seems to be attached to the section from which the negroes came in Virginia than was the case with the South Carolina planters. The advertisements for cargoes occasionally give the source but frequently omit it. Yet the notices of runaways indicate that negroes from various parts of Africa were carried to this market and that the planters distinguished among them clearly: "he is a young Angola Negro"; "a very Black Mundigo Negro Man"; "a Native of Madagascar"; "a Congo Negro slave"; "of the Suso country"; "New Negro Fellow . . . calls himself Bonna and says he came from a Place of that name in the Ibo Country, in Africa"; "marked in the face as the Gold Coast slaves generally are". *Va. Gazette,* Nov. 5, 1736, Apr. 21, 1738, Aug. 17, 1739, Dec. 8, 1768, Jan. 15, 1767, Aug. 13, Dec. 31, 1772.

[67] Other vessels can be added from the *Gazette* (Jan. 12, Oct. 5, 1769): the brig *Fanny,* John Oliffe, entered Jan. 4, with 25 slaves from Grenada and St. Eustatius; "Williamsburg, Oct. 5. The ship *Rae* Galley, and the brigantine *Lilly,* both from Antigua, and seized by the Collector of this district, for not entering sundry slaves imported in them are both condemned at a court of Vice Admiralty held here this day"; "To be Sold, pursuant to a decree of the Court of Vice Admiralty, at Martin's Brandon, on Tuesday the 17th instant, The ship *Rae* Galley, and brigantine *Lilly,* as they now lie at their moorings, for ready money. JOHN TYLER, Marshall."

THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

INTRODUCTION

Among the colonies here considered South Carolina alone is given detailed presentation. For the others the documents printed throw light upon one or two aspects of the trade peculiar to the colony in question or not elsewhere developed. For North Carolina the material illustrates the effort to enforce the non-importation agreement; that for Georgia displays the attitude of a group of settlers deprived of negroes; while in Louisiana one finds opportunity to study the method by which the French supplied their colonies with slave labor. The one thing common to all these colonies is that their part in the trade was that of market, not that of carrier. This should not be interpreted to mean that they did no carrying but only that their part in the transportation of negroes was insignificant as compared with that of the northern colonies or with the volume of trade which entered their ports.

As Professor J. S. Bassett observed in 1896, the story of the negro in North Carolina must be constructed from meagre and unsatisfactory materials. To an even greater extent is this true of the slave trade to North Carolina, to which no section of material is here devoted.[1] One characteristic peculiar to the North Carolina slave trade helps to account for this paucity of records. A large number of slaves were brought into the colony by land rather than by water, and for these there are no reports comparable to customs entries or naval officers' lists. Throughout her history direct importation from Africa was comparatively small. Lack of good harbors and of a central port may have contributed to bring this about. The scarcity of hard money, sometimes offered as a reason, could hardly have been an important causal factor. In none of the colonies was it customary to purchase slaves with specie. Nor may one assume a lack of desire for slaves as an explanation of the absence of direct importation. On the contrary, they were reckoned "the greatest riches in these parts", and the planter was "at great pains to lay in store of gold and silver with which to purchase negroes in the West Indies and other places".[2] It was not thought

[1] J. S. Bassett, *Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina* (Johns Hopkins University, *Studies,* vol. 14), p. 175.

[2] John Brickell, *The Natural History of North Carolina* (1737), pp. 45, 272, quoted by R. H. Taylor, *Slave-Holding in North Carolina*, p. 20. On Dec. 15, 1716, Rev. John Urmstone wrote from North Carolina to the secretary of the S. P. G., asking him to arrange for the purchase of three or four Guinea negroes, three men "of middle stature about 20 years old and a Girl of about 16 years. here is no living without servants, there are none to be hired of any colour and none of the black kind to be sold good for anything under 50 or 60 £". In 1717 and 1718 he again wrote, insisting that he could not remain in North Carolina without two field workers and a domestic servant. *N. C. Col. Recs.*, II. 260-261, 288, 310.

possible to settle a plantation without negroes. The insurmountable difficulty was that North Carolina, in the first half of the eighteenth century, had no commodity with which to load English vessels, and it was at this time chiefly English vessels that were bringing slaves directly from Africa. This lack of a staple acceptable to England prevented her merchants from sending vessels to the colony and also made them unwilling to grant to North Carolina planters the liberal credit which was necessary if they were to become heavy purchasers of negro cargoes. The reluctance of the English trader to extend credit may also have been increased by the turbulent history of the colony's early days. Deprived of negroes direct from Africa, the colony purchased from Virginia, paying in food and live stock, or from New England, to which she sent pitch and tar.[3] At a later period many were brought from South Carolina. To Governor Burrington's complaint that the colonists carried specie to Virginia to purchase slaves instead of paying their quit rents the assembly replied, "those who take such pains to carry Provisions to Virginia at the Charge of a great Land Carriage, do it Chiefly to lodge Money there to purchase Slaves, which are difficult to be bought any other way".[4] The slaves thus obtained were by no means satisfactory. "Great is the loss this Country has sustained in not being supply'd by vessells from Guinea with Negroes; in any part of the Province the People are able to pay for a ships load; but as none can come directly from Affrica, we are under a necessity to buy the refuse refractory and distemper'd Negroes, brought from other Governments", Burrington complained in 1733.[5]

Little can be learned of the conditions in the colony from instructions sent to the governors, which were modelled upon those sent to other places rather than on the particular situation which the governor was to meet. In instructions of Dec. 14, 1730, Governor Burrington was exhorted to encourage merchants, especially the Royal African Company, despite the fact that that company had never sent cargoes to North Carolina.[6] In 1754 Governor Arthur Dobbs was directed to assent to no duty laid upon the importer of negroes, though there is no evidence that the colony had the slightest disposition to lay any such duty. Indeed so far was the province

[3] In 1724 Thomas Amory wrote from Boston to a customer in North Carolina, "In the fall we expect negroes here directly from Guinea, a vessel having sailed from here and one from Rhode Island". W. B. Weeden, "Early African Slave-Trade in New England", *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society (new ser.), V. 114.

[4] *N. C. Col. Recs.*, III. 609. So little do we know of how and when negroes were brought into this colony that it is a surprise to find their numbers estimated as 800 in 1709, 6,000 in 1730, 19,000 in 1756, and 30,000 in 1764 (Bassett, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-188). Ballagh (*History of Slavery in Virginia*, p. 13n.) says that by 1726 North Carolina was importing 1000 negroes a year and paying better prices than were paid in Virginia or Maryland (citing De Bow, *Resources of the South,* I. 341).

[5] *N. C. Col. Recs.*, III. 430.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 115-116.

from imposing a restraining duty that the fifty-acre grant for every negro imported and held by householders remained in force when these instructions were written.[7] The report of Governor Dobbs of Jan. 1, 1755, makes it obvious that no restraining duty was needed at this time: "An Abstract of the Shipping and Tonnage and number of negroes Enter'd in North Carolina at a medium of 7 years ending the 1 Janry. 1755 . . . Negroes last year 19 . . . Negroes at a Medium 17."[8] On Apr. 12, 1772, Governor Martin wrote to Secretary Hillsborough: "I am not able to report to your Lordship with precision the number of Negroes that have been imported since my arrival here, but I think it will be found about 200."[9] At no time does the number of negroes imported seem large enough to have caused alarm.

Articulate objection to the importation of slaves makes its appearance on the eve of the Revolution. On Aug. 8, 1774, the freeholders of Rowan County voted: "That the African Trade is injurious to this Colony, obstructs the Population of it by freemen, prevents manufacturers, and other Useful Emigrants from Europe from settling among us, and occasions an annual increase of the Balance of Trade against the Colonies." This was followed three weeks later by the resolution of the Provincial Congress: "we will not import any slave or slaves, nor purchase any slave or slaves imported or brought into this province by others from any part of the world after the first day of November next."[10] Active efforts to enforce this resolution were taken during the last days of 1774 and the spring of 1775, as the following extracts from the proceedings of the safety committee at Wilmington testify:

WILMINGTON, 14th Dec. 1774.

. . . . The Committee met at 6 o'clock P.M. Mr. Hereld Blackmore, informed that he had imported since the first instant, in the Sloop *Mary* and the Brig —— five negro slaves, and craved advice how to proceed, as he had given orders for the purchasing and shipping said slaves, previous to the resolutions of the provincial Congress. The committee desired that Mr. Blackmore, would not sell, or send them out of town, but be accountable for them at the next meeting. . . .

WILMINGTON, Saturday the 17th Dec. 1774.

The Committee met according to adjournment.

Present: Cornelius Harnett, John Ancrum, Robt Hogg, John Quince, Archibald M'Lain, James Walker and John Robeson.

[7] *Ibid.*, V. 1118, 1133; Bassett, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[8] *N. C. Col. Recs.*, V. 314. For references to cargoes intended for North Carolina see *Georgia Gazette*, June 11, 1766; *S. C. Gazette*, Sept. 28, 1769.

[9] *N. C. Col. Recs.*, IX. 279. For the account of the sale of four negroes in North Carolina from a cargo belonging to Aaron Lopez of Newport see *Commerce of Rhode Island*, I. 414.

[10] *N. C. Col. Recs.*, IX. 1026, 1046.

The Committee finding upon inquiry that one of the slaves imported by Hereld Blackmore, was ordered after the publication of the resolves of the provincial convention of this province, and in contradiction thereto, and that he had at that time an opportunity to contradict the orders he had given for the other slaves, and he now confessing that he sent a copy of the provincial resolves to Granada: It is the opinion of the committee that the said slaves be re-shipped. And the committee do resolve that all slaves, imported since the first day of this instant, or which may be imported, shall be re-shipped from this province. Upon a suggestion to the committee that Mr. Arthur Mabson hath imported in his schooner from the West Indies, some slaves which are now at his plantation near this town: It is ordered that the sense of this committee relative thereto be made known to Mr. Mabson, and that Mr. Maclain write to him for that purpose, which he hath done as follows, to wit:

WILMINGTON, 17th Dec. 1774.

Sir: The committee of this town, chosen to observe the conduct of all persons touching the association of the General Congress, have resolved that all slaves imported into this river since the first day of December, instant, shall be re-shipped to the place from whence they came as soon as possible, and being informed that you have, contrary to the express letter of the said association, imported slaves from the West Indies, which you have now at your plantation, it is expected that you will give a particular account of the number thereof, and take such steps as may satisfy the committee that you intend, on your part, to adhere strictly to the regulations laid down by your representatives.

I am, Sir, your obdt. servant,

Signed ARCHIBALD M'LAIN.[11]

Mr. Mabson.

Saturday, Jan. 21st, 1775.[12]

Messrs. George and Thomas Hooper, H. Blackmore, Arthur Mabson and Peter Mallett, reported sundry negroes, imported by them since the 1st of December last.

Resolved, That notice be sent to Messrs. George and Thomas Hooper, Hinall Blackmore, Arthur Mabson, and Peter Mallett, to re-ship, by the first opportunity, the sundry negroes they have imported since the first day of December last. It being the opinion of this Committee that such importations are contrary to the resolves of the Continental Congress, and a Particular resolve of this committee. . . .

Monday, March 6th 1775.

. . . Mr. Harnett desired the opinion of the Committee respecting a Negro fellow he bought in Rhode Island (a Native of that place,) in the Month of October last, whom he designed to have brought with him to this Province, but the said Negro ran away at the time of his sailing from Rhode Island.

The question was put whether Mr. Harnett may import the said Negro from Rhode Island.

Resolved, Unanimously, That Mr. Harnett may import the said Negro from Rhode Island, and it is the opinion of this Committee that under the above cir-

[11] *N. C. Col. Recs.*, IX. pp. 1098-1099.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 1113, 1149-1151. "Wilmington, N. C. A few Slaves having been imported from the West-Indies, nearly about the middle of December, by Arthur Mabson, and Harral Blackmore, were ordered to be re-shipped by the first opportunity." *S. C. Gazette*, Apr. 3, 1775.

cumstances, such importation will not be any infringement of the Article of the Resolves of the General Congress. . . .

Monday, March 20th, 1775.[13]

. . . . Resolved, That the Importers of negroes since the 1st of December last, be called upon at the next General meeting of this Committee on the 20th of April next, to produce Bills of Loading or other sufficient proof to the Committee, that they have reshipped the said negroes agreeable to the resolve of the General Congress as directed by this Committee.

Tuesday 24th March 1775.

. . . Captain Oldfield reported two negroes shipped to his address of the Schooner *Bedford,* Capt: Benny, which were ordered to be reshipped, and was complied with by Capt: Oldfield. . . .

Thursday, April 20th, 1775.[14]

. . . . Application was then made by Mr. Cruden, in behalf of a Mr. Elliott, setting forth that he had purchased the real and personal estate of Marmaduke Jones Esq., both of this province, and praying to have leave to import some of his house servants (negro now in Jamaica) ; the articles in the above association respecting the importation of slave being read, and the subject fully debated it was determined that said servants could not be imported.

Saturday May 20, 1775.

Ordered, That the Resolve entered on the journals of this committee on the last meeting, respecting the application to the committee for liberty to Mr. Elliott to import his house servants, be rescinded.

June 20, 1775.

On motion, for leave to —— Elletson to import his house servants from Jamaica, not exceeding six in number. It was carried against the motion, by a great majority.

For the period following the Revolution the customs records of Brunswick show the entry of 290 negroes between 1783 and 1789. Of these, 128 came from the West Indies, the remainder from New York, Savannah, Virginia, and Maryland, with 52 unaccounted for. In 1786 North Carolina imposed a duty, apparently intended to be prohibitive, upon slaves whether brought in by land or water. Nevertheless, under one pretext or another, slaves were imported into the state during the time that this act remained in force.[15]

Friday, 21 November, 1788.

The Committee to whom the Petition of Henry Hill and Thomas Fitt was referred, Reported,

[13] *N. C. Col. Recs.*, IX. 1168, 1170-1171.

[14] *Ibid.*, IX. 1222, 1266, X. 24. "Messrs. Harnet and Wilkinson reported to the Committee that they had reshipped a Negro sent them from the West Indies." *S. C. Gazette,* Apr. 3, 1775.

[15] Taylor, *Slave-Holding in North Carolina*, p. 24; DuBois, *Slave Trade*, p. 229. Whether the act of 1786 was actually prohibitive or not, it was so regarded in South Carolina. The news of its passage was reported to Samuel Hopkins of Newport by a Mr. Law of South Carolina on Feb. 16, 1787, and was transmitted by Hopkins to Moses Brown of Providence on Mar. 9 (Samuel Hopkins, *Works*, I. 121). The act laid a tax of £5 on negroes between 7 and 12, and 30 and 40; £10 on those between 12 and 30. For every smuggled negro there was a fine of £100. James Iredell, *Laws of North Carolina*, pp. 577-579.

That the said Petitioners had at a Considerable expence and risque fitted out a ship to Coast off Africa for a Cargo of Slaves; That at the time the said Ship sailed the duty on imported Slaves was no more than two and a half per cent.; that after the sailing of the said ship and before her return the Law was passed increasing the duty on Slaves imported from Africa and that the Petitioners, ready to make every compensation in their power, are willing to pay double the duty which was laid on Slaves at the time they commenced the said voyage. Your Committee are therefore unanimously of the opinion that the said Petitioners on paying double the duty receivable on slaves on the first day of October, 1786, that is to say on their paying five per cent. on the original cost of the said Slaves, they be exonerated from the payment of any other or further duty on the said cargo of slaves imported from Africa some time in May or June, 1787, and that the collector of the Imports for Port Roanoke Govern himself with respect to the said Cargo of Slaves accordingly.

All which is submitted.

THOMAS PERSON, Ch'n.

The House taking this report into consideration concurred therewith.[16]

Taylor suggests that the desire for prohibition came from the western part of the state and that the commercial interests were opposed to it. If this be true the commercial interests were in the ascendancy in 1790, for the restrictive duty of 1786 was that year repealed and for four years negroes could be brought into the state without hindrance.[17] In 1794 the legal importation of negroes into North Carolina came to an end.[18]

With South Carolina the problem is not how to construct a picture of the trade in negroes from meagre and inadequate materials but rather to select from abundant details what will be most informing. Here the student of the commerce in slaves has an opportunity to observe the conduct of the trade through the eyes of an acute, inter-

[16] "Journal of the House of Commons of North Carolina", *N. C. Col. Recs.*, XXI. 82. Josiah Collins sent a vessel to Africa for slaves in 1785 but they probably were not intended for North Carolina. G. P. Collins, "Discovery of Lake Scuppernong", Southern Hist. Assn., *Publications*, VI. 24-25.

[17] DuBois, p. 229. On Nov. 18, 1790, the Honorable A. Maclaine wrote to Edward Jones: "I have also heard that you have a Bill before you for prohibiting the Importation of slaves, and that you support it with a religious enthusiasm. Considering our situation on the sea coast, and particularly in the neighborhood of Cape Fear, I should have thought it prudent to leave that Matter to Congress, who certainly will do the business Effectually at the expiration of Eighteen Years. I believe you have had no instruction on the Subject, and probably the Majority of your Constituents who either having no property, or not considering the dependence of the Town upon the country, might probably have been willing to abolish the Importation; but though I make no doubt even had your Sentiments been fully known, you would have carried your election; yet you certainly would not have had quite so great a majority as you had." *N. C. State Recs.*, XXII. 619.

[18] *N. C. Statutes*, 1794, ch. 2. The next year North Carolina tightened her restrictions by forbidding settlers from the West Indies, the Bahamas, or any of the French, Dutch, or Spanish plantations to bring negroes into the state under penalty of £100 for every negro over fifteen brought in. The animating motive was doubtless fear of the West Indian negroes, which prevailed in this country for many years after the Santo Domingo revolution. In 1806 a member of the House of Representatives described one hundred negroes from the West Indies as more dangerous than 10,000 from Africa. *Annals*, 9 Cong., 1 sess., p. 360.

ested, and informed observer, Henry Laurens, who for a time took a leading part in the importation of negroes into Charleston, and who, after he withdrew from it, still commented with discernment upon its effects in the colony. For several years it is possible from his letters to construct a day-by-day picture of the arrival and sale of negroes in Charleston, a rare opportunity in the annals of this commerce. In addition to the material provided by this correspondence, the pages of the *South Carolina Gazette* yield much supplementary matter.[19] However, these two sources are pertinent only after the first third of the eighteenth century, and for the years in which the trade developed we have only the most fragmentary information.

The history of the slave trade into this colony offers numerous contrasts with that into Virginia. That slave labor would be the labor system of Carolina was a foregone conclusion from its earliest settlement. The English were already deep in the trade and many of the early settlers, coming from the West Indies, were familiar with the potential profits from negro labor. Four of the proprietors were members of the Royal African Company.[20] Under these circumstances it is hardly surprising that immediate provision for negro labor was made and that there was here no period of dependence upon indentured service. Differences in climate and in crops also contributed to make the Carolina market for negroes an eager though a fitful one, while Virginia's demand was more sluggish and without the speculative features most characteristic of Carolina's. Here again the date of settlement accounted for some of the dissimilarity. The planter's temptation to gamble on his tobacco crop was probably greatest in the seventeenth century, when few negroes were available. By the eighteenth, long continued hard times had destroyed his faith in the unlimited possibilities of future crops, and he was far less ready to run heavily into debt than was his more hopeful Carolina neighbor. This kept Virginia's eighteenth-century demand for negroes a moderate one and helped to stabilize the price.

Provision for grants of land in return for the bringing of negroes was made in the Fundamental Constitution of Carolina:

> For the owner of every negro man or slave brought thither within the first year, 20 acres, and for every woman negro or slave 10 acres; and all men negroes

[19] The Letter-Books of Henry Laurens, drawn on for large sections of this volume, are the property of the South Carolina Historical Society and are available because of the generosity of that society; a file of the *South Carolina Gazette*, well-nigh complete, is in the possession of the Charleston Library Society.

[20] The Earl of Shaftesbury, Earl of Craven, Sir George Carteret, Sir John Colleton. Ralph Marshall and John Portman, who were with Governor Sayle, were also members of this company.

or slaves after that time and within the first five years 10 acres; and for every woman negro or slave 5 acres.[21]

Every Free-man and Free woman that transport themselves and Servants by the twenty fifth of March next, being 1667 shall have . . . . for every Woman-Servant and Slave 50 Acres, paying at most ½ *d* per acre, per annum, in lieu of all demands, to the Lords Proprietors. [22]

No room for misunderstanding is allowed by a note of May, 1670, from three of the Proprietors to Sir John Yeamans:

. . . . We find you are mistaken in our Concessions that wee have not made provision of Land for negroes for by saying that we grant 150 acres of land for every able man servant in that we mean negroes as well as Christians And the same in other proportions. . . .[23]

The first evidence of the presence of negroes in the province is in a letter from Henry Brayne to Lord Ashley, Nov. 9, 1670: "I have put on . . . provitions enough for my people which is one lusty negro man 3 cristian servants and a oversear I brought out of Virginia." Sir John Yeamans probably brought in a few not long after this.[24] A proclamation issued in Barbados on Nov. 4, 1670, provided a Carolina "friggott" for those going to Carolina and transporting servants and negroes,[25] and at least one purchase was made in the island for the new plantation:

Deare Bro'r, The shipps staying 'till now I have the oppo[r]tunity to give you an accompt. that I have prevayled wth Mr. Howell and Guy to give mee 6 mos after sight for payment of the Bills of £282 for Negroes for the Windward plant.[26]

In 1674 the Proprietors laid out a plantation south of the Ashley River, the control of which was granted to Andrew Percival, who was instructed to "begin a Trade with the Spaniards for Negroes".[27] In 1686 a report that thirteen slaves had been stolen by the Spaniards from Joseph Martin, governor of the province, is some indication

[21] William Hilton, "Voyage of Discovery", *Charleston Year Book*, 1884, p. 259; Edward McCrady, "Slavery in South Carolina", Am. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1895, p. 632.

[22] "Brief Description of Carolina", B. R. Carroll, *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, II. 15.

[23] Shaftesbury Papers, S. C. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, V. 164; signed by Ashley, G. Carteret, and P. Colleton.

[24] S. C. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, V. 215. Since Locke's memorandum of "Proposals and Wants", 1670, mentions Brayne's negro and no other, it may be assumed that this was the only one in the province at the time he wrote (*ibid.*, p. 248). July, 1671, Col. John Godfrey to Lord Ashley, "Sir Jo Yeamans . . . . brought negroes and expects more" (*ibid.*, p. 349). At the time of his death Yeamans owned 26 negro slaves. Catterall, *Judicial Cases*, II. 271.

[25] S. C. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, V. 211.

[26] Nov. 23, 1670, Thomas Colleton to Sir Peter Colleton (S. C. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, V. 240). Richard Howell (or Fowell) and Richard Guy were Barbados planters, possessors of 405 negroes. The letter goes on to mention bills of exchange due to Sir Andrew Ricard, Henry Johnson, and Thomas Heally, of the African Company.

[27] May 23, 1674, "Instructions to Mr. Perceval", *ibid.*, p. 442.

that already there were planters with a considerable number of slaves.[28]

From this time on there is every reason to believe that the increase in the negro population was rapid, though there is little indication of its source. The Royal African Company did not turn its attention to this plantation, its efforts throughout the seventeenth century being concentrated on meeting the needs of the sugar planters. Probably the negroes were largely carried from the West Indies rather than directly from Africa, and a few at a time rather than in negro cargoes, though this is conjecture, not a statement of demonstrated fact. The chances are that the separate traders did not find their way to Carolina in great numbers until the trade was laid open by the act of 1698. By the end of the century direct commerce between Africa and Carolina was under way. In September, 1699, John and Nicholas Trott, of London, granted to "Gov. Blake and others in Carolina" power of attorney to collect from Captain William Rhett "all such sums of money, goods wares merchandise negro slaves, gold, elephants teeth wax effects and things whatsoever which the said Captain William Rhett had in his hands on account of their being part owners of the ship *Providence* burthen 150 tons whereof the said William Rhett is commander".[29]

A further and more important evidence of increasing numbers is to be found in the legislation concerning the relation between whites and blacks in 1686 and from that time throughout the decade of the nineties. After 1700 the documents which follow relate so completely the history of South Carolina's commerce in slaves that no further introductory comment is needed.[30]

One unusual feature of American history demands illustration in connection with the trade of Georgia. For fifteen years the Trustees of this colony forbade the importation or the holding of slaves though many of the planters clamored for them. Much of the Georgia material here included relates to the controversy between Trustees and planters or between groups among the planters. Many of the Scottish settlers of Darien and the Salzburgers of Ebenezer steadfastly opposed the importation of negroes; the ne'er-do-well English of Savannah as determinedly demanded it.[31] Under the per-

[28] Edward Randolph to the Board of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1699, pp. 104, 105.

[29] McCrady, *South Carolina under Proprietary Government*, p. 369, quoting, "Book Miscellaneous Records, 1694-1704", Probate Office, Charleston, S. C.

[30] Thomas Cooper, *Statutes of South Carolina*, II. 22, 52-54, 78, 118, 121, 156, VII. 343. For an account of the eighteenth-century trade see Donnan, "The Slave Trade into South Carolina before the Revolution", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIII. 804-828; D. D. Wallace, *Life of Henry Laurens*, pp. 72-94; Leila Sellers, *Charleston Business on the Eve of the American Revolution*, pp. 124-147.

[31] A brief review of the arguments in this controversy may be found in H. A. Scamp's "Georgia the only free Colony", *Magazine of Am. Hist.*, XXII. 280-306; see also M. A. Chandler, "Beginnings of Slavery in Georgia", *ibid.*, XIV. 342-352.

sistent pressure which was brought to bear upon the harassed Trustees and in the face of the growing illicit importation which they seemed powerless to prevent they at last gave way. After 1750, when slavery was accepted, the characteristics of the trade resembled those of South Carolina, though on a reduced scale. A number of merchants traded in both colonies. When the Charleston port was closed to slaves they carried on their business in Savannah.

Once the permission to import negroes had been given, the increase in the negro population was rapid. On July 19, 1750, William Stephens, president of the colony, said that there were 349 working negroes in the colony. In August, 1751, the Trustees estimated that there were 400; in 1753, 1065 were listed and it was stated that the list was not complete; in 1760, 3578; in 1766, 7800.[32] Importation was greatest between 1760 and 1770. This might almost be inferred from a study of the advertisements for runaways, which are frequent during the sixties. The description of the errant negro frequently reads, "speaks no English", sure indication that the missing black was a "new negro". In addition, the slaves are often described by country, Angola, Congo, Ebo, Cormantine, Foulah, another evidence that they had not been long in the colonies. The seasoned negroes were rarely distinguished thus.

Until the Revolution, indeed until 1793, the trade was unrestricted. The act of that year, of which DuBois has apparently seen only the title, has been assumed to be an act forbidding importation: "An act to prevent the importation of negroes into this state from the places herein mentioned", but it only forbade importations from the West Indies, the Bahamas, and East and West Florida; indeed the records of the next few years make it obvious that Africa was not among the places mentioned or that the law was in effect for a brief period only. Customs manifests list negroes among the imports in 1794, 1795, 1796, and 1797. In 1798 importation was finally forbidden, first by legislation, later by a constitutional provision. After October 1, 1798, any importation whether from Africa or other place outside the United States was illegal.[33]

No attempt whatever has been made in this volume to document the Florida slave trade. During the days of the Assiento occasional cargoes were landed at St. Augustine though it was never an important market.[34] At a later date Florida was a convenient refuge for runaway negroes from Georgia and South Carolina. The demands of the English governors that these be returned were usually disre-

[32] L. C. Trans., C. O. 5: 218, p. 170; Scamp, *op. cit.*, p. 305; Gray, *Hist. of Agriculture*, II. 1025.

[33] DuBois, *Slave Trade*, pp. 236, 238, 239; Watkins, *Digest*, p. 530. The statement of a suit brought in 1811 seems to imply that a cargo of negroes was offered for sale in Savannah in October, 1807. Catterall, *Judicial Cases*, II. 295.

[34] One item records the introduction of 80 negroes. Add. MSS. 25563, p. 343.

garded and in 1739 the Spanish governor at St. Augustine referred to orders from Madrid that all English negroes be given their freedom. In 1767 the trade was opened to the English, who took immediate advantage of the privilege.

> LONDON, Sept. 14 1767 Capt. Savery just arrived from St. Augustine, in the brigantine *Augustine* packet, carried there 70 Negroes from Africa, the first ever imported directly from thence, into that province. He informs that Dr. Stork, and a great many other settlers, were arrived there from England, in the *Aurora*, Capt. Fuller, and that upwards of 2000 Negroes were contracted for, by the noblemen and gentlemen in Great Britain, concerned in that province, to be imported there from Africa the ensuing summer.[35]

A year later the governor of Florida wrote, "Mr. Oswald has already upon his Estate there, above a hundred Negroes".[36]

Early in the history of the settlement of Louisiana the value of negro labor was recognized and a few blacks were brought in from the West Indies. One Santo Domingo merchant attempted to meet the need by an offer to exchange one negro slave for two Indians but he cannot have inaugurated a thriving business, since there were but ten blacks in the colony when Antoine Crozat, in 1712, was given a patent for the territory, with a monopoly of its trade. This grant allowed him to carry from Guinea to the colony one cargo of negroes a year.[37] Five years later his privileges and contracts were transferred to the Company of the West, the so-called Mississippi Company, one of John Law's creations. Law's schemes were at this time rapidly taking form. By December, 1718, he had acquired the privileges of the Company of the Senegal, to which he added the next year those of the East India Company, the China Company, and the Company of Africa trading to Barbary. These, with the Company of the West, were combined in one great merger, called the Company of the Indies, to which in the following year Law added the Company of Santo Domingo and the Guinea Company.[38]

The single company which now controlled the sources of labor supply and the French markets at once undertook to satisfy the needy colonists of Louisiana. In 1718 instructions were issued to the captains of the *Aurore* and the *St. Louis* to purchase slaves in Guinea

[35] *Mass. Gazette and News Letter*, Dec. 24, 1767.

[36] Gray, *Hist. of Agriculture*, I. 113, quoting L. C. Trans., C. O. 5: 549, p. 77. The following item doubtless refers to negroes belonging to Oswald: "The same Day put into this Port [Charleston], the Snow *Charlotte* of London, James Tosh Master, having been blown off the Bar of St. Augustine, where she lost all her Anchors. She had landed about 120 Slaves there from Bance-Island; the Master was ashore with them; and the Vessel was brought in by the Mate, Mr. Joshua Fox." *S. C. Gazette*, Feb. 7, 1771.

[37] N. M. M. Surrey, *The Commerce of Louisiana*, pp. 228-231; see also L. C. Trans., Archives Nationales, Paris, Ministère des Colonies, B 29: 258. Since that portion of the African coast was controlled by the French Company of Guinea it was necessary for Crozat to obtain the license of the company in addition to the grant from the government.

[38] Charles Gayerré, *History of Louisiana*, I. 191-207.

and carry them to Louisiana. In 1719 about 500 negroes were apparently delivered, in 1721 the company landed 1312, and between that time and 1732, when the territory was surrendered to the control of the crown, the company delivered some 6000 negroes.[39]

For the delivery and allotment of these laborers most minute regulations were formulated. An agent examined the assets of the planters to make certain that the need was real and the prospect of payment good. Upon landing, the negroes were subjected to a careful physical inspection. They were then turned over to those planters to whom they had been assigned, by means of duplicate numbers given to purchasers and attached to the blacks.[40]

When the control of the colony was assumed by the crown the supervision of negro importation fell to the Ministry of the Marine, though the Company of the Indies was still the agency by which the negroes were procured. It offered to deliver negroes to Louisiana, in order to discharge the debt which it owed the crown, but this bargain, or any other, the ministry seemed unable or unwilling to conclude.[41] Many plans were suggested for the transportation of slaves and during the next few years there was much discussion of method but little actual importation. The archives of the ministry contain many proffers of cargoes but little indication that they were accepted. In 1733 Santo Domingo merchants drew up a scheme for carrying negroes from Africa to Louisiana; in 1737 a merchant of La Rochelle offered to carry blacks to this colony and to sell them below the prices prevailing in the West Indies, provided the colony would take his entire cargo.[42] Still the government took no action. In 1738 Bienville asserted that it had been eight years since negroes had been imported, that the price had risen to 1400 livres, and that the need was acute.[43] In 1741 Dalcour brought forward a project which, after long consideration, was accepted, and a cargo of 190 negroes was landed in Louisiana.[44] Despite the ready sale which the negroes met, the government did not allow itself to be committed to Governor Vaudreuil's suggestion that 300 negroes a year be provided for the next three years. Another period followed in which there was

[39] L. C. Trans., Arch. Nat., Col., C 13, 5: 33. For a brief account of the early cargoes see H. P. Dart, "The First Cargo of African Slaves for Louisiana, 1718", *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XIV. 163-171 (April, 1931).

[40] For an account of the trade see Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, pp. 232-249.

[41] When urged to send negroes the ministry replied that the settlers had not been able to pay for those they had already received.

[42] See Col., C 13, 23: 120-131; C 13, 21: 109; F 3, 242; B 65: 90 and 517; and Surrey, pp. 239-240.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 239.

[44] Ministère de Marine, Col., B 73:63, 98, 134, 146; B 74:656; B 75:169; C. 13, 28: 82. The Company of the Indies, which supplied the negroes delivered by Dalcour, surrendered its right to bounty on them, and the government exempted from duty the goods received in payment for them. *Ibid.*, A 25: 288.

much negotiation and many plans which led to nothing, though there was probably some importation.[45] In 1752 and the years which immediately followed a few negroes were brought in each year but after the outbreak of the war France could give little attention to the economic development of Louisiana. The arrival and sale of the prize negroes from the *Opal* and the *Fortune* marked the end of French effort to provide this colony with a labor supply.

The years between 1762 and 1769, the period between the end of French control and the organization of the Spanish government, were years too confused and uncertain to make stable commerce possible.[46] Negroes were doubtless carried to Louisiana from the West Indies, since in 1763 it seemed necessary to forbid to the inhabitants of Louisiana the purchase of negroes from Santo Domingo. Two years later a similar order was issued with reference to Martinique.[47] Spain, however, with the closure of this source made no effort to supply the needed labor. That the English were smuggling negroes into the colony from Jamaica is evident. The intendant, Martin de Navarro, writing of 1766, said: "If the province of Louisiana had continued to enjoy the benefit which it obtained by means of the illegal trade of the English, it would now have had twenty thousand negroes or more; and consequently, a greater production and greater wealth." [48] Other problems of organization engrossed the Spaniards and they seem never to have made any systematic effort to provide slaves for the colony. "Even yet [1785] not the slightest measure has been taken relative to the sending of slaves, which is quite opposed to the method of making the province flourish and prosper." [49]

From letters written in the West Indies it is clear that by 1787 American traders were finding their way to New Orleans with negroes, probably in small lots.[50] In 1792 Carondelet forbade the importation of slaves from Jamaica or the French islands and suggested that the Louisiana traders obtain their supplies directly from Africa. The reason given for this order was the fear that the West Indian negroes might bring seditious ideas with them into the colony,

[45] Among the many plans offered for transporting negroes to the colony an elaborate one proposed by M. Rouille, in 1747, suggested a combination of the importation of negroes and the production of tobacco on a large scale. Bibliothèque National, MSS. Français 12224, pp. 309-315.

[46] For a general discussion of the regulation of Louisiana commerce after 1763, though with no special relation to the slave trade, see A. P. Whitaker, "The Commerce of Louisiana and the Floridas at the End of the Eighteenth Century", *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, VIII. 190-203.

[47] Min. de M., Col., C 13, 43: 308; 45: 100.

[48] "Political Reflections on the Present Condition of the Province of Louisiana" (1785 c.), in J. A. Robertson's *Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States*, I. 252; see also Min. de M., Col., C 9: 118.

[49] Robertson, *Louisiana*, I. 252.

[50] Briggs, *Cabot Family*, II. 473; see also pp. 477, 479.

a fear created, or at least accentuated, by the rebellion in Santo Domingo.[51]

There is no evidence that the effort to encourage direct trade with Africa met with immediate success, but in 1800 plans were afoot for African importation. The French company, Cassagne, Huguet, Raymond, and Company, was negotiating for the privilege of importing 5000 negroes into Louisiana free of duty.[52] The change of owners, which returned the colony to France, made no change in the policy of excluding West Indian slaves, obviously the most natural source of a Louisiana supply. On November 26, 1802, secret instructions were prepared for the officer intended to be sent out as captain-general of Louisiana, providing that "trade in slaves shall be made only with Africa, and no slaves shall be received in Louisiana that come from the American colonies, as this is the only means of preserving Louisiana from the moral contagion that has infected those colonies".[53]

The decree of the Spanish government against importation from the islands, now upheld by French orders, roused much opposition. Paul Alliot, in his *Historical and Political Reflections on Louisiana,* wrote:

> A decree of the Spanish government, forbidding the inhabitants of Louisiana to bring in slaves since the beginning of the troubles in San Domingo, has entirely paralysed the progress of agriculture. . . . Several merchants of Havana who have sent negroes over secretly, have sold them for three thousand francs tournois apiece. Although but newly arrived from the shores of Africa, yet they were sold at Havana only for from fifteen to eighteen hundred francs.[54]

The prohibition of importation by the United States after the purchase of Louisiana met with like objection.

> The absolute prohibition of introducing slaves, to be rigorously enforced beginning with October, has alarmed them to such a degree that they voice their disapproval and discontent loudly without the least secrecy. Truly it is impossible for Lower Louisiana to get along without slaves; and it will be very damaging to their interests if they can not obtain the hands necessary for their work, which will infallibly decline. It is not easy to adduce a reason for this conduct, unless it be purposely to weaken the colony, which was making great strides toward prosperity and wealth. The inhabitants are so angered that it is with difficulty that they will be able to be amalgamated with the rude citizens of the United States,

wrote the Marqués de Casa Calvo, May 18, 1804.[55] On the same subject Laussat wrote: "The importation of negroes there is abolished

[51] Gayarré, *Louisiana,* III. 314, 325; Robertson, I. 193.

[52] W. R. Shepherd, *Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States in Spanish Archives,* p. 44.

[53] Robertson, *Louisiana,* I. 373.

[54] *Ibid.,* p. 113.

[55] *Ibid.,* II. 190. The act of Mar. 26, 1804, erecting Louisiana into two territories, forbade the importation of negroes from territory outside the United States.

point blank. The present inhabitants of Lower Louisiana could not have been attacked in a more vulnerable spot." [56] Officials from the United States added further evidence as to the state of mind of the inhabitants in the newly acquired territory:

> No subject seems to be so interesting to the minds of the inhabitants of all that part of the Country which I have visited as that of the importation of brute negroes from Africa. This permission would go further with them, and better reconcile them to the government of the United States than any other privilege that could be extended to this country. They appear only to claim it for a few years, and without it they pretend that they must abandon the culture both of sugar and cotton. White laborers they say cannot be had in this unhealthy climate. [57]

The form of the prohibitory measure allowed the importation of negroes into the territory from South Carolina between 1804 and 1807, and the surplus received from that state constituted a not inconsiderable number though it was not enough to satisfy the demands of the inhabitants. Governor Claiborne, with little support from the inhabitants, was unable to enforce the policy of exclusion and the smuggling of slaves came to be a well-organized business which, developed during the early years of the nineteenth century, continued for many years after the federal prohibition of all importation into the United States, and proved itself one of the most troublesome problems in the administration of the prohibitory legislation.

DOCUMENTS

135. Case of the *Turtle*, 1697.[1]

[On condition that security be given and that execution be not meanwhile stayed, the Council admit for hearing on the first Council day in June, 1700, the Appeal] of George Peers of Barbados merchant, in behalf of himself and the rest of the Owners and Laders of the Sloop called the *Turtle* of Barbados, Robert Cunningham master, Setting forth that about the month of July 1697, The Petitioners laded on Board the said Sloop at Barbados, some sugar, Rum, Malosses and Negro Slaves, to the value of above Twelve hundred pounds, and sent her on a Trading Voyage to Charles Town in The Province of Carolina; where she arrived on the 14th of August following, That on her arrivall in the said Port, the master duly Entred the said Sloop with the Navall Officer there Mr. Jonathan

[56] *Ibid.*, II. 54-55.

[57] "Report of John Watkins", an agent sent by Governor Claiborne to visit parts of Louisiana, 1804. *Ibid.*, pp. 318-319.

[135] [1] *Acts P. C. C.*, II. 333-334. After some delay the committee agreed, on Sept. 11, 1701, to consider the appeal.

Amory,[2] who afterwards seized and proceeded against her and her Cargo, in the Court of Admiralty of Carolina, as forfeited on pretence that the master was a Scots man, and so not navigated according to the Act of navigation. That the said Court on the 27th of August last, condemned the said Sloop and Cargo as forfeited, only because the master was a Scots man borne; From which Judgement the Petitioners Correspondents would have appealed, first to the Governor and Councill there, and afterwards to His Majesty in Councill, But were refused; Wherfore humbly praying to be admitted to Appeal from the aforesaid Judgement.

136. Act for the Encouragement of the Importation of White Servants, 1698.[1]

Whereas, the great number of negroes which of late have been imported into this Collony may endanger the safety thereof if speedy care be not taken and encouragement given for the importation of white servants. . . .

III. And be it further enacted, that every owner of every plantation to which doth belong six men negro slaves above sixteen years old, shall take from the Receiver one servant, when it shall happen to be his lot to have one, and shall within three months pay the Receiver so much money for the said servant as the Receiver gave to the person from whom he received the same; and the owner of every plantation to which doth belong twelve negro men, as aforesaid, shall when it shall be his lot, take two servants as aforesaid; and every master of every plantation proportionately.[2]

137. Case of the *St. Christopher*, 1703-1704.

[*Governor Nathaniel Johnson to the Board of Trade, 1703.*][1]

To the Rt. Honble. the Lords Commissrs. for Trade and Plantations.

May it please your Lordships, In all Matters relating to the Acts of Trade and Navigation, I think my self obliged to trouble your Lordships with an Account from this place.

[2] Jonathan Amory had come to Charleston from the West Indies some time previous to 1691. As speaker of the assembly he signed the statement of grievances against the Proprietors in 1692. In 1697 he was advocate general and public treasurer in South Carolina. He died in 1699, a victim of the smallpox epidemic of that year. Gertrude E. Meredith, *The Descendants of Hugh Amory, 1605-1805*, pp. 31, 35-36.

[136] [1] Thomas Cooper, *Statutes of South Carolina*, II. 153-156, no. 167, repeated March, 1700/1.

[2] The following spring (1699) Edward Randolph reported to the Board of Trade that throughout the province, in which there were not above "1100 families", there were four negroes to one white man (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1699, p. 104). In 1703 the colony laid a duty of 10 *s.* on negroes from Africa and 20 *s.* on those from other places. Cooper, II. 201.

[137] [1] L. C. Trans., C. O. 5: 1291, pp. 49-60.

And therefore presume to give your Lordships the following Account, and pray your Lordships Directions and Orders for the future, having in this Case done all that I was advised I could doe by Law, excepting I had had particular Powers and Instructions in it. The Case was this.

One Daniel Johnson junr. Son of One Daniel Johnson Senr. of Bermuda, was by the Royall Affrican Company of England, appointed Commander of the ship *Christopher*. And was Ordered by the Companys Agent from Gambia to Bermuda with Negroes. But the said Vessell being unable to proceed her voyage he made for Turks Islands [2] a place uninhabited, and there meeting with a Bermuda Vessell, he put part of his Negroes on Board her and consigned them to his Father and one Capt. Tucker, in Bermuda; And the other part he put on Board of a Carolina Vessell then with him at Turks Islands and came with them hither, and immediately sold them. And the ship *Christopher* he left with two or three hands in her at Turks Island, and Orded. them to look after her till such time as they should have Orders from his Fathr. and Capt. Tucker what to doe with her, he being obliged by the Companies agt. to follow the Directions of his Father and Capt. Tucker relating to the ship *Christopher* and other Affaires.

If this Johnson had done any fraud or injury to the African Company, I was not able to prove it. Neither had I or any person here any power from the African Company to call him or any other p[er]son to an Acct.

So that all I was advised I could do, was to oblige the said Capt. Johnson to give me an Account of his Lading, and took the Affidavits of himself and his Men relating to his Voyage, the Copyes of which I have inclosed to yo. Lordships, and to which I humbly refer your Lordships for a full Account of his said Voyage.

Of this Matter I thought my Selfe obliged to give your Lordships an Account, And to pray your Directn. therein; For though in this particular Case, I could not see any design there coud be of defrauding her Majesty, the Negros paying no Custome,[3] yet the manner of it if suffer'd to be put in practice, may be of dangerous Consequence, For by that Means persons may goe to such a Maroone place as Turks Islands, and put their Goods and Merchandizes (which it may be are brought thither in an unqualifyed Vessell) on Board of a quali-

[2] Islands of the Bahamas. At the close of the seventeenth century the inhabitants of Bermuda obtained their salt from Turks Islands and voyages there were frequent. Sir Charles Lucas, *Historical Geography of the British Colonies: West Indies*, p. 16.

[3] The negroes probably arrived in Charleston before the act of May, 1703, had gone into effect and therefore paid no custom. What Governor Johnson apparently means is, that had that act been in operation they would have escaped payment because, since they were not delivered in Carolina in the vessel on which they were shipped from Africa, they did not come under the terms of that measure.

fyd. Vessell and so import them into the Plantations, by which they may in many things utterly defeat the intent of Severall of the Acts of Trade, But I having no Man of War here to send down to Turks Islands, and to bring up the said Vessell, all that I could do was to take the best Account I could get of the Affair, and transmitt it to your Lordships, that if your Lordships think fitting you may give your Orders relating to Johnson who is gone from hence to Bermuda; And I pray your Lordships Directions what can be in any thing of the like nature for the future.

CAROLINA July the 13th 1703.[4]

The Information of William Norris late Mate of the ship the "Christopher" in the Service of the Royll. African Company of England.[5]

This Informant deposeth, that in or about the Month of February, one thousand seaven hundred and two, he sayled out of the River of Gambia, on the North Coast of Guinea, in Africa in the ship aforesaid wth Danll. Johnson Mastr. thereof, to a place calld. St. Thomas's where the said Daniell Johnson putt ashoar two barrills of Nailes, two Cask of Pewter, forty hundred weight of Teeth and four Slaves into the hands of One Mr. Smith a Mercht. there, of whom he said he received one bitt per pound[6] for the pewter and

[4] "Copy of a Letter and Information which I sent your Lordships by the Briganteen *Joseph*, James Norman Commander, which I am informed is lost." On Oct. 10, 1703, Lieutenant Governor Bennet of the Bermudas added a second chapter to the account sent to the Lords of Trade by Governor Johnson: "On the 16th instant I received from the Royal African Companies Agent at Antegua, H. M. Order of July 26 last, relating to the securing of the goods and effects belonging to that Company, that should be brought here by one Humphry Chisull and Captain Daniel Johnson from Gamboa, which upon suspecting the Captain's mismanagement I had done before, but Chisull is still (as I suppose) att Gamboa. What I have secured I doubt will fall much short of the Companies expectation, for this Johnson had been at St. Thomas's and sold all his elephants' teeth and wax, and also at Carolina, and there disposed of several negroes, and bought a sloop in which he came hither, and was very pressing to return to Gamboa, but I refused him unless he would make up his accounts, and give good security for his faithfull proceeding on the Companies behalf, which was not complyed with before my receipt of H. M. Order, and all that I can propose to do with him is, when I see his accounts to get what I can for the Company, and then secure him till I receive their further orders, of all which I have sent a particular to the African House by same conveyance with this." *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1702-1703, p. 751; endorsed: "Recd. Dec. 14, 1703, Read June 1, 1704".

Though Governor Johnson was mistaken in thinking the *Joseph* lost, his letter sent by it apparently did not reach the Board of Trade, who received his second account Sept. 13, and read it Oct. 19, 1704 (*B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, p. 49). The next day William Popple, secretary to the board, acting on its instructions, wrote to the Commissioners of the Treasury for their opinion on the whole affair, in order to discover whether Johnson had violated any of the navigation laws (L. C. Trans., C. O. 5: 1291, p. 53). On the same day Popple sent to the governor or deputy governor of the Royal African Company a request for all the information the company had relating to Johnson's voyage. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

[5] L. C. Trans., C. O. 5: 1291, pp. 57-59.

[6] Probably at this time the equivalent of one-eighth of a Spanish dollar, or 6½ *d.* Later one-tenth or even one-sixteenth of a dollar was sometimes thus designated.

nailes, and Sold and delivered to the Branden burgers, thirty eight hundred weight (or thereabouts) of wax, and then proposed to this Deponent and others, to take the said ship the *Christopher,* out of the Harbr. aforesaid and burn her, which he this Deponent diswaded him from, telling him that if he would buy, so much Canvas as would make a Mayn Saile the Old Main saile would make all the other sailes fitt to Carry her to any Port (she then being very fitt and able to performe her Voyage) which the Said Daniel Johnson refused to doe, and thereupon put part of the Slaves and all the Teeth that were left in the *Christopher* on board a sloop and went himself in the Sloop and put a Pilot in the *Christopher* with the Deponent who Carryed her to Turks Island, where he the said Daniell Johnson took out all the Goods on board the *Christopher,* and put some into the Sloop aforesd. and the rest into another Sloop, with the Deponent bound to Bermuda, he going (as he said) to Carolina, leaving the *Christopher* under the care of the Pilot at Turks Island aforesaid, and taking with him part of the Slaves, thirty six hundred weight of Teeth and some great Guns, twelve Furzees, two Blunderbusses and Six Muskets with severall Gunners Stores, as tenn Barrells of powder with three Iron potts, each half full of Small shott and Balls.

And this Deponent further saith, when they arrived at Bermudas the Ninth of May one thousand seaven hundred and three, where the Master of the Sloop aforesaid delivered into the Custody of Captain Daniell Johnson Senr., as much dry Goods with thirteen Slaves as he paid sixty pounds for freight from Turks Island to Bermudas, and fourteen Guns and Cables new and old, one of wch the Deponent heard he sold for fifty Pounds, and fourteen Anchors, fourteen Cask of brass, pewter and beads, Rigging and Blocks.

And this Deponent further saith, that in the Month of June following, Daniell Johnson Master of the said ship *Christopher* came to Bermudas in the Sloop aforesaid, and after the Governr. was informed of said Daniell Johnson's proceedings, he Ordered him the said Daniell Johnson and his Father and this Deponent on the 24th of June aforesaid, to saile in the Sloop aforesaid to St. Thomas's to fetch the Teeth that he left with Mr. Smith aforementioned, which when they demanded Mr. Smith Said he had sold them, and then paid the said Daniell Johnson for them, from whence they sailed to Turks Island, where they found the ship *Christophr.* aforesaid, which ship *Christopher* the said Daniell Johnson late Commander, his Father and others unknown of this Deponent in the Month of July one thousand seaven hundred and three, sett fire to and burnt

said ship *Christopher,* taking the Cables, Anchors, Rigging and Iron work belonging to the aforesaid ship back wth them to Bermudas.
Jurat 20th Octobr. (1704).
Coram JOHN PERRY [7]

The Answer of the Royll. African Company of England, to a Letter received from the Secretary attending the Lords Commissrs. for Trade and Plantations, Enclosing a Copy of a Letter their Lops. received from Sr. Nathaniel Johnson Deputy Govr. of Carolina, Dated at Carolina the 13th July 1703.[8]

They say that in November, 1702, the French with two ships surprized and took their Fort called James Fort in the River of Gambia and pillaged the same.[9]

That Capt. Daniel Johnson whom the said Company intrusted with their Ship called the *St. Christopher* was at the same time with a considerable Cargoe trading up the River Gambia and at his return finding the Companies Fort had been plundered by the French, he Combining with one Humphry Chisnull, another of the Company's servants, run away with said ship and Cargoe with such Slaves, Teeth, and Wax, which he has traded for as aforesaid, to his Father at Bermudas, whereas they are informed he sold most of the slaves, teeth and Wax, and converted their product to his own use and afterwards burnt their ship *St. Christopher* at Turks-Island.

The said Company so soon as they heard Johnson was runn away with their ship, sent Letters to all the Islands in the West Indies, where they hoped to meet him, upon notice of which, the Governor of Bermudas Seized the said Johnson, and by her Majesties Order sent him home a Prisoner, but he made his escape in the night out of the ship that brought him to a Port in England.

Since which the Company at their great expence have seized the Said Johnson, and intended to prosecute him for his Crimes, he is now a Prisoner in the Marshalsea.

They say they never Trade to Carolina nor ever intended their shipp *St. Christopher* should be carryed thither with Slaves or any other Comoditys whatsoever.

And further to satisfy their Lordships in the Truth of the perticulars above recited, they herewith also send a Copy of an Affidavit made by one that was present with said Johnson at Bermuda and other places in the West Indies.

[7] John Perry (or Pery, as his name was more frequently spelled) was secretary to the Royal African Company.

[8] L. C. Trans., C. O. 5: 1291, pp. 54-56. This is signed "By Order of the Royll. African Company of England. JOHN PERRY Secty". See *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1704-1705, pp. 294-295; *B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, p. 51. References to this affair are also to be found in T 70: 170, pp. 89-90, 92, 103, 110.

[9] Fort James had been captured by the Sieur la Roque and Captain de St. Vaudrille, of the *Mutine* and the *Hermione.* The company lost about 250 negroes in addition to 100,000 crowns ransom which it paid. H. F. Reeve, *The Gambia*, pp. 62-63.

If their Lordships will please to Send Copies of the Affidavits mentioned in Sr. Nathaniel Johnson's Letter perhaps they may give them some further light into Johnsons evill practises.[10]

African House
26th Octobr. 1704.

138. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1706-1724.[1]

Year	Negroes	Year	Negroes
1706	24	1716	67
1707	22	1717	573
1708	53	1718	529
1709	107	1719	541
1710	131	1720	601
1711	170	1721	165
1712	76	1722	323
1713	159	1723	436
1714	419	1724	604
1715	81		5081

[10] Captain Johnson's conduct was still under investigation by the company in 1706. On Apr. 12, 1706, the son requested an order to the governor of Bermuda to deliver goods belonging to himself and his father on account of the Royal African Company, "detained on pretence of his running away with the *Christopher*, lately belonging to that Company, and a like order to Edward Chester, or other Agent of the Company at Antego". "Minutes of Committee of Eight", Nov. 28, 1704, and June 26, 1705, T 70: 102; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1706-1708, p. 107.

[138] [1] McCrady, *South Carolina under Proprietary Government*, p. 723, app. 8, from the *Report of the Committee of the Commons House of Assembly of the Province of South Carolina on the State of the Paper Currency of the said Province* (London, 1737). The number of vessels is here omitted, since it is obvious that it bears no relation to the importation of negroes. How far these figures represent importation by small lots from the West Indies and how far direct trade from Africa can be surmised only after a painstaking accumulation of trifling items of evidence. Certainly both before and during this period there was some African trade. As early as 1700 Richard Oakley in a letter to the Royal African Company referred to vessels in the Gambia River from Carolina (Charles Davenant, *Works*, V. 175). In Edward Randolph's charges against Gov. John Archdale is the statement that he had seized a Carolina sloop "laden with negroes from Guinea" (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1701, p. 90). An entry of 1709 from the London custom-house refers to the *Loyall Johnson*, a ten-per-cent. vessel, "To Carolina, Designed 200, Carried 180", which suggests a negro cargo (C. O. 388: 13, p. 104 i). Sometime before Aug. 30, 1711, Col. William Rhett of Charleston seems to have sent out a Guinea voyage. Thomas Amory, who had been selected by the Rhetts as a future son-in-law (a position which he never held), wrote from the Azores to congratulate Colonel Rhett on the great success of his Guinea voyage and the good market to which he had come. Later in the same letter Amory pointed to the ease with which he could send slaves to Brazil, then added, "but Negroes sell as well at Carolina as at Brazell for there they never

139. Governor and Council of South Carolina to the Board of Trade, 1709.[1]

September 17, 1709.

The number of the inhabitants in this province of all sorts are computed to be 9580 souls, of which there are 1360 freemen, 900 free women, 60 white servant men, 60 white servant women, 1700 white free children, 1800 negro men slaves, 1100 negro women slaves, 500 Indian men slaves, 600 Indian women slaves, 1200 negro children slaves and 300 Indian children slaves . . . negro men slaves [are increased in the last five years] by importation 300, negro women slaves 200 . . . negro children 600.[2] . . .

Wee are allso often furnished with negros from the American Islands, chiefly from Barbados and Jamaica. . . . And the inhabitants by a yearly addition of slaves are made the more capable of improving the produce of the Colony. Notwithstanding 'tis our opinion that the value of one [our?] import is greater (if we include negros with the commodities that are consumed here) then our export by which means it comes to pass that wee are very near drained of all our silver and gold coine, nor is there any remedy to prevent this. . . .

N. Johnson
Tho. Broughton
Robt. Gibbes

Geo. Smith
Richd. Beresford

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give above 150 c p. head at most for lusty Negroes and Boyes 40, 50 and 60 C according as they are" (Meredith, *Descendants of Hugh Amory*, p. 53). For 1718-1719 we have evidence of two African cargoes of 80 and 90 negroes respectively: the *Eagle* (*post,* no. 143) with 80; a London brigantine captured by the pirate Charles Vane, with 90 negroes bound for South Carolina (Johnson, *Pyrates*, 1724, I. 97, 142-144; *Boston News Letter*, Oct. 20, 1718); while Teach, on the coast in 1717 or 1718, captured a brigantine with 14 slaves (*Pyrates*, I. 73; for the charge against one of Teach's men see *Tyler's Quar. Magazine*, I. 38). Most of our fragmentary evidence goes to show that this list is far from complete; for example, an estimate that the sterling value of the slaves imported in 1723 equalled £20,000 (B. R. Carroll, *Historical Collections of South Carolina,* II. 261). Some dealings with the Royal African Company the Carolinians must have had near the beginning of this period, for in 1708 Thomas Broughton of Charleston sent to the company his account asking that the balance due him be paid to his brother, Andrew Broughton, of London. Sept. 15, 1708, T 70: 2, p. 9.

[139] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, pp. 466-467. This information was sent in reply to letters of May 7, 1707, and Apr. 15, 1708, from the Board of Trade (*ibid.*, 1706-1708, pp. 427-428, 430, 477-480). The editor has not come upon Carolina's reply to the circular letter sent out by the board on Apr. 15, 1708, when it was in the process of preparing its extensive report for the House of Commons. In this report the board stated that 1000 negroes a year were required by Carolina and New York together. See this work, II. 63.

[2] These figures suggest an annual importation larger than that given in the preceding list.

140. Act for governing Negroes, 1714.[1]

An additional Act to an Act entitled "An Act for the better Ordering and Governing Negroes and all other Slaves".[2] . . .

IX. And whereas, the number of negroes do extremely increase in this Province,[3] and through the afflicting providence of God, the white persons do not proportionably multiply, by reason whereof, the safety of the said Province is greatly endangered; for the prevention of which for the future,

Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all negro slaves from twelve years old and upwards, imported into this part of this Province from any part of Africa,[4] shall pay such additional duties as is hereafter named, that is to say:—that every merchant or other person whatsoever, who shall, six months after the ratification of this Act, import any negro slaves as aforesaid, shall, for every such slaves, pay unto the public receiver for the time being, (within thirty days after such importation,) the sum of two pounds current money of this Province.[5] . . .

[140] [1] McCord, *Statutes,* VII. 367, no. 344.

[2] The introduction to the original act read: "Whereas, the plantations and estates of this Province cannot be well and sufficiently managed and brought into use, without the labor and service of negroes and other slaves; and forasmuch as the said negroes and other slaves brought unto the people of this Province for that purpose, are of barbarous, wild, savage natures, and such as renders them wholly unqualified to be governed by the laws, customs, and practices of this Province; but that it is absolutely necessary, that such other constitutions, laws and orders, should in this Province be made and enacted, for the good regulating and ordering of them, as may restrain the disorders, rapines and inhumanity, to which they are naturally prone and inclined; and may also tend to the safety and security of the people of this Province and their estates". *Ibid.,* p. 352.

In 1711 an additional duty had been laid on negroes in order to raise funds for an expedition against the northern Indians and to aid North Carolina. The text of this act has not been found but there is a reference to it in the act of Mar. 20, 1719 (Cooper, III. 66). This may be the act to which reference is made by Cadwallader Colden in a letter of November, 1711, written from Charleston to a Philadelphia merchant: "They have laid a Duty of 6 £ a head upon all Negroes that have been above 5 Months in any of the Plantations by an act this last assembly" (*Colden Papers,* I. 4, N. Y. Hist. Soc., *Collections,* 1917). Governor Gibbes in an address to the assembly in 1711 "recommended particularly to their attention the introduction of white immigrants on account of the large increase of negroes, who were beginning to exhibit a malicious disposition" (W. J. Rivers, *A Sketch of the History of South Carolina,* 1856, p. 251). That South Carolina was not ready to place a serious check on the importation of negroes may be conjectured from the petitions of her merchants and planters in 1711 and 1712 against granting an exclusive trade to the Royal African Company, since it had never satisfied the needs of that colony. *Journals of the House of Commons,* XVI. 550, XVII. 157; Stock, *Proceedings and Debates,* III. 250, 287.

[3] The number of negroes estimated to be in the colony at this time was 10,000. Rivers, *Hist. of S. C.,* p. 251n.

[4] The act of 1714 referred to by DuBois (p. 209), laying an additional duty on negroes from any part of America, known only by its citation in the act of Mar. 20, 1719, was possibly the act of Feb. 18, 1715, not 1714.

[5] The rate between currency, or the paper money of the province, and sterling, in 1714, was two to one (Wallace, *Life of Henry Laurens,* p. 53). A further evidence of disquietude was given by an act of June 30, 1716, to encourage the importation of white servants: "Whereas sad experience hath taught us that the small number of white inhabitants of this Province, is not sufficient to defend the same even against our Indian enemies, and whereas the numbers of slaves are daily increasing in this Province, which

141. Records of the Court of Vice Admiralty, 1717.[1]

Tuesday, June the 4th 1717.

The Court mett according to adjournment

And Arthur Lone the Defendant haveing put in his plea and Answer Sworne to the Same in Open Court which being admitted is as follows.

South Carolina. Before Nicholas Trott, Esqr. Judge of his ma'ties Court of Vice Admiralty in the province of South Carolina aforesaid Arthur Lone, Masr. or Comander of the Ship *Ludlow* Galley In behalfe of himselfe Mr. Samuel Barons and all other parties Interested and Concerned in the said Ship *Ludlow* Galley Appears and presents himselfe for and in Consideration of a Certain Libell asserted, produced and brought before you by Thos. Saunders, William Blackmore, John R——, Christian Crow, Samuel Wright, William Bovin, Henry Anderson, John Johnson, Benjamin Rowe, William Tisdell, Joseph Johnson, James Winter, William Corne, John Briggs, and Mathew Lord marriners belonging to the Said Shipp *Ludlow* Galley against him the Said Arthur Lone and for and by reason of all and Singular the matters and things therein Contained and the time Assigned to him the Said Arthur Lone to Answer the Same.

All advantages of E[*illegible*] to the Incertainties Insufficiencies and Imposettons of the Libellants Said Libell now and all things hereafter Sav'd and reserv'd unto the Said Arthur Lone this Defendt. for Answer thereunto Saith That true it is that the Said Libellants were Shipt on board the *Ludlow* Galley Arthur Lone masr. the thirteenth day of September One thousand Seven hundred and sixteen as appears by an obligation under their hands and Seals bearing the same date in and by which Instrument in Writeing they Oblige themselves to proceed to Guinea with the said Ship and after her being Slav'd to proceed to one or more of the American plantations as the Said Captn. or his Successor should determine and as shall be most ad-

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may likewise endanger the safety thereof, if speedy care be not taken to encourage the importation of white servants. . . . VIII. And be it further enacted That every owner of every plantation of which doth belong ten slaves, young or old, and all persons possessed of the like number of slaves, shall take from the Receiver one servant when it shall happen to be his lot to have one, and shall pay to the Receiver so much money for the said servant, as the Receiver gave to the person from whom he received the same, and the owner of every plantation to which doth belong twenty slaves, as aforesaid, shall, when it shall be his lot, take two servants, as aforesaid, and every master of every plantation proportionably for every ten slaves." This was repealed June 29, 1717 (Cooper, II. 646-649). A bounty of £25 was to be paid to those importing white servants. The duty act of the same date placed £3 on African negroes, £30 on all others, to be paid in currency.

[141] [1] MS. Records of the Court of Vice Admiralty, Charleston, S. C., vol. I.; photostatic copies are in the Library of Congress. These Records contain several cases which relate to the wages of seamen on board slavers; and one which refers to the mistreatment of seamen on board a slave vessel, vol. III., p. 45 ff., second numbering.

vantageous for the owners That the said Capta. Lone had orders from the Owners of the Said Ship in England to appear and Come to an Anchor off of the Barr of Charles Town and give Mr. Richard Splatt [Platt?] a person Imployed as agent or factor to the owners of the said Shipp Notice of his Arrival and in Case the Said Splatt was of opinion that the Country was in a Tolerable flourishing condition so as to produce Comodityes enough to make returns to England for that So Considerable a Cargoo and that Negroes bore a good price Hee was then to come over the Barr And the Said Splatt finding that it would be very much to the Interest of the Gentlemen Concerned in the Said Ship and Cargo that she should Deliver her said Cargo at this port of Charles Town and not to hazard Any other voyage after so long and dangerous a voyage performed thought it advisable to give him orders to Come into this Harbour of Charles Town and here deliver his said Cargoo of Slaves a great many of which in all probability would have dyed if he had attempted to go to any other place and as to that part of the Complainants Libell where they alledge and propound that they were to be paid Thirty Shillings Sterling money of Great Brittain per month to proceed on the said Voyage. The Said Arthur Lone doth propound to your Honour that the Said marriners were not Shiped on board the Said Ship to receive Sterling money of Great Brittain for their Wages for that it is usual and Customary for the Merchts. of Great Brittain to give the Sailors of any Ship or Ships bound for Guinea and from thence to any part of the West Indies Five and Twenty Shillings per month and no more but the Said Lone and the Owners of the said Ship *Ludlow* Galley fearing that there would be a difference in the Coin of any part or port in America and of Great Brittain and being willing that the Said Marrin'rs and Sailors might reap the fruits of their Labour gave them Five Shillings per month more than the Comon wages given for such a voyage in Consideration of which the Officers and Marrin'rs entered Severally and a part into a Bond or Obligation to performe the Said Voyage and therein and thereby agreed as is recited in the Said obligation reference being thereunto had doth and may more fully and at large appear.

The Said Severall officers and Marrin'rs on board the said Ship shall not claim any right or title to any further wages or pay untill the Said Ships Arrivall and discharge in any of our plantations than to receive only one halfe of the wages that shall be due to us or the whole if the Captn. or his Successors so pleaseth in the Current Specie of the Country and no further claim or Demand untill the Arrivall of the said Ship to this port of London. By reason of which Bond or obligation the said Lone Conceives and is advised that he is not Oblige[d] to pay them in any other Specie or in any other pro-

portion than accounting one pound Currt. money of this Colony Equall to one pound Sterling money—especially Considering that they had Five Shillings per month advanced to them above what is Customary in the like voyages and that the Owners positive Orders to him are to pay them in the Currency of the plantation where he should deliver his Cargo according to the true Intent and meaning of the Said Bond, and that if he did not in all respects oblige the Said Marriners to a performance of every Article of the said Bond he will be lyable to answer the neglect and reimburse his Owners as much as their Interests may Suffer by his not abiding by and Insisting upon the Agreement made in Great Brittain.

And as to and for and Concerning all that part of the said Libellants Said Libell whereby they sett forth that their wages are respectively due which Said wages computing from the Said thirteenth day of May do amount to the Sume of Twelve pounds Sterling money of Great Brittain to each of the said Libellants, and the Said Libellts. demanding their wages due to them for their Service on board the said Ship of the said Master or Mr. Richard Splatt they were given to understand that the said Libellants had Signed some Bond or Instrument in writing purporting amongst other things that they should receive their wages pound for pound Carolina money, which Bond or writing was never read or at least explained to the said Libellants as they alledge in their Said Libell and that in as much as the Said Libelants had not the least Intimation or notion of any Difference between the Said money of Carolina and Virginia and that the Said Libellants are advised that the Act made in the Sixth year of the reigne of her Ma'tie Queen Anne Intituled an Act for Accertaining the Rates of Foreign Coins in her Ma'ties plantations in America makes no distinction of the Currency of the Said Coin in America but settles it all at the same price.[2] The Said Lone doth propound as in this answer he hath before propounded that the Said Libellants wages are respectively due from the thirteenth day of September one thousand seven hundred Sixteen to which time the Deft. is willing to pay the same but never the less in the Current Specie of this province aforesaid and not to the thirteenth day of May One thousand Seven hundred and Seventeen as the Libellants in their Said Libell Alledge which at the rate of thirty Shillings per month Doth Amount to ten pounds ten Shillings to each of the said Libellants This Defendt. Conceiveing that the voyage was ended the day the Cargo of the Said Ship was delivered and that if there is any more wages due it is on a new Voyage and to be paid in Great Brittain That the said Libellants did Signe a Bond or Instrument in writing purporting as

[2] "An Act for ascertaining the Rates of foreign Coins in Her Majesty's Plantations in America", 6 Anne c. 30 (1707).

they in the said Libell have sett forth which is ready to be produced to your Honour and further Saith that the said Bond or Instrument of writing lay upon the Table in the great Cabbin when the Complainants Signed the said Bond and conceives that amongst So many of them that Wright good hands as appears by their signing the Said Bond they could by no means have Signed and Sealed the said Instrument had they not first read it heard it read or had it explained that Some of them was acquainted in some measure with the Lowness of the Currency of this Country appears by their being here in the said Ship the Voyage before this, and that the Owners of the said Ship could not give them better Information for that the money of this Country is grown of very considerable less Value within these few months and that the Act recited in the Libellants said Libell was made for Settling a Just estimate and value upon pieces of Eight Dollars and other pieces of Silver were Current but that the said act Cannot be taken to extend to any Colony w[h]ere the said Silver is not Current as in this province where the Currency is only paper and Silver made a Merchandise when it can be gott and Conceives and is advised that it does not oblige him to pay the Said Libellants Wages according to that Establishment since it cannot be taken notice of in this province where the currency is a [*illegible*] paper but that they ought to be paid according to an Obligation of their own Signing and Sealeing in the said Currency.

And Lastly as to for and Concerning what the said Libellants in their Said Libell do further alledge Sett forth or propound Concerning Mr. Samuel Barons his Imposing a notorious Fraud upon the said Libellants when he induced (as they alledge) to Signe Such a Bond or writing for taking their wages in the current money of this province Instead of Sterling or Virginia money and that therefore in all Courts of Equity it ought to be deemed to have been Scandalously obtained from the said Libellants and therefore in no wise obligatory or binding on the said Libellants as they humbly Conceive and are advised and the rather for that the Said Libellants were told by the Said Samuel Barons that it was only a Bond to perform the voyage and was read to few or none of the said Libellants nor Sealed and delivered by any of them as their Act and Deed. The Said Lone with all Submission Conceives that there was no design of fraud in the sd Barons his Owner for as much as he did not know to what little value the money of this Colony is reduced within this few months as is before sett forth,[3] that he is a considerable Trader and a man of Great Reputation upon Exchange of London and was never known to be guilty of any fraud in any Contract or dealing that he

[3] With the issues of paper money in South Carolina the value of her currency was falling rapidly. In comparison with sterling it went from two to four between the years 1714 and 1722. Wallace, *Laurens*, p. 53.

never induced the Libellants by any Insinuation or persuasion to Sign the Said Bond or Instrument, that he never Concealed the tenour or purport of it from them but exposed it to their view and Submitted it to their Constructions, that he never told them it was only to perform the voyage that they themselves was Judges of what Obligation they laid themselves under Since it appears by the Libellants own Showing in the Said Libell that it was read to few of them and when such a number of Men Sign an Obligation those that are made acquainted with it Inform the Rest and it is reasonable to suppose and pass almost for a Certainty that they would not have signed it had they not been acquainted with its Tenour and Effect and that the Defendt. Saw the Said Libellants one or more Signe Seale and as their Act and Deed Deliver the Said Bond as appears by the Severall Witnesses to the Said Bond.

And therefore this Defendt. doth plead the Bond or Obligation Signed Sealed and Delivered in the presence of their Credible Witnesses whereof the Deft. is one and is ready to make Oath of the same, and is advised and desires to abide by the Said Bond or Obligation and Humbly prays the Judgment of this Honble. Court whether he shall be put to make any further or other answer thereunto.

W. Blakewey, Dept.

Sworne the fourth day of
June 1717 Before me
Nicholas Trott, V. A. J.

142. Minutes of Meetings of the Lords Proprietors, 1719.[1]

Present
- Lord Carteret Palatin
- Mr. Ashley
- Sr. John Colleton
- Mr. Danson

Feb. 13, 1718/9.

Mr. Baron and other Merchts. attending presented to the Lords, a Petition against An Act of Assembly, wherein an Additional Duty is laid of 40 £ per Head upon all Negroes that shall be imported after 8th June 1719,[2] which Petition being read,

The Lords think the repealing this Act (they not having any Knowledge that such an Act was ever pass'd, or what the Reasons

[142] [1] C. O. 5: 292, pp. 113-115.

[2] The act against which the merchants complained was an additional act to an act for the better ordering and governing of negroes and other slaves, passed Dec. 11, 1717, for the avowed purpose of checking the alarming number of negro importations. It was to take effect eighteen months after its passage and to continue for four years (McCord, VII. 368-370). It was repealed by the assembly on Mar. 20, 1719, before it had gone into effect. Cooper, III. 66.

were for passing such Act) is a Matter of so great Consequence, that they desire further time to consider of it; And if it appears to be so very prejudicial to the Merchts. as is averr'd their Lord'ps will then repeal it.

Order'd that Mr. William Wragg [3] who is one of the Council at Carolina, and was there at the Time when this Act was pass'd in the Assembly do send word to the Secretary in Writing, what the Title and purport of the said Act is, and what were the Inducements and Reasons for the makeing the said Act. . . .

Feb. 20, 1718/9.

The merchants having been heard concerning the 40£ per head additional duty upon negroes, etc., the Lords did not think it advisable to repeal the said act, but will immediately send to the governor and council for the act, and require their reasons for passing it; directions will also be given that in future they pass no act affecting the trade or shipping of this Kingdom without a reserved clause, that the acts shall not be of force until they have received the approval and confirmation of the proprietors. . . .

Feb. 27, 1718/9.

Read the merchants address to the board respecting two acts, one entitled "An additional act to an act entituled an act for laying an imposition upon liquors, goods and merchandize"; the other "A further additional act to an act entituled an act for the better ordering and governing of negroes and all other slaves".[4] As to the first act, the Lords agree to its repeal; as to the second, order was given to prepare a letter to the governor and council, stating that great complaints have been made against the said act, and they have been pressed to repeal it, but the Lords are unwilling to repeal it from the report of the danger likely to accrue to the country from the number of negroes; if the governor however considers there is no real danger, they are advised to repeal the act and in lieu to pass one

[3] Is it conceivable that the Proprietors had confused William Wragg with Samuel his nephew, who was a member of the South Carolina council and a considerable merchant of Charleston and London? Samuel had in 1719 but recently come to London. It may be remembered that his first attempt to make the voyage to England was frustrated by his capture by pirates off the Carolina coast. S. C. Hughson, *Carolina Pirates and Colonial Commerce, 1670-1740* (Johns Hopkins *Studies*, vol. XII.), p. 70; Johnson, *Pyrates*, I. 74.

[4] Both acts were passed Dec. 11, 1717. The first laid no new duty but somewhat modified the process of collection, and exempted from its operation goods or negroes imported in ships built and owned in the province. Goods imported in vessels built in the province but owned elsewhere paid half the duty. Cooper, III. 32-33; McCord, VII. 370.

obliging every planter to have one white man to every ten negroes.[5] . . .

143. Case of the *Hanover Succession*, 1719.[1]

Memorandm. That on the Sixteenth Day of November Anno. Dom. 1719, personally came and appeared before me William Blakewey, Esq. Judge of his Ma'ties Court of Vice Admiralty in the province of S. C. Nicholas Gardiner Marriner late master or Commander of the *Bensworth* Galley belonging to Bristol who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelist Saith:

That he being a passinger on board the *Eagle* pinck Capt. William Ricketts Comander from the Coast of Guynea having on board about Eighty and odd Slaves on or about the Latter end of September last the sd Ship *Eagle* being at anchor off North Edistoe the Ship *Hanover Succession* (Capt. Clipperton Comander) came to anchor nigh the said pink and the sd Clipperton came on board the said Pink and there stayed about three or four hours. And in the meantime Clipperton's boat manned with Sailers belonging to the said Capt. Ricketts was by Clipperton's order sent on board the *Hanover Succession* to fetch a Barrell of Rice and a Cask of Water which the said Capt. Ricketts then stood very much in need of for the Support of Negroes and others then aboard him, which was accordingly brought on board the sd. *Eagle* Pink and presently after that Clipperton went on board the *Hanover Succession* again. And Nicholas Gardiner further saith that on the next day he went on board the ship *Hanover Succession* in order to get another cask of Rice and a Barrell of Water which Clipperton then ordered his Sailers to get

[5] The letter here ordered was sent the same day, with instructions that hereafter no act affecting trade was to be passed without the approval of the Proprietors (C. O. 5: 290, pp. 132-135), and with an explanation of their repeal of the first of the two acts: "We think it highly unreasonable and unjust, that in matters relating to trade, any difference or distinction should be made between his Majesty's subjects residing in Great Britain and those that live in our Province of South Carolina, or that any greater duty should be imposed on ships built in Great Britain than on ships built in Carolina; wherefore we the Lord Palatine and the rest of the Lords Proprietors of the Province of South Carolina in America, do think it proper to repeal and make void an Act of Assembly entituled an additional Act to an Act entituled an Act for laying an imposition on liquors, goods, and merchandizes, etc. and we do hereby declare the said Act, and all matters and things therein contained, to be repealed, made null and void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever" (Cooper, III. 33). Before the letter of Feb. 27, 1719, could have reached the province the various acts pertaining to negro duties had been repealed by the assembly and a new measure passed, on Mar. 20, 1719, which laid a duty of £10 on African negroes and £30 on all others imported, and continued the distinction between vessels built and owned in Carolina and those owned in Great Britain. This was repealed by the Proprietors on July 24: "We have repealed the three several Acts you sent Us over, *vizt.* An Act for the laying an Imposition on Negroes, Liquors, and other Goods and Merchandizes etc. We think that Act illegal because of the great inequality the Subjects of Great Britain lie under in relation to their Trade" (C. O. 5: 290, p. 151). Before the news of this action reached America the rule of the Proprietors was over and the act remained in effect. Cooper, III. 56-69; McCrady, *Proprietary Government,* p. 649.

[143] [1] MS. Records of the Court of Vice Admiralty, Charleston, S. C.

out (he knowing that the Ships Crew and all the Negroes on board the *Eagle* Pink had for long time before undergone great hardships for want of the same or some other provisions), but the Sailers in general (and in particular the two Mates) murmured seeming thereby to refuse to obey their Captn. Commands complaining that the Rice could not be got at without taking out the Head of the Cask and further at the same time abused the Master Clipperton by the most Scurrilous and Ill Language that could be thought of. And the Deponent saith that the Rice might easily have been got at and that without any further trouble than unstowing Six Barrels of Tarr at the most but through the Obstinacy of the men the Master Clipperton was forced to comply with the Saylors and deliver the Cask of Rice to Supply the then Emergent necessitys of Ricketts and Gardiner the rest of the persons on board the said *Eagle* Pink by Staveing out the Head of the Cask Which this Deponent looks upon as the more inhuman in the marriners by reasons of the Great necessitys and the Deplorable Circumstances the persons on board the said *Eagle* Pink were in at that time. And Nicholas Gardiner further Saith that as soon as Clipperton the first time went on board the *Eagle* Pink he immediately complained of the hard usage of his Sailors and that he had been forced to Steer back for Charles Town tho contrary to his will. And Gardiner further saith that on parting with Clipperton which was in two days time after they first mett, Capt. Ricketts offered Clipperton to lend him some hands (if he wanted them) to help him heave up his Anchor which Clipperton replyed that if he wanted any he would send his Boat for them. And Gardiner further Saith that neither he nor Capt. Ricketts (in his hearing) ever offered to lend Clipperton any hands to help him into the Harbour at Charles Town.[2] . . .

144. Governor Robert Johnson to the Board of Trade, 1720.[1]

Charles Town, South Carolina, Jany. 12, 1719/20.

My Lords, . . . There have been exported in one year, by

[2] The point at issue in this case was the condition of the *Hanover Succession.* There is no further reference to the negro cargo of the *Eagle.*

[144] [1] Rivers, *Chapter in the Early History of South Carolina,* pp. 98-99. Endorsed: "Recd. April 29, 1720. Read 3 May, 1720." Robert Johnson was governor from 1717 till the overthrow of the proprietary government. This information was given in answer to a query sent out by the Board of Trade, "What Trade is there in that Province, by exportation or importation, how, and in what particulars is the Trade thereof increased or decreased of late years, and what hath been the reason of such Encrease or Decay". Two estimates of population were sent to the Board of Trade in 1720, one gave the population as 9000 whites and 12,000 blacks; the second, 1500 to 2000 fighting white men and 14,000 to 15,000 negroes (Br. Trans., VIII. 66, 254. Unless otherwise stated, the British Transcripts to which reference is made are those in the possession of the South Carolina Historical Commission at Columbia). In the account of taxpayers for this year, the number of slaves was given as 11,828 (*ibid.*, IX. 23). Between the loss of power on the part of the Proprietors in 1719 and the arrival of Francis Nicholson, the first royal

computation above fifty thousand barrells of both [pitch and tar], which great exports of Navell Stores, not only have occasioned the greater consumption of British Manufactures, but incouraged the Merchants abroad, to import into this Province, great numbers of Negroe Slaves from Africa, and brought a great concourse of Ships to this Port, to load our bulky Commodities. . . . Whence[2] we import . . . from the Northern Plantacons . . . Negro Slaves. . . . To this bounty money[3] was chiefly atributed the cause of our Trades increasing very considerably, within these ten years our Planters having by means thereof, been so enriched as to purchase great numbers of Negroes Slaves, the labour of which has incredibly increased the produce and manufacture of this Province.[4] . . .

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governor, in 1721, James Moore acted for the new government, but Johnson maintained his claim to the position for some time after the revolution. This probably accounts for the date of this report.

[2] From the American plantations.

[3] The bounty for exporting naval stores.

[4] Enclosure in the above letter: "We receive Cloathing, Furniture, Iron Ware, and every other thing that is necessary for the conveniency of the life of man from Great Britain, whose Merchants are the only Traders with us, and by yearly supplying us, with near one thousand negroes encreases our export by the many more hands sett at work." ("Answer to the Queries sent by the Hon'ble the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations relating to the State of South Carolina", Rivers. *Chapter in the Early History of South Carolina,* pp. 98-99, 108). Estimates of profit from slave labor in Carolina were always large: "A planter can make more tar here with fifty slaves than they can do with double the number in those places" (Virginia and the northern colonies, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1699, p. 106). A *Letter from South Carolina*, 1710, computes the returns from 30 negroes working on 90 acres of land: "The 30 Negroes beginning to work in September or October will clear 90 Acres of Land, plant and hoe it: half of which, that is 45 Acres, sowed with Rice, will, after the common computation yield 1000 Weight an Acre, which sold at 15 *s.* a Hundred, the middle Price, amounts to 337 *l.* 10 *s.* The other 45 Acres are to be sowed with Indian Corn, Pease, Pompins, Potatoes, Melons, and other Eatables for use of the Family." Governor Glen in his "Description of South Carolina" (1761) estimated that good land could raise from ten to thirty-five bushels of corn an acre, and that one negro could tend six acres. Corn then sold for from 10 *s.* to 15 *s.* per bu., currency. Of rice, one negro could produce from 22 to 23 cwt., which sold for from 45 *s.* to 55 *s.* per cwt. (Carroll, *Collections*, II. 202-203). All was not well with the planters however. The large purchases of negroes had plunged them into debt, the burden of which the act of Feb. 13, 1719, attempted to relieve: "Whereas, divers persons within this Settlement, not knowing how or on what fund or funds, the several sorts of bills of credit currant in the same were settled, nor forseeing the great and sudden fall of their commodities, as rice from four pounds the hundred unto forty shillings, have unwarily engaged themselves, some by entering into bonds for currant money, at and after the rate of two hundred and fifty pounds currant money for new negroes, and other, for upwards of that sum; whereas indeed new negroes are worth, at the highest price, not above thirty pounds, or thirty-five pounds proclamation money. . . . And whereas, some few persons have endeavoured to amass to themselves the greatest part of all the several sorts of said bills into their own keeping . . . do intend that such debtors shall in a little time pay such currant moneys (as they are so called by several acts of this Settlement) in proclamation money, to the utter ruin of such persons, who have made or entered into such bonds, contracts, or agreements, and tending to the depopulation of the whole Settlement, unless some remedy according to equity be provided against a calamity so general." The act provides that such debts may be paid in Carolina commodities at a fixed schedule of prices. Cooper, III. 105-108.

145. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1721-1726.[1]

A List of Negro's Imported from May 30th, 1721, to September 29th, 1726.

	Negro's
From May 30th to September 29th 1721	104
From September 29th 1721 To Septem'r 29th 1722	215
From September 29th 1722 To Septem'r 29th 1723[2]	527
From September 29th 1723 To Septem'r 29th 1724	602
From September 29th 1724 To Septem'r 29th 1725	433
From September 29th 1725 To Septem'r 29th 1726	1751
Total since His Excellency's Governm't	3632

Port of Charles Town

Wm. Hammerton, Nav. Officer

So. Carolina, In Councill this 18th day of Jan'ry 1726/7
Sworn before me, N. Middleton

An accot of Negros Imported in the following Vessells Arived from Affrica.[3]

1724, July 24 Capta. Albert Muller Enters in the Briggantine *Amerrica,* Thomas Marshall Commandr *Vizt.*

Men and Women	97	
Boyes and Girles	19	116 Negros

Ditto. Enters per the Ship *Greyhound* Galley, Edward Holden Commander, *Vizt.*

Men and Women	158	
Boys and Girles	29	187 Ditto

[145] [1] C. O. 5: 387, f. 130. These were the years in which the swamp lands of Carolina were being opened to rice. This not only created a demand for negro labor but provided a commodity with which it could be purchased. F. V. Emerson, "Geographic Influences in American Slavery", American Geographic Society, *Bulletin,* XLIII. 13 (1911).

[2] The act of 1721 placed on all negro slaves imported from Africa directly or from any other place, if above ten years of age £10, if below, £5. In addition to this all negroes imported from other parts of America must pay for six months after the passage of this act £30, and upon the expiration of the six months, £50, unless the owner, importer, or factor could certify that they were new negroes who had not been on shore six months in any part of America. For children under ten the additional duty was £5. The reason for this heavy impost was that slaves in other colonies were frequently shipped to Carolina for misconduct (Cooper, III. 160-161). The law of 1722 continued these provisions with the addition that Spanish negroes must pay £150, as they were thought to encourage the Carolina negroes to run away (*ibid.*, pp. 194-196). Between Jan. 1, 1722, and Sept. 29, 1723, £3625 were received from the duty on negroes. Carolina Historical Commission, Columbia, Br. Trans., XI. 56, 63.

[3] Cooper, p. 243. The white population at this time was estimated at 14,000, that of the negroes at 32,000. *Importance of the British Plantations in America* (1731), pp. 64-65.

Brought forward			303	
	Joseph Wragg Enters per the Ship *Ruby*, James Craige Commander *Vizt.*[4]			
	Men and Women	24		
	Boys and Girles	3		
	Messrs. Gibbons and Allen Enters per sd. Craige			
	Men and Women	78		
	Boys and Girls	7	112	Ditto
Sepr. 23	Joseph Wragg Enters per Ship *Cape Coast*, Peter Travisa Commander *Vizt.*			
	Men and Women	112		
	Boys and Girles	3		
	Capt. Peter Trevisa Enters per Sd. Ship			
	Men and Women	10		
	Girle	1	126	Ditto
Octobr 20th[5]	Charles Hill Esqr. Enters per the Ship *Pearle* Galley, Inkin [Jenkin?] Hughes Comandr *Vizt.*			
	Men and Women about	153		
	Boys and Girles "	40	193	Ditto
			734	Negros

So. Carolina

Memorandum. The Above is a Just Acco. of What Negros Hath bin Imported from Affrica. Octobr. the 20th 1724

632 Men and Women Duty 10 £ per head	£6320
102 Boys and Girles under Ten years of Age at 5 £ per head	510
A. Parris Treasur.[6]	£6830

146. The Royal African Company: Minutes of Committee, 1722-1727.[1]

1721/2, Mar. 13. Mr. Lloyd and Mr. Wrag[2] attending, were Call'd and Discours'd with touching their Proposal for being furnish'd

[4] See this work, vol. II., index.

[5] One cargo of negroes came to South Carolina inadvertently, probably late in 1724. Captain Durfey, with a cargo of the Spanish-American trade under the terms of the Assiento, was captured by pirates and the negroes on his vessel carried to Charleston. Whether they were sold there or not we do not know (letter to Gov. Francis Nicholson, Apr. 20, 1725, Add. MSS. 25564, p. 203). On Jan. 1, 1723/4, the agents of the African Company at Whydah wrote that there had arrived there the *"Cleeveland* Gally of Carolina".

[6] Endorsed: "Decr. the 23d 1724, Read Novr. the 18th 1725." What remained of this sum after the clergyman's stipend was paid and the building of a church was provided for was to be applied to redeem the £55,000 issue of paper currency (Br. Trans., XIV. 54). A calculation of the South Carolina revenue from negro duties for 1728 placed it at £750 stg. Br. Mus., Newcastle Papers, Add. MSS. 33028, p. 185.

[146] [1] T 70: 123, "Minute Book of the Bye-Committee of the Committee of Trade and Correspondence of the Royal African Company of England From June the 10th 1720 To January the 4th 1722". On Feb. 27, 1721, the committee had moved consideration of a ship with slaves for South Carolina. T 70: 123, p. 7.

[2] Samuel Wragg had probably left his brother Joseph in charge of their Carolina business while in London, where after 1726 he was agent for the colony. For his testimony on the Carolina trade see *post*, no. 147.

by the Company with Slaves at South Carolina. And sometime was Spent therin, but could not come to any Conclusion.

1722, May 9. Mr. Wrag came, and was discours'd with about the Contract for Slaves at South Carolina, which he desires to Enter into for himself, and took time till tomorrow morning to Consider of that article relating to unmerchantable Negroes, which are to be valued.

1722, May 23. Mr. Wrag came and a farther progress was made in the matter relating to the agreement he desires to make with the Company for Slaves to be furnished at South Carolina.

1722, May 24. The Agreement Settled with Mr. Wrag for 300 Slaves yearly at South Carolina.

1722, May 31.[3] Draught of contract with Wrag, 300 slaves for South Carolina read. He asked to name his security. Penalty be double the sum of the contract.[4]

1722, June 29.[5] Agreed . . . That the Court be Mov'd for directions. . . . That a Ship be appointed for Gambia to Slave there for South Carolina according to the Contract made with Mr. Wragg.

1722, July 26. Agreed, To Report to the Court as the opinion of this Committee, That it be recommended to the Commitee of Goods to make a Computation of what Quantity of Kendal Cotton will serve for Clothing the Slaves which are to be Sent to South Carolina and to put it on board the Ship.

1722, Aug. 16. Agreed, To Report to the Court, That the *Francis* Galley which the Comm'ee of Shipping have taken up with design to Slave at Gambia for Carolina be appointed to go to Cape Coast Castle to Slave there for Jamaica, and that it be recommended to the said Comm'ee to agree with the Owners for this alteration of the Voyage and to the Comm'ee of Goods to order a Sufficient Cargoe on board her of such Goods as are in the Warehouse.

1722, Oct. 24. That it be recommended to the Comm'ee of Shipping to Consider of a Ship for 300 Slaves at Gambia for Carolina.

1722, Oct. 25. Ordd. . . . That it be recommended to the Com'ee of Goods to provide Clothing for 300 Slaves which are to be carried from Gambia to So Carolina.

1722, Dec. 12.[6] Mr. Wrag having given a General Letter of Creditt for Capt. Lansdale of the *Lady Rachell,* upon his Agents at

[3] T 70: 91, p. 142 (2). At this point only the left-hand pages in the volume are numbered.

[4] An entry of July 25 gives as the security of "Mr. Saml: Wragg of Carolina", "Mr. Samll. Wrag his Unkle of Islington, and Col. John Lynch of Fenchurch Street Mercht." *Ibid.,* p. 154.

[5] T 70: 123, *ibid.,* 91, pp. 160 (2), 173 (2), *ibid.,* 131, p. 127.

[6] T 70: 91, p. 188. The *Lady Rachel* left the Gambia for Charleston in May, 1723, with 221 slaves consigned to Mr. Wragg. T 70: 7, p. 63; see this work, II. 294.

South Carolina. Ordered, That he be directed to take up Credit thereon not exceeding 1/3 part of the Freight.

1723, Nov. 6.[7] That Mr. Plunket have directions immediately on his arrivall at Gambia to proceed in purchasing a Number of Negroes not exceeding 300 to be Sent to South Carolina to be ready to be put on board in all February. And, That the *Northampton* be the Ship to carry them, if no other more proper Ship can be thought of to be sent out so as to be at Gambia in all January.

1724, Jan. 10. That the Cape Coast Frigatt be fitted out with all possible Dispatch for Gambia to take in what Negroes she can receive upon contract with Mr. Wragg for South Carolina.

1724/5, Feb. 17.[8] A Letter from Mr. Wragg read, desiring another Ship may be Order'd to Gambia, to carry a further Number of Slaves to Carolina upon the foot of the Contract.

Upon which the Contract was read As also a Minute from the Comm'ee of Goods, That there are no Goods in Warehouse proper for a Gambia Cargo.

Wednesday July 7th 1725.[9] . . . The Comm'ee took into consideration the Acct. with Mr. Wrag for Slaves furnished him at Carolina by the Ship *Lady Rachell,* and gave him the same to peruse and see if he has any objections thereto.[10]

Wednesday July 21st 1725.[11] . . . A Letter from Mr. Wragg recd. wherein he proposes as follows, *Vizt.*

That a Ship be now sent out by the Company which shall take in not less than 240 Slaves, which allowing for mortality, may deliver in Carolina Two hundred and Twenty. And that the Company be obliged to deliver Eighty more on board such Ship as he shall send (in not less than four months after) to Gambia the Company paying Customary freight, and he allowing the price on delivery in Carolina according to Contract,

And the Committee having discoursed him upon the same, are of opinion, That the said proposal be complyed with in order to the finishing that Contract, and that a Ship be taken up accordingly.

[7] T 70: 124. In his testimony before the Board of Trade in 1726 Wragg referred to his contract with the African Company as the only effort which that company had ever made to supply the South Carolina market (*post*, no. 147). Francis Yonge, in "A View of the Trade of South Carolina" (1723, Br. Trans., X.), refers to vessels fitting in Holland for Guinea and the plantations, some owned by Englishmen, some by Hollanders. It is difficult to believe however that any considerable portion of the Carolina supply was brought by the Dutch.

[8] T 70: 124.

[9] T 70: 103, p. 27, "At a Comm'ee of Seven".

[10] On the same day, "Mr. Wrag having a Letter of Attorney from Jno. Hodges late Smith at Gambia, and from William Hayes late Soldier at Ditto empowering him to receive from the Company the ballance of their Acct. Which being stated, The Committee have no objection to William Hayes acct. and agreed that Mr. Wrag have Creditt for the ballance in his Acct. with the Company; but John Hodges being concerned with other Mutineers, ordered, That a stop be putt to his Acct. till he appears to answer for the same." T 70: 103, pp. 28-29.

[11] *Ibid.,* pp. 32-37.

Thursday July 22nd 1725. . . . It is the opinion of this Committee, That Mr. Wrag pursuant to the 8th Article of the Contract, do furnish the Ship now to be sent to Carolina with full freight home in the same manner as if it was one of the Companys own Ships, and upon the terms therein mentioned, and that he endorse the Charter party accordingly.

Friday July 23rd 1725. . . . Considered further of the Memorandum which is to be indorsed upon the Contract with Mr. Wragg.

Wednesday July 28th 1725. Mr. Wragg came and was further discoursed with about the Ship which is to go now for Gambia and Carolina, and the Agreement concluded.[12]

The Comm'ee also settled Accts. with him for the Voyage of the *Lady Rachell,* the ballance due to the Compa. being £156. 19. 8.

Thursday July 29th 1725. . . . Ordered That Mr. Wragg have a Copy of his Acct. of the Voyage by the Cape Coast Fregate the ballance of which is £2435. 18. 6. due to the Compa. and payable in September next.

Friday July 30th 1725. . . . The Indorsement was made upon the Contract with Mr. Wragg according to the Order of Yesterdays Court.

Thursday Feb. 10th 1725/6.[13] Upon considering Mr. Wraggs Letter of the 20th of Jany. last, referred last Court Day to the Committee.

A Letter was thereupon drawn up to be sent to Gambia by the Ship he is now Sending thither, directing Mr. Plunket and the Chief Merchts. to putt on board the said Ship the 80 Slaves remaining to compleat the Contract made with him.

Thursday February 23, 1726/7. Mr. Wragg being discoursed with upon the Demand He makes of 240 Negroes which He alledges were delivered short at Carolina, upon former Contracts made with the Company.

The Committee are of opinion, That for putting an end to all disputes relating to the said Contracts the following Propositions be made to Mr. Wragg

1. That the Company do send out by a Ship He has ready to sail for Gambia to the value of £300 in Goods and Provisions, to be consigned to the Company's Agents there.

[12] This was apparently the *Diligence,* recently sold for £530. Items of July and August refer to the charter party of the *Diligence,* and later it becomes evident that Captain Rodwell delivered one cargo (possibly several) in Carolina for the company (*ibid.,* pp. 29, 36, 37, 42, 141). An entry of Sept. 13, 1726, reads, "Allowed to pay to Captain Emanuel Rodwell of the *Diligence* in full of his own Commission and Doctors head Mony of Negroes deliver'd at Carolina as per Charter party", and for Oct. 10, 1727, "Allowed to pay to Emanuel Rodwell Commander and the Owners of the *Dilligence,* in full for Freight of Negros from Gambia to Carolina 700 £ as per Warrant Dated 20th Octr. 1726". T 70: 103, pp. 141, 234, T 70: 7, p. 133.

[13] T 70: 103, pp. 89, 167, 180.

2. That the Company give Direction to their said Agents to purchase and deliver to the Master of the said Ship for the time being 50 Negroes certain, and also as many more as they can possibly procure during the said Ship's stay there, not exceeding one hundred qualifyed as to Ages and Sexes pursuant to the 2nd Article of the above-mentioned Contract. And that the said Agents put them on board, not less than ten at a time.

3. That Mr. Wragg covenant that the said Ship shall carry the above mentioned Goods and provisions and deliver the same to their Agents Freight free.

4. That upon putting the said Negroes on board, the Master for the time being shall draw Bills for the amount upon Mr. Wragg after the rate of £9. 10. Sterling per Head, payable 12 Months after Date, which Mr. Wragg shall covenant to accept and pay in their due time.

5. That the said Mr. Wragg will accept of the said 50 Negros in full satisfaction and discharge of the several parcels of Negros stipulated to be delivered him by the abovementioned contract and the Indorsement thereon dated 29th July 1725, any thing in the said Contract or Indorsement to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.[14]

Tuesd. April 25, 1727. Mr. Wragg came and his Acct examined and adjusted for Negroes carryed to Carolina by the *Dilligence,* Capt. Rodwell and the *Samuel* Capt. Paine; the Ballance due to the Company being £1037. 6. 8; whereof to be paid by Contract the 4th May next £348. 16. 3. and on the 10th Septr. next £688. 10. 5.

1727, Sept. 21.[15] Mr. Wragg came, And the Account between the Company and him was settled, and he paid the Ballance being £538.

1727, Sept. 27. Mr. Wragg's Letter read of the 26th wherein he desires his Ship the *Ruby* Capt. Colwell, if it happens to be at Gambia at the Same time the *Guinea* Packet is there, may be furnished with 40 or 50 Slaves for which he will pay the company at the rate of £10 per head.

It is the opinion of the Comm'ee That Mr. Wragg's request be complyed with, and that Orders may be sent to the Agents at Gambia accordingly.[16]

[14] 1726/7, Feb. 24: "Agreed with Mr. Wragg That He ship for the Company's Acco't 20 barrls of Gunpowder at 4.15 per Barrell to be allowed him in part paym't . . . . Order'd, That Mr. Lynn write to the Agents at Gambia by this Ship a Short Letter to inclose the Invoice and Bill of Lading and a Copy of the Agreement now concluded with Mr. Wragg."

[15] T 70: 103, pp. 229, 231. On Apr. 24 the Gambia factors, Anthony Rogers and Richard Hull, wrote: "Are Surprized at the demand of 100 Slaves for the *Ruby* Mr. Wraggs Ship" (T 70: 7, p. 134). Notwithstanding their surprise, they were able to provide part of a cargo: "Fifty Slaves Shipd on board her [*Ruby,* Captain Colvil] upon the Contract with Mr. Wragg. The finest Cargo of slaves that ever went from the River" (May 19, 1727, *ibid.*). On July 10 they sent a bill of exchange on Wragg by the *Resolution* (bound for Carolina) for £475. *Ibid.,* p. 135.

[16] The Wraggs were during these years also acting as agents for Isaac Hobhouse and Company of Bristol. See instructions to Capt. William Barry, this work, II. 327-329.

147. Journal of the Board of Trade, 1726.[1]

May 4, 1726.

Mr. Serjeant Darnell then called upon several witnesses present, who were respectively sworn and examined *viz:* Mr. Samuel Wragg who informed their Lordships that he had been a Trader to Carolina Seventeen or Eighteen years. That that Country formerly had but very few Negroes, but that now they employd near 40,000. That they now usually import 1000 per Ann. whereas they formerly imported none, and some times 2 or 300. That the Company never supply'd the Province with any on their own Accot. except by a particular Contract with him, when they supplied him with 300 instead of 900. That the Province has been regularly supplied with what Negroes they want by the Seperate Traders. That the Rice Trade is encreased from 1500 to 25,000 Barrels a year; and that the price is fallen from 45 shillgs. to 22 shillgs. per Cwt. That the Price of Pitch and Tar is likewise fallen from 50 *s.* and 3 *ll.* to 10 *s.* or 11 *s.* per Barrel.

Mr. Platt [Splatt?] being likewise sworn acquainted their Lordships that he was lately come from Carolina and that the province was then very well supplied with Negroes. That he never knew of any Negroes brought into that Country by the Company, excepting those contracted for with Mr. Wragg. That the province annually takes about 1000 per Ann and that they sell at about 30 or 35 *ll.* sterling per Head. That a Negro can make about 10 *ll.* per Ann. clear profit to his Master, and that he thinks the Colonies would be cheaper and better supplied by the separate Traders than the Company.[2]

148. Arthur Middleton to Governor Francis Nicholson(?), 1727.[1]

[May 4, 1727.]

. . . They are uneasy in theire private Circumstances, for the great Number of Negroes, that have been imported within these three or four yeares, have run them prodigiously in debt, and the sudden fall of the price of Pitch and Tarr, which was what Abundance of them cheifly Employed themselves in, has rendered Numbers of them unable to pay their Debts soone, and their

[147] [1] C. O. 391: 35, pp. 170-171; *B. T. Jour.*, 1722/3-1728, p. 254. This testimony was taken in one of the recurrent examinations of the state of the African trade carried on by the Board of Trade. There were hearings on the activities of the company on Apr. 14 and 20. C. O. 391: 35, pp. 87, 115-130, 143-158; see this work, II. 337.

[2] The anonymous author of a "Calculation of the Revenue of South Carolina", in 1728, was more modest in his reckoning of the yearly importation of Carolina, placing it at 500, though he says this is "the lowest computation". Add MSS. 33028, p. 185.

[148] [1] Br. Trans., XII. 204. During the absence in England of Governor Francis Nicholson the government devolved upon Arthur Middleton. The letter here printed, which is addressed to "yr. Excellency", was probably written to Nicholson after his return to England. Middleton, one of the richest planters in Carolina, owned 100 or more negroes. Meredith, *Descendants of Hugh Amory*, p. 73.

Criditors comeing upon them, has put them under desperate Circumstances, and this S'r is really the true state of their Case.[2] . . .

149. News Item relating to Slave Trade, 1729.[1]

London Aug. 2 [1729].

We have an account from Guinea, by Way of Antigua, that the *Clare* Galley, Capt. Murrell, having compleated her Number of Negroes had taken her Departure from the Coast of Guinea for South Carolina; but was not got 10 Leagues on her Way, before the Negroes rose and making themselves Masters of the Gunpowder and Fire Arms, the Captain and Ships Crew took to their Long Boat, and got shore near Cape Coast Castle. The Negroes run the Ship on Shore within a few Leagues of the said Castle, and made their Escape.[2]

150. Concerning Duties on Slaves, 1730-1732.

24 March, 1729/30.

To the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, Petition of Merchants of London and Bristol.[1]

Sheweth, That by Acts of Assembly of that Province there is imposed a duty of Ten pounds and another (called the State house duty) of one pound (mony of that Province) on Every Negro imported there, above the age of ten Years which Sum of Ten pounds and one pound added together amounts to more then Thirty Shillings

[2] Another testimony to the debt for negroes is to be found in a representation of the council of the province: "all their schemes and projects about settling currency, settling discount establishing banks and making laws for tendering their Commoditys in discharge of debts are all of the same stamp when examined into, tho dressed up in so many different Titles and shapes and tend all to one purpose that as the generality of the people are got into debt by buying of Negroes beyond their abilities they would screen the debtors from their Creditors by the most plausible means they could and this under the sanction of Laws to be made for the general good and public good (as they call it) that is for the good of all that are in debt which comprehends everybody exclusive of those that trusted them and the populace never failed to send such representatives as will best answer the debts they send them for." Br. Trans., XIII. 316.

[149] [1] *Boston News Letter,* Sept. 25, 1729. There is nothing unusual about this disaster to the *Clare* save the wide publicity which it seems to have received. The account in the *News Letter* was taken from the *Country Journal* of Aug. 2, 1729. The editor has also seen the account in the *Weekly Journal or British Gazette,* in *Fog's Weekly Journal,* and in the *Gloucester Journal.*

[2] From the Vice Admiralty records in Charleston we know that the snow *William,* Captain Barry, from Cape Benda, Africa, reached Charleston in 1729. In 1730 two vessels were slaving in the Gambia for Charleston, the *Elizabeth,* Captain Carruthers, and the *Sierra Leone,* Captain Jenkins, 180 slaves. This work, II. 400-401.

[150] [1] C. O. 5: 361, C 79. The petition was presented to the Board of Trade by the three men whose names are affixed to it. That the question of a duty should receive serious consideration is not to be wondered at when one realizes that the negro population was estimated at 28,000, the white at 3000 at this time. *Boston News Letter,* Oct. 22, 1730.

per head Sterlg. mony of Great Britain, according to the present rate of Exchange from That Province.[2]

That this is become a very great burthen and discouragement to the British Trade and defeats the good intentions of Our Legislature (who by taking off the dutys and giving bountys have Endeavoured to Encourage the Exportation of Our Manufacturers) by thus taxing of Negroes Imported from Africa who are there purchased, principally with British Goods,

That it is humbly conceived they have no right thus to Tax the British Trade for the Support of the contingent charges of that Colony or any publick Edifices there.

Your Petitioners therefore most humbly pray your Lordships to cause the said dutys to cease on the British Trade by instructing his Majestie's Governour (now going over)[3] to that End or in any other manner as to your Lordships shall seem most meet etc.[4]

WM. CHAPMAN
WM. JEFFERIS
STE. PET. GODIN[5]

[*Sir William Chapman to the Board of Trade.*][6]

My Lords, A Lameness having unfortunately prevented my waiting on yr. Lordships this Morning, I humbly offer to yr. Lords'ps an Expedient regarding the present Dutys as laid upon the Blacks Imported into Carolina.[7]

We Represented to yr. Lords'ps that this is in Effect a Duty on the Brittish Manufactures the Blacks being the produce thereof, and Farther that the Merchant Importer often paid hereby the Duty for Blacks which dyed before they were sold.

But whereas this Duty is appropriated I should hope the same being laid henceforth on the Buyer in the like Manner for all Blacks

[2] The rate was by this time seven to one. For a table showing the rate from 1710 to 1770 see Wallace, *Laurens,* p. 53. A report made to the House of Lords by the Board of Trade in 1734 referred to an act of 1727 to carry on an expedition against the Indians as having "revived" the duty of £10 on negroes (Add. MSS. 33028, p. 251). The act of 1722 was to operate till 1726. It is possible that after its expiration there was an interval when no duty was in force. Neither Wallace (*Laurens,* p. 82n.) nor DuBois (pp. 9, 212) throws any light on this. Nor is it clear when the state house duty here mentioned was levied.

[3] Robert Johnson, who was governor 1729-1735.

[4] On Oct. 1, 1729, "Their Lordships agreed when other matters relating to this province shall fall under consideration at the Appointment of a new Governor to propose the said Act may be repealed" (*B. T. Jour.,* 1728/9-1734, p. 64). If the dates of the petition and this entry are correct the petition was necessary only as a reminder of a decision already reached.

[5] Stephen Godin was agent for the province of South Carolina.

[6] C. O. 5: 361, C 81.

[7] Colonel Johnson, Mr. Jefferis, and Mr. Wragg attended the meeting at which the matter was discussed. *B. T. Jour.,* 1728/9-1734, p. 103.

wch shall be bought, would Effectually answer the Several appropriations and the Ends desir'd.
March 25, 1730.

[*Governor Robert Johnson to the Duke of Newcastle.*][8]

CHARLES TOWN June 25, 1732.

. . . I shall obey His Maj'tys Commands therein for the future, but must beg leave to observe to Your Grace that there is a Law subsisting lays a Duty upon Negros, and that £5000 a Year thro' Currency out of the amount of the said Duty is appropriated agreable to His Maj'tys Instructions to me towards laying out Townships and Subsisting New Commers for a Year, in order to incourage the peopling the Province, and I humbly apprehend it will be for his Maj'tys Service, that Law should have His Maj'tys Approbation and Subsist for the time limited therein, which is about 6 Years to come, I having pursuant thereunto, caused the Townships to be set out, and given other Encouragements to New Comers.[9]

151. NOTICES OF SALES, 1732.[1]

July 15, 1732.

To be sold, On Wednesday next, the 19th Instant, by Benjamin Godin and John Guerard, a Parcel of Gold Coast Slaves, lately im-

[8] C. O. 5: 388, p. 14. Newcastle was one of his Majesty's secretaries of state. In the earlier part of this letter the governor states that he has received the king's additional instructions of Dec. 10, 1731, against imposing duties upon imported negroes. In response to the pressure of the merchants the Board of Trade inserted an article in the instructions to the governor asking him to use his influence for the passage of an act repealing the duties on the importer and placing them on the buyer (Br. Trans., XIV. 79). On June 10, in a representation to the king, the board explained that art. 57 of Governor Johnson's instructions had been inserted to encourage the importation of white people, and art. 125, at the request of the merchants who complained of the duty. This article not only instructed the governor to procure a law which should clarify the negro duties, but also to send home an account of the number imported (*ibid.,* pp. 145-146). In the instructions to Johnson as they appear in the British Transcripts (XIV. 208) there is no art. 125. Art. 114 reads as follows: "Whereas Sev'l Merchants of Great Britain Trading to South Carolina have complained that by certain Acts of Assembly now in force in the said Province, Duties are imposed upon Negroes Imported there, and made payable by the Importer, to the discouragement of the said Trade and have desired the sd Duties may for the future be made payable by the Purchasers and not by the Importer, submitting nevertheless that the Importer or his Factor shall be Security to the Publick for the Payment of the said Duty in case of the Purchasers failure. It is Our Will and Pleasure that you endeavour to get a Law pass'd for explaining and altering the Laws for collecting of the said Duties on Negroes agreeable to the Desire of the Merchants." *Ibid.*, p. 146.

[9] The act to which Johnson refers is probably that of Aug. 20, 1731, which was to continue the negro duty for seven years. The governor, in a letter of June 16, 1731, stated the duty in terms of sterling as 28 *s.* 7 *d.* for negroes over ten, and 14 *s.* 3½ *d.* for those under ten, perhaps thinking that it would sound less oppressive thus than when stated in terms of Carolina currency (Br. Trans., XV. 88). On June 26, 1732, in a letter to the Board of Trade, Governor Johnson repeated the statement here made to Newcastle. C. O. 5: 362, D 40.

[151] [1] *South Carolina Gazette,* July 15, Sept. 30, Dec. 6, 1732. With the year 1732 began the issue of the *South Carolina Gazette,* from the columns of which much more

ported from Barbadoes, for Rice, or Currency on Credit till January next.

Sept. 30, 1732.

To be Sold on Thursday next, being the 5th of October, by George Austin, for ready Money, a Choice Parcel of Negroes, lately imported in the Ship *Edward,* to be seen on board the said Ship at Eliott's Wharff.[2]

Dec. 6, 1732.

To be sold by Benjamin Godin and John Guerard, on Thursday the 21st Instant, a Parcel of Negroes, imported directly from Gambia in the Ship *Molley* Galley, Capt. John Carruthers.[3]

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detailed information concerning the importation of negroes can be gleaned than has been found for the earlier period. The customs entries show that vessels from the West Indies, as was to be expected, frequently brought a few negroes: "Sloop *Resolution,* Sam. Spencer, from Bermuda, 4 negroes"; "Sloop *Benjamin,* Joseph Hinton, from Barbadoes, with 7 Negroes". These are seldom advertised for sale, and, since the practice of printing such entries did not continue throughout the century the figures which have been gathered from the *Gazette* omit the scattering importation of negroes from the islands.

[2] The cargo of the *Edward* was apparently divided between two Charleston merchants, as John Grove also announced for sale slaves from the *Edward.*

[3] The *Molly* brought 120 negroes and "a parcel of Teeth and wax". *S. C. Gazette,* Dec. 23, 1732.

152. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1733-1738.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 20, 1733	No special sale		Stephen Haven			The captain or at James Fisher's
Feb. 24	Feb. 28	*Berkley* Galley	Peregrine Stockdell	Africa		Jenys and Baker
Apr. 14	Apr. 24	*Judith*	Jeremiah Pearce	Gold Coast and Angola		Richard Hill and Co.
May 5	May 9	*Betty's Hope*[2]	Edward Little	Africa		Jenys and Baker
June 2		*Retrieve*	Thomas Walker	Jamaica (Gold Coast)		John Fraser
" 16	June 20	*Speaker*[3]	Henry Flower	Angola		Joseph Wragg and Co.
" "	" "	*Cato*[4]	William Kennedy	Africa		Jenys and Baker
" 23	" 27	*Amoretta*	David Jones	"		Benjamin Savage
July 14[5]	July 18[6]	*Scipio*	William Gordon	Gambia		Jenys and Baker
" 28	Aug. 1	*Shepherd*	Simon Ford	Angola		Joseph Wragg and Co.
Aug. 18	" 28	*Margaret*	Richard Whistler	Gambia		" " " "[7]
Feb. 16, 1734	Feb. 20	*Dorset*	Will. Oliver	Gold Coast		Yeomans and Escott
" 23	No special sale	*John*	William Ford	" " [8]		To be sold on board by the Master
June 29	July 4	*Isabella*[9]	Peter Poey	Angola		Benjamin Godin and John Guerard

[152] [1] This table with those similar to it which follow has been compiled from the advertisements in the pages of the *Gazettes*. From Sept. 29, 1730, to Sept. 29, 1731, 1533 negroes were imported (Report of Charleston Naval Office, C. O. 5: 362). From Christmas, 1732, to Midsummer, 1733, the importation was 1156; from Christmas, 1732, to Christmas, 1733, it was 2745 (*S. C. Gazette*, June 30, 1733, Feb. 2, 1734). During the consideration of the act for a duty by the Board of Trade in 1734 it was stated that whereas the duty was expected to yield £8500 a year it had actually yielded from Mar. 25, 1731, to Mar. 25, 1732, £12,085, and from Christmas, 1732, to Christmas, 1733, upwards of £10,000 (Br. Trans., XVII. 80). It should be borne in mind that the negroes advertised are new negroes, and that the mention of a West India source means either that they were purchased there from an arriving African cargo or that this vessel on the voyage from Africa had stopped in the West Indies and disposed of some of her cargo. Where the African source is known it is added in parentheses. A number of the vessels in this list are to be found in the list of those paying duties on negroes delivered in Barbados between 1730 and 1737. See this work, II. 428-431.

[2] Probably a Bristol brigantine, as she cleared for Bristol on June 23. The advertisement reads, "For the encouragement of which Sale great Regard will be had to ready Rice, as well as Ready Money".

[3] Cleared for London July 28. This of course is not absolute proof that the vessel is owned in London, but in every case where it has been possible to test it the vessel clears in Charleston, after delivering her African cargo, for the port of her owners.

[4] The *Cato*, the *Amoretta*, and the *Shepherd*, "entered out" for Bristol.

[5] "A parcel of Rum just imported and 4 choice Gold Coast slaves to be Sold by Ribton Hutchinson, July 7, 1733."

[6] The figure printed is 13, obviously a mistake. "Good Encouragement will be given for ready Pay, in Currency, Rice, Pitch, and Tar."

[7] Wragg's notices add, "N. B. Great Regard will be had to present Pay".

[8] The brigantine *John* entered from Jamaica, which fact suggests that the slaves may have been the captain's own venture, purchased from a cargo there.

[9] Cleared for London. The *Amoretta* and the *Post-Boy* cleared for Bristol.

July	13	"	17	*Amoretta*	David Jones	Africa	Benjamin Savage and Co.
Aug.	3	Aug.	7	*Post-Boy*	John McNutt	Angola	Jenys and Baker
"	24	"	28	*Scipio*	William Gordon	Gambia [10]	" " "
Sept.	14	Sept.	18	*Bath*	Robert Smith	"	" " "
Nov.	2	Nov.	13	*Speaker*	Henry Flower	Angola	Joseph Wragg
Dec.	21 [11]	Dec.	26	*Grayhound*	Edward Holden	Africa	" "
Feb.	15, 1735	Feb.	18	*Pearl* Galley	Jason Vaughan	Gold Coast and Angola	Richard Hill
Apr.	19	Apr.	29	*Morning Starr*	William Hamley	Angola	318 Benjamin Savage
May	10	May	14	*Rainbow*	Richard Morgan [12]	Africa	Joseph Wragg and Co.
"	17	"	28	*London* Fregatt	J. Sutherland		Cleland and Wallace [13]
June	28	July	2	*Dove*	Richard Fothergill	Angola	Joseph Wragg and Co. [14]
July	12	"	16	*Amoretta*	David Jones	Africa	233 Benj. Savage and Co.
"	26	"	31	*Diana*	John Malcome	Windward and Gold Coast	" " " "
Aug.	2	Aug.	6	*Faulcon*	Sam. Sanders	Angola	360 [15] Jenys and Baker
"	30	Sept.	10	*Molly*	John Carruthers	"	400 Benjamin Godin
Sept.	13	"	24 [16]	*Happy Couple*	—— Hill	Coast of Guinea	Joseph Wragg and Co.
Jan.	17, 1736 [17]	Jan.	21	*Berkley*	Peregrine Stockdale	Angola	Jenys and Baker
June	26	June	30	*Scipio*	Robert Smith	"	" " "
"	"	"	"	*Amoretta*	David Jones	Africa	Benjamin Savage
Aug.	7	Aug.	11	*Bonetta*	Philip Comyn	Angola	Joseph Wragg and Co.
"	21	"	25	*Garlington*	Henry Watts	Gold Coast and Angola [18]	Jenys and Baker
"	"	"	"	*Princess Caroline*	John Coe	River Gambia	Hill and Guerard
Sept.	18	Sept.	22	*London*	J. Sutherland	Angola	330 Cleland and Wallace
"	"	"	25	*Dorothy*	William Douglas	Antigua	3 To be sold at Publick Vendue at the usual place

[10] "In 30 days from Gambia."

[11] The *Grayhound* was owned by Isaac Hobhouse of Bristol; for its earlier voyages see this work, II. 299, 428, 432, and *ante* p. 267. The *Gazette* reports the negroes received from Africa between Nov. 1, 1734, and Nov. 1, 1735, as 2671; those from the West Indies for the same period as 236; the duty amounted to £4360. 10. *S. C. Gazette,* Nov. 8, 1735; Br. Trans., XIX. 56.

[12] In the customhouse entry John Mathews is given as the captain.

[13] The sale is to be "on board ship".

[14] This cargo was also advertised as for sale by Richard Hill, who wrote: "The sale to be at my House, where may be had Barbados and Jamaica Rum."

[15] "Directly from Angola in eight weeks."

[16] "Extraordinary Encouragement will be given for present Pay and Payment with this Crop." Sept. 12, 1735, Samuel Eveleigh to Godfrey Malbone, sr., Newport, "There has been imported into this place Since the 25. of March Last Twenty four Hundred Negroes, which have sold very well, tho the greatest part upon Credit." Newport Hist. Soc., package 157.

[17] To this list one cargo for South Carolina, if not for Charleston, can certainly be added, that of the *Susannah,* of which we learn from a notice in the *Gazette* for Mar. 17, 1739: "Twenty-eight Negroes to be sold at Beaufort Port-Royal, on the first Day of April next, the Negroes are the said Remainder of those that were landed at the said Place in May 1736 by Mr. Delas out of the *Susannah,* Capt. Mallortie from Angola: therefore they are season'd to this Country and will be sold for ready Money or payable the next Crop upon good security if required by MONTAGUT and PERRY." This is one of the very rare advertisements of seasoned negroes, in which the place of origin is given.

[18] "A great Part of the said Slaves are Gold Coast."

[*Negroes imported into South Carolina*—continued:]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Oct. 16 [19]	Oct. 27	*Speaker*	Henry Flower			Joseph Wragg and Co.
" 30	Nov. 2	*Shepard*	Maurice Power	Angola	350	" " " "
Nov. 6	" 10	*Phoenix*	David Arthur	"	Near 300	" " " "
Jan. 8, 1737 [20]	Jan. 19	*Loango*	Thos. Dolman	"	35	Benjamin Savage
Feb. 5	Feb. 9	*Mary*	Robt. Pollixsen			Joseph Wragg
May 28 [21]	June 1	*Amoretta*	David Jones	Africa		Benjamin Savage
July 23	July 27	*Pine-Apple*	D. Hallowe	Angola		Joseph Wragg
" 30	Aug. 3	*Pearl* Galley	Eustace Hardwick	"		Hill and Guerard
Mar. 2, 1738	Mar. 15	*Shepherd*	Maurice Power	"	300	Joseph Wragg and Co.
Apr. 6	Apr. 12 [22]	*London Merchant*	John Thomas	"		" " " "
" 15	" 19	*London* Frigate	John Pickett	"		Cleland and Wallace
" 27	May 3	*Amoretta*	John Crode	Africa		Benjamin Savage
May 18	" 24	*Bettsey*	Alexander Duncomb	Angola		Cleland and Wallace
June 29	July 6	*Speaker* [23]	Henry Flower	"		Joseph Wragg
July 27	Aug. 2	*Mary*	John Coe	Gambia		" "
" "	" 9	*Princess Carolina*	William Johnson	"		Hill and Guerard [24]
Aug. 17	" 23	*Seaflower*	John Ebsworthy	Africa		Joseph Wragg
Oct. 12	Oct. 25	*Maremaid*	William Willson	Angola		Hill and Guerard
Nov. 16	Nov. 22	*Squirrel*	John Dyke	Africa		Benjamin Savage

[19] On Oct. 2 Messrs. Yeomans and Escott advertise a "small Parcel of likely young new negroes lately imported", with no further information concerning them.

[20] This is probably much below the actual number of vessels for 1737.

[21] On Apr. 2, 1737, there appeared in the *Gazette* an article signed "Mercator", dwelling on the evils of the heavy debts which the planters were incurring for negroes. The importation for 1728-1733 had been 5153, for 1733-1737, 10,447. See also, *post*, no. 155.

[22] "Great Encouragement will be given for present Pay in Rice or Cash." This or a similar statement is almost always affixed to Joseph Wragg's notices of sale and frequently to those of others.

[23] "N. B. To avoid any Hazard of the Small-Pox the Ship will not stop at Charleston, but proceed directly up Ashley River", the sale to be held at Ashley Ferry. This notice is affixed to the advertisements of the *Speaker, Mary, Princess Caroline, Seaflower,* and *Mermaid.*

[24] This cargo is also advertised on the same day by Messrs. Yeomans and Escott, who add to their note, "Proper care will be taken not to land them at the town". Injurious rumors were apparently afloat about this vessel, for in the same number of the *Gazette* appeared the following: "As has been reported about Town that the Ships Crew and Cargo on board the Ship *Princess Caroline,* Capt. Johnson Commander to Mr. Hill and Guerard, are very sickly, and as I visited the Ship very carefully in Rebellion Road, am oblig'd thus to satisfy that I found no room for any such Report. JOHN MOULTRIE." The next voyage of this vessel was a melancholy one. In November, 1739, William Watson, mate of the *Princess Caroline,* arrived in Newport with the story. The ship, owned by Mr. Goding of London, had sailed from Charleston to the Gambia where it had taken on board 116 slaves for a second Charleston venture. Here the captain died, and John Fumcan (?) took command. On Aug. 30 the slaves rose against the ship's company, killed three, and obliged the remaining eight to take to the long boat. After fourteen days they reached Marie Galante in a half-starved condition. The fate of the negroes is unknown. *Boston*

153. Concerning a Duty on Slaves, 1734.

[*Minutes of the Board of Trade, 1734.*][1]

Whitehall, Wednesday Jany. 9th 1733/4.

At a meeting of His Majesty's Commissrs. for Trade and Plantations, Present: Mr. Dominique, Mr. Bladen, Sir Archer Croft.

Sir Wm. Chapman, Mr. Wragg, Mr. Harris and Several other Merchants Trading to South Carolina attending, as they had been desired with Mr. Paxton their Solicitor, as also Mr. Wood in behalf of the Merchants of Bristol, and Mr. Hume late Speaker of the Assembly of that Province against two Acts passed there Entituled An Act for Appropriating the Sum of 104,725 *li.* 1 *s.* 3¼ *d.* towards the payment of the publick Debts passed in 1731 And An Act for the better encouragemt. of the Settlement of South Carolina pass'd in 1696. And Mr. Fury Agent for the Province with Mr. Young one of the Council there, attending likewise with Mr. Sharpe their Solicitor in behalf of the Sd. Laws. Their Lordsps took again into consideration the two Orders of the Committee read the 18th of the last Month [2] referring to this Board the Petitions of the Merchants of London and Bristol against Some Acts of South Carolina for continuing Duties on Negroes, Issuing of Paper Mony and protecting of Debtors: Their Lordsps then Heard what the Merchants and Mr. Hume had to offer against the first of these Laws for Appropriating the Sum of 104,725 *li.* 1 *s.* 3¼ *d.* etc. as being contrary to His Majesty's Instructions to his Governor of South Carolina not only on Account of the Duty on Negroes thereby continued but as the Fund for Sinking the Paper Currency of that Province was apply'd to different purposes than those appointed by His Majesty's Instructions. . . .

Mr. Wood then presented to the Board An Affidavit of two Bristol Merchants proving the Mischiefs attending the Trade to Carolina by the Acts for Screening Debtors, and Laying Duties on Negroes Imported there which was read; And their Lordsps resolved to hear what the Agent had to Offer in behalf of these Acts tomorrow Morning.

January 10th 1733/4.

The Carolina Merchants who attended Yesterday with Mr. Wood Mr. Paxton and Mr. Hume attending again as also Mr. Young Mr. Fury Agent for the Province, and Mr. Sharpe their Solicitor Their

[153] [1] C. O. 391: 43, pp. 2-3, 5, 13. The board first referred to the three interrelated subjects, duty on negroes, paper money, and the protection of debtors, on Dec. 18, 1733 (Br. Trans., XVI. 27). Omissions are not indicated throughout these minutes since it is to be understood that only those portions of the minutes are presented which deal with South Carolina duties. *B. T. Jour.*, 1728/9-1734, p. 366.

[2] *Acts P. C. C.*, III. 395.

Lordsps heard what they had to Offer in Support of the Said Laws, by representing that the Duty on Negroes complain'd of by the Merchants as contrary to the Governors Instructions was rather allow'd by the Governrs. Instructions than contrary thereto, His Majesty having thereby allow'd the Duties which were to Sink the Paper Currency of this Province to be Suspended from that purpose for Seven Years, and to be apply'd to other Uses; That the whole Sinking Fund of which the Duty on Negroes was part had not been apply'd according to the Letter of the Instructions there had not been a Demand for it, but as the remainder was appropriated to the Payment of the Province Debts, and as the Merchants were the Chief Creditors they Seem'd to have the least reason to complain.

WHITEHALL Jany. 24th 1733/4.

Present: Earl of Westmorland, Mr. Bladen, Mr. Docminique, Sr. O. Bridgman, Sir Arch Croft.

Their Lordsps taking again into consideration the Orders of the Committee mentioned in the Minutes of the 9th Instant upon the Petitions of the Merchants of London and Bristol against Some Acts of South Carolina protecting Debtors, Issuing and Appropriating Paper Mony Laying Duties on Negroes etc. and gave Directions for preparing the Draught of a Representation for Repealing the Act passed there in 1731 for Appropriating the Sum of 104,725 *li.* 1 *s.* 3¼ *d.* towards payment of the publick Debts.[3]

[*Petition of Bristol Merchants.*]

To the King's most Excellent Majesty in Council The humble Petition of several Merchants and others of the City of Bristol Trading to Your Majesty's Province of South Carolina.[4]

Sheweth, That by an Act of the General Assembly of Your said Majestys Province Ratifyed the 20th August 1731 and sent over for Your Majestys Approbation the Funds (which were Settled for calling in and Sinking the one hundred and Six thousand pounds paper Money formerly Issued in the said Province) are otherwise applyed and a further Sum of one hundred and four Thousand Seven hundred and twenty five pounds one Shilling and three pence farthing of paper Credit is imposed on Your Majestys Subjects contrary to the Publick faith and Credit of said Province And there has been an Attempt lately to raise a further Sum of £250 000 in paper Money

[3] Feb. 20, 1733/4, "The Draught of a Representation proposing the Repeal of An Act passed in South Carolina in 1731 for Appropriating the Sum of 104,725 *li.* 1 *s.* 3¼ *d.* towards payment of the publick Debts, Ordered to be prepared the 24th of the last Month, was agreed." C. O. 391: 43, p. 28.

[4] C. O. 5: 362. The two memorials which follow are undated but must belong to the early part of the year 1734.

the Consequence of all such imaginary Value will be greatly prejudicial to the propertys of Your Majestys Subjects and as we most humbly conceive contrary to Your Majestys Royal Instructions to the Governor of that Province.

That by the said Act an Exorbitant Duty of ten pounds per Head is imposed and continued on all Negroes imported by Your Majestys Subjects into the said Province to the very great discouragement of the Trade and Exportation of the Manufactures of Great Britain. . . .[5]

Your Petitioners therefore most humbly Request Your Majesty to take the Premises into Your Royal Consideration to repeal those two Laws and to prevent any Duty on Negroes Imported so pernicious to the British Trade and that they may be heard by their Council or to grant such other Relief as in Your great Wisdom shall seem most proper.

And your Petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray etc.

John Mackenzie	David Moore
Thos Thompson	Philip Cornish
Christo. Devonsheir	Jno. Combe
Richard Farr	Jno. Gilbert
Ja. Hilhouse	Edwd. Heylyn
Rd. Farr Junr.	Wm. Mathew
Christr. Curwin	F'c Dampier
Thos. Gibbs	Richard Spencer
Jno. Tate	Jacob Elton Mayc:
Graffin Prankart	Jos. Jefferis
Richard Jefferis	Will. Jefferis
P. Fisher	Tho. Coster
Isaac Hobhouse	Har's Lloyd
Robert Rogers	Geo: Mackenzie
Walt Hawksworth	Thos. Evans
Edmd Saunders	J. Brickdale
Abell Grant	Wm. Barnsdale
Thos. Jenys	Henry Lloyd
Corsley Rogers	B. Weekes
John Teague	John King
Samll. Allen	Jno. Stapylton

[5] The remainder of the petition refers to an act postponing possible conviction for debt until five years after a settler has arrived in South Carolina.

[*Petition of London Merchants.*]

To the Kings most Excellent Majesty in Council The humble Petition of several Merchants and others of the City of London trading to Your Majestys Province of South Carolina.[6]

Sheweth, That an Act of the General Assembly of Your Majestys said Province entitled an Act for appropriating the Sum of One hundred and four thousand Seven hundred and twenty five pounds one Shilling and three pence farthing towards payment of the Publick Debts was passed with the Assent of his Excellency Robert Johnson Esqr. Your Majestys present Governor of the said Province on the 20th day of August Anno Dom 1731 Which Act was since transmitted under the Broad Seal of the said Province unto Your Majestys Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

That by Virtue of the said Act the Funds which were Settled for calling in and Sinking the paper Bills of Credit formerly issued in the said Province (being One Hundred and Six thousand pounds) are diverted and misapplyed and a further Sum of one hundred and four thousand pounds and upwards of Paper Credit is imposed on Your Majestys Subjects contrary to the publick Faith and Credit of the said Province and an Attempt hath been likewise lately made to raise a further Sum of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds in paper Credit all which tend to the great detriment of Trade and are highly injurious to the propertys of Your Majestys British Subjects and expressly repugnant to several of Your Majestys Royal Instructions to Your Majestys Governor there.

Your Petitioners humbly beg leave further to lay before Your Majesty that by the said Act an exorbitant Duty of ten pounds per Head is imposed and continued on Negroes imported into the said Province by Your Majestys British Subjects to the great Damage of the Manufactures and Trade of this Kingdom.

Wherefore Your Petitioners most humbly beseech that Your Majesty would be graciously pleased to allow Your Petitioners to be heared by their Council against the said Act and that the said Act may be repealed and that no Dutys may be imposed for the future on any Negroes imported into the said Province and that Your Petrs. may have such further and other Relief in the Premises as to Your Majesty in Your great Wisdom and goodness shall seem meet.

And your Petrs. will ever pray.

Cha. Pole	John Forster
Hen. Neale	William Chapman
Nath. Harris	P. Simond
Solomon Mercu	Dd. Godin

[6] C. O. 5: 362.

EDM BOEHM
JOHN BLAGMERE
JOHN TAVENER
WILLIAM HODSHON
BENJAMIN BILL
ROBERT THORPE
THOS. HEBERT
RICHD. SHUBRICK
THOS. TRINDER
JOHN GOVAN
WM. CAM
WM. WITHERS
P. BONOVRIER
THOS. FORSTER
JACOB BELL
RICHD. ACLAND
BENJA. WHITAKER
WM. PARKIN
ROBT. HUME
WM. VAUGHAN
ED. SANDERSON
STE. PET. GODIN
WILLM. BLACK
HENRY MCCULLOH
JNO. AUSTIN
THOMAS SMITH
SAMLL. WOOD
SAM BONHAM
WM. GERRISH
JNO. WATKINSON
EDWIN SOMERS
NATH PAICE
DANIEL GREENE
JAMES MAINTRE
SAML. BAKER
WALTER NEWBERRY
WM. POMEROY
DAVID MILN
BENJA. WEALE
SAMUEL BARONS
SAML. DEANE
JOHN HEWLETT
JOHN BLYDE STEYN

[*The Governor, Council, and Assembly of South Carolina to the King.*]

To the Kings most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Remonstrance of Your Majesty's Governor, Council and Assembly of Your Majesty's Province of South Carolina.[7]

The former Calamitys of this Province on Account of the Spanish and French Invasions, and the Wars of Indians, which they promoted against it, having about eighteen years ago obliged Your Majestys Subjects of this Province to contract so large a Debt in supporting of Garrisons, and forming Expeditions both by Land and Sea, for many Years together, that there was no other Expedient then to be used immediately and effectually to provide for the same, but by Paper Bills of Credit, for which the publick became indebted; a great part of which have since been cancelld, partly by a Tax levyed on the Inhabitants, and partly by Dutys which arose heretofore from the Importation of Goods and Negroes. The Residue your Majesty was graciously pleased to admit us to continue as Currency, that Your Majestys Province might not be wholly destitute of Money that being the only legal Currency which we have since had in use among us:

[7] C. O. 5: 363, E 28. This is probably the answer to the remarks of the merchants which Mr. Fury presented to the board on Dec. 10, 1734. Br. Trans., XVI. 245.

And though the Quantity remaining is very insufficient to Answer the Exigencys of our present Traffick we are surprized to hear, that a Petition was lately preferred to Your Majesty said to be, "The Petition of several Merchants and others of the City of London trading to Your Majestys Province of South Carolina. . . .[8]

All which Allegations of the said Petitioners We must beg leave to say, are very unfairly stated to Your Majesty for that the said Appropriation Law (which the said Petitioners so greatly complain of) took its use from Your Majestys Royall Instructions to Your Majestys present Governour here, allowing him to assent to a Law that the Duty upon Negroes might for seven Years be continued, and the Application thereof suspended from calling in and sinking the remaining part of the Paper Currency, and the same be appropriated to pay for the surveying Your Majesty's Townships, and to pay for the Passage Provisions and Tools of poor protestant Families, that shoud. come here to settle for the Defence and Improvement of Your Majestys Province. All which the said Law provided by appropriating the Sum of Five thousand pounds Currency per Annum for the purposes specifyed in Your Majestys said Royall Instruction, which Sum was then deem'd an Annual Sufficiency to accommodate any number of poor Protestants that we coud. expect here, and if a greater Supply shoud. be wanting. It was agreed by the General Assembly of this Province that from time to time suitable Provision shoud be made for the same which has been actually fulfilled there being no more than the Sum of five Thousand Pounds Currency per Annum, which has since been applied for that good Purpose and has proved an inviting Engagement to a considerable Number of poor Protestant people to come over from Europe and settle among us who are thereby now comfortably accommodated in several of Your Majestys Townships, and many more upon that Encouragement, are now engaged and daily Expected here from Switzerland. As the rest of the Fund woud. but lye dead unless the same was immediately appropriated: We therefore thought it a becoming Oeconomy to apply the Residue towards the Discharge of a Debt which heretofore became due from the publick on Account of Indian presents, Inland Forts, Scouts, Garrisons and Rangers, which before Your Majesty's Purchase we were and still are under a Necessity peculiar to this Province unknown to any other part of America in a time of Peace to keep in pay for the ordinary Defence of the Country. Which relief to the old Inhabitants has since enabled them to assist new Comers in furtherance of Your Majestys Royall Intention; which they have liberally shewn by lately raising two Thousand Pounds

[8] Here follows the substance of the petition of the London merchants. On May 24 Johnson wrote to Alured Popple that it would be impossible to raise the £104,000 recently appropriated without the duty on negroes. Br. Trans., XVI. 337.

for the Use of Georgia; and also further affording them Guards and Rangers at the annual Expence of five Thousand five hundred Pounds per Annum levied by a Tax on the Inhabitants of this Province. But the incurr'd Charge we were not in a Condition then to provide for by levying of Taxes over and above the common Contingences without driving away many of the old Inhabitants at a time Your Majesty was graciously pleased by Your said Royall Instruction so liberally and charitably to provide for new ones. We were therefore obliged to issue Orders upon Interest on the Credit of that Duty, as well to provide for the Expected arrival of poor Protestant Settlers as to preserve the faith of the Publick which was so necessarily before engaged for the Defence and care of the Province. Those Orders the Petitioners are pleased to call a further Sum of one hundred and four thousand seven hundred and twenty five Pounds of Paper Credit, imposed on Your Majestys British Subjects twenty seven thousand Pounds of which were immediately Sealed up in the Treasury, were never issued but faithfully cancell'd by a Committee of both houses, and the rest are not in the least enforced by way of payment only in case of the Merchants are made receivable by the Treasurer for the better discharge of the Dutys, and are all to be duly sunk as they come into our Treasury in a Course of Payment, which must all be done within the Space of four Years more, at which time by their very tenor they will totally expire.

We are at a Loss to know upon what foundation the Petitioners shoud. so confidently Complain to Your Majesty against the Continuance of the Negroe Duty, and the Paper Currency in use among us, when some of these very Petitioners, with several other Merchants of the City of London did heretofore Petition to the Right Honoble the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations in Great Britain to recommend to Your Majesty that you woud. be graciously pleased to allow the General Assembly of this Province to pass a Law, that the Law for sinking the Paper Currency might for seven Years be suspended. Which your most sacred Majesty was graciously pleased by your Royal Instruction to your present Gouvernour to admit accordingly on the earnest request of many Planters and Merchants in that particular Which very Law the Petitioners now oppose, and endeavour to get disannull'd by your Majesty, We are in these circumstances very unfortunate, to be under a Necessity of answering Complaints against a Law, which took its rise from the said Merchants Representation and Request as is set forth in Your Majesty's said gracious Instruction. The Petitioners had a little reason to charge the Assembly of this Province with an Attempt lately made to raise a further Sum on Paper Credits by cavilling at a Scheme which was lately here on Foot to give our

Currency a Value, and to establish the same on a better Basis; which we were not in a Condition then to accomplish, but hope its practicable, that still we may with due conformity to Your Majestys Royall Instruction and with equal Convenience, as well to the Trading as the Planting Interest; For since Your Majestys Subjects of this Province have had the Happiness of being under the immediate Care and Protection of Your most sacred Majesty a very sensible Increase of our Trade naturally requires an Increase of our Currency, our Yearly Exports are hardly short of one hundred and ten thousand Pounds Sterling, and not above one hundred and five thousand Pounds left of a Wasting Paper Currency for the Use of our Inland Traffick which in the whole does not exceed the Sum of Fifteen Thousand Pounds Sterling.

We therefore hope Your Majesty, will be graciously pleased to reject the said Petition; and not be deprived of the many Advantages accruing to Your Majestys Service from the Continuance of the Duty on Negroes imported, which is only to continue about four Years longer: And what the petitioners call an Exorbitant Duty of ten Pounds per head is only equal to twenty eight Shillings and six pence Sterling. For shoud. Your Majesty be pleased to comply with the Request of the Petitioners some of whom, are utter Strangers as well to the Proceedings, as to the Condition of this Province. By your Majestys disannulling those Laws for establishing the Negroe Duty for seven Years, and for appropriating the same which now lye before Your Majesty for Your Royall Assent and Approbation; It woud not only be impossible for Your Majestys Subjects of this Province at this Critical Juncture to raise by any extraordinary Taxes so large a Sum as that fund would require, over and above the necessary Charges which we already find so burthensome; and in case of a War must (we fear) be very grievous; but the poor Protestant Families must go back disappointed who came here in Expectation of the Bounty designed by Your Majestys Royall Instruction and the whole Country must inevitably be put into the utmost Confusion by annihilating those Orders, which principally depend on the Duty upon Negroes. The sudden Distruction of which before they are legally paid in, and cancelled woud. at this time prove an irreparable Loss to many British Merchants trading to this Province, in the Hands of whose Factors the greatest part of those Orders are Center'd.

The Importation of Negroes, We crave leave to inform Your Majesty is a Species of Trade, that has exceedingly increased of late in this Province where many Negroes are now train'd up to be Handicraft Tradesmen, to the great discouragement of Your Majestys white Subjects, who come here to settle with a View of Employment

in their several Occupations, but must often give way to a People in Slavery: which we daily discover to be a great Obstruction to the Settlement of this Frontier with white People.

So, that we must most humbly suggest to Your Majesty, the said Petition was never duly weighed by the Persons that Subscribed it, who trade to this Province in British Manufactures, but was rather Projected by a few Negroe Merchants and some other designing Persons, who have several Debts of that Paper Credit, now outstanding; upon Mortgages, Judgments and other good Securitys; who by destroying the Currency must unquestionably procure Possession of the greatest part of the Estates Real and personal in this Province. And the Merchants that deal in British Manufactures prove at Length the final Sufferers whose Debts are outstanding on the weaker Foundation of Book Accounts and Personal Promises.

South Carolina
Council Chamber the 9th day of April 1734.

Robt. Johnson
Thos. Broughton Presdt.
Paul Jenys Speaker

[*Petition of John Peter Purry to the King.*]

To the King's most Excellent Majesty in Council The humble Petition of Colonel John Peter Purry.[9]

Sheweth, That Your Majestys Governor of South Carolina in Pursuance of your Majestys Royall Instructions passed an Act of Assembly in that Province for appropriating a Certain Sum to be applied to the buying Tools, and other Necessaries and Provisions for any poor Protestants, that shall go and be willing to Settle there.

That the petitioner propos'd and agreed with the said Governor and Council to transport and carry Over a Number of Swiss, and other protestants, and having fixed on a Place for a Township on the Savannah River. He has accordingly already landed some hundreds there who have in part settled the said Township, and have received, and daily do receive from the Province the Necessaries and Provisions promised and agreed for and which was raised by and Out of the Aforesaid Sum so appropriated.

That your Petitioner has now actually on the Road, and which he proposes to Embark in three Weeks for the said Province, near four hundred more Swiss to settle and Inhabit the said Township but is informed that the said Law for appropriating the said certain Sum has been disapproved of by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations who have therefore reported the said Law not proper for Your Majestys Allowance and Approbation, but advised it may

[9] C. O. 5: 363, E 28.

be repealed; And the Petitioner being well assured, that if the said Law should be repealed accordingly, Not Only his People now there but those also he is going to transport thither will be deprived of the necessary aid and Assistance provided for them by the said Act, and be rendered utterly unable to subsist, and settle themselves, the said Province having positively declared that in that Case they were not able to keep their faith, and Promise with the Petitioner to the utter Ruin of his People, and the said Settlement.

Your Petitioner therefore, most humbly prays Your Majesty will be graciously pleased not to repeal the said Act on which the prosperity of the said People intirely depends, or that Your Majesty Grant him such other Relief as Your Majesty shall think necessary and proper.

And Your Petitioner as in Duty bound shall ever pray etc.

[*Minutes of a Committee of the Privy Council.*]

At the Council Chamber
WHITEHALL the 23d of July 1734.

By the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs.[10]

The Lords of the Committee this day took into their Consideration a Report made by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations dated the 22d of March last upon An Act past in the Province of South Carolina on the twentieth day of August 1731 Entituled "An Act for appropriating the Sum of 104725 *li.* 1 *s.* 3¼ *d.* towards paymt., of the Publick Debts", and also upon two Petitions preferred by the Merchants of London and Bristol trading to that Province against the said Act: And their Lordships likewise took into their Consideration a Remonstrance from the Governor Council and Assembly of the said Province and a Petition from Colonel John Peter Purry both of them in Support of the said Act and which were lately referred by His Majesty to this Committee. And their Lordships are thereupon pleased to Order as it is hereby Ordered that the said Report be referred back to the said Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. Who are to reconsider thereof and at the same time to Examine into the said Remonstrance from Carolina and Petition of Colonel Purry (Copys whereof are hereunto annexed) And the said Lords Commissioners are to Report their Opinion upon the whole matter to this Committee.[11]

JA. VERNON

[10] C. O. 5: 363, E 28.

[11] A reply from the merchants of Bristol and Liverpool to the South Carolina Remonstrance was transmitted to the board Sept. 10, 1734. In this they stated that they had complained of the duty in 1729 and had ever since been hoping to be relieved of the

154. Samuel Eveleigh to George Morley, 1735.[1]

May 1, 1735.

. . . About ten days since arrived a Ship from Angola with 318 Slaves and divers other vessels are expected from Guinea so that tis probable we shall this year Import a great Number of Negroes and we ought to have a good number of whites to balance them. The Duty whereof is appropriated for encouraging of the Importation of white People into Georgia, Purrysburg and several other Townships in this province.

An Assembly has past a Bill for Appropriating all the Money that arises by the Duty on Negros to the Incouragement of the Importation of Strangers and for raising of a Tax for sinking of the Orders, which Bill would soon have been confirmed into a Law, was it not the Governor was so extremely ill, in fact so bad, that his life was despaired of.[2]

The duty on Negros will this year I believe be very considerable. There is one Vessell arrived already with 300 and odd Slaves and all sold off in Two days time and there are three more daily expected.

155. Communication to the *South Carolina Gazette*, 1738.

March 9, 1738.

Mr. Timothy, I Was in hopes that the Complaint of bad Pay and Loss on Returns made for 2 years pass by the Gentlemen of London

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hardships it involved. If they were not at once freed from it they must drop the South Carolina trade. As for the training of negroes to handicrafts, that the colonists themselves could stop if they wished to. The charge that they did not know the conditions in Carolina was false as many of them had lived there for a number of years (Br. Trans., XVII. 32-37). In the report to the House of Lords made by the board Jan. 23, 1734, the statement was made that the complaint of the merchants was not of the amount of the Carolina duty but of the method of collection (Add. MSS. 33028, p. 251). An item in the records of the board for Oct. 23, 1734, indicates that the law was still under consideration: "A Memorial from the Merchants Trading to South Carolina, relating to the Act passed in that Province in 1731 for appropriating the Sum of 104,725 *li.* 1 *s.* 3¼ *d.* complaining of a Duty Imposed on the Importation of Negroes by the Sd. Act was read; And the Secretary Acquainting the Board, that the Agents had had a Copy of the Said Memorial in Order to prepare their Answer; Ordered that a Letter be wrote to the Said Agents to know when they will be ready with their Answer accordingly." C. O. 391: 43; *B. T. Jour.*, 1728-1734, p. 416.

[154] [1] Br. Trans., XVII. 339. The letter was transmitted to the Board of Trade by Mr. Fury, agent of the colony, on July 4.

[2] Act of June 17, 1735 (Cooper, III. 409). The controversy over the duty act was still being continued before the Board of Trade. On July 3, 1735, William Wood, who represented the merchants of Bristol, reported to the Board of Trade that he understood from a letter from South Carolina that a bill was to be passed for laying a duty of £7. 10 *s.* per head, to be paid by the purchaser, in addition to the customary duty of £10. The next day he presented a protest from the Bristol traders, who emphasized their importance in the trade and asked that duties be abolished. On July 11 the board, having listened to the arguments on both sides, agreed to give its consent to the bill. Br. Trans., XVII. 265, 272, 333-334, 347, 360, 394, 395.

and Bristol, who are concerned in the Negro Trade to this Province, would have prevented so great an Importation for some Years to come, and the early Advices of our Crops being lost this Year, I also imagined would have induced those Gentlemen to have sent Orders to the West Indies for the Masters adressed for this Province with such Slaves, not to proceed. But the Arrival of Capt Power with above 300 Slaves, and by him Advice that several others may be expected, make me imagine, that either the former Complaints were groundless, or, that there must be an Extravagant Profit on that Trade in this Province, by selling the Negroes at a much greater Price here than in any other Part of America. The last Reason seems to be likeliest, for I have known many Slaves bought in the Barbadoes, etc. and sent here for sale, which have been sold with good Profit.

I cannot avoid observing on this Occasion, that altho' a few Negroes annually imported into this Province might be of advantage to most People; yet such large Importations of 2600 or 2800 Negroes every Year is not only a Loss to many, but in the end may prove the Ruin of the Province, as it most certainly does that of many poor industrious Planters, who unwarily engage in buying more than they have Occasion for, or are able to pay. It is for their Sakes only, I now take the trouble of writing this, that they may not further involve themselves in utter Ruin.

Negroes may be said to be the Bait proper for catching a Carolina Planter, as certain as Beef to catch a Shark. How many under the Notion Of 18 Months Credit, have been tempted to buy more Negroes than they could Possibly expect to pay in 3 Years! This is so notorious, that few Inhabitants I believe will doubt it. I have hear'd many declare their own Folly in this particular, with a Resolution never to do so again: Yet so great is the Infatuation, that the many Examples of their Neighbours Misfortunes and Danger by such Purchases do not hinder new Fools from bringing themselves into the same Difficulty.

Until about the Year 1733, the common Method of selling Negroes in this Province was, to be paid in Rice, whereby the Sellers knew to make above 10 per Cent per Annum Profits, by a Forbearance of Payment under the Title of commuting their Bonds. The Rice valued at about 37 *s.* 6 *d.* per C. and the Casks given for nothing: The Factors here were in general under no other Contract with their Employers at Home, than to remit the Rice when they had receiv'd it from the Planter. But now the Case is alter'd, the Sales and Contracts being now upon a new and quite different Footing, which I believe will in the End prove not only worse for the Merchants at Home, but also for the Factor Seller, and Planter Buyer here.

If I am rightly inform'd, the Negroes that are now sold in this Province are sent upon those Terms, *viz.* The Factors here to make good all bad Debts, to remit 2 thirds of the Value in 12 Months, the other one third in 2 Years after the Day of Sale. Now as they give Security in Great Britain to perform their Contracts, and as their further Business depends upon the doing thereof, it is no surprize to find them now more exact in requiring their Payments when it becomes due than they did 6 Years ago; and as our Currency is every Year decreasing in Value,[1] so all others who have Remittances to make to Great Britain in Money, will be the more urgent to have their Payments.

It is so common for many Planters to buy Negroes and dry Goods for more Value than they can possibly expect to be able to pay for when due, that it may be called a general Distemper, which of late has very much encreased, by the two last bad Crops. In Case of failure of Payment they think they make full Satisfaction by giving Bond payable next Year, bearing 10 per Cent Interest. This is Sufficient, I must own, to those who lend Money at Interest, or who are only concern'd in our In-land Trade; but will not answer to those who must turn the Currency into Sterling. For suppose I had a Man's Bond for 700 £ two Years ago, that Money then would have purchase 100 £ Sterling, whereas I now give 770 £ for 100 £ Sterling. Now if the Debtor pays me with 10 per Cent Interest it is 840, so that altho' he pays me at the Rate of 10 per Cent. per Annum, yet I really receive but 5 per Cent: For the 840 £. he pays me, will only purchase 110 £. Sterling, which is but 10 £. upon the 100 £. for two Years. It's worse in Rice, for two Years ago 700 £. would have bought 65 or 70 Barrels of Rice, and now it won't buy above 40 Barrels, as Rice was then 40 *s.* and is now 71 *s.*

Those Reasons may be sufficient to excuse any trading Man for insisting upon punctual Payment, and also to warn those in Debt not to depend so much upon the Lenity of the Merchants in Town, besides as their is not one in 50 of those who sell Rice that will give 10 Days Credit, how can they expect the Buyers should be putt off with the Notion of paying Interest? Which it's well known will buy nothing at any Market, and Merchants can't support their Credit, or carry on Trade, without buying Produce.

My whole Design of this is only to warn the unthinking Part of our Planters against falling into the same Misfortunes next Year they have met with in this, *viz* being unable to pay their Debts. The common excuse is the Loss of Crop: But let many of those in Debts look into their Affairs, and they will find a good crop of Rice even sup-

[155] [1] The rate in 1738 was 8 to 1; in 1737, 7.4 to 1. Wallace, *Laurens*, p. 53.

pos'd at 60 *s.* per C: not sufficient to pay all their Debts, nor will a good Crop next Year pay half the Debts now due to the trading Men in Town; and in Case a general good Crop should be made, depend upon, Rice will be under 40 *s.* per C.

If I may be so bold as to give my Advice in the Affair of Negroes, it would be this, that before any Planter offer to buy one more, or even to venture into a Negro Yard, he should first make up an Account of all he owes now to every Person, and then make a Calculation of what he may reasonably expect to make this Year. The most certain way to know this is, to sum up the Amounts of his last 4 Years Produce of the same Number of Hands a fourth Part of which he may expect to have this Year: For a wild Expectation of 10 Barrels per Negro only brings a Disappointment to the Owner, and in Time may prove his Ruin.

Suppose a Man has 20 Negroes, and for these 4 Years past has made in all 240 Barrels of Rice, he may expect to have 60 Barrels next Year, which at a Medium of Price will be about 700 £ Currency, now if that Person finds that he is in Debt 1000 £ or only 700 £ how can he engage for any further Payments Next Year, without exposing himself at the Mercy of his Creditors? But if the same Man finds he owes only 100 £ he may safely buy 2 Negroes and have a common Chance [to] pay [for] them besides his annual Charges. Would People take this prudent Method to think before they buy Negroes, it would in the End prove better for them. If they complain of the Merchants being pressing for Payments this Year, depend on it they will be worse next Year. Besides this Caution of those who are in Debt would make fewer Buyers and of Course cheaper Negroes, so that in Time they might be had here as cheap as in other Parts of America. But if any Person who can't pay his Debts now, encreases them by buying more Negroes, how can he desire any Person to have Patience 'till next Year? If his Slaves are then seized for Debt, who is to Blame? Is it not his own Act and Deed? Could he not have lived without these new Negroes? Buying the needful Apparel, Meat or Drink pleads for itself, as Mankind can't live without some Necessaries. Can any Man be certain of a better Crop next Year than he had last? If they can't they should not increase their Debts beyond absolute Necessity.

Were it possible to prevent any Negroes to be imported for 3 Years to come, I am persuaded it would be for the general Advantage of all the Inhabitants in this Province, and the only means to relieve us of the Load of Debts we are now owing to Great Britain, which I believe is equal to the Amount of 3 Years Produce.

156. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1738.

May 4, 1738.

Several of the Negroes imported in the Ship *London* Frigate, which arrived here the 13th April last, have been since discovered to have the small Pox, there are few of them in Town but more in the Country and several were sent on board again, the ship having been ordered to fall down to the Fort to perform Quarentine.[1]

June 1, 1738.

On the 25th May last, two of the Sailors late on board the *London* Frigate, John Pickett Commander, appear'd before Maurice Lewis Esq., Judge of his Majesty's Court of Vice Admiralty, and made Oath, That they were on board said Vessel from her first setting out from England to her Arrival in Africa, and from thence to her Arrival at Charleston, and that during that time no Persons whatsoever were thrown over board, except about 14 Slaves, who died, as they believ'd of Fevers and Fluxes, and that, to the best of their Knowledge, no Person on board said Ship was taken ill of or discovered any symptoms of the Small-pox during the Voyage, nor till after the Day of Sale of the Negroes. N. B. The principal Depositions may be seen in the Records of the said Court of Vice-Admiralty.

157. William Wood to Thomas Hill, 1738.[1]

July 11, 1738.

. . . Nor do I know any one Person, either at London, Bristol, or Liverpool, Trading on his own Account to Carolina, either directly or by the Way of Africa, that is not an humble Suitor to his Majesty not only that Mr. Horsey[2] may be Instructed Not to pass any Law . . . for the Continuance of any Duties on the Importation of Negroes into Carolina.

[156] [1] The *Gazette* of May 11 contains a proclamation, signed by Joseph Wragg, declaring quarantine and ordering all slaves with the disease to be placed on board the *London* frigate. The first steps toward establishing a quarantine system were taken in 1698, when vessels were forbidden to pass a point one mile east of Sullivans Island until the pilot had ascertained from the captain whether there were contagious diseases on board (Cooper, II. 152). In the year 1712 a more determined effort to check the spread of disease was made: "Whereas great numbers of the inhabitants of this Province have been destroyed by malignant, contagious diseases, brought from Africa and other parts of America", a health officer was appointed who visited all vessels before anyone else was allowed on board, ordered masters to send their sick to the pest-house, and held vessels in quarantine for twenty days if anyone on board had died of a contagious disease. *Ibid.*, II. 382-385.

[157] [1] Br. Trans., XIX. 218. The act of 1731 was to expire in August, 1738, and the indefatigable William Wood was early engaged in preventing its continuance. On Feb. 7 he wrote the board, urging it to see that the governor be instructed to prevent the passage of a similar law. South Carolina had no mind to give up the duty and on Mar. 25 the president of the council intimated that the assembly considered the act necessary and wished the governor to be so instructed. *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 36, 56, 217.

[2] Col. Samuel Horsey was nominated for governor of South Carolina in 1727 and 1728. He was actually appointed governor in 1738, but died before he left England for the colony. McCrady, *Royal Government*, p. 178.

158. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1739-1744.

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Mar. 24, 1739[1]	Mar. 28[2]	*Hiscox*	S. Saunders	Angola	300	Hill and Guerard
June 9[3]		*Amoretta*	John Crode	Africa		Benjamin Savage
" "	June 20[4]	*Shepheard*	Maurice Power	Angola		Joseph Wragg
" "	" 13					Hill and Guerard[5]
Nov. 24	Dec. 5	*Mary*[6]	Nathaniel Roberts	Gambia		Joseph Wragg
Dec. 1	" "	*Levant* Galley	—— Packer	Africa		" "
Aug. 16, 1740[7]	Aug. 20	*Squirrel*	John Brown	"		Benj. Savage
" 30	Sept. 10	*Amoretta*	John Crode	"		" "
Oct. 2	Oct. 8	*Midway*	Joseph Hunt	"		Yeomans and Escott
Dec. 11	Dec. 17	*Griffin*	John Sutherland	Angola		⎧ William Wallace and Co. ⎩ Pringle and Reid[8]
Aug. 6, 1744[9]	Aug. 15	*Jason* Galley[10]	John Bartlett	"		Hill and Guerard
Sept. 10	Sept. 26	*Africa*	Joseph Hunt	Africa		John Savage and Co.
Oct. 15	Oct. 31	*Nancy*	John Beaver	"		" " " "
" 22	" "	*Tryal*[11]	Wm. Jefferies	"		Hill and Guerard

[158] [1] William Stephens in his "Journal" estimates the negroes in South Carolina in 1739 at 35,000. *Georgia Col. Recs.,* IV. 276.

[2] To be sold at Dorchester; "To avoid small Pox, the Ship proceeds directly up the Ashley River".

[3] No date of sale is given. "N. B. But two Persons have Small-Pox in Town and they at or near White-Point, therefore no Danger of coming here."

[4] "At Mr. Wragg's House, where the Secretary's office was lately kept in Charlestown."

[5] "On Wednesday the 13th Instant, will be sold in Charlestown, a very fine Cargo of able-bodied Gambia Negroes, just imported from Gambia directly by Hill and Guerard. N. B. The Negroes will be kept at the House built by the late Charles Hill Esq; about a Mile up the broad Path, until the Morning of the Sale. And very great Regard will be had to ready Pay."

[6] "The Ship *Mary* Galley, Capt Robert —, belonging to Mr. Samuel Wragg, of London, was on the 4th Day of September, 1742 drove ashore, plundered, and destroy'd in the River Gambia, by the Natives; of which she had a Cargo on board. The Slaves rose, in the most barbarous Manner murdered the Ship's Crew, and obliged the said Captain and the Mate, Mr. David Donahew, to confine themselves in the Cabin for 27 Days, whence they at last made their Escape, by the Help of a Stage, to the French Island Senegale. This Advice was first brought from thence to Newfoundland, etc. and a Certificate thereof sent here, sign'd by the Commander in Chief and other Officers at Fort Louis in Senegale" (*S. C. Gazette,* Oct. 24, 1743). This news was copied by the *Boston Gazette,* Dec. 20, 1743, and the *Boston News Letter,* Dec. 22, 1743.

[7] Negroes seem not to have sold well this year, for the advertisements are frequently repeated after the date of sale has passed. As a result of the insurrection of slaves in 1739 an act was passed on Apr. 5, 1740, placing a tax of £10 current money on all those over 4

feet, 2 inches tall, £5 on those over 3 feet, 2 inches, and £2.10 on all others except "sucking children", the tax to be paid by the first purchaser and to be in force fifteen months, after which it was to be increased to £100, £50, and £25. Because of this prohibitive imposition there were no importations in 1741, 1742, 1743 (Cooper, III. 556). For an account of the negro insurrection, which may have caused the slow sales as well as the duty, see McCrady, *Royal Government,* pp. 185-187; *Gentleman's Magazine,* X. 127-129.

[8] "The extream cold Weather having obstructed the Sale of the Negroes on board the Ship *Griffin* as advertis'd to be sold the 17th Instant; This is to give Notice that there still remains a parcel of very healthy Negroes to be sold, on board said Ship lying at Mr. Motte's Wharff, where daily Attendance will be given till all are sold, by WILLIAM WALLACE and Comp. and PRINGLE and REID." *S. C. Gazette,* Dec. 25, 1740, Jan. 1, 8, 1741.

[9] The prohibitive tax imposed by the act of Apr. 5, 1740, went into effect July, 1741, and cut off all importation for three years. The appearance of Malachy Postlethwayte's *The African Slave Trade the Great Pillar and Support of the British Plantation Trade in America* was attributed to the effect which this act had on the business of the Bristol merchants. The adverse opinions of these merchants were by no means the only opinions which found expression in England: "It is very certain that South Carolina is overstock'd with blacks, in proportion to the number of white people: because it appears by the customhouse entries at Charles Town that there were imported from two to three thousand annually, before the temporary prohibition (now expired). Therefore it must be allow'd that three independent companies may and will be serviceable to awe and terrify the slaves. But then, to all disinterested men, it must appear more reasonable for the governor, council, and general assembly of that province to make proper laws and regulations to restrain the rich planters from keeping dangerous number of negroes, and to promote the increase of industrious and useful inhabitants than [that] the mother country should be at the expence of paying a standing force to keep them in obedience." *Gentleman's Magazine,* XV. 29, January, 1745.

[10] The *Jason* was a Bristol ship. At this time a drawback was allowed on negroes imported and within six months re-exported. Edmond Aitken, in a petition to the assembly, stated that he had bought twelve negroes from the ship *Jason,* and sent them by land to North Carolina for Nathaniel Rice. Rice had also purchased five from the *Africa,* Captain Hunt, sold by John Savage, that had been sent to North Carolina in the same way. He asked that the drawback be allowed him as if the negroes had been exported by water. The assembly assented and resolved that it should be the general rule that "negroes carried hence by land" should be granted the drawback ("Journal of Assembly," 1744, pp. 64-67). A further reference to the purchases of Rice is to be found in 1745. John Tinker, the governor of the Bahamas, sent a negro to Rice who had to be landed in South Carolina. On Jan. 26, 1745, John Reid's petition to cancel the bond given at the time the negro was landed was granted. *Ibid.,* 1745, pp. 146-147, 153-154.

[11] A news item in the *Gazette* of May 18, 1745, reported the snow *Tryall,* William Jefferies, seized and sold in Havana.

159. Act for establishing Quarantine, 1744.[1]

An Act for the Further Preventing the Spreading of Contagious or Malignant Distempers in this Province.

Whereas, it hath been found by experience, that since the importation of negroes and slaves from the coasts of Africa into this Province, hath been prohibited, this Province in general and Charlestown in particular, hath been much more healthy than heretofore it hath been: and whereas, a sum of one thousand pounds current money hath been resolved to be provided for the building a pest house on Sullivan's Island, near the entrance into the port and harbour of Charlestown, for the reception of all infected or distempered persons which shall be brought into this Province; we humbly pray his most sacred Majesty that it may be enacted.

And be it enacted, by his Excellency James Glen, Esq., Governor-in-chief and Captain General in and over his Majesty's Plantations of South Carolina, by and with the advice and consent of his Majesty's Honorable Council and the Assembly of this Province, and by the authority of the same, That no ship or vessel which after the fifth day of July next after the passing of this Act, shall arrive or come into this Province over the bar of the harbour of Charlestown, with negroes from the coasts of Africa or elsewhere, shall be permitted upon any pretence whatsoever to come above Johnson's fort into Cooper or Ashley river, in this Province, before all the negroes imported or brought in such ship or vessell shall have been landed and put on shore on Sullivan's Island aforesaid, and there shall have remained for the space of ten days, or have been carried on shore five days in the said space of ten days, and shall remain on shore six hours in each of the said days in the summer, and five hours in the winter, that they shall be so on shore in, as the party's own election, for the better purifying and cleansing the said slaves and vessel from any infectious distemper; any law, usage or custom to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And in case any negroes or slaves so imported and brought into this Province, over the bar of the harbor of Charlestown, shall be sold, landed or put on shore in any part of this Province, before such negroes or slaves have been landed and remained by the space of ten days, or carried and remained on shore five days, on Sullivan's Island, as aforesaid, (unless such negroes and slaves, upon apprehension of the dangers of a hurricane, or other imminent danger, shall be ordered by his Excellency the Governor or the

[159] [1] Cooper, III. 773-774; see III. 643, for title of an act to prevent the spread of distempers.

Commander-in-chief for the time being, to be removed from thence to some other place in this Province, without the limits of Charlestown) all such negroes and slaves shall and they are hereby declared to be forfeited, the one half to his Majesty, for the use of the Government of this Province, to be applied as the General Assembly from time to time shall direct, and the other half to him or them that will inform and sue for the same, to be recovered in any court of record in this Province, wherein no essoign, protection, priviledge or wager of law shall be admitted or allowed, nor any more than one imparlance.

II. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That in case any person or persons whoever, not having the permission of the Governor or Commander-in-chief for so doing, shall go on board any such ship or vessel, or to Sullivan's Island, while such negroes or slaves are there, such person and persons shall be obliged to remain on board such ship or vessel or at Sullivan's Island till the time which such negroes shall be obliged to remain at Sullivan's Island shall be expired, under the penalty of one hundred pounds proclamation money, to be recovered and applied as is above directed. And in case such person or persons shall not be able to pay the said penalty, it shall and may be lawful for any two justices of the peace, and they are hereby required and authorized, to order such corporal punishment to be inflicted on such person or persons, not extending to life or limb, and not exceeding thirty-nine stripes, as they shall judge proper.

III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no mariner or seaman whatever, arriving in any such ship or vessel, shall be permitted on any account or pretence whatever to come to Charlestown till the time directed for such negroes to continue at Sullivan's Island shall be expired, under the penalty of one hundred pounds proclamation money, to be recovered and applied as aforesaid.

IV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the masters or commanders of every ship or vessel that shall arrive with negroes as aforesaid, before such ship or vessel be permitted to pass Johnson's Fort, shall be and they are hereby obliged and required to make oath before the commander of the said fort that they have complied with the directions of this Act, which oath the commander of the said fort is hereby required and impowered to administer.

V. Provided always, That nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to extend to any negroes brought into this Province from any English colony, not for sale, but for the use of the importers

only. Provided also that this Act shall only continue to be in force for the term of three years from the passing thereof, and from thence to the end of the next session of the General Assembly, and no longer.[2]

May 29, 1744.

160. Henry Laurens to George Austin, 1748.[1]

London, 17 December, 1748.

per Legard
George Austin, *Charles Town* [2]

Dear Sir, . . . I am a Little at a loss who to propose for Security in case of any offer of Negro Consignments as it has been hinted to me that Messrs. Shubrick's are getting into that Branch, however I shall take an opportunity to ask Mr. R S.[3] if he'll be your Security and then on my Account I have some reason to believe Mr. Crokatt [4] would stand my friend but I can't say I am at present inclined to ask so great a favour. on this head I shall better determine when at Liverpool or Bristol and in the mean time hope the pleasure of a few Lines from you in which perhaps you may say more on this subject.

[2] On May 11, 1754, an act was passed setting aside one-fifth of the duty paid by the first purchasers of negroes for the building of the pest-house (Cooper, IV. 11). In 1759 there was passed a law, containing provisions probably more drastic than those enforced by any other colony, certainly more drastic than those of the West Indies, by which any vessel having on board ten negroes was obliged to lie in the harbor ten days, to be visited by a physician on the ninth day, who should certify that there was no cause for its further detention. *Ibid.,* IV. 78-86.

[160] [1] Laurens Letter-Book. The collection of Laurens papers, invaluable for its contribution to the economic history of South Carolina, is in the possession of the South Carolina Historical Society, which is publishing it in its quarterly *Bulletin.* For those letters or parts of letters which appear in this volume the editor is indebted to the generosity of that society. Unless otherwise noted, reference to the Laurens Letter-Books is always to the South Carolina collection. The material possessed by the Brooklyn Historical Society yielded nothing pertinent to the subject of the slave trade, and the provenance of those letters which come from the Pennsylvania Historical Society is always stated. From this point the history of the Carolina trade is largely to be written from the Laurens letters. Laurens had, in September, 1748, gone to England to make the necessary business connections for the new firm, Austin and Laurens. It is to be remembered that these are Laurens's copies of the letters, not the originals.

[2] It was Laurens's custom, in copying his letters into the letter-book, to add to the date the place in which his correspondent lived. These place-names have been transferred, to follow the name of the correspondent, and have been italicized, to distinguish them from the names of those places from which Laurens was writing. When the letter is written in Charleston the place does not appear in the Letter-Books.

[3] On Dec. 24 Laurens wrote, "Mr Richd Shubrick has promised if needfull to become your Security". No advertisements for the sale of negro cargoes by Messrs. Shubrick and Co. appear until 1755. *S. C. Gazette,* July 17, 1755.

[4] James Crokatt, who had been for a number of years in business in Charleston, but had in 1739 returned to London. In 1741, as a Carolina merchant and member of the council, he appeared before the Board of Trustees of Georgia to answer the questions of the Earl of Egmont (*post,* no. 399, Mar. 19). For an account of the relations between Laurens and Crokatt see Wallace, *Laurens,* pp. 15-19.

161. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1749-1751.

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
June 12, 1749 [1]	June 20	*Hecter* [2]	Peter Bostock	Windward Coast		John Mackenzie, Ken. and Benj. Michie
Aug. 14	Aug. 22	*Brownlow*	—— Jackson	" "		Kennan and Campbell
Oct. 30	Nov. 8	*Pardoe* [3]	Anthony Galter	Gambia		Perry and Taylor
July 2, 1750 [4]	July 11	*Hector* [5]	Peter Bostock	Windward Coast		Wm. Glen
Aug. 6	Aug. 15	*Matilda*	W. Townsend	Africa		J. and B. Savage
" "	" "	*Telemachus*	Joseph Work	"		Ralph Taylor
Oct. 8	Oct. 18	*Amoretta* [6]	Sam. Timberman	"		J. and B. Savage
Nov. 5 [7]	Nov. 13	*Charles* (?)	Thos. Calvert	Barbados (Gambia and Gold Coast)	100	Robt. Pringle and Co.
Apr. 22, 1751 [8]	May 1 [9]			West Indies (Gold Coast)	70	Jos. Pickering
July 29	Aug. 7	*Orrel* [10]	Samuel Lacer	Gambia		Austin and Laurens
Sept. 23	Sept. 26	*Nancy*	Joseph Dickinson	Angola	59	Thos. Smith, sr. and John Savage
Dec. 6	[11]	*Peggy and Molly*	James Oates	Antigua (Angola)		James Oates

[161] [1] Here arises one of the puzzles in the South Carolina legislation. In April, 1746, the legislature revived the act of 1740 for five years (Cooper, III. 670). On the face of it this seems to prohibit importation until 1751, yet the trade was obviously renewed in 1749.

[*Notes to no. 161*—continued:]

Wallace attempts to solve the difficulty by concluding that the act was to be in effect but three years and that it was imposed in 1745 not 1746. Wallace, *Laurens*, p. 83; *post*, no. 163, n. 2.

The *Gazette* of Dec. 8, 1759, gives the arrivals for 1749 as 72, all of whom are assigned to June 24. The Reverend John Newton was mate on a vessel which sold slaves in Charleston in 1749. Newton, *Life*, p. 103.

[2] "June 5th, 1749. This Day arrived from the Windward Coast of Africa, the Bill. *Hector*, Capt. Peter Bostock, with a choice Parcel of young healthy Slaves: To be sold by the Subscribers, in Charles-Town, the 20th Instant, Credit will be given 'till the first of January next, giving Security if required. JOHN MACKENZIE [and] KEN. and BENJ. MICHIE. Great Abatement will be made for ready Money." *S. C. Gazette*, June 12, 1749.

[3] To be sold "at private sale".

[4] "A Computation of Negroes required for the use of the American Plantations. As no Gold Coast Slaves are required for North America, we distinguish the following Seperately. . . . Carolina, Some Years ago used to take about 1000 but now they take very few, occastion'd by a high Duty laid, which in effect answered the End of a prohibition but suppose the demand revives 1000." C. O. 388: 45, B. T. Commercial, ser. I., b 7.

[5] The slaves were to be sold "at the house of Mrs. Mary Sureau up the path". "The Condition of Sale is, Credit to the first of January next, without Interest, giving Security, if required by WILLIAM GLEN. N. B. Five per cent Discount will be allowed on all Sums paid down. The Sale to begin at eleven in the forenoon precisely." *S. C. Gazette*, July 2, 1750.

[6] The *Amoretta*, Samuel Timberman, the property of Joseph Ives and Company, had delivered 185 negroes in Virginia in 1749.

[7] On Nov. 5 the following notice appeared: "About One Hundred choice healthy Negroes, most of them Gambia and Gold Coast Slaves, just imported from Barbadoes, by ROBERT PRINGLE and Comp." The only vessel entered from Barbados was the *Charles*. The *Gazette* of Dec. 8, 1759, records the arrival of 140 on or before Sept. 29, and 302 Dec. 25, 1750, giving the sum of these two items (442) as the importation for the year.

[8] The *Gazette* of Dec. 8, 1759, gives arrivals as 535 for Sept. 29, and 296 up to Dec. 25, a total of 831 for the year.

[9] The advertisement reads: "Just imported, and to be sold in Charles-Town, on Wednesday the first of May, about seventy choice healthy Negroes from the West Indies, mostly of the Gold Coast and were the choice of two cargoes, by JOSEPH PICKERING. N. B. None will be sold 'till the first of May as above."

[10] "Just Imported in the Brigantine *Orrel*, Samuel Lacer Commander directly from Gambia, in a Passage of Seven Weeks, a Cargo of healthy fine Slaves, to be sold on Wednesday the 7th Day of August, by AUSTIN and LAURENS" (*S. C. Gazette*, July 29, Aug. 5, 1751). The *Orrel*, a Liverpool vessel, was reported as having arrived there Nov. 17. *Ibid.*, Jan. 27, 1752.

[11] This cargo was evidently sold on board the snow and at any time, as no date of sale was announced: "A Parcel of new Negro Men, The choice of a large cargo lately arrived at Antigua". By Dec. 20 Oates had ceased to advertise negroes, though he was still offering other imported articles for sale.

162. Governor James Glen's Description of South Carolina, 1749.[1]

. . . And the Importation of Negroe Slaves which formerly was a considerable article of expense to us, hath not only been saved for a time, but is likely to continue so for the future, a law having been made in this Province whereby a duty was laid on Negroes import'd here, that it amounted to a prohibition:[2] and though since the expiration of that Law,[3] the war hath hitherto prevented any from being imported, I do not find that in about nine years time, our number of negroes is diminished, but on the contrary, increased: so that from all appearances the negroes bred from our own Stock, will continually recruit and keep it up, if not enable us to supply the sugar Colonies with a small number of Negroes. . . .

163. Henry Laurens to Foster Cunliffe, 1749.[1]

Liverpoole 20th Janry. 1748[9].

Foster Cunliffe Esqr. *Liverpool*

. . . I can venture to assure you there is a Prospect of good Sales for Negroes in that Province [Carolina] as Rice promises fair to be a good Commodity, the Quantity heretofore exported being greatly reduc'd by our attention to the Indigo . . . and we have good reason to hope for success in this Last article and that it will make a very considerable addition in our remittances to Great Brittain. If you should do anything in this Branch I beg Leave to offer our service on the following terms To Load the Ship which imports the Slaves with such produce as can be had at the Season, pay Coast Commission there, make good all debts and remitt the Amount according to the times of Payment if freight can be obtain'd and as much in Bill as we may procure with Cash arising from the Sales, our Commission 10 per Ct. and if Requir'd we are ready to give Security in England in any reasonable sum for remitting the Proceeds.

[162] [1] "Glen's Description of South Carolina", Carroll, *Collections*, II. 224.

[2] About the date or approximate date of expiration of this troublesome act there can be no question. Colonel Vanderdusen had written on May 25, 1748, "that the Importation of Slaves had been greatly interrupted by an Act passed there some Years ago laying a Duty upon them but that the Act had expired or was near it" (Br. Trans., XXIII. 13). In June, 1748, Governor Glen was gently warned against allowing the duty to be continued by another act. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

[3] The description as printed in Weston's *Documents connected with the History of South Carolina* (p. 92) reads, "and tho the law expired some time since".

[163] [1] Foster, Ellis, and Robert Cunliffe soon after this time became Liverpool members of the newly created Company of Merchants trading to Africa, as were Edward Traford, John Knight, and James Pardoe, to whom Laurens wrote similar letters (Laurens Letter-Book; Gomer Williams, *Liverpool Privateers*, p. 674). Cunliffe shipped negroes to Virginia as well as to Charleston, and, since he was a dealer in Maryland tobacco, it is reasonable to surmise that he may have sold negroes in that province also, but no trace of such sales has been discovered in the letter-book of his Maryland agent Henry Callister.

Our House at Charles Town will be under the name of George Austin and Henry Laurens. we shall be very Glad of oppertunity to open a Correspondance with your good self or your friends and shall endeavour to act so as may increase the same to mutual Interest.

164. Henry Laurens to George Austin, 1749.

Bristol 11th Febry. 1748[9].

George Austin, *Chas Town*

. . . Mr. Lewis introduced me to Sir Hugh Briggs who was so kind to give me Letters of recommendation to Mr. Foster Cunliffe, Mr. Edward Traford and Mr. John Knight, very considerable Merchants in Leverpool. those Gentlemen received me with great [*blank*] of respect and have promis'd to do us all the service in their Power. I have made each of them offers in the Guinea Business agreeable to your Standard and hope in a few days to hear further from some of them. at Leverpool I met with Mr. Pardoe of Worcesster who is now fitting out the *Pardoe*, Galter, and *Lamb*, [*illegible*],[1] for Gambia and Carolina and has promis'd to address them both to us in case of the miscarriage of Messrs. Perry and Taylors lately gone to establish a House at Carolina and has given me direction agreeably dated 23 Ulto. . . . I shall now embrace the first good Opportunity and return to Charles Town but can't determine if I shall ship any goods from London or this place till I have further discourse with some Gentlemen on the African Trade. I forgot to mention that Capt. Whitfield yesterday introduced me to Mr. Farr [2] and some other Gentlemen who are now about sending a Ship for Negroes and I believe not fix'd on a House at Carolina to address them to.

165. Henry Laurens to James Pardoe, 1749.

Bristol 21st Febry. 1748[9].

James Pardoe, *Leverpool*

Sir, . . . I have one Letter which says Negroes would sell at a monstrous price and I can't learn of any Ships from this Port gone with Slaves yet 'tho some Gentn. talk of being soon con-

[164] [1] The cargo of the *Pardoe* is announced for private sale by Messrs. Perry and Taylor in the *Gazette*, Oct. 30, 1749. This is the only negro cargo handled by this house which the editor has found, though the next year Ralph Taylor, possibly one of the partners, sold that of the *Telemachus*. There seems to be no evidence that the *Lamb* ever arrived in Charleston. Galter was in 1751 master of the *Penelope*, belonging to Pardoe. See *ante* p. 222.

[2] Richard Farr of Bristol, to whom Laurens wrote Feb. 18 giving him the terms on which the new firm expected to handle the African trade and setting forth his reasons for believing it to be a favorable time for Guinea cargoes.

cern'd that way, if your *Pardoe* and *Lamb* arrive in common time I imagine their Cargoes will meet with a very profittable Sale. . . .

166. Henry Laurens to Isaac Hobhouse, 1749.[1]

London 16th March 1748[9].

Isaac Hobhouse, *Bristol*

. . . I have ask'd Mr. James Crokatt if he would hold a concern in a Guinea Vessel with Slaves to Carolina which he declines saying that he is fully employ'd with Business on Commission and chuses to be confin'd in that way. if your good self or friends should do any thing in that Branch of Trade or any other to Carolina I beg leave to repeat the offer of service from Geo. Austin and Henry Laurens assuring you that any concerns you may be pleas'd to put under our direction we shall be carefull to conduct with integrity and in the best manner for your advantage. . . .

167. Account Book of Austin and Laurens, 1751.[1]

Charles Town So. Carolina

25 April, 1751.	Sundry Amounts to Capt. John Evans		
	Harry Middleton, Esq.		
	One Negro Man delivered to his Overseer for which he engaged to pay		200
	N.B. this Negro was ruptured.		
	Paid and Ent'd cash James Laurens: a Negro Boy		120
24 April, 1751.	Benja. Addison to Capt. John Evans one of the Little New Negroes left with us by Capt. Evans sold to him for		110
16 July, 1751.	John Cumyn Ball to Wm. Satterthwaite Sa [Sale] 69		
	5 new Negroe Men at 245 per	1225	
	To Richd Gillon Sa 68		
	2 New Negro Men at 245 per	490	
			£1715
	payable 1st December and after that with Interest		
18 July	John Cumyn Ball to Henry Laurens		
	a Negro Man nam'd Elisha sold him some time ago for		200
27 July, 1751.	Sundry Accounts to Jacob Motte Esq. (Entd. this day)		
	Wm. Satterthwaite Sa 69.		
	Duty on 5 Negro Men and port fee		50.3.9

[166] [1] Hobhouse was probably entirely familiar with the Carolina trade (see *ante*, no. 152, n. 11). Laurens follows the paragraph here printed with a statement of terms as given to Cunliffe (*ante,* no. 163). There is no indication in these letters that Laurens considered conditions in South Carolina so depressing as they seemed to a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (XXI. 39-40), who wrote of 200 insolvent debtors who had petitioned for relief. The frequent failures in the colony this author attributed to lack of sufficient currency and the undue amount of credit which had been extended.

[167] [1] Only those items relating to the negro trade have been extracted from the somewhat haphazard accounts of the miscellaneous business carried on by Austin and Laurens, as well as by other Charleston merchants. Most, if not all, of the merchants who advertised negroes in the *Gazette* were doing a general business, of which their trade in negroes was but a part.

[*Account Book*—continued:]

	Richd. Gillon Sale 68		
	Duty on 2 Negro Men and pt. fee		20.1.3
2d August, 1751.	Thomas and Thornton to Cap. James McKay		
	Thos. Goldsmith's Bill of 29th Ulto. on John Callcraft Esq. pa'ble to James McKay and by him endors'd-remitted to Wm. Satterthwaite of Lancaster per Clark and [*blank*] on Accot. of Mr. Jno. Thomas being the Nt. produce of a Negro Woman belonging to him per Tell £28. 17. 6 Sterling Excha. at 700 per Ct.[2]		153.2.6
31 Aug.	Wm. Satterthwaite his a/c to William Elliott abatement made him on a Negro sold him the 3d July with a Lame Arm which did not appear at the Sale		10
	Commission to Wm. Satterthwaite his a/c on Commission [*torn*] the above £10 abated		10
	John Guerard to Elias Ball of Ashepoo so much we endorsed of said Guerard's Bond to Elias Ball to pay for three Negroes we sent the Latter		750
	Vide our Letter to Elias Ball and his Answer.		
	To Jacob Motte Esq. Duty on two priveledge Slaves		20
	John Lee (Mate of the *Orrel*) to Sundry Accts		
	To Jacob Motte, Duty of a Negro Man		10
4 July, 1751.			
	Sundry accounts to Willm. Satterthwaite's Sale 64. being 49 Negroes		
	Recd. per the Snow *Carolina Mercht.* from Barbadoes		
	Thomas Broughton, 6 New Negro Men Payable ½ in Cash; for which we take his Rect. on Acct. and one half per Note dated yesterday Payab. in three Mth.		1500
	Thomas Shubrick, 1 Man and 2 Boys Payable in Cash or a Bill of Excha		560
	Willm. Elliott, 2 Men and 4 Boys Payable to us in Cash in a few days		1260
	Peter David, 1 Man Payable per his note of yesterday at 1 Mo.		250
	Danl Heyward, 6 Men and 1 Boy payab. 1/3 in Cash and 1/2 on the 3d October next per his Bond dated yesterday	1740	
	1 Man per Bond payable 1st Jany	245	1985
	Peter Simmonds (of Santee) 3 Men payable part per an order on John Watson	440	
	and remaindr per his Note payab. 10th Inst	310	750
	Doct. John Linning, 2 Men payab. per Bond this date on 1st November next with Ints.		300
	Capt Robert Sammis (Mr. Thoms. Ellis his Security) 1 Man Payb in 14 days		242 10
	John McFadden and Wm. Thomson, (of Williamsburg) 1 Man (part cash, part account [?] on Glen and Cooper's Note, and £84 11.2) their Bond payabl. 3d. August with Interest		250
	Elias Ball Jun, 4 Men		1000
	Isaac Lecesne, 2 Men, 1/2 Cash 1/2 per Note payable in one Month		500
	Wm. Roper, 1 Woman per Assumption for John Beatty included in a Rect. for Cash		210
	David Palmer, 2 Men and 1 Woman payable per Bond on the 1st Jany.		600
	Cash ———, 1 Man per Mr. Remington		260

[2] In a letter of Feb. 21, 1756, Laurens said that the rate of exchange between sterling and currency, which was then 1 to 7, had not varied for seven years.

1 ditto per Mr. Izard 275
[3] Christ Gadsden, 3 Men per Note paybl. 710

10,852 10
[10,652 10]

Sold as above 44 Men and Boys and 2 Women
and remains . . 3 Men this 4 July.

Danl Heyward to John Dart Esq.
1 Negro Woman sold him yesterday and included in his Bond of £97 Stg. Payab 3d October £210
N. B. Mr. Dart put this Negro in our hands for Geo. Hardy.

Glen and Cooper to John McFadden and Wm. Thomson.
part of the £250 charged them for a Negro Man per their Note the 3d Inst. 89 14 4

To Thomas and Thornton
1 Negro Woman Sold this day per Vendue Recd. per Capt Fell from Barbadoes £175
their Commission 4.7.6 170.12.6

260.6.10

26 August 1751. Sundry Accounts to Owners of the *Orrel* Sale 71
sold and delivered on the 7th Inst *Vide* accot. of the Sale being New Negroes Recd. per the *Orrel* from Gambia

Benjamin Waring, 4 Men. part paid for and the remaindr. being £280. we have his Bond payab 1st Jany. next 980
William Chambers. 2 Girls part Cash and part £170 per Bond Payab. 1st September 340
John Cumyn Ball. 5 Men sold him for 1250
Bernard Elliott 1 Girl 180
Nichs. Harleston, 2 Men at £255
besides 2 of the Captains charged below 510
Daniel Huger, 7 Men 1 Woman 2 Boys besides 1 of the Mates a priveledge Slave charged below 2290
Alexr. Garden Junr. 2 Men per Notes half Payab 1 Month and 1/2 Payab. in 3 Months 500
Samuel Thomas. 2 Men payable 1 Jan. per his Bond 500
Thomas Whilter[?], 1 Man, Bond given for £98. Payab 1st March next remd. in Cash 240
Willm. Cripps. 2 Elderly Men 1/2 payabl per Note in three Mos. 400
Thomas and Samuel Jenkins 2 Men 1 Woman Payable 1st March next per Bond with Ints. after two Months 710
John Vinson. 1 Man 1 Woman per Bond 1st Jany. next 450
Willm. Nelson. 1 Man 2 Women (£473 of it Payab. per Bond 1st Jany. next) 640
Isaac Lecesne 2 Men. Payab. per Bond 1st Jany. next with Ints from 15th Octob. 495
Wm. Ferguson (?) and Willm. Nelson: 1 Girl part £60 Payabl per Bond 1st Jany. next 170
David Singletary 1 Woman, part per Bond £187 Payb 1st Jany. next 290
William Oswald 2 Men Note for £200 Payab. 1st September Bond 280 Pay 1 Jany. 480
Saml. Nesmith and Willm. Thompson. 1 Man per Bond Payb 1st Jany. *vide* below 240
Elias Horry, 1 Men, 2 Boys, Payabl. per Bond 1st Jany. next with Interest 500
John Handlin, 2 Women (£313 is per Bond. Payabl 1st Jany. next 410

[3] The account book has at this point a note: "Christopher Gadsden to Wm. S. Sale 64. 1 New Negro Man wanting a thumb and finger on his right hand, 220."

[*Account Book*—continued:]

Richd. Mastson 1 Negro Boy sold Capt Cookson			155
Thomas Conn. 2 Men Payab. per Bond 1st Jany. Next			480
Willm. Thomson and Sam Nesmith 1 Man ailing with a flux per Bond Payabl 1st Jany.			220
N B. this and the above Sum of £240 is all included in one Bond and may be Posted in one Entry			
Capt. Robt Sams [Sammis] and Thomas Ellis			
1 Elderly Man	230		
1 Sickly Young Man	180		410
Theodore Galliard 2 Men 1 Woman Bond given for £477 12 Payb. 1st Jany.			620
Anthony Lambwright, 1 Man with a Guinea Woman. Per Bond Payb 1st Jany. with Intest from 7 September			200
James Hamilton and Anth Lambwright 1 Man. Per Bond Payb. 1st Jany. with Intst.			220
Dan. Horry Esq. 1 Man 6 Women the remainder of the Yard 1/2 per Bond Payab 1st Jany. next and 1/2 per Bond Payab. 1st Jany. 1752			1300
William Hopton. 1 Man			250
Elias Ball Senr. 2 Women			460
Elias (Ashepoo) Ball 2 Men 1 Woman			750
John Cumyn Ball. 2 Women 2 Girls			900
Benja. Addison. 1 Boy			180
Glen and Cooper per Vendue 1 Old Woman with an Ulcer on her thigh			47 10
Cash[4] per Edwd. Harleston	2 Men	490	
per Wm. Smilie	2 Men	490	
per Mrs. Fuller	1 Boy	180	
per Mr. Seaby	1 Man		
dropsical		100	1260
Doctr Wm. Bruce 1 Man 1 Girl			385
			£19332.10[5]
Nichs. Harleston to Capt. Samuel Lacer 2 Negro Men his priviledge Slaves at £255			510
Daniel Huger to John Lee for 1 Negro Man which was his priviledge Slave [*torn*] with J Lee himself			250
Smith and Palmer to Benjamin Waring This Note to Pay on Acct. of Negroes sold him the 7 Inst			700
Sarah Rutledge to Theodore Galliard her note dated 9th Inst. Payable in four Mos. with Interest given for Ballance of a Bond of Mr. John Rutledge's passed with us by Mr. Galliard in part of Negroes sold him 7th Inst. N.B. he promises to make this debt good to us.			1428
Aug. 31. 1751. Capt. Samuel Lacer to Sundry accounts.			
Per our Acct. settled and Rects. taken 29th Inst.[6] . . .			
To Jacob Motte, Esq. Duty on two privledge Slaves			20
. . .			
Total			1436.1 8
N.B. We settled this in two Accts. with Capt. Lacer one as ships disbursements the other as his private Acct. . . .			
John Lee to Sundry Acct.			
To Jacob Motte, Duty of a Negro Man			10

[4] A marginal note adds of the next four sales: "Note, these are Ent'd in Cash Book, don't Post it twice."

[5] If the figures have been correctly transcribed this total is £19,412.10. It seems more likely that the figures have been incorrectly read than that Laurens was wrong in both his debit and his credit totals.

[6] The accounts which follow include a great variety of items, here omitted, necessary to refitting the *Orrel*.

[*Account Book*—continued:]

Owners of the *Orrel* Sale 71 to Sundry Acct.			
Per Amt Sales dated 28th Inst and transmitted per the *Orrel.* and Capt. Searle *Vizt.*			
To Jacob Motte			
Duty of 86 Negroes at £10		860	
3 Undersized at	5	15	
			875
To Cash [other items follow] per H. Laurens Paid Doctr. Chambers for Visitg the Ship			10
To Henry Laurens for Sundry Charges he Paid and Expences at the Sale			36
To Amt Mem. Commission 5 per ct on £19,332.10 being the Amot. of the Sale			966 12 6
To William Whaley and Co. Mercht. in Liverpool their A/Currt for the Nt. Proceed			17,443.2 6
			£19,332.10

William Whaley and Co. Owners of the *Orrel* their A/Cur.[7]	
To Capt. Saml. Lacer.	
1/4th part of his Commission he demanded of us being 4 (per ct) £104. on the Gross Sales for which and the 1/4th below we have transmitted his Rect.	185 17 6
To John Lee (Mate of the *Orrell*)	
1/4th part of the Captains Coast Commission as above paid him by order and the Rects. of Capt. Lacer	185 17 6

Total amt. to W. Whaley and Co. in a New A/Cu. 11,370 5 8

[7] The next page continues the invoice of the return cargo, which included rice, indigo, and deer skins.

168. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1752-1754.

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 10, 1752 [1]		*Earl of Radnor*	Robt. Raite	Africa	300	Austin and Laurens
Apr. 20	Apr. 29	*Emperor*	Charles Gwin	Congo	250	" " " [2]
May 4	May 13	*Molly*	Richard Watts	Gambia and Gold Coast	100	John Guerard
" 11	" 20	*Prince George*	Peter Bostock	Gambia and Grain Coast	300	William Stone
" 28	June 9	*Delight*	William Colquhoun	Africa	160	Stead and Evance
Oct. 16	Oct. 25	*Sarah and Anne*	John Nicholson			John Savage and Co.
" 30	Nov. 9	*Two Friends*	Abraham Hammett	Barbados	60	Glen and Cooper [3]
Nov. 13	" 29	*Eugene*	—— Merrick	Guinea		Austin and Laurens [4]
" 27 [5]	Dec. 1	*Nancy*	—— Marshall	St. Christopher		Inglis, Pickering, Wraxall
Mar. 5, 1753 [6]	Mar. 21	*Hannah*	Joseph Cornish	Barbados (Angola)	50	Robert Raper
May 21	May 31	*Thomas* [7]	Jas. Hutcheson	Barbados (Gambia)	100	Middleton and Brailsford
Aug. 6	Aug. 9	*Africa*	John Hinde	Grain and Gold Coast	170	Austin and Laurens
" 15	" 22	*Molly and Sally*	John Wilmshu[r]st	Barbados	100	Middleton and Brailsford
" 27	Sept. 5	*Emperor*	Charles Gwynn	Angola	350	Austin and Laurens [8]
" "	" "	*Orrel*	James Bennet	Gambia		" " "
" "	Aug. 30	*Elizabeth*	James Hunt	"		John Guerard
Sept. 3	Sept. 12	*Prince George*	Peter Bostock [9]	Gambia and Grain Coast	270	Wm. Stone
Oct. 1	Oct. 12	*Entwistle*	Wm. Briggs	Barbados	50	Middleton and Brailsford
Feb. 19, 1754 [10]	Feb. 26	*Molly and Sally*	Wilmshurst	" (Gold Coast)	24 [11]	Thomas Smith
Apr. 9		*Martha*	James Lone	"	80	Middleton and Brailsford
May 3	May 15	*St Paul*	Tublay James	Gambia		Charles Mayne
" 21	" 29	*Noble*	Wm. Whitson	"		James Michie
" "	" "	*New-Ormond and Success*	Dickson	" and Gold Coast	200	Middleton and Brailsford
" "	" "	*Nugent*	Jas. Hutcheson	Gambia	200	" " "
" "	" "	*Sylvia*	Jas. McMurdo	Coast of Guinea	200	Benj. Smith and Benj. Stead
June 4	June 11	*Matilda*	John Davis	" " "		Inglis, Pickering, Wraxall [12]
" "	" "			Gambia		Chas. Mayne
" 20	July 3	*Fortune*	Ed. Bouchier	Windward and Gold Coast	180	Austin and Laurens
July 4				Jamaica	48	
" 11	" 18	*Elizabeth*	Jas. Hunt	Gambia		John Guerard
" 18	" 31	*Orrel*	Jas. Bennet	"	170	Austin and Laurens
" 25	" "	*Mercury*	—— Webb	Jamaica (Gambia)	30	Benj. Smith and Co.
Aug. 22	Sept. 4	*Minerva*	Wm. Colquhoun [13]	Windward and Gold Coast	160	Middleton and Brailsford
" 29	" 5	*Africa*	William Mason	Sierra Leone		Austin and Laurens [14]
Oct. 3	Oct. 9	*Young Prince George*	John Rosse [15]	Gambia	50	Glen, Cooper and Co.
" 10	" 22	*Isaac*	John McNeill		60	Middleton and Brailsford
Dec. 12	Dec. 16	*Prince of Wales*	Robt. Gordon	Barbados (Gambia)	70	Chas. Mayne

[168] [1]For this year the *Gazette* provides figures more complete than can be derived from the advertisements of the merchants, as each issue reports the number of importations since Nov. 1, 1751.

Feb. 1, 327	Apr. 13, 420	Aug. 10, 1405	Nov. 6, 1572
Feb. 8, 355	Apr. 27, 650	Oct. 3, 1490	Dec. 25, 1865
Feb. 22, 403	May 18, 1066	Oct. 9, 1491	
Mar. 16, 411	May 28, 1071	Oct. 16, 1512	

This makes the monthly importation about as follows: February 76, March 8, April 239, May 421, June, July, and ten days of August 334, September 85, October 82, November and December 293. At Beaufort 19 are reported between Nov. 12, 1752, and Jan. 1, 1753 (*S. C. Gazette*, Jan. 1, 1753). These figures bear no relation whatsoever to those reported in the *Gazette* of Dec. 8, 1759, for 1752. For the quarter ending Mar. 25 the number given is 33; June 24, 50, Sept. 29, 212; and Dec. 25, 16—a total of but 311.

[2] "Just Imported in the Ship *Emperor*, Charles Gwin Commander, about Two Hundred and Fifty fine healthy Slaves directly from Africa; to be sold on Wednesday the 29th Instant, and none will be sold before that day, by AUSTIN and LAURENS" (*S. C. Gazette*, Apr. 20, 27, 1752); "To be sold to the highest Bidder, on Tuesday the 12th Instant, at the Vendue-House in Charles Town, A Parcel of healthy Congo Slaves, Chiefly Men and Women, Just imported by the *Emperor*, Capt. Gwynn, directly from the Coast. Credit will be given till the first of January next, giving Security if required, by AUSTIN and LAURENS." *Ibid.*, May 4, 1752.

[3] "On Thursday the 9th Day of November next, will be sold at Auction at the usual Place in Charles-Town, about Sixty very likely new Negro Men, Women, Boys and Girls, just imported in the Brigantine *Two Friends*, Abraham Hammett Master, from Barbados. Credit will be given 'till the first Day of March next, giving Security if required, and a Discount will be allowed for prompt Payment, by GLENN and COOPER. N. B. The Treasurer's Certificates issued before the Year 1752, will be taken in Payment." *S. C. Gazette,* Oct. 30, Nov. 6, 1752.

[4] "To be Sold, on Wednesday the 29th Instant, a very healthy fine Cargo of Slaves, imported directly from the Coast of Guiney, in the *Eugene*, Capt. Merrick. Great encouragement will be given to such as pay ready Money or the present Crop, by AUSTIN and LAURENS. N. B. The Treasurer's Certificates issued before the Year 1752, will be taken in Payment" (*S. C. Gazette*, Nov. 13, 20, 1752). The note was added to the advertisement on its second appearance.

[5] The *Boston News Letter*, Nov. 23, 1752, announced that the *Vine*, Robert Rantin, of Liverpool, bound from Barbados for Charleston with slaves, had been driven ashore. The cargo was saved. This vessel is not listed among the Liverpool slavers of 1752 (this work, II. 496-498). Indeed none of the vessels arriving in Charleston in 1752 or 1753 is to be found in the Liverpool list.

[6] The *Gazette's* cumulative returns of negroes imported since Nov. 1, 1752, are as follows:

Jan. 15, 305	Feb. 19, 351	June 4, 511	Sept. 10, 1345
Jan. 22, 326	Mar. 19, 399	Aug. 15, 511	Sept. 17, 1615
Jan. 29, 333	Apr. 2, 403	Aug. 27, 781	Oct. 15, 1665
Feb. 5, 349	May 28, 414	Sept. 3, 929	

Of the 305 on Jan. 15, 293 were reported on Dec. 25, 1752. The agreement between this list and the cargoes advertised is sufficiently close to give assurance that few vessels are missing. Of the nine cargoes during the year, Austin and Laurens received three, two of these very considerable ones, the third probably smaller, as it came in the *Orrel*, which had brought but 86 on her previous voyage. The report in the *Gazette* of Dec. 8, 1759, is not given for the calendar year but estimated for that period it is roughly 1787.

[7] The *Thomas*, capacity 200 negroes, was owned by G. Campbell and Co., Liverpool. Williams, *Liverpool Privateers*, p. 677.

[8] "On Wednesday the 5th of September next, Will be sold An exceedingly fine Cargo of 350 Healthy Negroes, just imported in the Ship *Emperor*, Captain Charles Gwynn, directly from Angola, by AUSTIN and LAURENS."

"Also, on the same Day as above, will be sold, A Cargo of exceeding fine Healthy Slaves, just imported in the Brigantine *Orrel*, Capt. Bennet, directly from the River Gambia, by AUSTIN and LAURENS." *S. C. Gazette*, Aug. 27, Sept. 3, 1753.

[*Notes to no. 168*—continued:]

[9] In 1754 Peter Bostock reported to the Board of Trade that in December, 1752, he had been driven from Shallis in the Kingdom of Dowell [Damel] by the arrival of the French. Here he had found the finest trade he had ever seen and natives who wondered why the English never sent vessels there. C. O. 388: 46 Ee 18; T 70: 143, p. 307. See C. O. 388: 44 Cc 73, for an earlier reference to Captain Bostock.

[10] The importations reported in the *Gazette* after Nov. 1, 1753, were as follows:

Jan. 1	17	Mar. 19	175	May 28	1169	July 18	1645
" 15	87	" 26	175	June 4	1169	" 25	1739
" 22	111	Apr. 2	175	" 11	1321	Aug. 15	1928
" 29	117	" 16	246	" 20	1321	Sept. 5	2206
Feb. 19	128	May 14	402	July 4	1494	Nov. 7	2330
" 26	165	" 21	402	" 11	1504		

No figures are given after those of Nov. 7. This makes the importation for the year 2313. It is reported in the *Gazette* of Dec. 9, 1759, as 3648, though the figures given total but 2648.

[11] "To be Sold, on Tuesday the 26th Instant, by Thomas Smith on the Bay in Charles-Town, Twenty four new Gold Coast Negroes, *viz.* 15 men, 6 women, 2 boys, and 1 girl, just imported in the ship *Molly and Sally*, from Barbados." *S. C. Gazette*, Feb. 19, 26, 1754.

[12] In the midst of a list of miscellaneous goods this firm inserted in its advertisement of Jan. 22, 1754, "Also imported, in the last vessels from the West Indies, N-England, and N-York About Thirty healthy and likely Negro Men and Women, mostly Gambia's and Coromantees".

[13] "Capt. Thomas Betson, late Master of a Snow belonging to London, which was run ashore and lost on the Coast of Africa about 2 Years ago, by the Negroes she had on board, is arrived here in Capt. Colquhoun, from Siera Leon." *S. C. Gazette*, Sept. 5, 1754.

[14] "To be Sold, on Thursday the 5th of September next, a Cargo Of fine Healthy Slaves Of the same Countries as come from the River Gambia: Imported in the Snow *Africa*, William Mason Commander, directly from Siera Leon. AUSTIN and LAURENS." *Ibid.*, Aug. 29, 1754.

[15] The colorless announcement of the sale of Captain Ross's negroes gives no notion of the adventures he had encountered before he reached Charleston with this cargo. The story begins with Captain Peter Bostock, of the *Prince George*, who when he reached Charleston in 1752 had reported a number of French men-of-war on the coast and preparations for an expansion of French trade in territory which the English had come to regard as their own. In a skirmish in which he, the natives, and perhaps the French were involved, he had seized and carried off several free natives (*S. C. Gazette,* May 11, 1752; C. O. 388: 46, 1754, May 9, Ee 18, 23). In retaliation the natives seized Captain Ross, who was also accused of stealing blacks (C. O. 388: 46 Ee 31; Admiralty Papers, I., Feb. 28, Mar. 12, 1754). The items in the *Gazette* concerning the *Young Prince George* report part of this to Charleston readers:

May 3, 1754, "Arrived from this or other Ports . . . The *Young Prince George,* Rosse, in the River Gambia".

July 11, "By Capt. Hunt, from Gambia, we learn, that the Sloop *Young Prince-George*, of this Port, which has been some Time expected from thence, was lately taken by the French, near Senegal".

July 18, "The Account in our last of the *Young Prince-George* Sloop's being taken by the French, was premature. The Captain (Rosse) had been to trade at a Place call'd Port Dallia, and was made Prisoner with his People, by the Natives, but made his Escape; and his Sloop was safe in Gambia River, when the last Vessel came away. Capt. Rosse writes, that a Sloop from London, one Trumbull [Turnbull?] Master, had been taken at Port Dallia, and plundered of her Cargo, Sails and Rigging and the Captain with all his Crew carried off by the Natives, but that the Vessel was retaken by a London Snow passing that Way" (also in *Boston News Letter*, Aug. 22, 1754).

Sept. 19, "We hear, that the *Young Prince George*, of and for this Port, from Gambia, John Rosse Master, was spoke with a few days ago, to the Southward, and had 50 or 60 Slaves on board".

The presence of the French in the Gambia River and their capture of a sloop from Liverpool was referred to in the *Gazette* of May 14.

169. Governor James Glen to the Board of Trade, 1754.[1]

August 26, 1754.

. . . There have been already Imported since the 1st of November upwards of 2000 Negroes, and there are some Ships that are still expected from Africa with more, they have all been readily sold and at great Prices, the men for 250, 260, and 270 Pounds Currency and the Women for 200, the Boys and Girls for little less; Some years agoe the usual prices were 170 or 180 pounds for the best picked men to be paid in Rice the following Crop, but they are now all purchased for ready money or with bonds bearing Interest, which are really as good as ready money, for I know of few or no Planters whose Credit is suspected. As Negroes are sold at higher Prices here than in any part of the King's Dominions we have them sent from Barbadoes, the Leeward Islands, Jamaica, Virginia and New York, this I think is a plain proof that this Province is in a flourishing condition, for these Importations are not to supply the place of Negroes worn out with hard work or lost by Mortallity which is the case in our Islands where were it not for an annual accretion they could not keep up their stock, but our number encreases even without such yearly supply. I presume tis Indigo that puts all in such high Spirits. . . .

[169] [1] Br. Trans., XXVI. 111.

170. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1755.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Mar. 6	Mar. 19	*Hare*	Caleb Godfrey[2]	Windward and Gold Coast	70	Wm. Banbury
Apr. 24	May 2	*Providence*	Wm. Nicholls	Barbados		Solomon Isaacs
June 12	June 19	*William*	David Griffith	Gambia	40	Inglis, Pickering, and Wraxall
" "	" 24	*Pearl*	William Jefferies	Angola	250	Austin and Laurens
July 10	July 16	*Matilda*	Ed. Wiltshire	Africa (Calabar)	170	Inglis, Pickering, and Wraxall
" 17	" 30	*Prince George*	Peter Bostock	Gambia and Windward Coast	220	Shubricks and Co.
" 24	" "	*Polly*	Paul Miller	Gold Coast		Solomon Isaacs and Henderson, and Robert Pierce
Aug. 21	Aug. 27	*Elizabeth*	J. Hunt	Gambia		John Guerard
" 28	Sept. 3	*Olive-Branch*	Thos. Hunt	Antigua (Gambia)		Smith and Scott
" "	" 5	*Orrel*	James Bennet	Gambia		Austin and Laurens
Sept. 19	" 25	*George*	James Gilcrist	Barbados (Gambia)		Middleton and Brailsford
Oct. 9	Oct. 15	*America*	Benj. Jefferson	Barbados (Windward Coast)		Solomon Isaacs
" 23	" 29	*Prince George*	John Rosse	Gambia	60	Glen, Cooper, and Co.
Nov. 13	" 24	*Margaret and Mary*	James Gordon	Antigua (Gambia)		Glen, Cooper, and Co.[3] / Middleton and Brailsford
Dec. 11	Dec. 18	*Jacky and Peggy*	James Dunbar	Antigua (Gambia)		Smith and Scott
" 18	" 31	*Gambia*	Robt. Dodson	Gambia	150	Chas. Mayne

[170] [1] The *Gazette*, on Dec. 8, 1759, gave 1305 as the total importation for 1755. Of the sixteen cargoes advertised in the *Gazette* Laurens in his letters mentioned eleven, giving the numbers in the cargoes of seven, the total of his figures amounting to 1264. If the cargoes of those not specified averaged as much we should have an importation of over 2000, but it is probable that Laurens named the larger cargoes. The *Gazette* of Oct. 16, 1755, gave 1275 as the number imported since the preceding Nov. 1. Four cargoes were advertised after that date. Eleven firms advertised newly arrived slaves during the year, Austin and Laurens announcing cargoes which amounted to 383 negroes.

[2] The owners of the *Hare* were Samuel and William Vernon of Newport, R. I. See this work, III. 146, 149-164, 166-173.

[3] The co-operation of two well-established houses in selling these negroes leads to the conjecture that the cargo was a large one, which the sellers feared that they might have difficulty in disposing of.

171. Instructions to Governor William Lyttleton, 1755.[1]

§29. Whereas Acts have been passed in some of our Plantations in America, for laying Duties on the Importation and Exportation of Negroes, to the great discouragement of the Merchants trading thither from the Coast of Africa.[2] . . . It is Our Will and Pleasure, that you do not give your assent to or pass any Law imposing Duties upon Negroes imported into Our Province of South Carolina, payable by the Importer or upon any Slaves Exported, that have not been sold in Our said Province and continued for the space of twelve months.

172. Henry Laurens to William Whaley, 1755.[1]

12th May 1755.

per Foote
William Whaley, *Liverpool*

Sir, . . . We have had no arrivals yet this Year from Africa save a Rhode Island Sloop[2] from Serralione wth 70 Slaves and another of New York[3] with about 40 now under Quarantine from Gambia. this Vessell brings an acct. that Slaves were very scarce in that River but we presume She came away before the usual season of their Comeing down as she has now been from there Eight Weeks. She says there was 4 or 5 Sail of Vessells just arriv'd in the River when she came away, one of them from your Port which by the

[171] [1] Br. Trans., XXVI. 291. William Lyttleton was governor from 1756 to 1760. Similar instructions were given to Thomas Boone when he became governor in 1761. McCrady, *Royal Government*, p. 378.

[2] South Carolina had passed a duty act in 1751, the preamble of which stated the reason for the tax to be the intention to provide a fund for the settling of the province with white inhabitants. A duty of £10 was laid on all negroes over four feet two inches, £5 on those between that and three feet two inches, for all under three feet two inches, £2 10 *s.* Notice must be given of the importation and sale, the importer must give security for the payment of the duties, and the purchaser must pay the duty before he removed the negro. In case a slave was re-exported within six months of his arrival the exporter received a drawback of three-fourths of the duty. The additional tax on slaves from other plantations was £50 unless it could be certified that the slave had not been in the colony six months. Cooper, III. 739-743.

[172] [1] Laurens Letter-Book. William Whaley (or Whalley, as the name appears in Williams, *Liverpool Privateers*) was a Liverpool member of the newly created Company of Merchants trading to Africa. He and his house were owners of the *Ann*, a Guineaman which in 1753 carried 340 slaves from Calabar. *Ibid.*, pp. 674-675.

For the years 1755 and 1756 we have an opportunity to follow the progress of the trade from day to day. Not only is it unusual to gain so close a view of the slave trade, it is seldom that any aspect of the economic life of the past can be viewed in such detail. For this reason a large number of letters for these years is published. The same is true for the year 1764. It might be added that an equally large number of letters has been omitted.

[2] The *Hare*, Caleb Godfrey. On the next voyage of the *Hare* her cargo was assigned to Austin and Laurens.

[3] The *William*, David Griffith. Laurens makes no reference here to the "likely young Men Slaves", brought in on the *Providence*.

description of the Master must be Capt. Bennett.[4] we are alarmd here with the expectation of a Sudden Warr with France. if the Reports prove true the Rice Planter will have but little encouragement to purchase Slaves but those who run upon Indigo which are no inconsiderable Number wont be at all discourag'd.[5] We have a large share of these Chaps always apply to us when we are posses'd of Slaves so that we shoud not fear of makeing as speedy and Good Sales as any body can here if a Warr shoud alter the present System of things. the Rhode Island Mans Slaves avarag'd upwards of £29. Sterling and those of the New Yorker will go of[f] as well. indeed a good Cargo just now we judge would sell as well as at any time Precedeing. . . .

173. Henry Laurens to Devonshire, Reeve, and Lloyd, 1755.

22 May 1755.

Devonsheir [1] Reeve and Lloyd, *Bristol*
per Pearse

Gentn. . . . A fine Cargo of Slaves would do well just now, wish the *Emperor* [2] could find the way here with such a one but we can hear no Tidings of her 'tho we have Vessells lately arriv'd from most part of the West Indias, one from Barbadoes that has been now out but 17 days. We should begin to suspect the French had began a War by making a sweep of our Trade upon the Coast of Africa but that we have two Vessells arriv'd from thence that have not been out a great while, one a Sloop of New York from Gambia with about 40 Slaves the other, the *Matilda* of your place with near 200 both of these Vessells having the small Pox must perform a long Quarantine which will be a vast injury to the latter if any number should drop in before she sells because Callabar Slaves wont go

[4] Capt. James Bennett, *Orrel*, owner John Knight of Liverpool. The *Orrel* had made at least three previous voyages to Charleston with slaves. Austin and Laurens announce in the *Gazette* cargoes received by the *Orrel*, July 29, 1751, Aug. 27, 1753, and July 18, 1754. Bennett had been the master in the voyage of 1754, Samuel Lacer in the earlier voyages. On the 22d Laurens wrote to Whaley that he had heard from Bennett, who reported twelve vessels in the Gambia River and very dull trade.

[5] Since France and Spain were the most profitable markets for rice, war would destroy the rice trade, but would not so seriously affect that of indigo, which was rapidly developing in South Carolina. Also the rice planters were better supplied with negroes than were the indigo producers, whose industry was a new one.

[173] [1] This spelling of Devonshire is the one consistently used by Laurens.

[2] The *Emperor,* Charles Gywnn, in which Laurens owned a share. She had brought slaves to Austin and Laurens in April, 1752, and in August, 1753. *S. C. Gazette*, Apr. 20, 1752, Aug. 27, 1753.

down when others can be had in plenty.[3] Pray let us be fully insured on the *Emperor* for if it be a War we are assurd the French at Martinica have a number of armd Vessells ready to put to Sea on the first notice whose first cruise we presume will be to windward of Barbadoes. . . . We are now at the *26th May*. since writing the Preceding We have a Letter from Mr. James Smith of St. Kitts dated the 2d Current in which he acknowledges the receipt of a Letter from us to be handed to Capt. Jefferis,[4] immediately goes on to tell us two Guinea Men had lately sold there one of them one Capt Rice from Angola. We naturally expected he was going to tell us in what situation Jefferis was in when Rice came away but says nothing more than that he shall deliver our Letter immediately on Jefferis arrival. We presume Jefferis must have been well for had it been otherways he would naturally have mentiond it. She will make a tedious Voyage we fear, wish it may end well.

174. Henry Laurens to Smith and Clifton, 1755.

26th May 1755.

Smith and Clifton, *St. Christophers*
per the *Benjamin,* Capt. Dickinson

Gentn., . . . We thank you for the care of our Letters to the Gentn. in your Neighbourhood and your intention of delivering that to the Captn. of the *Pearl* immediately on her arrival. It would have given us great pleasure to have heard through Capt. Rice how he left that Vessell as she has been out on the Voyage now near 12 months. from this we might have formed some judgment of the *Emperor,* Capt. Gwynn, a Ship we are largely concernd in. She saild from Cork for Malimba the 31st July and we can get no tidings of her further than that she had a short Passage to Angola. She had a Cargo out largely calculated for the purchase of 570 Slaves and we are told that one Capt. Carruthers of the *Jesse* that touchd at your place in his way to Jamaica should say that Gwynn would not be able to purchase more than 350 at which rate she must make but a ragged Voyage; her Cargo and Outset was above £7000 Sterling. was she to appear soon the prices with us might be some help as

[3] July 10, 1755, Laurens to John Knight, Liverpool, who was owner or part owner of the *Knight,* the *Orrel,* and the *Thames*: "We have nothing yet reachd us from Gambia nor any other part of the Coast later than the *Pearl*; on Wednesday next will be a Sale of 160 Callabars per the *Matilda* of Bristol who has lain 6 or 7 Weeks Quarantine on account of the small Pox, these Slaves will now sell well if no other Vessells pop in before the Sale but should that happen many that would buy these when none others can be had would forego the purchase for a Fortnight to get them of some other Country."

Sept. 6, 1755, Laurens to Peter Furnell, Jamaica: "stout healthy Fellows sell to most advantage with us, the Country not material if they are not from Callabar which Slaves are quite out of repute from numbers in every Cargo that have been sold with us destroying themselves."

[4] William Jefferies of the *Pearl*, owned by Thomas Easton and Co. of Bristol.

Slaves just now would sell very well. We have two Guinea Vessells now in port and both under a Quarantine for the small Pox so they wont be allowd to sell in less than a month or two, between them they have not more than 240 Slaves which are but a trifle to the number wanted. could you have sent 60 or 70 fine Slaves in Compa. with Mr. Crooke as you proposd We think we must have rendered an agreeable Account of them but we cannot promise that will be the case a while hence as 'tis impossible to judge what number may arrive with us this Summer. If we see two or three months hence that our imports are but small it may be worth while to take a share with you in One or two hundred to be here in the months of October and November. our Common method of selling Slaves arrived at what time they will is for payment in January or March following, if they are a very fine parcel Purchasers often appear that will produce the ready money in order to command a preference. the engagements we enter into in the Slave Trade are these to load the Ship with such Produce as can be got, pay the Coast Commissions and Mens half Wages and to remit the remainder as the payments shall grow due. We sold three Cargo's last Year after the first of July [1] and every shilling was remitted for them by the 18th March and every preceding Year has been much the same. all our Remittances hitherto but trifles have been Bills of Exchange at 30 or 40 days sight, an entire parcel of fine negroes must enable us to remit quicker than we can for a Cargo which consists of a mixture of all sorts and sizes, for the ordinary and small Slaves we must sell on such terms of payment as we can, those which are prime enable us to pick our Customers. at some times of the Year we can advance for our Friends without any inconvenience at others when we have large orders for Produce it is very inconvenient as our Planters produce such as is fine always commands Cash down. thus we have given you the best Account we can of our African business if at any time you should be disposed to try it be assurd it shall be our endeavours to give you satisfaction. . . .[2]

If She [ship *Sarah*] Comes down the most Certain Article we can recommend to be Sent by her is a few fine Negro Men (not Callabars). We dont know how things are just now in Jamaica be them as they will there may be Strange alterations before the *Sarah* can return; which is the fullest and best reply we are able to give to your favour before us. . . .

[174] [1] *Fortune*, Ed. Bouchier, 180 Windward and Gold Coast negroes; *Orrel*, James Bennett, 170 Gambia negroes; *Africa*, William Mason, Sierra Leone negroes.

[2] The paragraphs omitted deal with the general trade between South Carolina and the West Indies. Laurens reports that South Carolina will no longer have corn and peas to ship, as the planters who have hitherto raised them are devoting their efforts to the more profitable indigo. He also discourages the sending of rum and molasses to South Carolina as it is difficult to find sale for it.

175. Henry Laurens to Wells, Wharton, and Doran, 1755.

27th May 1755.

Wells Wharton and Doran, *St. Christophers*
per the *Benjamin,* Capt Dickinson

Gentlemen, Your kind favour of the 28th Decem now before us did not reach us till 14th March, from which time we have had no oppertunity of replying to it, We are sorry Capt. Raite in the *Earl of Radnor* [1] brought down so sickly a Cargo that you could not Venture to Stop her at so low a limit as £21. per head, from this we conclude that She must have made the Gentlemen concern'd but a bad Voyage; are glad she did not Come here as a sickly Cargo from Callabar at that Season of the Year especially would have mov'd very heavily and very probably have been order'd a long Quarantine; had they been healthy and in good flesh we shoud. have been glad to have seen her as there never was a better opening for a Cargo of Calabar Slaves than in the Months of Octor, and Novem last oweing to a Number of Small Indigo Planters finding a ready sale for their Crops a 32/6 to 35/ per [?] which brought them in such large sums they were all mad for more Negroes, and gave for very ordinary Calabar Men £250. Cash; Our Imports this Year hitherto have been very small none yet sold but a few small Parcels from Barbadoes and a little Cargo of about 70 in a Sloop of Rhode Island Capt. Godfrey from Gambia; a few of the fine Men sold so high as £280. or £40. Sterling but our People will not Currently give that Price, they seem very content to give £260. for Men and a large Number would this day sell at that rate. We have two from Africa now under Quarantine on Acct of the small Pox One of them a Sloop of New York Griffith Master with abo't 40 Slaves from Gambia, the other the *Matilda* of Bristol from Calabar with 90, these we apprehend cant be sold this Month or two; many more Vessells are expected but if a Warr with France should take place which we seem to be at the 'Eve of we presume most of them will stop in the West Indias. such an event would give a sudden Check to the Rice Planters but not at all to those who go upon Indigo, so that we judge we may have vend for abo't half the Number in time of Warr that we have in Peace say from 12 to 1500 per Annum; We are sorry Capt. Darbyshires Tender brought no more than 60 Slaves as our Good Freind Mr. Knight promis'd himself 100 by her, but Mr. Furnell [2] advises us from Jamaica that he made a great sale of Darbyshires Cargo sold abo't 350 Slaves at upwards of £45 per head, that money

[175] [1] Austin and Laurens had sold 300 negroes from this vessel in 1752. *S. C. Gazette*, Jan. 10, 1752.

[2] Peter Furnell of Jamaica. He was the seller of the cargo of the unlucky *Emperor.*

which we think must make up for the defficiency of the other; We were empowr'd to order down here 100 of the Prime Men out of Darbyshires Cargo, but did not chuse to do it being of Opinion we could not for those Slaves exceed the Prices at Jamaica, Our People like the Gambia and Windward coast full as well or the Angola Men such as are larger. The Contracts we enter into for Slaves is to load the Ship wth Produce when it can be had, to pay coast Commission and Half Wages, to remit the remainder as Payments shall grow due; which makes that Business sufficiently heavy in this Country for in our small Business, w[h]ere we would not out of Choice receive above 700 Slaves per Annum,[3] we are often in advance more than £10,000 Sterling. we have hitherto always Balanc'd our Accot. by the Month of March succeeding the sale, but 'tis not to be done without a large advance of Money, indeed for this we have an Interest of 8 perCt. We have for 4 or 5 Years past had so great a Plenty of Bills that we have been at very little loss at any time to Gratify our Friends with a Remittance therein. . . .

176. Henry Laurens to Captain Charles Gwynn, 1755.[1]

12th June 1755.

Capt. Charles Gwynn of the *Emperor* at *Jamaica*
per Adams

Sir, We have before us your kind favour of 3d May from Jamaica the date would have pleasd us much better if it had been from Rebellion Rhoad,[2] however what cant be cur'd must be submitted to which we do on our parts as chearfully as can be expected on such an occasion and are thankfull that you are safe and that matters are no worse after such a trying Storm as you describe. to be sure if you had arrivd about the middle of April or any time since we should have made a glorious Sale of your Cargo, our Planters are in full spirits for purchasing Slaves and have almost all the money hoarded up for that purpose. Indigo has kept up at a most exhorbitant price in England so has Rice and in short every Article from our Colony sells mighty well. at home our Planters in general have bent their strength to Indigo and we verily believe that many of them have planted much more than they can reap and work without an augmentation of their Slaves, relying on the importation of this Summer. from hence we expect to make a fine Sale the 24th Inst of the *Pearl's*

[3] Austin and Laurens, if selling 700 slaves a year, must have been doing about one-fourth of the business carried on in Charleston at this time, though there were certainly a dozen firms in Charleston that handled slaves with more or less regularity.

[176] [1] On the same day Laurens wrote a letter similar to this to Peter Furnell. For an account of Captain Gwynn's misadventures see letters of June 26 and July 4, *post*, no. 178 and n. 2.

[2] Charleston harbor.

Cargo, Capt. Jefferies.[3] He arrivd here the 10th Inst with 251 pretty Slaves, we shall strain hard to get £40 Stg. per head for the best men 'tho we must be carefull not to break the Cord besides this Guinea Man here's only the *Matilda* from the Bight and a Sloop from Gambia both performing Quarantine for the small Pox. the latter indeed has gone through it. Our Accounts from Gambia are very bad, Slaves scarse, upward of 20 Sail in the River and the small Pox currant among them, we believe few Slaves will come from that Quarter. Capt. Timberman has lost his Ship [4] going over the Bar of Bonny and we judge no other Vessell will come here from Angola. from all this we are of opinion our importation will not be excessive and that barring a War with France the price of Slaves will hold up here thro this Summer, good prices and quick payments. . . .

177. Henry Laurens to John Yeates, 1755.

12th June 1755.

John Yeates, *Jamaica*

Sir, We have before us your kind favour 3d Ulto and are glad to see our conduct in Mr. Chapones Affairs is pleasing to you. the two Negroes which he brought hither for Sale we sent to George Town where they have sold for £570. Nt and a great part of the money paid down, a price we think far above their real worth if we do not misjudge their Qualifications, but from this we entreat you will not be encouragd to send any more such, for altho we shall be always glad to render you our best services in any other matters we must make an absolute objection to the consignment of West India Slaves, besides they are subject to a duty of £50 per head [1] which we suppose Mr. Chapone escapd by importing them as his attendants . . . our Market keeps very high for the sale of Negroes and will continue so through the Year barring a French War. We have a Ship [2] on hand with 250 Angola Slaves and expect to put off a good many of the Men at near £40 Sterling per head. . . .

178. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1755.

26th June 1755.

John Knight, *Liverpoole*
per White

Sir, . . . Capt. Bennett has given us a Letter of the 15th March soon after his arrival at Gambia in which he in-

[3] The *Gazettes* of June 12 and 19, 1755, contain the following: "Just imported in the Ship *Pearl,* Capt. William Jefferies Commander, directly from Angola, about 250 fine healthy Slaves, To be sold on Tuesday the 24th Instant, by Austin and Laurens."

[4] The *Amoretta*?

[177] [1] Cooper, III. 743.

[2] The *Pearl.*

forms us that Slaves were very scarse in the River, the number of Purchasers so great that he shall think himself very well off to get 2/3rd of his Compliment. we wish he had been with us with that number two days ago when we made Sale of the Cargo of the *Pearl,* Jeffries, of Bristol from Angola which avarage £33.17. Sterling, her Cargo was 250. we had Chaps for more than double the number could we have furnishd them. There was in this parcell near 150 Men and large Boys, the Men all to a trifle brought 270 and £280. Five of them sold so high as £290 per head, a very great price we think for Angola Slaves. Our ready money upon the Sale does not exceed £1000 Stg. but scarsely one sold for longer Credit than January. Had we been confind to sell for ready money which Mr Mear[1] requires should be the case for the Cargo of Capt. Allen had we encouragd him to come down here, indeed by our Letters of the 10th January to meet him at St. Kitts we were far from discouraging him but in them told him on what Terms of Credit Slaves usually sell with us to make the most of a Sale. If matters are properly considerd it will appear the Owners of the *Pearl* wont be two months longer out of their money than if she had sold in the West Indias and we dare say we have raisd the Sale £1700 Sterling, say the Ship would have been dispatchd in Ten Weeks, that she carried 3/4 of the Produce in Bills at 3 months sight and the other 1/4 in 12 months after, with what we shall send in the Ship and the remainder in January dispatching the Ship in 30 days from arrival, were we Owners of the Vessell and Residents in England [we] do think we should like the Carolina Remittances full as well as the other. the *Emperor* Capt. Gwynn has made a sad piece of work of it this Voyage, purchasd only 390 Slaves, buried of them 120, met with a violent Gale of Wind off this Bar on the 8th of April which obligd him after lying too for seven days to bear away for Jamaica; Mr. Furnell advises us of the 3d May he had then sold 77 of his Slaves at about £20.10/ Stg. on an Average, a very poor affair indeed compard with our Market which will greatly agravate the loss upon a destructive Voyage.[2] all the Vessells that have reachd us from Africa since we last wrote you are a Sloop of New York from Gambia with 40 Slaves, the *Matilda* of Bristol from the Bight with 190 do. each of these Vessells brought the small Pox; the first was admitted to sell on the 19th after a Quarantine of 45 days, the other has now lain about a month and may continue a fortnight or three Weeks longer. . . .

[178] [1] Thomas Mears of Liverpool.

[2] On July 4, 1755, Laurens wrote to Messrs. Devonshire, Reeve, and Lloyd: "We have before informd you of the *Emperor* being forced off our Coast and selling at Jamaica. We are of opinion that mishap alone will be £2000 Sterling out of the way of the Owners. We mean that her Slaves would have yielded so much more here than there but 'tis fruitless to think of what can't be remedied. We will call her a very unlucky Ship to the concernd."

179. Henry Laurens to Thomas Mears, 1755.

27th June 1755.

Thomas Mears, *Liverpoole*
per White

Sir, . . . We fear your Snow the *Mears* Capt. Allen has misd a most charming Market with us if what we have heard of her be true that she was very forward in her Slaving the beginning of March, she must if well have reachd the West Indias long before this. We had no opportunity of forwarding Letters to meet him at Barbadoes 'till a Week ago when we thought it too late. some have been laying at St. Kitts for many months past in which we gave Capt Allen good encouragement to come down here if he could dispence with selling them on Credit as usual which if he was to come in so late in the Year as this would be nearly as expeditious as from the West Indias where for nine Cargoes out of ten they keep one fourth of the produce 12 months, delay your ship 8 or 10 Weeks with them and most of the Bills they send you are payable 3 mos. after sight. We sold a Cargo from Angola three days ago none on longer Credit than the Month of January. The bulk of the Men brought 280 and £270. Five of them £290. the Cargo avarages £33.17/ Stg. if we had stood out for ready money are of opinion the Sales would not have run so high by 6 or £7 Stg. We must stick to this modus to keep up our Sales, the Importer is extreamly well paid by laying 3 or 4 months out of their money. . . . We have very good prospects of Crops this Year both of Rice and Indigo, by our computation shall make at least 500,000 weight of the latter barring accidents. this spirits up our People to give good prices for Slaves, many having planted largely in expectation of buying new Negroes to give them a Lift in their Crops so that a Cargo or two more would just now do extreamly well but our People growl in the Gizard a good deal at paying more than £260, this price they would be contented with which is equal to £37.2.10 Stg. we wish you a successfull Voyage in the *Mears* wherever she sits down.

P. S. Since closing the foregoing it has occurd to us that if we have no War this Year and you could do any thing for the *Austin* to the West Indias there to take in a parcel of prime Slaves for this place if to be purchasd at a moderate price as things now appear to us there is a great probability that they would turn to Account, from this we form our opinion that as most of the Vessells expected here are from Gambia where Slaves are this Year very scarse, the small Pox in every part of the River and those which come

down will be greatly short of their Compliment, Men Slaves from 18 to 25 Years of age turn to best Account, tall able People of any Country, but Callabars. If they come later than October they should have a warm Jacket and Breeches.[1]

180. Henry Laurens to Henry Weave and Company, 1755.[1]

2d July 1755.

Henry Weave and Co. Owners of the *Fortune, Bristol*
per Rains

Gentn. Your favour of the 5th of April reachd us yesterday advising of the Receipt of Sundry Bills, to the amount of £548.11.9½ Sterling the Ballance of the *Fortune's* Cargo. We are glad the Remittance was satisfactory wish the Sales had been so and really had the Cargo been tolerable We are sure it was in our power on that day to have made as good a Sale as any that preceeded it. We had as many Purchasers as we could have wishd, there were forty or fifty that came upwards of Seventy Miles distance most of which returnd without a Slave and these sort of People are the only ones to raise a Sale, for if they like the Slaves they wont go back empty handed so far for 10 or £20. in the prices. We had not in Capt. Jeffries Cargo the other day six Men so ordinary as the best of Capt. Bouchers. this Sale will show what might have been done with a Cargo of good Slaves. We need not tell Mr. Weave that this Cargo avarages £33.17/ Stg, as we see he is concernd in the Ship. Those of Boucher were sold every bit as well considering what a scabby Flock he brought. We sold of those Men from 240. to £260. that we would not have insurd to reach the Masters Plantation alive for £100. per head they were so very low. . . . the next Cargo of Slaves that sell with us must go off very well as we were unable to furnish one third part of the Purchasers that attended at the Sale of these last. Could your *Fortune* have the good luck to come down here this Summer with a healthy Cargo well assorted we dare say she would find a better Market with us than any where else, proviso we have no declaration of War as our Crops of Rice and Indigo are both thus far very promising.[2]

[179] [1] The next day Laurens, in a letter to Corsley Rogers and Son, repeats the suggestions made in this postscript, for their vessel, the *Oldbury*.

[180] [1] Messrs. Henry Weave and Co. were the owners of the *Fortune*, Edward Bouchier master, whose cargo of 180 negroes from the Windward and Gold coasts Austin and Laurens had sold on July 3, 1754. *S. C. Gazette*, June 20, 1754.

[2] June 10, 1755, Laurens to James Cowles: "We shall have a great deal [of indigo] offered to us from such Persons as deal with us for Slaves from Williamsburgh Township which affords in general the best Indigo."

181. Henry Laurens to Robert and John Thompson and Company, 1755.

5th July 1755.

Robert and John Thompson and Co.
Owners of the *Africa*,[1] *Lancaster*
per Rains

Gentn. . . . The Sale of Slaves having continued with us much the same as we advised you last, that is: have hitherto sold mighty well, all the Vessells arrivd with us this Year are two Sloops from Gambia who between them brought about 110 Slaves which avaragd something above £30. Sterling, a Snow from the Bight with 170 which has lain Quarantine for 5 or 6 Weeks having the small Pox, to be sold next Week, a Ship from Angola to our selves brought 243 very pretty Slaves on the general, these we sold on the 24th Ulto, a few of the finest Men at £290. many at £280. and very few under £270. this Cargo tho the Women were but midling avarages £33.17/ Stg. Had we had double the Number on that day we had had more than Purchasers enough for them and not one sold for longer Credit than the month of January. 'tis owing to our success last Year in Indigo and a very good prospect we have the present that People buy with this Spirit. The apparent prospect of sudden War has not as yet in the least discouragd them and if no Declaration is made this Summer we judge Negroes will continue to sell well through the Year as we are likely to be disappointed of a large part of those that were destin'd here the present Summer (*vizt.*) the *Emperor* Capt. Gwynn, a Ship we are pretty largely concernd in went to Angola for 570 Slaves, came off this Barr the 8th of April and was forced away to Jamaica by a violent Gale of Wind most of the others that were intended are from Gambia from whence we hear they wont be able to obtain half their Compliment and that the small Pox is so very rife in that River, we imagine some of our Vessels will stop in the West Indias to avoid a Quarantine with us, from these considerations 'tis our opinion if no War Breaks out Slaves will sell as well in October and November as at any time even to Xmas which we think it our duty to inform you. . . . We are now expecting the arrival of two Vessells from Gambia, the *Mears* and *Orrel* belonging to Liverpool. . . .

[181] [1] The cargo of the *Africa*, advertised as "slaves of the same countries as come from the River Gambia", had been sold by Austin and Laurens on Sept. 5, 1754. *S. C. Gazette*, Aug. 29, 1754.

182. Henry Laurens to Smith and Clifton, 1755.[1]

17th July 1755.

Smith and Clifton, *St Christophers*
per Sinclair *Anguilla*

Gentn, . . . We think there is a chance of making money on a parcell of Slaves purchasd with you to come down here in the Fall proviso there is no War this Year. if there should [be] it wont by any means do. So if you will be half concernd with us in a hundred Slaves proviso you can purchase that number of very likely healthy People, Two thirds at least Men from 18 to 25 Years old the other young Women from 14 to 18 the cost not to exceed Twenty five Pounds Sterling per head, you will please to Interest us the other Half and [draw] for the purchase of our moiety value on Mr. James Cowles £600 Stg. on Messrs. Devonsheir Reeve and Lloyd the remainder, advising the latter Gentlemen to insure for us. there must not be a Callabar amongst them. Gold Coast or Gambia's are best, next to them the Windward Coast are preferd to Angola's. We would not choose them sent in the Hurricane Season but rather to come in the Month of October or November. pray observe that our People like tall Slaves best for our Business and strong withall such as are small meagre or other ways ordinary wont sell better here than with you. the difference in price between Men and Women here is never less than £3 Stg. per head sometimes £6; for your government, young Lads from 13 to 15 Years of age wont bring so much as Men by 5 or £6 Stg. at that difference in price they are very saleable.

183. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1755.[1]

24th July 1755.

John Knight, *Liverpoole*
per Wiltshire

Dear Sir, . . . We imagine the *Mears* must have come off the Coast long ago, having been informed by the Master of a Sloop some time ago that she had Sixty Slaves on board at the middle of

[182] [1] The paragraph recounting the familiar tale of the sale of the cargo of the *Pearl*, the disastrous voyage of the *Emperor*, and the conditions in the River Gambia is omitted. Captain Sinclair also carried a letter of July 17 to Messrs. Wells, Wharton, and Doran containing the same matter.

[183] [1] On July 21 Laurens wrote to Knight: "After confirming the foregoing Copy of our last We must take leave to inform you that a few of the *Matilda's* Men Slaves sold so high as £270, say the Privilidge, several brought £260 a very great price for Callabar Slaves, since which a Sloop of New York laden with Red Wood some Teeth and 30 Slaves is arrivd from the Camaroons and Bostock from the Windward Coast, last from Cape Mount. he has been attended with his usual good fortune. brought as much Cam Wood as he says will pay for his outward bound Cargo and 220 Slaves besides. the Ship has been out of London but Ten months. nothing yet appears with us from Gambia. We wish the *Orrell* may be the first and be a fortnight ahead of the rest as there are six or seven sail expected should they all drop in together it might lower the prices now given."

January. the small Pox we understand is very rife this Year in the River Gambia and possibly by having that disorder Capt. Allen may have gone to some other Market but we have not heard of his arrival at any of the Islands from which Quarter we have pretty late intelligence. We are mighty glad the *Thomas* [*Thames*?] makes you so pretty a Voyage. We fear it will be much otherways with the *Orrel* this Year unless Slaves should come down much faster than they did when our intelligence came away which was at the middle of March. We shall write by the very first opportunity that shall present both to Barbadoes and St. Kitts to meet Capt. Jenkinson of the *Fanny* [2] 'tho we are afraid We shant get any in time as we have no Vessells now with us for any part of the West Indias. should that Vessell come down we shall carefully adhere to your orders to hurry him away with all dispatch. . . .

We are sorry you have such a mighty poor Market for Rice that some of that of the *Orrel* should remain on hand in April. We really expected that you must have been in want of a little supply by that time as no one Vessell is gone for your place all this last Season. We wish you had told whether Naval Stores had not taken a rise upon the prospect of War as they have done in London or Bristol by way of Government to us in case any of your African Ships should come this way. We fear we shall not be able to load anything upon them but Rice or Naval Stores except some Indigo and a few Skins, as to the last Article it is so much now engrossed by Persons who ship them on their own Accounts that we dont think we shall be able to obtain 30 hogsheads in the whole Year. We lay out every way we can invent to get them and dont get a Tenth part of the Quantity we would purchase if the Cash would bring them. as to Indigo We shall have the first offer of a great deal and from such People as generally make the best. We expect to see some little parcells of this Years growth very soon at Market as half of our Planters are now cutting away and will bring it down as early as possible hoping the first that appears will bring the best price.

3 per 100 wont pay the *Austin* an extra freight. should hope the great appearance of War would give a fillup to the Portugal Markets as we find it has done to the prices at London and Cowes but we have latterly made too much Rice are in hopes through the Indigo we shall reduce the Quantity of Rice to 60 or 70,000 Barrels as we seldom fail of finding Markets for so much that will take it off to advantage.

We have this Year introduced a little Ancona Hemp seed which we flatter ourselves will become another valuable Export from this Province and be a means of dividing the labour of our hands so that

[2] See *post*, no. 185.

we may not glut the Market with any one Article. We have had a very great plenty of Bills of Exchange all this Spring and from the fondness of People to buy Indigo are of opinion we shall be in no want of them to remit for Negroes at this next Season to such Gentlemen as shall prefer them.

We ought rather to be ashamd than you that we give you the trouble of striking off our Commission on the Coast Commission and disbursements for the *Orrel.* the money is a thing we dont in the least mind. We are only endeavouring to avoid the censure of our Neighbours that they should not charge us with making Innovations on the Commiss's they have been always accustomd to. . . .

184. HENRY LAURENS TO THOMAS EASTON AND COMPANY, 1755.

31st July.

Thomas Easton and Co. Owners of the *Pearl, Bristol*
per Jeffries

Gentn., . . . We are now to present you with the Sale of your Slaves per the *Pearl* the Nt Proceed whereof being £52,294.17.9 Currency, we pass to your Credit in Account Current also inclosd which gives a Ballance now in your favour of £33,979.15.2 [1] which we shall remit as it grows due in Bills of Exchange if can obtain them unless you shall order us to invest it in something else, as 'tis possible a War may occasion a scarsity of Bills pray direct us in such case in what way else we shall remit relying upon our utmost endeavours to send you Bills if you prefer them for Remittance. . . . you will please to take notice at the foot of the Sales there is an abatement of £100 to Daniel Heyward and a memorandum that he demands £100 more. he lives near 100 miles distance and writes us there was a mistake of £200 in casting up the Sum total of his Slaves that is they were rated at five or six different prices. the paper on which it was done he took from us, now if upon returning that Paper it appears we are wrong We must abate him £100 more. this we shall know from him very soon when we shall regulate the Account accordingly and advise you how it stands.

Most People were of opinion the almost certainty of an immediate War with France must have given a damp to the Sale of a Cargo of Slaves of the *Prince George,* Bostock, which sold two days ago but 'twas so much the reverse that some of the Buyers went to collaring each other and would have come to blows had it not been

[184] [1] The first account of the sale of the cargo of the *Pearl* was sent to John Knight on June 24, and to Messrs. Easton on June 27. Five men had sold for £290 each, the rest for prices ranging from £270 to £280. The cargo of 243 yielded a gross return of £57,656, an average of £33. 17.1 stg. This vessel had lost sixty or seventy negroes in the Middle Passage, in spite of which the venture must have been a profitable one.

prevented in contending for the choice, which gave the Seller an excellent opportunity to make them pay what price he pleasd and through this he got £300 for some. By the number of People that day in Town which seem'd to be in want we compute they would have taken off 1000 Slaves at a good round price so that we think the Vessells that are to follow this Year cannot fail of a good Market with us.[2] . . .

185. Henry Laurens to Captain William Jenkinson, 1755.

13th August 1755.

Capt. Willm. Jenkinson or Commr. of the
Brigt. *Fanny* to the care of Mess.
Carter and Hunter, *Barbadoes*
per Gordon [1]

Sir, We have a Letter before us of the 17th March from our worthy good Friend Mr. Knight which did not reach us 'till the 24th Ulto. in this he directs us to meet you with Letters at Barbadoes and St. Kitts to inform you how the price of Slaves holds with us telling us you have orders to proceed down here if you cant obtain £30. Stg per head round for your Cargo at one of those Islands and that we dont discourage your coming, We are a little puzzeld what advice to give you as we seem to be at the very eve of a War with France, if none should be declared before the day of Sale we should hope to render a very pretty Account proviso your Cargo was healthy and well assorted as it does not appear to us we shall have so many come down here this Summer as our People are in want of, the best Cargoes for our Market are those that have most full grown Men, the Men generally bring with us from 3 to £6 Stg. more than the Women and 4 or £5. more than what you call Men Boys of 14 to 16 Years of Age. the last Cargo we sold was from Angola about six Weeks ago. it consisted of 116 Men 45 Women 49 Boys and 33 Girls, they were healthy and in good flesh, they sold upon an Avarage at £33.15.6 Stlg. since that about 250 Slaves have been sold in two Vessells from the Windward Coast, the able Men brought upwards of £40 Stlg. these were sold since the advice reach'd us of Mr. Boscowen having taken and sent into Hallifax some French Men of War which we here think in effect a declaration of War and there was notwithstanding Purchasers enough attended those Sales to have taken off

[2] In letters of July 31 to Devonshire, Reeve, and Lloyd, and of Aug. 1 and 6 to Messrs. Corsley Rogers and Son and Henry Weave and Co., all of Bristol, Laurens repeats his account of the feverish demand for slaves from the *Prince George,* but on Oct. 13 he wrote to Messrs. Easton, also of Bristol, that he had been mistaken in the price of Bostock's slaves, none of whom had sold for more than £290.

[185] [1] Gordon also carried letters to Smith and Clifton, and to Wells, Wharton, and Doran, of St. Christopher, giving much the same information.

1000 more Slaves than there was for them. all the Vessells that we now know of expected to reach us this Year are five or six Snows from Gambia which amongst them we dare say wont bring that number and tis highly probable as the small Pox is very rife in that River some of them will be infected and stop in the West Indias, the Vessells are the *Mears,* Allen, the *Orrel,* Bennet, the *St. Paul,* James, the *Elizabeth,* Hunt, the *Nugent,* Hutchinson and another Snow that is his Consort one Todd Master with a small Sloop calld the *Prince George,* Ross, you may possibly learn which of them have stopd in the West Indias and what luck has attended the Gambia Vessells this Year, We have reason to believe very indifferent; should they all come down here and no War there will be room enough for you, this is the best Account we are able to give you of the present state of our Market. we wish you may be able so to govern yourself as to sit down at the most advantageous Market for our Friend which will be much more agreeable to us than the Commission arising from the Sales.[2]

186. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1755.

20th Augt. 1755.

John Knight, *Liverpoole*
per Clutsam

Sir, The above is Copy of our last. three days ago we got a Letter of the 1st Inst. from Capt. Bennet at St. Kitts advising that he should sail for this place in two days so that we are hourly expecting his appearance and endeavouring to provide a proper Cargo for him, what we intend if we can get it is about 200 Barrels Pitch, 100 Barrels Rice, 8 or 10 Hogsheads of Skins and a little Indigo if the purchase be not immoderate. the Rice and Skins we are pretty sure of but as to the Pitch believe shall be puzzeld to get it in which case must send more Rice rather than send the Vessell home empty.

Capt. Bennet advises us that he then had on board 140 Slaves, that his whole purchase was 167, Twenty seven of which he had buried and all of them except three before he left the River, that he had lost the major part of his Ships Company amongst them his Doctor which was a heavy misfortune. it appears to us that he made a better purchase than any other Vessell at Gambia and if he brings in 140 Slaves in good order and well assorted we shall hope that he will make no bad Voyage to the Owners. he does not say

[2] In the next letter, written on Aug. 15, Laurens announced the arrival of the *Elizabeth* with news of the *Mears* and the *Orrel,* and in a letter of Aug. 20 to Messrs. Devonshire, Reeve, and Lloyd he wrote that he had learned from the *Elizabeth* that Captain Hutchinson, *Nugent,* had 120 slaves and Captain Todd about 100 when the *Elizabeth* sailed.

a Word of the *Mears.* the Captn. of the Sloop that brought his Letter tells us there was a Snow sold at St. Kitts that was intended for this place in which all the Officers were dead down to the Boatswain. We hope it wont prove to be Allen but indeed we think had it been he Capt. Bennet would not have omitted mentioning it, Please to make Insurance on Goods per the *Orrel* 1000 or £1200 Stlg, if any deficiency on that Sum the Premium to be returnd, We cannot pretend to ascertain the value we shall ship before we see how the price of Indigo will open. there are some parcells now ready for Market which the Makers declare they will ship themselves rather than sell it for less than 40/ per l. a very long price, before we give it must have more encouraging Lrs. [letters] than the last we had from England, the latest Letter that has reach'd us from London is of the 15th of May when our friends there seemd to think that Indigo must fall soon. We have no other Guinea Man in Port but the *Elizabeth,* she sells on this day Week her Cargo but 112 Slaves. she went for the same number as the *Orrel* but did not purchase above 135.[1] . . .

187. Henry Laurens to Henry Weave and Company, 1755.

30th Augt. 1755.

Henry Weave and Co. Owners of the *Fortune, Bristol*
per Bonell

Gentlemen, Since we wrote you last of which the above is triplicate we saw a Letter from Capt Easton to Messrs Middleton and Brailsford that did not surprise us a little,[1] it run thus, that Capt Tod at Gambia was to put his grown Slaves on board of Hutchinson and proceed himself with his small Slaves to Barbadoes for the Gentn. observd that small Slaves did not sell near so well with us as in the West Indias and as a proof of it mention the *Fortune's* Cargo[2] which they say Capt. Boucher was offerd £24 Stlg. per head for and here they did not bring £20. Capt. Boucher indeed said so to us but we thought him upon the banter as not being Strangers to the West Indias Prices, if Capt. Boucher had such an offer it must be from a person who had not seen them and that presumd they were a healthy well assorted Cargo of Slaves but we rather think it must have been £24 Barbadoes Money[3] per head which would have been

[186] [1] On the 26th Laurens wrote that the *Orrel* had arrived with 133 slaves and that the sale was announced for the first day on which the law allowed the slaves to be sold, the prescribed period of quarantine being ten days. "To be Sold, on Friday the 5th of September, a Cargo of very fine Slaves, just arrived in the Snow *Orrel,* James Bennet, Master, from Gambia, by Austin and Laurens." *S. C. Gazette,* Aug. 28, 1755.

[187] [1] Rather, "did surprise us not a little".

[2] See *ante,* no. 180.

[3] In 1761 the rate of exchange between Barbados currency and sterling was 135. John Wright, *American Negotiator,* p. vi.

a great price in the West Indias for such a Cargo. be pleasd to look in to your Sales and you will find there was 25 Men only and 22 Women, 70 Boys and 51 Girls it will appear by the duty[4] we paid that there was 92 under the height of 50 Inches a large part of them not 40 Inches, now can it be imagind that such a Cargo and the most mangey Creatures that ever were seen should bring £24. Stlg. round when the Prime Men from Gambia and the Windward Coast were bought at Barbadoes and shipt to this place at about £25. Stlg. which we dare say Messrs. D R and Lloyd can verify by some purchases made for them, the thing is absurd to the last degree. there never was a better sale made in this Province the condition of the Slaves considerd. you will find many of the Men sold for £250, at which time we must assure you no Man in the Province was more in want of Slaves than our G A. [George Austin] lost more than half his Crop for want of assistance, would have given any price for a few good ones but did not touch one fearing their disorder would have infected his Plantation assure yourselves they were very well sold and without vanity we will say none in this Country could have turnd them out so high. the reason was this, We had abundance of poor industrious People attended that Sale which came from 70 to 80 Miles distance who were forced to take such as we had because other People not knowing them and they making but a mean appearance 'tis rare they come down to look at any Slaves but those we have to sell, these are all facts and we hope such as must convince you that you lost nothing by your Vessell coming to this Market. We sincerely wish they had been better for your sake as well as for our own. People in our way must take Cargoes as they come or we would very gladly be excusd from having any concern with such a one as that for the reasons before assignd. We have not at this day receivd above 2/3 ds of the Payments.

This Letter has lain open to the 22d September for want of a conveyance. must inform you on the fifth we sold a Cargo of Slaves per the *Orrel* of Liverpoole from Gambia when the fine Men brought £300 and £290. the Women 260 and £250. as there was many very ordinary ones in this parcell the whole avarage but £33.14/ Stlg. We expect but very few more with us this Year so that our Market must be good in the Spring if a War does not intervene and alter the System.

[4] See the regulation of the duty by the height of the negroes, *ante*, no. 171, n. 2.

188. Henry Laurens to John Knight and Company, 1755.

22d Septem. 1755.

John Knight and Co. Owners of the *Orrel, Liverpoole*
per Bonnell

Gentlemen, The first proceeding is a Copy of our last trouble the second of a few Lines committed to our Pilot on the evening of the *Orrel's* Sale but did not reach the Ship it was intended by. We miscast the Amot. of the Sales that night it was not so much as we then calld it.[1] We can now inform you that the number of the Cargo was 129 the Grose Sum sold for £30,445. Currency which upon an Avarage is £33.14/ Sterling per head at the present course of Exchange. there was in this Cargo one fourth of them in poor condition. had they been as good as those of the former Year they must have avaragd 40/ Stg. more but we are of opinion none have done better than Capt. Bennet at Gambia the present Year or perhaps not one so well.

Capt. Bennet would have been ready for the Sea by this time but has been embarrassd by a Man of War that's going to the No[rth] Ward and wanted hands, they were pressing Men for a whole Week during which the *Orrels* Men lay hid in the Country and the business was impeded. We now expect she will sail in 5 or 6 days. She now has in 200 Barrl. of Rice and Ten hogsds of Skins. We dont know that we shall ship any thing more in her, such a price is demanded for Indigo that we are afraid to venture upon it (*vizt.*) 40/ per l. for such as is fine,[2] here is now a great deal ready for Market which must come home soon either for Accot. of the Merchant or Planter, as the consumers on your side will be aware of this. We think it would not be right to purchase at so high a price, here are no more Slaves arrivd since the *Orrels* but 48 from Barbadoes which are to be sold the 25th.[3] We begin to think we shall have but very few more reach us this Year, if so our Market must be very good in the

[188] [1] On the evening of Sept. 5 Laurens wrote to John Knight that they had sold that day from the 120 slaves brought on shore by Capt. Bennett, 101, for £27,125. Those remaining unsold were "all meagre or full of infirmitys". Eight of the cargo had been retained on board because of sore eyes. In a letter to Messrs. Devonshire, Reeve, and Lloyd of Sept. 22 he speaks of the *Orrel's* cargo as "a large proportion of them distempered".

As an illustration of the extent of Laurens's correspondence and of his belief in the general interest in the condition of the Charleston slave market, it is worth noting that, in letters here omitted, he described the sale of the *Orrel's* slaves to Peter Furnell of Jamaica, Walter Caddell and Gedney Clarke of Barbados, William Wells, jr., and Peter Caren of St. Christopher, to Devonshire, Reeve, and Lloyd of Bristol, Augustus and John Boyd and Co. of London, and Robert and John Thompson and Co. of Lancaster.

[2] In 1748 the price of indigo had been 17 *s.* 6 *d.* per pound, currency. Carroll, *Collections,* II. 235.

[3] The cargo of the *George,* James Gilcrist, advertised by Messrs. Middleton and Brailsford as "full grown Gambia slaves". *S. C. Gazette,* Sept. 19, 1755.

Spring in case we have no War.[4] . . . Bennets Cargo will Amot to more than £1000 Stlg.

189. Henry Laurens to Thomas Mears and Company, 1755.[1]

26th Septem 1755.

per Bennett
Thomas Mears and Co. Ownrs. of the *Austin, Liverpoole*
3d Copy per Ford

. . . We are very sorry your Snow the *Mears* was not so lucky to reach us from Gambia with a good healthy Cargo as we must have given you a Pleaseing account of them. the nearer we seem to a Warr the more Mad some of our People seem to be after Slaves. Some fine Gambias were sold yesterday from Barbadoes[2] when the 4 best Men sold so high as £330. the day before the Sellers offerd them at £300, and we believe would have made some abatement on that, but this Spirit is not General and we believe when we shall hear of a declaration of Warr those who are now most sanguine will be a good deal Check'd in their Career.

190. Henry Laurens to Henry Bright and Company, 1755.

Septem 27th 1755.

Henry Bright and Co. *Bristole*
per Bennett, Copy per Bennett,
2d Copy per Arnold 3d Copy per Ford

Sirs, Our last was under the 17th March when we handed you sales of your Rum and your Account Currt. Balance in our Favour £2073.2.3 Currency exclusive of more than £1200 debts Outstanding of which there is 3 or £400 still out but we hope none of it will prove bad, if it shoud must take Leave to apply to you by and by. We have taken leave of yesterdays date to Value on you for the above Balance Payable in London 40 days after sight to the order of Messrs. John Knight and Co. Owners of the *Orrell* at Liverpool. the sum is £296.3.2 Sterling, the Exchange being seven for one which Bill we must recommend to your accustomd due honour. . . .

[4] On the same day Laurens wrote to Henry West, jr., of St. Christopher: "Prime Negro Men of any Country except Callabar bring great prices with us, £40 stg. and upwards", and to Messrs. Devonshire, Reeve, and Lloyd, that in case of war the demand for slaves would continue if only the price of Carolina indigo remained high.

[189] [1] Messrs. Mears and Co. owned both the *Mears* and the *Austin.*

[2] The cargo of the *George*; Sept. 27, 1755, Laurens to John Knight: "yesterday a Sale of Forty odd prime Gambia Negroes from Barbadoes . . . 4 or 5 of the first choice of the men sold at £330 per head 'twas oweing to a Struggle between some Warm Competitors for that String, so that it cant be expected that such a Price can be maintaind for a Number."

191. Henry Laurens to Captain James Bennett, 1755.

8th Novr 1755.

Captain James Bennett, *Liverpool*
Per Arnold

Sir, . . . Ross brought in about three Weeks ago near 60 Slaves from Gambia, they sold but heavily several still remaining owing to these three Causes, the prospect of a sudden War, a good deal of the late Indigo lost by a long dry spell and an early Frost and now the Indigo comes down no Currt. Sale for it, the sellers want 30/ per l. and the Buyers offer only 22/6, a little has sold for 25/, should matters be accomodated between this and the Spring 'tis not improbable then the sale of Slaves may be good, but if a War we cannot as yet judge how that Trade may be affected. We mean the price here.[1] . . .

192. Henry Laurens to Law, Satterthwaite, and Jones, 1755.[1]

14th Decr. 1755.

Law, Satterthwaite and Jones, *Barbadoes.*
per Bell

Gentn., Your kind favour of the 14th Ulto. per the Snow *Gambia* Capt. Dodson reach'd us last night and with it a Letter from Capt. Dodson desiring to know on what Terms we would take up his Slaves. We offerd to do it (tho they are come at a very poor time) on the Terms we have ever yet practisd (*vizt.*) to give the Vessell a Cargo of our Produce to pay the Capts. Coast Commission and Mens half Wages etc., and to remit the remainder at the time the payments shall become due. it is our Interest to sell for the shortest Cr[edit] possible, because the shorter the payments the less risque of bad debts. We have hitherto always compleated our Remittances by the month of January or March succeeding the Sale, but that cannot be hoped for just now unless they should be sold very low as the Spirits of our Planters are much lowrd within this month or 6 Weeks that their Produce is considerably falln in value from the great probability of a sudden War on which Insurance from this to Brittain is got up to 15 or 16 per Cent, this has made a great alteration in the price

[191] [1] On Nov. 1 Laurens wrote to Smith and Clifton that the planters had grown very cool toward buying negroes. According to the *Gazette* two cargoes had arrived since that of the *George* was sold: on Oct. 15 the slaves of the ship *America*, Benjamin Jefferson, master, were sold by Solomon Isaacs, who advertised them as "Windward Coast Slaves"; on Oct. 29 Glen, Cooper, and Co. sold the slaves brought from Gambia by the sloop *Prince George,* John Rosse master. *S. C. Gazette,* Oct. 9, 23, 1755.

[192] [1] The night before this letter was written Laurens wrote to Satterthwaite, Inman, and Co. of Liverpool, owners of the *Gambia,* telling them of the arrival of their vessel and of Captain Dodson's request that he, Laurens, look at the cargo. The *Gambia,* it may be inferred from this letter, had stopped at Barbados and had there taken on fifteen negroes from Law, Satterthwaite, and Jones, who were obviously connected with the Liverpool house.

of Slaves, six or eight Weeks ago some fine Men were sold so high as £330 per head, a month ago some of the same stamp at £275 and have been daily declining in price ever since that time. what these will avarage we really cannot judge but we fear they must go a good deal lower than any preceeding especially if the Captn. insists as he does at present to have them sold so as to carry the whole produce home with him, which is not to be done from this Country at the best of times without selling to great disadvantage. he has offerd them to several Houses whether yet agreed or not we cannot say.[2]

We are sorry to inform you that two of your Slaves are dead, most of the others very low in Flesh, you dont mention in your Bill of Loading of what Species they were, those that the Captn. says belong to you are 6 Men, 5 Women, and 2 Girls, two or three of them old. We shall put them off for you at the best rate we possibly can and remit the produce as you direct to Mr. Touchett.[3]

Our unlucky Ship the *Emperor* by missing this place made a most sad Voyage when had she come in here she had made a saving one, the difference we compute full £3000 Stlg. by a Sale we made of the *Pearls* Cargo soon after from Malimba, which avaragd £33.15/ Stg. these Incidents are very common in the African business, against which every one that enters upon it should fortify themselves. . . .

193. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1755.

18th Decem. 1755.

John Knight, *Liverpoole*
per Rodger

Sir, . . . We are very sorry for your sake more than for our own that the *Mears* did not reach us with a good Cargo of Slaves this Summer as we must in such case have given you a good Account of them. what Mr. Mears said in regard to the whole Remittance in the Bottom did not discourage us from saying every thing we could with safety to invite Capt. Allen down here, as our Letter will appear when the *Mears* shall arrive with you, we dont now think it necessary to send you a Copy of it. We were told by Capt. Bennet that the Vessell would have been with us but that your Friends in St. Kitts on seeing in what a sickly condition her Slaves were recommended Jamaica as a much more proper place for her and they were right if she had the Small Pox or any thing that look'd like a malignant Fever as either of which our People are as much alarmd as

[2] Charles Mayne announced them for sale on Dec. 31 (*S. C. Gazette,* Dec. 18, 25, 1755; see also *post,* no. 193). On Dec. 15 Laurens sent to John Hardman, M. P. for Liverpool, an account of Carolina prices and the effect of the threatened war. For Hardman see this work, vol. II., index.

[3] See this work, II. 521n.

you in England are at the approach of a plague. You really as we think suffer'd a loss in the death of Capt. Bennets Doctor, he was a mighty quiet good naturd young Man so well adapted to the Temper of his Commander that we fear poor Bennet may hunt a good while for his Fellow before he will be able to find him.[1]

We observe your kind offer of admitting us into a share in the *Orrel* if you can but gentilely drop some that are now concernd, which we take very kindly as there is not a Person goes to Africa that we know, we should be better pleasd to take a concern with than Bennet under your direction but in the uncertain state of things we are in at present, We really dont know what to say, our payments this Year are likely to be very bad as we see no prospect just now of half our Crop selling and this is the Fund from whence Money principally blows to us. We luckily have a good deal on your side towards our Remitts. this Year but fear the whole will be required. in about a month more we shall see more clearly into Affairs and be better enabled to conclude than we are just now, We expect on the meeting of the Brittish Parliamt shall be put on an absolute certainty as to peace or War, that if the latter be determind such small Vessells as the *Orrel* can stand no chance on the Coast of Africa nor can that Trade be attempted immediately from this consideration that Slaves have latterly sold high upon the Coast and they will so continue 'tho it be War if any number of Vessells go there at the usual Season and two Sloops now here are bound soon to Gambia,[2] their Cargoes cheifly Rum. we mention these things as a reason that we think a month hence we shall be early enouth to conclude.

We are very glad to hear Mr. Guichard was able to do so well for you at St. Kitts with your two small Vessells, £30 Stg. per head with a full Remittance in the Bottom may be full as well as we could have done but this we cannot possibly judge of unless we knew the sorts and condition of their Cargoes. We really think we have seen one Cargo from the Coast here that would have avaragd had they been here in the month of Octo. last full £40 Stlg. but our People now begin to pause and we expect a Cargo that is to be sold in Wednesday the 31st Inst. by the Snow *Gambia* of Lancaster from Gambia will not bring any extraordinary price, this Vessell was offerd to us and out of regard to some Friends we have in that City we would have taken her on such Terms as formerly, but the Master demanded the whole in the Bottom in Bills, all to a trifle, a thing we could by no means agree to, he now sits down with Mr. Mayne but what the conditions we know not. We should be very much pleasd we are

[193] [1] On the same day Laurens wrote a similar paragraph to Thomas Mears.
[2] The sloop *Betsey,* Alexander Urquhart, cleared for Africa Dec. 25, 1755; the *Prince George,* Bostock, Jan. 8, 1756.

acquitted from her but that we could wish her into the hands of Persons more experienced in that branch than he. We shall really have more Money lying out for Negroes this Year than we could choose in time of War, did we know how to keep ourselves without making any addition to it, for should any material alteration happen in our Exchange before our money comes in we shall have been working for a dead Horse for a Year or two past. You need not have been at all afraid of the *Knights* Cargo being too many to reach us in one bottom, the Purchasers generally come down in proportion to the Numbers to sell and we generally find the larger is the Cargo the better they sell, but if the *knights* Cargo with that of the *Enterprize* included brings £20,000 Jamaica Money, its £34 Stg. round, supposing the whole Number to be about 420, which we judge it was from what Mr. Furnell writes to us, this is a pretty good price considering the circumstance of things in America, by our latest Letters from every one of the Islands the price of Slaves is declining very fast with them as both the French and Spanish Markett are now shut up to us. . . .

194. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1756.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 8	Jan. 20	*Adventure*	Joseph Druitt	Antigua (Gambia)		Holmes
" 15	" 22	*Relief*	Wm. Lightbourn	Angola	140	Austin and Laurens
" "	" 27	*Georgia* Packet	Alex. Marshal	Antigua (Gambia)		Ogilvie and Ward
Apr. 15	Apr. 27	*Africa*	Alex. Millar	Africa	300	Inglis, Pickering, and Wraxall
May 29	June 3	*Benn*	Sherman	Guinea	350	Middleton and Brailsford
June 5	" 16	*Hope*	Wm. Lugen	Africa		Inglis and Pickering
" 17	" 29	*Hare*	Caleb Godfrey	Sierra Leone	70	Austin and Laurens
July 1	July 8	*Carlisle*	Thomas Osborne	Gambia	150	Austin and Laurens
" 29	Aug. 4	*Concord*	Simondson	Windward and Grain Coast	49	Austin and Laurens
Aug. 26[2]	Sept. 1	*St. Andrew*	Alexander Hood	Gambia	250	Austin and Laurens
Sept. 2	" 14	*Cavendish*	Walker	"	270	Middleton and Brailsford
" "	" "	*Success*	Todd	"	154	Middleton and Brailsford
" "	" 14	*Molly*	Richard Watts	"		John Guerard
" 30	Oct. 7	*Sylvia*	Ed. Boucher	"		Benj. Stead, and Benj. Smith and Co.

[194] [1] The *Gazette*, Dec. 8, 1759, gives 2239 as the importation for the year 1756, during which fourteen cargoes were advertised. Laurens names one vessel not in the *Gazette* and refers to unnamed and often unidentified arrivals. By June 12 from 800 to 900 had been ordered to his house alone.

[2] On Aug. 23 Laurens wrote to Henry Bright: "since the Account of War has

195. Henry Laurens to Gedney Clarke, 1756.[1]

12th Janry 1756.

Gidney Clarke Esq., *Barbadoes*
per Hinson

. . . We are now indebted to your kind favour of the 12th Ulto. handed to us yesterday by Capt. Moses who is come on shore in a poor state of health owing as he tells us to Capt Lightbourns Vessell [2] being much out of kelter, her Decks and all her upper works in want of Caulking whereby both he and the Slaves have sufferd very greatly. this induced them to put into Anguilla at which they tarried nine days, have lost six of the Slaves he reckons through this and have six or seven more very low and weak which we have sent a Doctor on board to visit and a carefull Woman as a nurse to them. We have said so much in our former Letter as to our present Market for Slaves that we have but little to add to it except that some other Vessells are since arrivd with parcells from Antigua and that here are half that were in Town before still on hand. We hope you have bought these very low or we fear shall render you but a poor Account of them, our Planters being quite dispirited from the price of Rice now only 30/ per Cent. and at a Credit of six months, our Acquaintance with the Planters is prètty extensive and we shall take care to give them notice in every part of the Province of the day of Sale which we have fixed for Thursday the 22d.[2] which is as early as we can be permitted to land them and please to be assurd we shall leave no Stone unturnd to do every thing that is possible for your Interest both in the Sale and Remittance. they have reach'd us at the worst time could possibly have happend, many of our People dont choose to buy at this cold Season and they seeing parcell after

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reached us the Sale of Slaves has become wretched bad and we have no less than four Gambia Vessells now under Quarentine which must still reduce the prices a good deal"; and on Aug. 26, to Devonshire, Reeve, and Lloyd: "but the Quantity [of indigo] made will be greatly short of our expectations, a large part having been destroy'd by a long drought which has also ruined more than half of our Negro Provisions and from this cause the Sale of Slaves is almost as materially affected as by the declaration of War, our People can't think of buying Slaves when they don't know which way they shall get Provisions to feed them."

[195] [1] Gedney Clarke (this work, III. 457) was kept well informed of Carolina conditions by Laurens, who on Jan. 1 had written: "there is half a dozen little parcels of a dozen to twenty in different hands in Town which move extreamly heavy, such as would have sold very currently two months ago at £40 Stlg. and upwards." On Jan. 3 Laurens wrote to Knight: "The Slaves per the *Gambia* which were expos'd to Sale on Wednesday went off very dully 'tho there were a pretty many of our Planters came down who would have bought with a proper abatement in price in proportion to the circumstance of things. 'tis not a time just now to stand out for a largr price as every Vessell from the West Indias brings down parcells of prize Negroes which we presume are now bought there very low, now in the place half a dozen parcells of such which our People look coolly at and we believe the Sale wont amend whilst we remain in such an uncertain situation as to peace or War."

[2] "Just imported in the *Relief*, Capt. William Lightbourn, a Cargo of prime Angola Men and Women Slaves Chiefly young People and healthy, To be sold on very reasonable Terms, on Thursday the 22d of this Instant January, by Austin and Laurens." *S. C. Gazette,* Jan. 15, 1756.

parcell perpetually coming in at this unusual Season of the Year[3] makes them immagine that in a month or two more they shall get them for a Song, this makes many stand off that would otherways buy, Our good friend Commo. Frankland[4] we fear will make but a dull beginning in Merchantile business 'tho we hope our next may bring a more favourable Account of things wch it shall be our endeavour to accomplish.

We propose to Capt. Moses to have sent back the three Negroes with Capt. Hinson that you say were put on board to take care of the rest. he says he only brought one of them and that he chooses to keep him with him 'till he returns himself. . . . Our Pest House where the Slaves are to be placed during their Quarintine is in good order and they have a plenty of Wood at hand so that we hope the Cloathing they have will be sufficient but Capt. Moses informs us he was obligd to put their Cloaths on a few days after he left Barbadoes to preserve them from the Water that came down through the Deck, neither of the Capts. shall know from us that Mr. Frankland has any concern with the Slaves but we should immagine Lightbourn must know it, as the Bill of Loading expresses for whose Account they are.

196. Henry Laurens to Law, Satterthwaite, and Jones, 1756.

12th Janry 1756.

Law Satterthwaite and Jones, *Barbadoes*
per Hinson

Gentlemen, The above is Copy of our last trouble, since which have none of your favours. are sorry to inform you that we have now on hand Ten of your Slaves 'tho had numbers to look upon them which dont at all like them and several parcells have dropd in upon us since they arrivd. whilst prime People can be had our Planters will not touch such as are not so. We sold a Man at £280. and a Girl at £210. payable the 1st November next, and one other Man for £260. payable in 4 months, 'tis much more difficult to run off these small parcells than a Cargo of 3 or 400, when such a Number are for Sale it draws down the People from every part of the Province and one bids upon the other, very often they in their hurry take hold of very ordinary Slaves as prime, overlooking their imperfec-

[3] The so-called season for the arrival of negroes began about March.

[4] Rear-Admiral Thomas Frankland, commander-in-chief in the Leeward Islands, who was entrusting to Laurens, for sale, negroes from French prizes. "By Capt. Gilcrist, in 24 Days from Barbadoes, we learn, that Commodore Frankland's Squadron has sent in there a French Guineyman, with 160 slaves on Board"; and "His Majesty's Ships on that station [Jamaica] had then [Jan. 2] carried in there 23 French Vessels, (four of them Guineymen)" (*S. C. Gazette,* Dec. 25, 1755, Jan. 29, 1756). "Thomas Frankland Esq., Commodore. . . . Sent into this Island [Antigua] by his Squadron, 1 Ship and a Snow with upwards of 700 Slaves on board. . . . Sent into Barbados Two Guineymen with upwards of 500 Slaves." *Boston News Letter*, Jan. 29, 1756.

tions which in a small parcell scarce ever escapes notice, Capt. Dodson put his Slaves into the hands of Mr. Charles Mayne. we believe near half of them are unsold, how the others have sold we cant pretend to say as it would not become us to make enquiry. We are told there is to be a largr Remittance for them in the Bottom such a one as (if true) Mr. Mayne will have good luck if he is not a loser by this concern. our Planters are much discouragd just now from buying Slaves through the low price of Rice which sells with us at 30/ per Ct. some of it on so long a Cr. at [as] six months. whilst things remain so a few Negroes will suffice and we have had for a month past a very extrordinary number for this Season of the Year, yesterday a Brigt. arrivd to us with 140 from your Island which will bring down our friends from the remote parts of the Country and enable us to run off yours if they are not disposd of before, it will give us great pleasure to furnish you with an agreeable Account and a quick Remittance.

197. HENRY LAURENS TO CAPTAIN SAMUEL SIMONDSON, 1756.[1]

22d January 1756.

Capt Saml. Simondson of the *Concord* from Africa
to the care of Andrew Lesley Esq., *Antigua*
per Hall.

Sir, We have before us a Letter from our Friends and your Owners Messrs. Robert and John Thompson dated 8th of November which reachd us two days ago in which is this paragraft, (*vizt.*) We desire you will write Capt Simondson of the *Concord* to be left with Andrew Lessley Esq. at Antigua the State of your Market for Negroes in January, February, or March next. Please to observe that Slaves all this last Summer sold here extreamly high the prime Men from £40. to £47 Stlg. within these ten or twelve weeks past the price has been declining partly from numbers being sent here from the West Indias[2] but principally on Account of a great probabillity of a sudden War with France which has reduced the price of the Produce of this Country near 30 per Ct. this has stopt the Career of our Planters so effectually that we cant get more than 30 to 32 and £33. per head for such as would have brought £40. but a little while ago. if we should have War we are of opinion the price can't amend but if matters should be accomodated 'tis not unlikely that the Spring Sale of Slaves with us may be good. this is all the information we at present are able to give you as 'tis impossible in the present situation of things to forsee what may happen upon any certainty. we wish you a successfull Voyage and that you may hit

[197] [1] A similar letter was sent to Capt. Samuel Sandys, *Duke of Cumberland*, at the request of Capt. Thomas Hinde; and on Feb. 5 to Capt. Thomas Whiteside, *Willy*, in care of Thomas Duberry of Montserrat, at the request of John Knight.

[2] In the next letter Laurens writes of "several hundred" sent by Frankland.

upon the Market that may best answer the purposes of the Gentn. concernd.[3]

198. Henry Laurens to Law, Satterthwaite, and Jones, 1756.

31 January 1756.

Law Satterthwaite and Jones, *Barbadoes*
per Hunt

Gentlemen, We have now chiefly to confirm the foregoing Copy of our last and to inform you of the further progress we have made in the Sale of your Slaves which stands as below. We have two still remaining on hand a Man and a Woman, the Man extreamly low in flesh and we fear wont bring more than £100, the Woman 'tho able not one seems to like her so that to this day we have not had an offer for her. We had but very few come to our Sale of the 140 Slaves per the *Relief*, indeed it unluckily happened that a Parapneumonia [?] prevaild at that time and does so still amongst the Slaves in many parts of the Province which sweeps off great numbers and is a great discouragement to such as would now otherways buy. We have however put off all to about ten that were able to appear in the Yard which have sold much better than we at first hoped for as they were a mighty small People such as our Planters dont at all like. We see clearly Slaves will not ma[i]ntain a price with us whilst our Planters Produce continues so low and it cannot amend if we should be involvd in a War.

Foot Note:
We have just now sold the Negro Woman. the Acct. stands as under:

1	Man—Paybl 1 Novr.	£280
1	do—in 4 mos	260
1	Woman—in a month	220
1	Girl—1 Novr.	210
2 Men 1 Woman	(1 Jany 1757 with Ints.)	660
1	Girl—1 May	220
1	Man—Cash	200
1	Woman—30 April	200
1	do in a month	200
1	Girl in 2 mos	160
12		£2610

[3] On the 24th Laurens wrote to the Thompsons, expressing his regret that their ship, the *Africa,* Captain Saul, had not come to Charleston the preceding summer, and telling them of the advice which he had sent to Captain Simondson. On the same day he acknowledged a plantation certificate for Captain Nash's cargo and a bill of lading for eight Gold Coast negroes. The plantation certificate was the sworn statement that the negroes had been less than six months in the colony from which they came and were therefore free from the £50 duty imposed on colonial negroes.

199. Henry Laurens to Gedney Clarke, 1756.

31st January 1756.

Gidney Clarke Esq., *Barbadoes*
per Hunt.

. . . Permit us now to inform you what progress we have made in the Sale of your Slaves addressd to us which we have taken every measure in our power to put off to advantage but with poor success. our People thought them a very indifferent parcell, that they were much too small a People for the business of this Country and on this Account many went away empty handed that would otherways have purchasd. another grand impediment to the Sale was a Parapneumonia breaking out in many parts of the Province and sweeping off great numbers of Negroes a little before the day of Sale, which prevented a great many from attending and the success of a Sale much depends on the Numbers that attend. in short every thing contributed to induce us to think we must inevitably make a very poor Sale and what added greatly to it was that we could only bring into the Yard 105, the rest that remaind alive were in a bad condition with the Flux from which disorder there are dead to this time 13 and we are sorry to say several more in great danger. What we have sold at this day are 102, the Amount £21,291.10/ Currency. We have 14 more that are able to come abroad and 11 sick in the Hospital. those which are well are a very dimunitive parcell of Mortalls, Children in size but at their full growth, so that upon the whole we fear you must make a very indifferent Voyage and what will add to it is that the major part of those sold are on Credit to January next. the monstrous prices given for a few Slaves in the month of October has produced all this Evil, brought down parcell after parcell from the West Indias incessantly all this Winter, which has put it in the power of the Planter to play upon the Sellers their own Game. this we can safely assert, that yours are sold for better prices than any since they arrivd, as a proof of it we ourselves purchasd four Angola Men the prime of a parcell and not to be equald by any four of yours for £212.10/ per head and we obtain'd for some of yours £240 per head. We see clearly whilst our Planters produce continues so low they will not buy Slaves unless at a price proportionably to that of their Goods, they paid very little regard to the prospect of a War untill they sensibly felt the consequences by the Sale of their Produce.[1] . . .

[199] [1] On Feb. 7 Laurens reported the facts of this sale to Commodore Frankland. By this time 113 had been sold; the gross returns now were £23,376. 10. No more had died, though a few were not yet out of danger.

200. Henry Laurens to Gedney Clarke, 1756.

21 Febry 1756.

Gidney Clarke Esq., *Barbadoes*
per Adam.

. . . the Slaves per Lightbourne as before advisd sufferd greatly by the Seams of his upper works wanting caulking. when they arrivd here found the most favourable Weather that could be wishd for at that Season of the Year or their mortallity must have been much more considerable. We are sorry 'tis not in our power to give you the Sales, have 10 on hand most of them in a thriving way but cant meet with a tolerable offer for them or should not keep them upon a prospect of their improving, the Number sold is 116 the Gross Amount £24006.10/ Currency. We observe that you cannot reconcile it to your self that the price of Slaves must fall with us in time of War, on considering that Freight Insurance Mens Wages etc must greatly advance and inhance the price of them when they come to Market. these Matters are not all considered by our Planters, the only point with them is what price the Value of their Produce will enable them to give, and a very just consideration this, for many Rice Plantations that clear to the proprietors from 500 to £1000. Sterling per Annum in times of Peace will scarsely defray their own expenses in time of War, the price of that Commodity being so much affected by the high Freights and Insurance its clodg with, which the produce of your islands being of abundantly more Value is not proportionably affected by, on the contrary the frugal industrious Man must in the worst of Markets have more from his Plantation than will defray his ordinary Expence which the generallity of the American Planters choose to invest in Slaves, preferably to any thing else, so dull is the present prospect of things that we have wrote to meet every Guinea Vessell, orderd to our House the approaching Summer recommending to them to stop in the West Indias if they can find a tolerable Market unless the contest between Great Brittain and France should be made up in such case it is possible our Market may amend.

201. Henry Laurens to Samuel Touchett, 1756.

23d. Febry 1756.

Samuel Touchett, *London*
per Tucker

Sir, We receivd about two months since a Bill of Lading for fifteen Slaves from our mutual friends Messrs. Law, Satterthwaite and Jones [1] with orders to remit the produce of them to you in Bills of

[201] [1] See *ante,* no. 192. Laurens had reported the results of the sale to them on Feb. 21.

Exchange. two of them died on the passage, some of the others were very low in flesh and came at a time when our Market was grown very dull so that we were a good deal put to it to find Chaps for them, did not get the last off till the 6th Inst. the produce of the 13 sold is £2230.3/ Currency. £525 of the Money does not become due 'till January next, £740 of it in May, the rest will be due soon and shall be remitted as soon as we can obtain a Bill which is now become a scarse Article. . . .[2]

202. HENRY LAURENS TO DEVONSHIRE, REEVE, AND LLOYD, 1756.

3d March 1756.

Devonsheir Reeve and Lloyd, *Bristol.*
per Fell

. . . Our payments this Year for Negroes come in very slackly many of the purchasers dependence being on their Crops of Rice which sells much lower than they promisd themselves, so of course they must fall short, others again have shipd their own Indigo and we must wait for payment untill we have an Account of its being sold. We could however have made a tolerable shift were Bills to be purchasd, which they are not just now and therefore to make the Owners of the *Pearl* easy shall try to find paymt for them within ourselves towards which we have of this day passd our Bills upon you for Eight hundred Pounds Sterling payable 40 days after sight to Messrs. Thomas Easton and Co. Owners of the *Pearl* which we must recommend to your accustomd punctuallity—if we cant get Bills soon we shall be forced to desire you to advance to them the value of the Indigo shipd to you in order to close that Acct.[1] . . .

203. HENRY LAURENS TO LASCELLES AND MAXWELL, 1756.[1]

20th March 1756.

Lascelles and Maxwell, *London.*
per Odin

Gentlemen, We gave you the trouble of a few lines under the 23d of last month advising that we had receivd a small Cargo of Slaves

[2] A description of the state of the Carolina market follows.

[202] [1] Here follows Laurens's usual description of the state of the market. Part of the significance of these letters on Carolina conditions lies in their number. Between Jan. 1 and May 1 he thought it worth while to inform at least twelve business houses of the over supply of negroes and the dull trade. To some of his correspondents he wrote six times during these weeks. If other Charleston merchants were similarly assiduous a knowledge of Carolina conditions must have been widely disseminated both in the West Indies and in England.

[203] [1] Lascelles and Maxwell did an extensive West India business, and their letter-books, which have been preserved, may yield some information on the slave trade. The editor has not examined them. Some evidence of their interest in trade to the Continental colonies is to be found in the *Letter-Book of John Watts* (N. Y. Hist. Soc., *Collections,* LXI.)

from Thomas Frankland and Gidney Clarke Esq. with orders to remit the proceeds of them to you as the Money should become due.[2] please to receive inclosd James Irvings Bill on Samuel Touchett Esq. and Co. payable to Thomas Middleton Esq. or order for £239.16.6 Sterling and pass it to the Ct. [credit] of the said Gentlemen. We shall remit you further on this Account as soon as we can pick up some more Bills who are [*blank*]. Upon reverting to Mr. Clarkes Letter he directs that one half may be passd to his Credt. the other to Mr. Franklands, which please to notice in all we remit. We shall not be able to send seperate Bills for each half without some delay to one or other of the Gentn. as we are glad to get hold of Bills just now in any manner the drawer pleases.

204. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1756.[1]

10 April 1756.

Mr. John Knight, *Liverpoole*
per Livingston

. . . We have not had any Slaves Brought this way for 6 or 8 weeks past and Indeed Our People seem to think very Little at [of] them, the low price of Rice and probability of its still declining makes them now begin to consider from what sourse their payments must arise, which scarsly Enterd into the heads of any of them be-fore the[y] felt where the Shoe pinch'd or it would have been better both for themselves and us that many of them had acted with more Caution some months sooner. this might not have been so good for Trade in General and therefore we must reconcile Ourselves to the perticular Inconveniencys we Ourselves may suffer by the fluctuation of Exchg.

205. Henry Laurens to Aufrere, Fry, and Cust, 1756.

9th April 1756.

Messrs Aufrere Fry and Cust, *London*
per Livingston

S'rs, Capt. Hector McNeil[1] was with us in the fall 1754 when he had four Negroes that he was at a loss to dispose of, and as he was an Old Acquaintance we assisted him therein. One of them we shall not get the mon'y for before next Crop, but as we suppose the sooner

[2] The earlier letter gave the details of this venture with all Laurens's gloomy predictions concerning it. At the time he still had ten unsold slaves.

[204] [1] In a letter of Feb. 12 Laurens warned Knight against sending the *Willy* to Charleston.

[205] [1] McNeill was captain of the snow *Isaac,* whose cargo was advertised in the *Gazette,* Oct. 10, 1754.

Capt McNeil gets it the more agreeable, we now inclose you two Bills which Ballance his Accot. as per Accot. inclosd, which we send to you as tis highly probable Capt. McNeil may be abroad. we must desire when he is at home you will please transmit him the Accot. and Carry the Money now remitted to his Credit which is £68.18.2 Sterling, we shall be glad to render you any acceptable Service in this Quarter.

206. HENRY LAURENS TO RICHARD OSWALD AND COMPANY, 1756.[1]

13 April 1756.

Richard Oswald and Co., *London*
per Livingston.

. . . We are very much obligd to our worthy Friends Augustus and John Boyd Esqs. and Co. for the confidence they repose in us by becoming our Security for a punctual Remittance of the Produce of your Slaves intended us by the *Carlisle*. It would give us much pleasure to transact this Affair for you had we a prospect of doing it successfully but really the Scene is so much alterd for the worse within these last 3 or 4 months and which we hope cannot escape your knowledge that we sincerely wish you may order the Sloop to a much better Market than ours at present seems to promise and we think it cannot amend before a peace shall be established. our People bought Slaves with great spirit all the last Summer and even 'till the month of December (October) they gave so high as £330 for some very prime Gambia Men but as soon as they found the price of their produce faild through the high Freight and Insurance it was loaded with, the generallity of them resolvd to touch no more Negroes except they could have them at a price proportionatly low to the price of their Produce. just at this juncture several hundreds were brought down from the West Indias that were purchasd out of the French Ships stopd by Commodore Frankland and these falling into many hands, some of them quite unexperiencd in that branch of business, the price was reduced to 210 or £220. for prime Fellows, one of the latest parcells came to us being 140 Angola's we with much difficulty put off, some of the Men payable next Jany. at £240. and we were longer in running them off and met with more difficulties in effecting it than ten times that number would have occasiond three months before. Should Capt Osborn come here (which we truly hope he will not) please to be

[206] [1] Richard Oswald, best known as one of the commissioners to negotiate peace with the United States in 1783, had been a merchant in America before he established himself in London. His marriage with a West India heiress brought to him large West India estates and he acquired by purchase many acres on the continent. For years he was the owner of a slave factory on Bance (Bence) Island, from which he sent numerous slave cargoes to America (see this work, II. 111n., 537n.). So uniformly is the spelling Bance used in the material of this volume that the editor has accepted it.

assurd that we shall do every thing in our power to promote your Interest and attentively adhere to your orders as far as is practicable, but as to the Article of Bills they are become very scarce with us and upon the rise must become more so if a War takes place or even if things remain in such a state of uncertainty as they have been for several months past, which gives such a general damp to Trade that there has not been half the Ships to load on Bill this Year as we usually have, by this we have been enabled for some Years past to remit for our Negro Sales totally in Bills almost, but this must cease in case of a War and the Sellers be obligd to ship produce or wait a great while for Bills. We wish we knew when to meet Capt. Osborn with a Letter in the West Indias to prevail upon him to stop there as are persuaded it would be most for your advantage. this we hope you have notice in time to do which will afford us great pleasure.[2]

207. Henry Laurens to Captain Samuel Linnecar, 1756.[1]

8th May 1756.

Capt. Samuel Linnecar or the Commander of the Ship *Hopewell* to the Care of Messrs Thomas Stephenson and Sons
per Morrison

Sir, We are favourd with a Letter under the 1st January past from our mutual good Friends your Owners Messrs. Jona. Blundell and Co. advising they had orderd your Snow the *Hopewell* with a Cargo of Slaves from Bonny to our address at this Port, except you were stopd at Barbadoes which they doubt, because your Limitts are pretty high, and they direct us, to meet you there with the state of our Market for Slaves which we intend by this. The price of Slaves here while they are imported in moderate numbers is wholly influencd by the value of our Staples, Rice and Indigo, and as these have been depreciated much below the prices of last Year, so have the Planters slackend in the purchase of Slaves, lowerd the prices and lengthend out the Credit. We receivd a Cargo of 140 Slaves from Barbadoes in the month of January last which were indeed an ordinary slender People, 'tho chiefly Men and Women, were ten times as long selling them off as we have usually been selling twice the Number formerly, and avaragd only about £28.10/ Stlg and great part on Credit to 1st January next, but we must observe the same Negroes would sell much better at this Season of the Year and less Mortallity happen among them.

[2] Laurens had written a similar but briefer letter to Messrs. Thomas Mears and Co. on Feb. 25, urging them not to send the *Mears* to Charleston; in April he wrote in the same strain to Messrs. Smith and Clifton of St. Christopher.

[207] [1] This letter Laurens followed by one to Jonathan Blundell and Co. of Liverpool on May 16, in which he reported to them what information and advice he had given to Captain Linnecar.

The Snow *Africa,* Capt. Millar, who left you on the Coast arrivd here the 17th Ulto. and her Cargo has been selling off ever since the 27th and still a great many and those likely Slaves too remain on hand so the Avarage of the Sale is not yet known. the Gentn.[2] to whom she was addressd have kept up the prices bravely, sold a good many Men at £250 to £260 etc. and Women 200 to £220 and so in proportion for young ones, but we judge they have been under a necessity of giving long Credit for most of these prices. should a War be declard which we have the strongest reason to believe is done before this day, the price of Slaves will beyond all doubt be much worse and our Exchange rise which we should observe to you is now £712.10/ Currency per £100 Stlg and Bills become very scarce and we would in that case entreat you to stop at Barbadoes or find out some better Market, as this will by no means do for you, but if publick Affairs take an unexpected turn and a peace be establishd or a probabillity of it soon, we really believe this will be as good a Market as any in America for this Summer if no very extrordinary Number of Slaves is brought here. You will learn the state of Publick Affairs as soon at Barbadoes as any where and may in a great measure govern your proceedings thereby, tho' we must further observe that all Slaves from the Bite sell at £3 to £4 Stlg. per head less here than Gambias, Windward or Gold Coast, this is saying as much as we can on the Subject. We should rejoyce to have an opportunity of rendring our worthy friends in Liverpoole and your self our best services, and it would give us real concern to see you here at a dull and unprofitable Season. upon the whole we sincerely wish you may hit on the best Market and make a prosperous Voyage and we shall by all future opportunitys communicate our sentiments if any alteration with us.

P. S. if you should unfortunately have the small Pox or any contagious distemper in your Cargo, dont think of coming hither, let the times be as they may.[3]

208. Henry Laurens to Henry Bright, 1756.

17th May 1756.

Henry Bright Esq., *Bristol*
per Curtin

. . . We are sorry to hear there are so many Ships intended this way with Slaves the present Year as the prospect of a sudden

[2] Messrs. Inglis, Pickering, and Wraxall. The *Africa,* a Bristol vessel, brought about 300 slaves, Calabars, and therefore especially difficult to sell. On May 18 Laurens wrote to Messrs. Devonshire, Reeve, and Lloyd, of this cargo, "there now remains on hand at least 40 and most of them pretty young People 'tho the Sale commenced three Weeks ago".

[3] There are in these letters frequent references to the greater severity of the South Carolina quarantine law.

War by which our Planters produce is much affected in price has so far reduced their Spirits that we clearly see they will not buy any large number of Negroes except they can have them at a very low rate. We thought the Sales were very good at Jamaica when Mr. Jere. Meyler [1] was here, by some Letters he receivd from Mr. Hall it appeard he had run off some Cargoes at £47 and upwards. We hope the Markets will hold good and carry down all or most of the Slaves intended this way. . . .

209. Henry Laurens to Richard Oswald and Company, 1756.

17th May 1756.

Richard Oswald and Co., *London.*
per Curtin

Gentlemen, The foregoing is a third recital of our last to your good selves. We have now before us your esteemd favour of the 5th of March advising of your intentions that your Ship the *St. Andrew,* Capt. Hood,[1] should proceed from Gambia to this place and that we may expect her the latter end of June, should she reach us the next Ship and with such a Cargo as were Shipd by your Friends in the *St. Paul* [2] two Years ago we might hope bad as things now appear to render you a pretty good Sale. but if any numbers should arrive before her our hopes may be defeated as there are not many of [our] People have Spirit just now to purchase, so that a few hundreds would supply all their wants. The Slaves from the River Gambia are preferrd to all others with us save from the Gold Coast and as we trust your Ships will leave the Coast much before the Traders which are obliged to go up the River 'tis highly probable she will be a head of all from that Quarter, indeed we do not immagine there will be many come from that River to this place the present Summer as we wrote early to our Friends at Bristol, Liverpoole and Lancaster not to have a thought of sending Slaves to our Market untill the differences should be adjusted between Great Brittain and France, this we have reason to believe will divert the Voyage of half a dozen Vessells that were intended this way. . . .

210. Henry Laurens to Jonathan Blundell and Company, 1756.

May 25th 1756.

Jona. Blundell and Co., *Liverpool*
per Webb

Gentn., The foregoing is copy of Our last Trouble to which have now to add that two more Vessels are arriv'd with us from Africa

[208] [1] Jeremiah Meyler. Meyler and Co. was a Bristol house.

[209] [1] On the 26th Laurens wrote urging Oswald to divert Captain Hood from the Carolina market if possible.

[2] In May, 1754, Mayne had advertised a cargo in the snow *St. Paul* from Gambia. *S. C. Gazette,* May 3, 7, 14, 1754.

who between them have upwards of four hundred Slaves besides a parcel of coromentees [1] from the West Indies. One of these Vessels is the *King George* of yr. Port from Angola,[2] the Other a Sloop of N York from Gambia, the Sloop brings acct. of several Vessels being arrivd in the River that must come down here from whence we have a most shocking prospect of this Summers Sale more especialy for bite Slaves [3] which not one in ten of our People will Touch when Others can be had on Moderate terms. those which are now arrivd we think would be full sufficient to supply the present demand, therefore unless some thing should happen to alter the voyage of those which are behind we fear there will be destructive work with us, we have sent two Letters to St. Kitts to be forwarded to Barbado's for Capt. Linecer, and shall repeat them by every Vessel that shall go soon for that Quarter, as we hertily wish both for your sakes and our own the ship may stop in the West Indies, for Our Commissns do not by any means compensate for the pain we suffer when our friends make a bad Voyage, Whilst we are writing this are Informd the *King Geo.* aforementiond is from the bite which makes matters still worse as it will beat down the price lower than if they had been Angolas, we wrote Early in the year to all the Gentn. we annually have Negroes from to disire they would not send us any this present year unless Peace should be establishd and we fear we shall have at least six hundred Slaves from Gambia and the Windward Coast to Our House that we did not know of in time to prevent their Coming; thus Gentn. you see our present situation and we sincerely wish you may be relievd from the Inconveniencys attending it by a good markett in the West Indies.

211. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1756.

28th May 1756.

John Knight, *Liverpoole*
per Webb

. . . We have but a very dull appearance of the Africa business just now. the Snow *Africa* of Bristol from the bite reachd us about six weeks ago, and as there was not a negro in Other hands to Interfere in the Sale that Cargo Sold at pretty good prices tho they were a month about it. by that sale we discover that Our People had but little Inclination to Engage for Negroes as it was a most butiful Cargo of the sort, chiefly young People from 15 to 20 which are not accustomd to destroy themselves like those who are

[210] [1] Cormantines; for an account of their characteristics see this work, I. 398n.
[2] Of the *King George,* mentioned by Laurens, there is no record in the *Gazette.*
[3] Calabars. In a letter to Oswald, written May 26, Laurens stated that these two vessels brought between four and five hundred negroes.

Older. here are now arrivd a Ship of your place from the Bite Calld the *King George*, a New York Sloop from Gambia and ano'r parcell by a Brigantine from the West Indies, these amongst them have 400 Slaves which we doubt will give a settling blow to that business as Our planters that are able have not the least temptation just now to purchas, the Spring having been very dry, half the Indigo that was planted has perishd, at this wretched conjuncture we have reason to expect the arrival of a Ship of Messrs. Jona. Blundell and Co. from the Bite Every day, which gives us great pain. we were not apprisd of her Coming till about three Weeks ago when we wrote Immediately to the West Indies to meet her there if possible tho we have but little hopes of doing it. it is most Improbable but those Gentn may have communicated their Intentions to you Since they wrote us which was in January tho we did not receive it till the Other day, in which case we shall hope you have prevaild upon them to alter the Voyage as we think it moraly Impossible we should be able to give them any tollerable satisfaction. we have two Vessels coming to us besides that we would give a good deal to have it in Our power to stop, A Ship of Mr. Oswalds and Co. of London from Gambia which is to bring 250 Slaves, another from Bance Island belonging to Augustus and John Boyds Esq. with 170 Slaves.[1] tho these will be abundantly more saleable than those from the Bite we could very hertily wish they might direct their Course some Other way. A number cannot sell with us before the planters shall have a better prospect of a Saving price for their Commoditys than they at present have. some few unthinking People may buy but very few that it woud be our Interest to Trust.

The Sloop from Gambia has now been but six weeks from thence. the master Informs of the Arrival of several Vessels in the River but Capt. Bennet was not amongst those he mentions. Two of them we think must absolutly come down, Capt. Hunt[2] as being Chiefly Ownd here and the *St. Andrew* Capt. Hood, the Ship of Mr. Oswalds before mentioned. . . .

212. Henry Laurens to Commodore Thomas Frankland, 1756.

4th June 1756.

Thos. Frankland Esq. Comr. of his
Majesties Ships in the *Leeward Islands*
per Hinson.

Sir, The last Letter we gave you the trouble of Was under the 17th April by the Capts. Gilberd and Dickinson. since it Our G. A.

[211] [1] A letter to Messrs. Augustus and John Boyd, of May 25, urged them to try some better market than Charleston.

[2] Probably of the *Elizabeth,* which had sold a cargo in Charleston Aug. 27, 1755. *S. C. Gazette,* Aug. 21, 1755.

gave you two Letters, the first of which inclosd Wellseysens bond which we hope would reach you in safety, since which we have not the pleasure of any of your faviours. We have just now got the Sale of Mr. Clarkes Negroes sent to Winyaw at which one died.[1] The Eight produced £1553.10 Currency which is more by £200 than we offerd them for here. this Sum added to £24,035, the Amount the Others sold for makes the total amount of the 125 sold £25,588.10 Currt. The Gros Amot. this upon an avarage at the present Course of Excha. 7⅛ for One is £29 Sterg. per head which we presume would have been no bad Voyage to Mr. Clarke and Co. had it not been for the mortality. We shall have the Sales ready to go to those Gentn. by the first good conveyance that shall offer. we are remitting the money to London as fast as we can possibly obtain bills which grow more and more scarce, at this day, the sum so remitted is £1016.13.4 Sterg. as we know you wish well to Mr. Clarke we are willing to tell you the fate of his adventure. Our Markett is now sadly overstockd from large numbers having lately arrived for which reason all that shall follow the present year must be sold very low. . . .

213. Henry Laurens to Gedney Clarke, 1756.

26th June 1756.

Gidney Clarke Esq. *Barbadoes*
per Rash

. . . We have now before us your kind favour of the 22d Ulto. to which permit us to reply that the Negroes per Lightbourn certainly sufferd very greatly from his Decks wanting Caulking, when we chargd him with that neglect he declard that it was his intention to have caulked them but you would not allow him time for it, to which we could make no reply. be pleasd now to receive the Sales of those Slaves, the produce of them carried to the proper Credit £22,470.16.11 Currency, how it will turn out to the Gentlemen concernd we cant pretend to judge not knowing the cost, but when we consider how small a People upon the whole and that many of them were reducd to a very low Ebb by Fluxes, that they also reachd us at an exceeding bad time in the Winter Season upon a Glutted Market We must think that £29. Stlg. per head was a great price for them all things consider'd, such small Negroes would not do very well in this Country at the best of times, our Planters almost to a Man are desirous of large strong People like the Gambias and will not touch small limbd People when such can be had. It was our intention to remit for these Slaves on the Terms as we do to Mr. Knight and

[212] [1] On Apr. 5 Laurens had written Gedney Clarke that six of the negroes he had sent to Winyaw had sold for £1312. The other three were then unsold.

others of our valuable Friends but the scarcity of Bills put it out of our power to do it with that dispatch we should otherways have done, that you might not lay out of your Money a great while we have applyd money of our own towards your Remittance as per particulars at foot hereof of the Bills now gone home and that we have ready for the next Ship that Sails for which we debit the proper Accot. Currt. with £12234.12.6 Currency. . . .

We have a Cargo of Slaves from Serralionee to Sell on the 29th, if Capt. Rash does not get away before that time we will Inform you how they moove.[1] Should it happen that most of the Vessels hereafter Expected should stop in the West Indias or come to any accident that may prevent their reaching of us it may possibly give an Opening towards the fall or in the Spring for a parcell to be brought down here to advantage in which case we Shall not fail to give you the most early advice but if the Majority should reach us that are Expected we must have a great many to[o] many for the demand tho we ourselves have stopt 6 or 8 Sail that were Absolutly Orderd here had we not forbid it.[2] . . .

214. Henry Laurens to Richard Oswald and Company, 1756.

29th June 1756.

Richd Oswald and Co., *London*
per Dinmore

Gentn., We must take Leave to advise you by way of Winyaw that Capt Osborn in the Sloop *Carlisle* arriv'd in Our Road last night. He advises us that he has on board 141 Slaves for yr. Accots. and Messrs. Oswald, Grant and Co.[1] and that he lost Five on the passage, that all that he has are in health but three which have Fluxes. he does not distinguish to which parcell those belongd that are dead. we find by Our Bill of Lading from Messrs. McLiesh and Stephens 120 of them were Shipd at Bance Island so there must have been 26 Only at Gambia. The Capt. Further informs us that he is [has] nine priviledge Slaves on board. . . . just now our visiting Doctor is come up from the vessel and tells us the men are a very fine parcell of Slaves the Women the reverse. if none Others shall arrive from this time to the day of Sale which we have ad-

[213] [1] True to his promise, Laurens wrote to Clarke on the 30th that a large number of purchasers gathered for this sale, but that the cargo itself was a "shocking" one. A few good men sold for £250 and £260.

[2] On the 19th Laurens wrote to Capt. John Holden of the snow *Anson,* in care of Messrs. Thomas Stephenson and Son, giving the reasons why it was not advisable for him to bring his negroes to the Charleston market. At the same time he sent a similar letter to the owners of the *Anson,* Messrs. Hulme and Fowler of Lancaster. Discouraging letters had also been sent to Capt. Samuel Sandys Jan. 22, to Capt. Thomas Whiteside Feb. 5, and to Capt. Samuel Linnecar May 8.

[214] [1] Probably the Alexander Grant who with Oswald owned Bance Island.

vertis'd on the 8th of Next Month [2] we shall hope to render you an agreeable sale. The Seasons for Our Crops now proaving Very Agreeable we hope will raise the Spirits of Our Planters, we are just now going to begin a Sale of a Cargo per the Sloop *Hare,* Capt. Godferry, from Serralione.[3] we have Chaps Enough in Town to take them all off immediately if they shall like them which we are much afraid they will not as they are a very Ordinary Parcell. . . .

215. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1756.

5th July, [1756.]

John Knight, *Liverpoole*
per Dinmore

. . . We are pleasd that the *Orrels* last Voyage was so agreeable and should wish to see Capt. Bennet this Year in his new Ship [1] if we had any prospect of putting them off near the Mark of last Year but are persuaded it cannot be done now. We have had a good many Vessells arrive with us from Africa this Spring and every Sale has grown duller. When many of our People continued to flatter themselves there would be no War, such can now no longer doubt. We shall have an opportunity on the 8th Currt. to try how they stand affected having 150 fine Slaves to dispose of that day Shipd by the Fort at Gambia and the Factory at Bance Island. these are all grown Slaves to a small number, would have sold pretty well had not the Account of War reach'd us as many of our Customers waited to buy Slaves from us. We now fear they will be discouragd from coming to Town wherefore we wish very sincerely that Capt. Bennet may find a better Market. We shall write to meet him at Mountserrat if any opportunity shall present soon. If he should come down here we will load him as near as possible to your orders. . . . We judge Capt. Whitside must have sat down at Mountserrat where we have reason to expect he found a pretty good Market if our advices from the Leeward Islands may be depended upon. We wish as things have happend with us he had come down here, We might in the month of March or April have made a good Sale, pray what can be become of the *Thomas.*[2] We never have

[2] "Just Imported in the *Caroline,* Thomas Osborne Commander, in a short Passage directly from the River Gambia and the Grain Coast, about One Hundred and Fifty Slaves, Chiefly Men and Women. And are as likely and healthy People as ever were brought into that Province, being picked out of a large Number at the Factory; To be sold upon easy Terms, on Thursday the 8th Instant, by Austin and Laurens." *S. C. Gazette,* July 1, 1756.

[3] For this sale see this work, III. 161-164.

[215] [1] The *Phoebe.* "Charles-Town, S. Carolina, Sept. 6. The Snow *Phebe* of Liverpool, James Bennet, master from Africa, with 180 slaves designed for this port, is taken and carried into Martinique." *Boston News Letter,* Oct. 30, 1760.

[2] Consort of the snow *Willy,* Captain Whiteside's vessel.

heard a Syllable of her in this Quarter, 'tis not improbable he may have met a Noser on the Coast at that Season and bore away to the West Indias. We hope nothing worse has befall'n her. We in our Letter to Capt. Whiteside which we suppose met him at Mountserrat told him such Slaves as had sold Currt. last Summer at £40 Stlg. would not then bring £30 which was really the case when we wrote but as the Weather became warm our People began to think of Negroes but soon became Shy again from the arrival of three or four Callabar Ships, one on the Heels of another. We made a Sale this last Week of about 70 Slaves from Sierraleon a wretched bad Cargo that one third remain still upon our hands, had they been good we had made as pretty a Sale as we could have wishd for having more purchasers than appeard at the three preceeding Sales put together. if half the number come down on Thursday next we shall do very well. these were two Vessells that came to us unexpectedly and we still look for a third, the *St. Andrew,* Hood, with 250 Slaves from Gambia. This and the Bance Island Man belong to Messrs. Richard Oswald and Co. whose business was wrested out of our hands by a bold pusher [3] who would do more in his Remittance than any prudent Man could think of, but these Gentlemen see that business done in the common way turns out in the end to most advantage. 'tis not an easy matter to alter a method of Trade long established in a Country and whenever 'tis attempted must be injurious to one side or the other. . . . Capt. Bennet is the first Man that goes to Africa we would wish to see here with a Cargo of Slaves upon the smallest hopes of success and we may possibly another Year when few will send their Ships this way encourage his coming but cant think of it this, our People must have time to recover from their panick the declaration of War has thrown them into before they will act with any Spirit, those who were in any pressing want are already supplyd this Year, therefore out of regard for our friends we would not receive another African Vessell this Year could we fall upon any way to stop them. We must be terribly out in our Judgement if that business does not flag immediately. . . .

216. Henry Laurens to Richard Oswald and Company, 1756.

10th July, [1756.]

Richd Oswald and Co., *London*
per Dinmore

Gentn., Our last Trouble was under the 29th June intended by a Ship from Winyaw but was not in time so comes with this. We then

[3] Probably Charles Mayne.

had hopes of a very pretty Sale, considering the times, for Capt. Osborns Slaves but Intelligence reachd us very unluckily for this concern on this day week that war was declard in London on the 18th of May which entirely discouragd Numbers from buying at any rate and none would go so high as what has been lately given. We did every thing that was in our power to promote the Sale to the utmost but it was not possible to work the purchasers up to any Spirit, at last were Oblig'd to accept of 225 to £235 for the best men and £200 for the women, at that rate they moavd but hevily. We have sold at this day 23 of the Gambias for £4825 Curry. and Only 68 of those from Bance Island to the amount of £13,580. what remains save a few wenches are Ordinary and too Old. Indeed there is two or three of them so Old that they wont bring with us much more than their Passages. Ours is a very bad Market for ordinary Slaves but more perticularly now that good Slaves flag. The others we cant get an offer for. there are now in this town of that Stamp the tails of several Cargos which can only be sold at Vendue where they yield but little.

We have now before us to reply to your kind faviour of the 18th Feby from Messrs. Rd. Oswald and Co. and Mr Richd. Oswald. we shall take due Care to keep the Accts. Seperate of the Slaves from Bance Island and Gambia, the Five Slaves that dy'd were all from Bance Island, another lies so very Ill there is very little Hopes of her and Eight more so mauger and sickly that they can't appear in the yard. Several have very bad sore Eyes, Others the Yaws,[1] upon the whole they were not a fine Cargo which at this Season we would perticulerly have wishd for. had the day of sale been but ten days sooner it would have been 10 per Cent in your Faviour and Considerably to our advantage on Acct. of the Remittance you Require. This Turn of affairs almost Compells us to sell for almost any Credit the buyers think propper to demand which was not the Case before. tis bad on both sides so we must hope the next concern will prove more successfull tho this cannot be if the *St. Andrew* should come down here. We fear every Sale hereafter this Summer will grow worse and worse therefore sincerely hope you may have been able to reach Capt. Hood with a Letter to alter his Voyage. . . . Capt. Osborn we believe has ten priviledge Slaves on board but this we shall have more Certainty of by and by. . . . in Consequence of Mr. Oswalds Letter we advertisd the Slaves to be the prime pickd out of a Large Number but we beleive your agent must have mistook you and thought the worst would be good enough for Our market. we are now at the eve of the day and have Only

[216] [1] Contagious disease which affected the negroes alone.

been able to get off three men this day £200 per head and two women at £180.[2]

217. Laurens and Austin to Robert and John Thompson and Company, 1756.

24th July 1756.

per Ball
Robt. and John Thompson and Co., *Lancaster*

Gentn., Our last trouble was under the 24th of Jany when we very candidly gave you Our Opinion of the prospect we then had of a Sale for Slaves this Summer. conformable to that Opinion we wrote of the 22d Jany by two or three Conveyances to meet Capt. Saml. Simondson of your Brigt. the *Concord* at the house of Andw. Lesley Esqr. in Antigua. these Letter we are pretty Sure went Safe and therefore we are in great hopes you would have been exempt from any concern with us during the bad Situation of things here, to our great concern we reced just now a Letter from the said Capt Simondson from Our road below that he was arrived in the *Concord* with 49 Slaves only, having buried 22 on his passage and that he had been buffeted on this Coast for five weeks past with Contrary Winds within 140 Leagues of the place, very unlucky indeed. had she reachd us so as to have made Sale of the Slaves before the 2d Instant when Accot. reachd us that War was declared in London the 18th of May it would have been at lest 25 per Cent in your faviour from what can be hoped for now, the advice of War Struck Our planters all of a heap and to this is now added Such a drought that Our Indigo and Negro provisions is almost totally demolished, which happens also at a time when the place is quite Chgd with Slaves, that god knows what we Shall do with them, we have on hand a parcell of able men and women of a Cargo Exposd to Sale the 8th Instant from the Factory at Bance Island. this we have try'd every Stratigem in Our power to get Rid of on tollerable terms without success. the Planters wont come near us unless they are nearly hauld along and then wont offer half the price given a few months ago, thus far we had advanced from the receipt of Capt. Simondson Letter and now

[2] On the 19th Laurens wrote that 22 able-bodied slaves were still on his hands, that two had died, and five were near death. He also sent an account of this sale to John Knight, to Gedney Clarke, to Captain Bennett, whom he hoped to reach at St. Christopher, and to Captain Hosden "or the Commander of the Snow *Anson*" by way of Barbados. On the 26th 100 Bance Island slaves and 24 Gambias had been sold for £18,515 and £4985, respectively.

[217] [1] "Just imported in the *Concord,* Capt. Simondson, from the Windward and Grain Coast, a Cargo of fine likely young Negroes, To be sold upon very easy terms, on Wednesday the 4th Day of August next by Austin and Laurens." *S. C. Gazette,* July 29, 1756.

our H Laurens who went down with the Visiting Doctor is returned we have informd Capt. Simondson how bad the present prospect is and desird him to Consider whether it would not be prudent to proceed with his Slaves to Virginia. he says no as he has been very Sickly and the disorder may possibly return upon him he will take his Chance here, therefore we have advertisd the Sale for the 4th day of Next Month.[1] Capt Simondsons mortality lay Chiefly Amongst his Grown Slaves so that those that remain are mostly boys and Girls, two or three of them so ill that there is no hopes of their recovery. We have a Spaniard amongst us that Seems to want Negroes if we can agree with him may help the Sale a good deal.[2] . . .

218. Henry Laurens to Richard Oswald and Company, 1756.

6th Augt. 1756.

per Jamieson
Richard Oswald and Co., *London*

. . . The Drought still continuing with us there is no amendment in the Sale of Slaves, those few that attended our last Sale of the 4th seemd to expect they should get them for little or nothing, that we have not yet sold above half the parcell, We have still remaining of yours Nine, Two of them Gambias which we would part with on very moderate Terms could we find the Person would make the offer, but nothing will tempt them but prime young People. We really think there never could be a worse time for the Sale of Slaves than now therefore most heartily wish your Ship the *St. Andrew* may receive your orders to proceed some way else which we have hopes she will from the information we have of her by one Capt Todd of Bristol who left the River Gambia between 6 and 7 Weeks ago. he says that Capt. Hood was then laying off the Fort with only Ninety Slaves, that every Vessell in the River had the Small pox on board except the *St. Andrew* and that Capt. Hood was so apprehensive of the bad consequencys must attend him if his Slaves should be seizd with that disorder, that Capt Todd immagines he would wait a considerable time to avoid that risque which we hope would enable you to reach him with a Letter. Capt. Todd has in 154 Slaves, about 100 of them stout Men, he made a very extrordinary purchase and the Voyage must have been so had our Sales been tolerable notwithstanding he has had the Small Pox and must perform a long Quarantine before he will be permitted to sell. . . .

[2] Laurens reverted to this possibility in a letter to Oswald of July 26, "they being pretty large boys and Girls which are the Sort those people like, but they being Chiefly Accustomd to Calabar Negroes, tis very difficult to bring them up to Such a price for Others as they richly deserve".

219. Henry Laurens to Robert and John Thompson and Company, 1756.

6th Augt. 1756.

per Jamieson
Robt. and Jno. Thompson and Co., *Lancaster*

. . . These . . . went to advise of the arrivals of your Brigt. the *Concord* and the bad prospects we had before us of the Sale of your Slaves which is every day growing worse and worse from the Continuence of the drought. on the first day of the Sale we put off only 19 of them and yesterday but three. the men and Women that remain are but Ordinary and Older than Our People Choose Them, the Children too young by 3 or 4 years. none will now tempt Our People to open their purse Strings but very prime young folks of which Capt. Simondson brought none save a few Boys of about 11 or 12 years of age, that we shall be most sadly pushd how to get of[f] these that remain more especially as ano'r Vessel arrived a few days ago with 154 Slaves from Gambia and through her we hear of some Other Vessels may be daily Expected from the same River. wretched must be the Sales, indeed nothing now can possibly prevent it but an imediate plentifull Supply of Rain which may Raise the Spirits of Such as have not as yet quite lost their Crops.

We are now at the 9th and within these two days had Glorious Rain, Which will Save so much of Our Crops as were not before totally destroyd. We wish it may give Our Planters a little spirits to come and take of[f] those Slaves that Stick on hand. we have sold of your Parcell at this day thirty the Amount £4490 Currt, all of them Boys and Girls Except five men, the Men and Women that remain will hang Long unless the late Seasons Shall raise the Spirits of Our Planters as they are Very Ordinary. . . .

220. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1756.

10th August 1756.

per Capt. Jamison
John Knight, *Rhode Island*

. . . We must now take leave to inform you that by Capt. Tod of Bristol who has been about Seven Weeks from Gambia we learn that Capt. Bennit had made a very Successful purchase and was saild for Montserrat having the Small Pox on Board, as was the fate of every Vessel in the River save one the *St. Andrew,* Hood. if Capt. Bennit shall have had the disorder as favourably as Capt. Tod we are in hopes he must make you a very pretty Voyage. Tod has

brought in 154 fine Slaves and his mortality has been very inconsiderable but how he may come off in a Long quarantine with us at this bad Season of the year we cant pretend to judge. The Rains that usually attend us in the Months of Augt. and Sepr. very Often make the place Sickly. Since Our former we have another little Vessel arrived to us with Slaves from the River Sherbro (*viz.*) the *Concord,* Capt. Simondson of Lancaster. we began the Sale on the 4th, at this day have about 1/3 left on hand. Our People are now become very delicate in what they buy, must have Such as dont Exceed the age of Twenty, those which are more go off Extreamly heavily, indeed Our People have another discouragement now attends them almost equal to the Accot. of War, which is a long drought we have had that has distroyd a large part of the Indigo and negro provisions. it goes very much against People to buy negroes when they are Obliged to pay for the provisions they are to Subsist upon and this has made our late Sales a good deal duller than they would Otherwise have been, for three days Past we have had Glorious Rains which may give some Spirits to a few that have not suffered very materially. . . .

221. Henry Laurens to Richard Oswald and Company, 1756.

1st Sepr. 1756.

per Simondson
Richard Oswald and Co., *London*

Gentn. We are now at the Eve of the Sale of Capt. Hoods Cargo, for the first day when the number sold on the Generals is 41 the amount £8130, which is really better than we could well hope for.[1] the good men yielded from £220 to 240, the Women of the Same Stamp £200 a £180. if what are left were Equals to those gone we could Soon close the Sale.

Mr. Donaldson has got all his Slaves verry well

ad it [added] Sept. 4th 1756.

Richd. Oswald and Co. per Tufts

Gentn., The foregoing is Copy of a few lines we troubled you with per Capt. Simondson for Lancaster informing of the Success of the first days Sale of your Slaves per Capt. Hood, since which we have not been able to do much, Sold Only Eight for £1260, the buyers

[221] [1] On Aug. 21 and 22 Laurens informed Oswald that the *St. Andrew* had arrived with 108 slaves, 22 of whom belonged to Mr. Donaldson. About the same time two other vessels reached Charleston, bringing between them 300 negroes. "To Be Sold on Wednesday the first of September next, a cargo of fine Slaves, Just arrived in the Ship *St. Andrew,* Alexander Hood commander, directly from the river Gambia; they are perfectly healthy and have been so the whole passage, free from the Small Pox and all other contagious distempers, by Austin and Laurens." *S. C. Gazette,* Aug. 26, 1756.

now will have prime Slaves or none and as there are three Gambia Cargoes to be Sold on the 14th they lye by for them, tho many of your People that remain are very able and healthy, they wont go down therefore are afraid they will stick by us untill the fine slaves of the Other Ships shall be run off, in the mean time we shall do all that we possibly can to bring the Accot. to a close.[2] . . .

222. Henry Laurens to Richard Oswald and Company, 1756.[1]

15th Septemr. 1756.

per Smith
Richard Oswald and Co., *London*

Gentn, . . . we have Sold to this day 69 of your Slaves, the Totals Amot. £12,750 Curry. We have remaining on Shore, Two men One of them is advanced in years and has Sore Eyes, the Other Young but almost blind, there remains also on board Three Women under the Doctors hands with Guinea Worms and Other Infirmitys which we are in hopes will bring more money by and by, than if Offerd to Sale now. at the Sale of yesterday [2] there was a great many people in Town expecting from the Number of Slaves to be Sold that they Should buy them very low which was a great advantage to the Seller because when they do come down they will give more than they limited themselves rather than return Empty handed thro' this the Sale was more brisk than was Expected at the rate of £220 to £240 for the fine men.[3] . . .

223. Henry Laurens to Captain Valentine Powell, 1756.

9th Novemr. 1756.

Capt. Valentine Powell or the Commander of the Snow *Molly* of Bristol to the care of Messrs. Shepherd and Cooper Merchts. In *Barbadoes*
per Mitchell

[2] Accounts of the result of this sale were sent to Messrs. Devonshire, Reeve, and Lloyd Sept. 7, to Messrs. Robert and John Thompson Sept. 10, and to Gedney Clarke Sept. 13. In a later letter Laurens wrote that the sale averaged £25 stg.

[222] [1] On Sept. 11 Laurens wrote to Richard Nicholas and to Messrs. Foster Cunliffe and Sons, both of Liverpool. Nicholas had consigned to Laurens his snow *Nicholas,* Captain Jennings, from the Gold Coast, and Cunliffe had directed Capt. Henry Hayston to this merchant.

[2] Cargoes of the *Success* and of the *Cavendish,* in the hands of Middleton and Brailsford, and of the *Molly,* sold by John Guerard, were offered for sale on Sept. 14. *S. C. Gazette,* Sept. 2, 1756.

[3] Laurens's final statement concerning this cargo was sent on Dec. 16: "Net proceeds thereof to your Credit in Acco't Currt. £11,977.13.1 Currency, there was not men enough in this parcell in proportion to the Women or the sales would have averaged considerable more."

Sir, We have a letter before us of the 2d Septr. from Mr. Henry Bright informing us of your being on a Voyage in the Snow *Molly* for Angola and this place but to touch at Barbadoes to receive advice from us how far we can encourage or discourage your coming down here. this is a point of great uncertainty to be determined upon just now and puzzells us not a little what advice to give. the declaration of War gave a great damp to the Purchasers of Slaves but towards the latter end of Summer they began to recover from their first panick and gave better prices than they would at first do. now their Spirits seem again depressd from the bad aspect of publick Affairs, the loss of Mahone and the Fort of Oswego [1] seem to affect them sensibly and we really fear in the Spring the Sale of Slaves will be dull unless publick Affairs should take a favourable turn before that time. our last Sales have averagd, We mean since the Accot. of War, 25. to £29. Stlg. per head but it must be observed that these were all Gambia and Windward Coast Cargoes which are better esteemed by our People than Angolas. We shall if opportunity present hold you advisd of our sentiments on this matter until we expect you have reachd the West Indias that is shall inform you if the present prospect shall take any turn either for or against you but thus far may now say, that if you should have the Small Pox or any other disorder that shall much reduce your Slaves we must be of opinion they will do much better in the West Indias than here and we must further observe to you, that our Market requires two thirds as many Males as Females at least to enable us to render a speedy and agreeable Account. We wish you may hit on the most advantageous Market for our good Friends your Owners.[2]

224. Henry Laurens to Richard Oswald and Company, 1756.

22d Novem. 1756.

per Walker
Richard Oswald and Co., *London*

. . . we shall labour to get her [*St. Andrew*] away as early as possible that she may be in time for Gambia if you should intend her that way in the Spring. The last Vessell that reachd us from Africa was the *Sylvia* whose Cargo went off something brisker than those that preceeded, our Planters began to recover their Spirits and in all probabillity would have bought briskly this next Spring had it not been for the late very disagreeable news that has reachd us, the Loss of Fort St. Philip and Oswego which again has a good deal depressd them. if any lucky turn should happen in publick Af-

[223] [1] On Aug. 15, 1756.
[2] On Nov. 20 Laurens wrote to Captain Powell that the prices of Carolina products were encouraging and that if two-thirds of his cargo were males he had better come to Charleston rather than sell for less than £21 or £22 stg. in the West Indies.

fairs soon we expect they will get the better of this last Alarm as their Indigo sells much better than they could reasonably hope for 25/ per pds. and they have a prospect of a much better price for their Rice than has been usual in time of War. these are the Funds on which they depend and by which their purchases are entirely influenced. We have received this day Letters from the Leeward Island, which inform us Slaves are very low in that Quarter and have been so for some time owing to a stop being put to the Trade from St. Eustatia and that it must continue untill The Trade shall be again opend which does not seem probable soon as some Dutch Vessells have been condemnd in our Islands. should you send any Slaves to the West Indias this next Summer it might be of service to inform us of their destination and that we should have power to send for them to come down here if our Market should prove good and those in the West Indias very dull. be assurd if you vest us with such authority we shall act entirely with a view to your Interest without the least deviation from it on Account of our Commission.[1]

225. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1756.[1]

31st Decr. 1756.

per Capt. Hood
John Knight, *Liverpoole*

. . . We are much pleasd to find that Mr. Blundells Ship[2] from Bonny stopd in the West Indias, as they are in extream bad sort of Slaves to come here on a falling Market, will only do when the Commodity, if we may so call them, is much wanted and if the *Nicholas*[3] Snow found a good Sale at Jamaica we shall be pleased she went there as the best of our Sales last Year could be calld but middling. we cant pretend to say with any certainty how it may be with us this ensuing Year but one good omen of a tolerable Sale for the first Cargoes that may arrive is that many of our customers have lately askd us if we expect any Slaves and entreated us to send for some. however we cant prevail on them to make an offer of any certain price, the plain English is they would be glad to have it in

[224] [1] On Dec. 13 Laurens wrote to Clarke: "Several of our Customers have lately been asking us if we expect any Negroes in the spring which inclines us to believe the sales may prove tollerable especially if any vigorous measures shall be taken on our side to give a Check to the French armes in No. America, really the state of affairs are so fluctuating that we dont know what to say on this head with any certainty but as we hear from the Leeward Islands Slaves are become very low with them upon a stopage of the Trade to St Eustatia and which may possibly have the same effect at your market we have been induced to say as much as we can with safety on this head."

[225] [1] On Nov. 22 Laurens reported to Knight the improved price of Carolina products and the effect of this on the planters, and asked that he be notified of all African ventures due in America in the early spring.

[2] Probably the *Hopewell,* Captain Linnecar.

[3] Richard Nicholas and Co., Liverpool, owners.

their power to buy or let it alone just as the prospect of Affairs shall give them encouragement, We are glad the *Willy* and *Thomas* reachd the West Indias in safety. they must have done better than we think, all things considerd, than we could have done for you here nor do we believe we could have done better for our Friend Bennet upon the same consideration. it affords us great pleasure these several Vessells met with so much success in their Voyages, which we shall be glad to contribute to as often as our Market will permit, when we Slack in the encouragement we give you believe us it proceeds from pure Zeal for your Interest and that we dont dislike business when we can do it without prejudice to our Friend, what shall we say in regard to your Gambia concerns this next Year. We believe nothing more can be said than this that if you foresee that the West India Marketts must be dull order them down here, it will hardly do for them to call in the West Indias and from thence proceed in consequence of Letters from us because we judge the risque will be more than doubled by their taking that course and a Cargo is often injured by turning their back on the Islands, the Slaves grow dispirited and pine away for want of knowing the reason why they dont stop there. If you should incline to send one only pray let Capt Bennet be the Man, we should much rather choose to see our old Friend than any new face whatsoever. . . .

226. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1757.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Feb. 24	Mar. 3	*Katherine*	James Hayes	Barbados (Gambia)		Wm. Banbury
" "	" 8	*Hannah*	A. Cornish	Barbados	200	Benj. Smith and Co.
June 9	June 14	*Thomas and Sarah*	St. Judkins	" (Windward and Gold Coast)		Middleton and Brailsford
Aug. 25	Sept. 1	*Black Prince*	Peter Bostock	Gambia		Smith and Brewton

227. Henry Laurens to Henry Bright, 1757.

3 January 1757.

per Wallace
Henry Bright Esqr., *Bristol*

Sir, The preceeding we confirm as a third recital of our last since which are without any of your favours, by the enquiry our cus-

[226] [1] Governor Lyttleton in a report to the Board of Trade Aug. 7, 1758, gave the importation from June 1, 1756, to June 1, 1757, as 1661; and that for June 1, 1757, to June 1, 1758, as 1910, making for the two years a total of 3571 (Br. Trans., XXVIII. 67). The *Gazette*, Dec. 8, 1759, gave 1207 as the number of the arriving negroes for 1757, and 2477 for 1758. As has been stated before, the figures in the *Gazette* of Dec. 8, 1759, are not for the exact calendar year.

tomers have lately made whether we expect any slaves in the spring and their pressing of us to send for some makes us hope that if Capt. Powell should come down here we shall be able to render you a pretty good Accot. of them, we shall encourage Capt. Powell to try the event if we can find an Opportunity of writing to Barbados in time proviso his Cargo is healthy and in Flesh and pretty well assorted for this Market we have not in those letters that are gone altogether discouraged him but shall give him now a little more encouragement than in those.[1] . . .

228. Henry Laurens to Gedney Clarke, 1757.[1]

15th Jany 1757.

per Mr. Perdrian
Gidney Clark Esqr., *Barbadoes*

Sir, Our last trouble was under the 13th ulto per Catling for your Island, a Copy of it went by Joseph Dickinson for St Kitts, since wch from the enquiry that has been made of us whether we expect any slaves in the spring we have great reason to believe we shall then have a brisk and good sale, we could [wish] that you may have it in your power to lay in a good Cargo to be with us early on moderate terms. we should not be at all afraid without some great alteration in affairs of rendering you an agreeable acct. of them, and suffer us to observe that Bills of exchange from our Indigo and Rice, being in great demand are become plenty at seven for one. Rice sells current at 35/ per 100 and we believe there has been 400,000 of Indigo sold by this day at 25/ to 30/ per c[w]t. and which has put our planters in high spirits, those who shall have early Cargoes of slaves must feel the good effect of it for our parts we dont expect any very early unless the *Molly*, Val'n Powell should proceed here from your Island which we can scarcely expect as our Letters hitherto to meet her have not been very encouraging. Please to observe that we have had the good fortune thus far, not to have one of the Enemies Privateers come near our Coast so that our trade is all safely arrived and our harbour so full of ships they may be had for any part of England at £4 per Ton. . . .

[227] [1] Laurens sent two letters to Captain Powell of the snow *Molly*, one "per Tucker of Antigua", one "per Mr. Perdrian", both in care of Messrs. Shepherd and Cooper, merchants of Barbados. On Jan. 7 he wrote: "many of our Chaps have lately desired us to Import some Slaves in the Spring. We must now recommend to you to come down here if you have a healthy and good Cargo and have not a satisfactory offer in the Islands. We have not had one Cruiser on this Coast as yet so that our Ships come in and go out in great safety. We should be glad to see you here in March or April." In the second letter, written Jan. 15, he added to his good opinion of the market, "we must note that many of our Planters are flush of Cash and that Bills of Exchange are very plenty".

[228] [1] On Jan. 12 Laurens wrote a similar letter to Richard Oswald.

229. Henry Laurens to Samuel and William Vernon, 1757.

22 Jany 1757.

per Capt. Davis
Saml. and Willm. Vernon, *Rhode Island*

Gentn. Your kind favour of the 8th ulto.[1] reachd us the 28th Ditto. We wish the sale of Capt. Godfreys slaves had been more agreeable, tho really had you seen the condition they were in you must have thought them very well sold, our People latterly make as great a difference between prime slaves and such as are ordinary as in any place whatever and will continue to do so as long as our market shall be as well supplyed as it was last year. we could very heartily reccomend to you to order a Cargo here this Spring if they were young healthy People and could be here early, our planters have obtaind such prices for there Indigo 25/ to 30/ per ct. and this Rice finding a Current sale at 35/ per Cent, we shall be greatly mistaken if we find not a brisk sale for slaves, in the months of March, April, and May, perhaps later but tis highly probable we shall have a number of Gambia Vessels reach us at the proper Season as the markets in the West Indias are very low, and these slaves our People esteem equal to the gold Coast.

We remitted our own Bills to Messrs. Tomlinson, Trecothick and Co. on the 12th Currt for £568.7.5 Sterlg, the 5th of which Bills we now Inclose you and the 6th shall come per next, for the said Bills and our Commission we debit your Acct. Currt with £4177. 10 C. currency and this we judge will bring that Acct. nearly to a Close, which hitherto lies open with us on Account of that slave sold Benja Yarnold, who lingerd under the Docters hands for two or three months and then dyed, the poor man who could but illy afford such a loss thinks it very hard he should pay for her as she had the disorder unknown to him when he bought her, and the very day afterwards fell sick upon his hands, we think it the fairest way to have it adjusted by an arbitration which he has with much difficulty agreed to so that we shall now very soon have an end to it when we will close that Account.[2] . . .

[229] [1] See this work, III. 173. William Vernon had been trading with Charleston as early as 1746 (N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box. VI). On Jan. 11 Laurens wrote concerning Godfrey's cargo to Thomlinson, Threcothick, and Co., who were the London agents of the Vernons. See this work, III. 147, 168, 170.

[2] Laurens had wished to refund to Yarnold a portion of the price of this negro, to which action the Vernons had objected (this work, III. 171). In 1807 a suit was brought to recover $200 paid for an African girl who died six weeks after her purchase. The judge charged the jury for the plaintiff and refused a request for a new trial. The argument for the defendant was that "the quality of the slave or his soundness of body or mind" was not warranted at the time of sale but that the purchaser chose among many, using his own judgment. Catterall, *Judicial Cases*, II. 288.

230. Henry Laurens to Thomas Mears, 1757.

24th Janry. 1757.

per Wallace
Thomas Mears, *Liverpool*

. . . We observe you have an inclination that your Snow the *Mears* now on a voyage to Gambia shall come down here if we can meet her in the West Indias with Letters to encourage it. as far as we can at present judge our Spring Sale will be brisk and good and therefore we have wrote Letters this day to meet Capt. Berryl at St. Kitts and others to be forwarded from thence to Barbadoes in which we encourage him by all means to come down if he can arrive here between this and the month of July and has got a healthy good Cargo but really we have very little hopes of seeing him the French Privateers are so numerous in the West Indias.[1] . . .

231. Henry Laurens to John and William Halliday, 1757.

14th Feby. 1757.

per Vance
John and Willm. Halliday, *St. Kitts*

. . . We continue to abound with Shipping and Freights very dull; as it may possibly be of some service to you to be informed that through the great prices our Planters have obtaind for their Rice and Indigo this Year they seem in great want of Slaves and from thence we believe will give great prices in the Spring. We take leave to mention it to you, upon which we must observe that our People dont like the Slaves of Callabar that are above 16 or 17 Years of Age, those of any other Country sell pretty much alike with them, proviso they are young robust People, the Males sell to much more advantage than the Females, the difference in price generally 5 or £6 Stlg. per head. please to observe that such as are old or ordinary wont bring more here than in the West Indias. If these hints shall prove serviceable to you it will afford us great pleasure.[1]

232. Henry Laurens to Captain Thomas Hinde, 1757.

21st March 1757.[1]

per Linthom
Thomas Hinde, *Lancaster*

. . . Our Planters dreading the Effects of War upon the price of their produce became very cool and indifferent last summer

[230] [1] On the same day Laurens wrote to Capt. Christopher Berryl of the *Mears*, in care of Messrs. Carter and Hunter of Barbados, repeating the advice here given.

[231] [1] Similar letters had been sent to Meyler and Hall of Jamaica, James Smith of Barbados, and Francis Guichard and Thomas Duberry of St. Kitts and Montserrat.

[232] [1] The next day a similar letter was written to Messrs. Devonshire, Reeve, and Lloyd. On Mar. 14 and 21 statements of the conditions in Carolina were sent to John Boyd and Gedney Clarke. To the former Laurens predicted that Gambia slaves would bring £300.

in the purchase of slaves, whereby the price of the prime men was reduced to £230 and 40 but in having had a glorious Sale for their Indigo and Rice this year their drooping spirits are revivd as appeared by a sale last week of about 200 slaves that were purchased at Barbados, most of them Calabars for the Prime of whom they gave £280 Currency equal to £40 Sterg. and most of them sold for very short pay, a fine Gambia Cargo would just now furnish a very agreeble Accot. and in appearance will so continue this summer if the numbers Imported are moderate. . . .

233. Henry Laurens to Richard Oswald, 1757.

26th March 1757.

per Rothmahler
Richard Oswald, *London*

Sir, Permit us to trouble you with this per the Snow *Planter* Erasmus Rothmahler master, a Vessel in which we are two Ninths concernd and which may possibly suit you to make a trip to the Coast of Africa, as she was Originally built in France for that purpose, to us appears well calculated for it and that she will sail well to which we may add that the master is a sober active young fellow, has made two or three Voyages to the Coast, and as that is the business of all others he seems to prefer there is reason to believe that if he was employd he would assidiously endeavour to give satisfaction in hopes of being continued on the same Voyage. what induces us to mention this to you is that we imagine she may discharge at a proper Port for your purpose, that is in Holland or Hamburgh as she is ordered to stop at portsmouth and from thence proceed as shall be directed by Mr. John Nutt, who will be impowerd if such a Vessel should be usefull to you to execute a Charter. We have had only about 220 slaves reachd us as yet this year that were purchased at Barbadoes the major part of them Calabars, which sold as high as £40 Sterg, we mean the prime men, those of the other stamp in Proportion, we are of opinion slaves will continue to sell well with us this summer, if our Province shall remain in the present state of Tranquility and the Importation is not excessive, but we are told the Enemy [threatens] us a visit from the Missassippy, if it proves so our People will have a different employment to that of Planting and of course wont have Occasion to enlarge their number of slaves.[1]

[233] [1] Laurens also wrote to John Nutt: "We have recommended the Snow to our Worthy friend Mr. Richard Oswald in London who frequently hyres Vessels to go out to the River Gambia or Siralion River in Africa and 'tis probable you may make a freight for her in that way as she is extremely well calculated for the African business and Capt. Rothmahler much inclined and we believe well qualified of a young man for such a voyage, as she is fit for a Guiney man having a great height between decks and very airy."

234. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1757.[1]

Charles Town, April 21.

Tuesday last arrived Capt. Holden from Gambia. . . . we have Advice by the same Vessel that the Snow *Black Jake,* Capt. Stubbs, of London, from Africa bound hither, was lately taken to Windward of Barbados.

Charles-Town, May 19.

Capt. Dickinson . . . . informs us that a Brigg. was arrived at Barbados, from the Coast of Africa, which had narrowly escaped being taken by a French Squadron of 2 74 Gun Ships, 1 60 Gun Ship, and 2 Frigates, who had cut off most of our Traders upon the Coast of Guiney. And that the Brigt. had on board 4 of the English Captains that had been taken by them.

235. Case of the *Rainbow*, 1758.[1]

[*Captain Joseph Harrison to Thomas Rumbold and Company.*]

[Barbados, February 28, 1758.]

We arrived here on the 25th inst. in company with Capt. Perkins from Bonny, and Capt. Forde from Angola, whom we fell in with at St. Thomas's. The packet arrived here from England the day after us. I expect to sail from hence for South Carolina in five days, having on board 225 slaves, all in good health except eight. On the 23rd of June last, I had the misfortune to fall in with a French brig privateer, of fourteen 6-pounders, to leeward of Popo.[2] . . . We were three days in repairing our rigging, etc. and on the 28th got over the Bar of Benin and found only one vessel there, *viz.* a Portuguese sloop at Warree. I purchased eight slaves on the windward coast, and 261 at Benin, besides 5400 weight of ivory. Leaving the river, Nov. 9th, we arrived at St. Thomas's Dec. 17th, from whence our three vessels sailed, Jan. 4th. I have buried all my officers, except my first and third mates and gunner. Having lost since left Liverpool, 25 white people and 44 negroes. The negroes rose on us after we left St. Thomas's; they killed my linguister whom I got at Benin, and we then secured them without farther loss. We have an account of five privateers being to windward of Barbadoes, by a retaken vessel brought in here this day, so that we shall run a great risk when we leave Barbadoes.

[234] [1] *S. C. Gazette*, Apr. 28, May 19, 1757.

[235] [1] Gomer Williams, *Liverpool Privateers*, pp. 488-489. Harrison's vessel was the *Rainbow*, owned by Messrs. Rumbold.

[2] Popo was on the Slave Coast of Africa, not far from Whydah. There follows a description of the encounter between the *Rainbow* and the French brig.

The Deposition of John Dawson Mate of the Snow "Rainbow", born at Preston in Lancashire Aged Forty Years touching the Suppos'd Murder of George Crawford and Comer late Mariner, belonging to said Snow "Rainbow". [3]

That on the high Seas in a voyage from the Coast of Africa to America in and with the Said Snow, at the places Call'd Benein and the Island of St. Thomas, George Crawford One of the Mariners on board the said Vessell, being Ordered to assist in hauling up the Treysail (Then standing on the Hen Coop) he then pull'd the rope Call'd the Foot Brail which gave way by means whereof he fell in a Violent Manner with his head upon the Deck, where he remain'd Stun'd and Speechless. That Capt. Harrison at that time having a Catt of Ninetails in his Hands.

And driving the Negroes off the Deck, and apprehending that the said George Crawford was Shamming, gave him a gentle blow with the Catt, such as woud. not have hurt a Child. And this Deponent declares that the said Joseph Harrison did not kick or Otherwise abuse the said George Crawford, but that when the Doctor had in vain apply'd some Salvolatile to the Nostrils of the Said George Crawford, the Said Captn. Harrison blew some Tobacco Smoke to his nose, in Order to recover him to his Senses, but the said George Crawford remain'd Still Speechless till he died.

And this Deponent further declares upon Oath that John Alexander late Gunner of the Said Snow, was not upon the Deck of the Said Snow At the time of the Accidents happening nor was it possible for him to see what then happened upon Deck. And the Deponent verily believes that the said George Crawford's falling as aforesaid on Deck was the Occasion of his Death and not from any ill usage he mett with from Captn. Harrison. And the Deponent further declares that he knew of no ill will subsisting between Captn. Harrison and the said Geo. Crawford at the time of his falling. The Deponent also Saith that he hath frequently heard John Alexander abuse and threaten the said Captn. Harrison, saying he would be reveng'd.

The Deponent further Says That Captn. Harrison at Benein, hired one Dick, a free negro man, as a Linguist between him and the Slaves to proceed on the Said Voyage, that his being on board the Said Snow was of great Consequence to the Interest of the Voyage. That Richard Kirkby commonly called Comer, had reported that the said Dick was bought as a Slave by Captn. Harrison and woud. be sold at the West Indies. That one of the Mariners told Dick he was no better than a Slave, and woud. be sold as such when they arriv'd at the West Indies, that thereupon Dick grew sulky,

[3] MS. Records of the Court of Vice Admiralty, Charleston, S. C.

and that the Slaves on board refused their Victuals and woud. be under no Command as formerly, and in this humour they continued for two days; That Captn. Harrison having Observ'd an Alteration in Dick's behavior, ask'd him what was the matter, and with some reluctance Dick told him what he had heard, That Captn. Harrison thereupon enquir'd into the matter, and found that Comer was the Author of the said Reports. Whereupon the said Dick demanded Satisfaction of the Said Comer, but the Captain told him he coud. give him no Satisfaction having no power to beat any White Person on board, but Dick being Dissatisfied, and stormed and Raged upon Deck; and in the Deponents Opinion, the Captain apprehended danger from the Slaves, and therefore to prevent Insurrection Desir'd the said Dick to take Satisfaction of the said Comer,—which he did, by tying up the said Comer, and giving him at two different times, about three or four and twenty lashes in the whole. That the Deponent is of Opinion that the said Whipping was not the Occasion of his death but that he died of a Lethargick Disorder, with a flux and Dropsye. Now [nor] does he believe the whipping hastened his Death, because it was not severe or violent, and also declares that no blood issued from the Body of the said Comer, by the whipping given him as aforesaid. And the Deponent saith the said Comer had the Said disorder on him at the time of his being whip'd.

Sworn in Court before me [4] 22d June 1758.[5]

236. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1759.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
June 30	July 4	*Molly*	Watts	Gambia	200	John Guerard
" "	" 11	*Marlborough* (Snow)	Dodson	"	200	Austin and Appleby
" "	" "	*Betsey*	Robt. Deas	Sierra Leone [2]		Austin and Appleby
July 21	Aug. 1	*Marlborough*	Lace	Whydah [3]		Middleton and Brailsford
" 28		*John*	Pearce	Gambia [4]	40	Austin and Appleby
Sept. 1	Sept. 6	*Thetis*	John Preston	Windward and Grain Coast	212	Austin, Laurens, and Appleby
" 29	Oct. 9	*Rainbow*	Jos. Harrison	Gambia	100	Middleton and Brailsford
Oct. 13	" 23	*Africa*	Alex. Robe	Africa	250	Inglis, Lloyd and Hall
Nov. 10	Nov. 14	*Elizabeth*	Robt. Elliott	Windward Coast	50	Wm. Banbury
" 17	" 28	*Polly and Betsey*	Graham	Barbados	200	Middleton and Brailsford

[4] Peter Leigh, judge of the court of vice admiralty in 1758.

[5] The *Gazette*, Dec. 8, 1759, gives the importation of 1758 as 2477 but we have no Laurens letters and few details from other sources for this year.

[236] [1] For 1759 there are no Laurens letters available but some information as to the amount of importation can be gathered from the *Gazettes*: from Nov. 1, 1758, to Nov. 1,

237. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1759.

Charles-Town, January 12, 1759.[1]

The *Lievsley,* Capt. Onslow, with 323 Slaves on board, and a Rhode-Island Sloop, one Johnson, Master, with 150 more, both from Africa, and designed for this Port, are taken by French Privateers to Windward of Antigua.[2]

[March, 1759.][3]

At the same sessions capt. Wm. Lugen was tried for the murder of a Black infant: He had sailed upon the slaving trade from Bristol, and had taken in about 200 Blacks upon the Coast of Africa, and was carrying them to Carolina, among whom was a woman with a young child. The woman, in the voyage, happened to die of a flux, and the child being very ill of that distemper, the crew belonging to the ship very naturally committed the care of the poor infant to the people of its own colour: but they, like true savages, handed it upon deck, and refused to admit it amongst them; their reason was, because they believed the distemper to be infectious, and dreaded it as we do a plague. The infant, then, in a very miserable condition lying exposed to the broiling heat of the sun, and in the agonies of death (for the surgeon declared it could not live the day out) the capt. ordered it to be thrown overboard. The capt. appeared to be a man of great humanity in other respects, tho', in this instance, he seems to have forgot the tenderness of his nature, and, as the court very justly observed, took upon himself to determine upon a case of life, which Providence alone could decide. He was however acquitted, as there could be no premeditated malice in the case.

Charles-Town, June 30.[4]

By one of the Vessels arrived from Africa this Week, which has been at Goree, we learn, that Every Thing was quiet there and

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1759, the importation was 1555; for the year 1759 (to Dec. 8) it was 1957. *S. C. Gazette,* Nov. 3, Dec. 8, 1759.

[2] "Chiefly of the same Country as those which are brought from the River Gambia; just arrived in the Snow *Betsey,* Robt. Deas, Master, from the Factory at Sierra-Leon on the Windward Coast of Guiney, where the said Cargo was picked out of a large Parcel."

[3] "Whidah, a Country greatly preferred to any other, thro'out the West Indies, and inferior to none on the Coast of Africa."

[4] "A little Cargo of Forty choice Gambia Negroes just arrived in the Sloop *John,* Capt. Pearce, from Gambia, *viz.* 15 young Men and young Women, 11 Boys, and 5 Girls. To be sold on reasonable Terms to any Person that will take them all or otherwise on Wednesday the 1st of August next, by George Austin [and] Geo. Appleby."

[237] [1] *S. C. Gazette,* Jan. 12, 1759; *Boston News Letter,* Feb. 15, 1759.

[2] The *Gazette* (Jan. 19, 1759) also reported prizes captured by the English, "A French Dutch [*Sic*] Ship, with 320 Slaves on board, by H. M. S. *Hornet,* Chas. Napier."

[3] *London Magazine,* XXVIII. 162.

[4] *S. C. Gazette,* June 30, July 7, 21, 1759; *Boston News Letter,* Aug. 2, 1759.

at Senegal, our two new Conquests on that Coast,[5] and that no Enemy had offered to give the least Interruption to our Trade.

July 7.

On Wednesday last put in here for a Supply of Water, the Ship *Black-Prince,* of Bristol, Capt. William Miller Commander, from the Coast of Angola, with 500 Negroes, bound for Virginia. Capt. Miller says, his was the only English Vessel that had been upon that Coast this Year, but he left 6 large Ships there under Dutch colours supposed to be bound for the French West India Islands. . . .

The Ship *Polly,* Capt. Hamilton, and the Ship *Mercury,* Capt. Ingledieu both of Bristol, were lately lost on the Coast of Africa. Capt. Hamilton was destined for this Port with a Cargo of Slaves. A Sloop commanded by a Brother of the above Capt. Ingledieu, slaving up the River Gambia, was attacked by a Number of the Natives, about the 27th of February last, and made a good Defence; but the Captain finding himself desperately wounded, and likely to be overcome, rather than fall into the Hands of such merciless Wretches, when about 80 Negroes had boarded his Vessel, discharged a Pistol into his Magazine, and blew her up; himself and every Soul on Board perished.

The Snow *Perfect*, Capt. William Potter, of Liverpool, bound for this Port, is also cut off by the Negroes in the River Gambia and every Man on board murdered; and the Vessel lost.

July 21.

According to some Accounts that have been received, there is Reason to fear, that the Ship *Pearl,* of and from Bristol, Henry Todd Master, bound for Gambia and this Port, was lost in coming out.

[5] Senegal capitulated to the English in May, 1758; Goree in December.

238. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1760.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 5	Jan. 10	*Keppel*[2]	Walter Kerrat	Senegal	50	Thomas Shirley[3]
Apr. 7	Apr. 16	*John*	Geo. Cherry	Gambia		John Guerard
" 26	May 6	*Bance Island*	John Stevens	Windward and Rice Coast	250	Austin, Laurens, and Appleby
July 5[4]	July 10	*Pearl*	Pollard	Angola	360	Middleton and Brailsford
" 12	" 23	*Racehorse*	John Barker	Africa	160	Inglis, Lloyd, and Hall[5]
" "	" 21	*Anne*	Joseph Webb	Senegal	200	Thomas Shirley
" "	" 22	*Charming Esther*	John Hamilton	Windward and Gold Coast	200	Austin, Laurens, and Appleby
" 19	" 24	*Molly*	Joseph Miller	Gambia		John Guerard
Aug. 2		*Marquis of Rockingham*	Evans	Windward Coast	200	Middleton and Brailsford
" 13		*Nestor*	Maddock	Gold Coast	200	" " "
" 23	Sept. 3	*Marlborough*	Robert Dodson	Gambia	180	Austin, Laurens, and Appleby
Sept. 13	" 30	*Middleton*	John Walker	Gold Coast	170	Middleton and Brailsford
" 20	" 26	*Prince Tom*	John Chillcott[6]	Angola	430	Smith and Nutt
Oct. 11	Oct. 15	*Kingston*	Wm. Brown	Angola	350	Smith and Brewton
" "	" "	*Molly*	William Denison		200	Austin, Laurens, and Appleby
" 18	" 28	*Carolina*	John Kennedy	Sierra-Leone	200	Da Costa and Farr
" 20	" "	*Betty*	Kennedy	Windward and Grain Coast	180	Austin, Laurens, and Appleby
Nov. 22	Dec. 2	*Roebuck*	Thos. Gullan	Africa	420	Inglis, Lloyd, and Hall

[238] [1] On Nov. 1, 1760, the *Gazette* reported the number of importations since Nov. 1, 1759, as 3573. The total number of negroes sold this year by Austin, Laurens, and Appleby must have been at least 1000; that by their closest competitor, Middleton and Brailsford, 900. The largest cargoes of the year were those of the *Prince Tom* and the *Roebuck*. It is noticeable that the advertisements for this year are more frequently repeated than they have heretofore been. Shirley's notice of the sale of the *Anne* appears in seven issues. In its last appearance it is specified that the sale of "200 Guiney Negroes" is to take place at Beaufort Port Royal.

[2] "Monday arrived here the Ship *Keppel*, Walter Kerrat present Master, with 50 Slaves from Senegal (our new Acquisition on the Coast of Africa). The late Captain, with all his Crew except two Mates and two Seamen died at Senegal, and the Vessel has been navigated from thence to this Port by these four, with the Negroes, who never once made an Attempt on the Lives of the Whites. By this Ship, we have Advice of the Arrival of the Ships that sailed from England with our last London Fleet at Goree and Senegal" (*S. C. Gazette*, Jan. 5, 1760). For an account of the English capture of Goree and Senegal see E. C. Martin, *The British West African Settlements, 1750-1821*, pp. 57-58.

[*Notes to no. 238*—continued:]

[3] May 27, 1765, "Dined this day with Mr. Thomas Shirley, a very polite English Gent. residing here in very genteel fashion: is an ingenuous ready man: was bread a mercht., has travel'd much, understands several modern languages: pass'd the afternoon agreeably with him". Webster also dined with, and recommends in similar fashion, William Glen; Thomas, Thomas-Loughton, and Benjamin Smith; John Torrans; and John Head. "Journal of Pelatiah Webster's Voyage to Charleston, 1765" (ed. T. P. Harrison), Southern Hist. Assn., *Publications*, II. 137.

[4] One vessel intending to deliver a cargo in Charleston failed to do so: "The Snow *Hannah*, of Liverpool, Edward Prescott, Master, with 270 Slaves on board, from Serra-Leon for this Port, after beating four Weeks upon this Coast, has been obliged to put in to Okerecock, in North-Carolina, for a Supply of Provisions." *S. C. Gazette*, June 14, 1760.

[5] "The snow *Race-Horse*, of Bristol, John Barker master, from Africa, with slaves, bound for this port, after being three weeks in soundings, in constant thick foggy weather, on the 22d instant, about a quarter past eight at night, struck on the shoal called the Frying-Pan, off Cape-Fear; the next morning capt. Barker ordered his second mate ashore with six hands to get assistance, which having procured, he returned to where he left the snow, but could neither see nor hear anything of her, upon which the said mate is come hither by land. There were only six white hands besides the captain left on board the snow and the vessel lay in six feet of water" (*ibid.*, July 5, 1760). Two weeks later the following notice appeared in the *Gazette*: "To be Sold by the Subscribers, at their Store at Stono Landing, on tuesday the 23d Instant, A Cargo consisting of about One Hundred and Sixty Healthy Young Negroes. Just arrived in the Snow *Racehorse*, John Barker, Master, directly from the Coast of Africa. INGLIS, LLOYD, and HALL." *Ibid.*, July 19, 1760.

[6] Some notion of the competition in buying slaves may be gathered from a report made by Captain Wilkinson of the *Jenny*, with 370 slaves from Angola (*ibid.*, June 14, 1760). When he left the Angola coast he left behind him:

"At Cabenda.	The *Success*, Piggot, of London
	The *Kingston*, Brown, of Bristol
	The *Prince Tom*, Chilcott, of Liverpool
At Melimba.	The *Antelope*, Hamilton, of Bristol
	The *Eagle* (late Jones) of Ditto
	The *Nanny*, Bare, of Liverpool
	The *Vaba*, Smith, of Ditto
	And three Dutchmen
At Loango (St. Paul's).	The *Betty*, Bailey, of Liverpool
	The *Pearl*, Pollard, of Ditto."

239. Notices of Sales, 1760.[1]

April 26.

To be sold on board the Ship *Bance Island,* on tuesday the 6th of May next, at Ashley Ferry; a choice cargo of about 250 fine healthy Negroes, just arrived from the Windward and Rice Coast. The utmost care has already been taken, and shall be continued to keep them free from the least danger of being infected with the Small-Pox no boat having been on board, and all other communication with people from Charles-Town prevented.[2] Austin, Laurens, and Appleby.

July 19.

To be Sold very cheap. On Tuesday the 22d of this Instant July, At Strawberry-Ferry, A choice Cargo of about Two Hundred very Likely and Healthy Negroes, Of the same Country as are usually brought from the River Gambia: Just arrived in the snow *Charming Esther,* John Hamilton Commander, from the Windward and Grain Coast. Austin, Laurens, and Appleby.

Aug. 23.

To be Sold, On Wednesday the 3d of next month (September), at Jacksonburgh, Ponpon, A fine and healthy Cargo of about One Hundred and Eighty Gambia Negroes, just arrived in the Snow *Marlborough,* Capt. Robert Dod[s]on from Gambia. Austin, Laurens, and Appleby.

Oct. 11.

To be Sold, on wednesday the 15th of this instant October, at Jacksonburgh Ponpon, About Two Hundred very likely healthy Negroes, (of the same country as are usually brought from Gambia) Being the entire Cargo Just arrived in the snow *Molly,* William Denison commander, from the Windward and Rice coast of Guiney. Austin, Laurens, and Appleby.

Oct. 20.

To be Sold, on Tuesday the 28th inst. at Dorchester,[3] A Cargo of about One Hundred and Eighty fine Guiney Negroes, just imported in the snow *Betty,* Capt. Kennedy, from the Windward and Grain Coast. Austin, Laurens, and Appleby.

[239] [1] *S. C. Gazette,* Apr. 26, May 3, July 19, Aug. 23, Oct. 11, 20, 1760.

[2] Smallpox was raging about Charleston in 1760, and many of the notices emphasize the freedom of the cargo from that disease.

[3] Up the Ashley River.

240. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1761.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 31	Feb. 5	*A'mherst*	Lorrain Lyell			Smith and Nutt
May 30	June 4	*Bance Island*	John Stephens	Sierra Leone	300	Austin, Laurens, and Appleby
July 18	July 29	*James*	—— Howell	Windward and Rice Coasts	150	" " " "
Aug. 1	Aug. 5	*Marquis of Granby*	Robt. Dodson	Gambia	200	Smith, Brewton, and Smith
Sept. 5	Sept. 9	*Hannah*	Rich. Dawill	"	200	" " " "
" 19	" 23	*Dispatch*	—— Duncan	Rice Coast		Austin, Laurens, and Appleby
" "	" "	*Fanny*[2]	—— Taylor	" "		" " " "
Oct. 3	Oct. 7	*Duke of York*	Peter Bostock	" "	250	Smith and Nutt
Nov. 28	Dec. 3	*Charming Sally*	Joseph Dwight	Angola		Inglis, Lloyd, and Hall

[240] [1] The general duty act of 1751, laying a duty on negroes, expired in 1761 and was not renewed during Governor Boone's term, though the subject was under discussion during the year. "The pernicious Consequences of too free an Importation of Negroes into this Province, having lately become the Subject of serious Consideration of some public-spirited Gentlemen, a Motion was lately made in the Honourable the Commons House of Assembly, for leave to bring in a Bill, 'laying an additional Duty on all Negroes and other Slaves thereafter imported,' and such a Bill has accordingly been brought in this Day. The Duty proposed to be laid, we hear, will amount nearly to a Prohibition, and it is thought the Bill will pass and take Place very soon" (*S. C. Gazette*, May 30, 1761). "The bills for laying an additional duty on negroes imported . . . rejected by his Majesty's honourable council last week . . . passed the honourable the commons house of assembly, who met last Monday." *Ibid.*, July 18, 1761.

[2] "To be Sold at Ashley-Ferry, on Wednesday the 23d September inst. Two Cargoes of fine healthy Guiney Negroes, picked out of a large number at the factory, and just arrived in the snow *Dispatch*, Capt. Duncan, and that [of] the Brigt. *Fanny*, Capt. Taylor, in short passages directly from the Rice Coast. Austin, Laurens, and Appleby. N. B. We have good reason to believe that Charles Town is not infected with the yellow fever, or any other epidemic disease; but in order to remove all cause of apprehension, we make this sale in the country." *S. C. Gazette*, Sept. 19, 1761.

241. News Item relating to Slave Trade, 1761.[1]

Charlestown, South Carolina, Sept. 12.

On thursday last arrived capt. Taylor and capt. Duncan, from Bance-Island on the Rice-Coast of Africa, by the former of whom we have the following information,[2] *viz.* That the *Amethiste,* the French frigate sometime since mentioned by capt. Dodson to have arrived on that coast, came out the 15th of June to the Banana's (some Islands to the southward of the river Sierra Leon) within which is a very good road, and where then lay the *Flora* of London, James Taylor master, with 200 slaves on board, and the *Hare* of Liverpool, capt. Colley with 500 more: but she arrived there too late to come within gun shot of the English Vessels: That capt. Taylor sent his boat to inquire who she was, when the commander of the frigate took two negroes out of her, and making sure of the ships, sent her back for the masters and their papers: That capt. Colley being on board the *Flora* when the boat returned, immediately went on board his own vessel, cut his cables in the night put to sea, and got safe off the Coast; but capt. Taylor finding it impossible to get away, put his slaves on shore, and set fire to his ship, so that Mons. was sadly disappointed in the morning of his booty: That about 40 leagues to the southward of Sierra Leon, the said frigate took a Brig belonging to Liverpool, Ray, master, with about 100 slaves on board, bound for Virginia: That she likewise took a sloop belonging to Rhode Island, as she was coming round the shoals of St. Anne's, one Ellick or Alleck master, with 50 more slaves, which she took out and burnt the vessel: And that she left the Banana's the 1st of July, proceeding further down the coast, where it is probable she has made a number of other captures.

[241] [1] *S. C. Gazette*, Sept. 12, 1761; see also *Boston News Letter*, Oct. 15, 1761.

[2] Earlier news of the depredations of the *Amethiste* was brought to Charleston by Robert Dodson of the *Marquis of Granby*, who arrived in Charleston about the first of August. Captain Dodson reported that in the beginning of May the *Amethiste*, commanded by M. Buxaulle, had captured the *Lady Augusta*, the *Trial* of London, the *Friendship*, and the *Nancy,* and had made an unsuccessful attempt to take James Fort. *Boston News Letter*, Sept. 17, 1761.

Various items in the *Gazette* indicate the interest of Charleston in the effect of the war on the African trade. In May the captures of the *Kingston*, William Brown, the *Molly*, William Denison, and the *Prince Tom*, Chilcott, were reported. In October, among the list of French captures appear two "Guiney-men bound for New York, one of them a brigt. with 80 slaves, John Nicoll master, the other a sloop with 128, called the *Sally*, commanded by Michael Molton; and a brigt. from Sierra-Leone to Charleston (no names mentioned) ransomed for 350 *l.* Sterling". *S. C. Gazette*, May 16, Oct. 24, 1761.

242. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1762.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Feb. 27	Mar. 4	*Neptune*	Barnabas Binney	Gold Coast	220	Torrans, Greg, and Poaug[2]
Aug. 21	Aug. 31	*Marlborough*	Wm. Benson[3]	Angola	270	Smith, Brewton and Smith
Nov. 6	Nov. 17	*Hope*	John Gilman	Rice Coast	150	Torrans, Greg and Poaug

243. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1762.

15th Sept. 1762.

per Vibart
John Knight, *Liverpoole*

Dear Sir, . . . The acquisition of Havanna[1] will give great spirits to the Planters in Georgia and this province to purchase Negroes, a Cargo from Angola lately sold at higher prices than ever we knew considering the quality.[2] . . .

[242] [1] The imports for the year were 640. The cargo of the *Neptune* was sold at "the House of Mr. Thos. Nightingale on Charles Town Neck"; that of the *Hope* at the "House of Mr. John Poaug, near the New-England meeting house in Old Church Street" (*S. C. Gazette*, Feb. 27, Nov. 6, 1762). On Dec. 16 Laurens wrote to Oswald: "only three Cargoes of Negroes have arriv'd here this Year the last a very ordinary one from about Sierraleon which nevertheless sold at great prices rather higher considering the Quality than ever I knew, but some difficulty will attend the Remittances and perhaps an advanc'd Exchange as Bills are very scarce."

[2] "Thursd. 30 [May]. Dined this day with Mr. John Poaug, a Scotch mercht. in this City, a very genteel polite man." Poaug had married a Miss Charlotte Wragg, the daughter of Joseph Wragg. "Jour. of Webster", Southern Hist. Assn., *Publications*, II. 138.

[3] "On Wednesday last died capt. William Benson, commander of the *Marlborough* of Liverpoole, lately arrived here from Africa." *S. C. Gazette*, Sept. 25, 1762.

[243] [1] August, 1762.

[2] "Negroes are very much asked for and would bring great prices but at present we have no Exchange for our Paper Currency." Nov. 6, 1762, Laurens to Gedney Clarke.

244. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1763.

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 8	Jan. 25	*Greyhound*	Wm. Pinnegar	Gold Coast	160	Isaac Da Costa and Thos. Farr[1]
June 4[2]	June 10	*Charles*	John Davis	Windward Coast	200	Brailsford and Chapman
Aug. 1S.	Aug. 11	*Upton*	Hugh Maxwell	Angola	370	" " "
" 13	" 18	*Seahorse*	Elias Glover	Cape Mount[3]	130	" " "
" "	" 23	*Juba*	Wm. Penhale	Africa		Inglis, Lloyd, and Hall
" "	" "	*Porgy*	Jeremiah Bassett	Antigua[4] (Gold Coast)	50	George Smith
Sept. 24	Sept. 27	*Marquis of Granby*[5]	John Kitching	Gambia	200	Middleton, Liston, and Hope[6]

[244] [1] Isaac Da Costa was one of the correspondents of Aaron Lopez of Newport, who probably owned the *Greyhound*. See this work III. 186.

[2] On May 21 Laurens wrote to Knight: "Not one Guinea Man yet appears and the enquiries for negroes are very frequent, from whence I imagine that good Sales may be expected for some of the first Cargoes."

[3] "From Cape-Mount on the Grain Coast, usually called Guiney Negroes, and esteemed equal to any from Gambia or the Gold Coast, Just imported in the Brigt. *Seahorse*, Capt. Elias Glover." *S. C. Gazette*, Aug. 13, 1763.

[4] "Gold Coast Slaves, Being the Choice of a large Cargo at Antigua just arrived from thence (after a passage of only 13 days)." *Ibid.*

[5] "The *Marquis of Granby*, Capt. Kitchen, from Gambia, for this port, with 200 fine slaves, is put into Georgia, and expected here about tuesday next, a pilot being sent round for her." *Ibid.*, Sept. 17, 1763.

[6] June 3, 1765, "Dined this day with Mr. Thomas Liston, a reputable merch't born here: is a man of great openess and politeness, of generous sentiments and very genteel behaviour"; "Sat June 15. Dined with Mr. Liston. . . . Passed some hours this afternoon with some Guinea captains, who are a rough set of people, but somewhat carress'd by the merch'ts on acco. of the g't profits of their commissions." "Jour. of Webster", Southern Hist. Assn., *Publications*, II. 140, 144.

245. Henry Laurens to Richard Oswald and Company, 1763.

15 Feby. 1763.

Per Higgins
Richard Oswald and Compa. *London*

Gent. . . . as I formerly wrote you I would rather not pursue the African Trade yet if you should think proper to direct any of your Ships to my care I will either dispose of the Cargo or Cargoes myself or make a pains of puting them into such hands as will give you as much satisfaction as the times shall admit and give equal assistance in the Sale as if I was to be sole gainer by the Commission . . . less Capital than I have in possession have often been employ'd to wield more business than three or four Cargoes of Negroes per annum can create but I would in this uncertain Climate and for other considerations endeavour to avoid embarassment and I shall keep my affairs with in such a Compass as not to expose any of my friends to disappointment.

I do believe that the demand for Negroes all the ensuing Year will be very great in this Country and Georgia and that high prices will be obtain'd provided that not more than one or two Cargoes arrive at the same time.

I have observ'd that 1500 Negroes droping in by 4 or 5 Importations at a little distance of time from each other have always yielded a greater avarage than half the number arriv'd at the same juncture. We have now a large field for Trade opening in these Colonies and a vast number of people seting down upon our [*blank*] Lands and that with a little management will take off almost insensibly a Cargo by one or two in a Lot, and it has been from such folks that we have always obtain'd the highest prices and hitherto we have had no reason to be discouraged from dealing with them on account of bad debts, if I were to tell you the total loss that we have sustained in that way you would be pleas'd on our Acct. to find it so small. . . .

246. Henry Laurens to John Rutherford, 1763.

23d June 1763.

per Waldron
John Rutherford, *Wilmington*

. . . One Cargo of negroes only sold this Season;[1] the best men yielded £320 per head which is more than ever was given and

[246] [1] The same information was communicated to Oswald on this date. Laurens had either forgotten the cargo of the *Greyhound* (*ante*, no. 244) or else he regarded that

small Boys £260 to £280. there will be some abatement in the remittances as our exchange is nominally 721 pr. Ct. and the few Bills in motion sell at that rate.

247. Henry Laurens to Henry Bright, 1763.

12th Novemr. 1763.

Per Capt. Seagers
Henry Bright, Esq. *Bristol*

. . . The Season for Negro Sales is over in the present Year the last Sales were beyond any former *Vizt.* Angola and Windward Coasts averaged from £32. 10/ to £34 and one Cargo of Gambia did really sell so high as £36.9/ round, but they were chiefly grown and the prosperity of our planters will in all probability open the next season as well as the late one has been concluded.[1] . . .

248. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1763.

22nd December 1763.

Per Capt. Brownett
John Knight, *Liverpool*

. . . The last subject I have to trouble you upon at present is your very affectionate manner of throwing further gain into my Lap in that advantagious branch the Guinea trade. I had well considerd what you said under the 25 Septembr. about the *Pocock,* which I know woud. be only a Leading String to other Vessels and after observing to a friend that you were resolved to make a Negro Merchant of me again I had come to this resolution to accept your kind offer provided you woud. gratify me so far as to be my Partner which of all right I thought you ought to be so far as concern'd the Commissions arriving from my Sales and agreeable hereto had notified to some of my old a[c]quaintances in the Country (who have

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as belonging to the preceding season. On July 15 he wrote to John Knight that the cargo brought by Captain Davis had averaged between £33 and £34, but that many remained unsold after the second day. On Aug. 25 he wrote to Smith and Baillies of St. Christopher: "Negroes have yielded great prices hitherto and will continue to do so thro the Year unless the Importations should be excessive, a Cargo of Angola's lately averaged £32 Sterlg. round and 50 prime Gold Coast Negroes bo't in Antigua at £34 per head sold in One Lot at £300, round."

[247] [1] On Oct. 19 Laurens wrote to Smith and Baillies that the remittances for the Gambia cargo were at "3, 6 and 9 months all in the Bottom", and added, "this cannot be expected every day but I do believe that great prices will continue to be given even all the ensuing Winter and until the importation shall become excessive, which may probably be the case early in next Summer from this great encouragement".

been often teasing me to import more Negroes) that I should have a Cargo of Slaves ready for them early in the Spring and perhaps a Second which I did purpose to ask you for, when just at the time your next favour of the 4 Novr. reach'd me and directed me in case of adhering to my former plan of Shunning the African Trade to signify the same [to] Messrs. Shirley and Martin to whom in such case you had order'd Captain Miller to deliver his Cargo upon my own Account. I most chearfully Aquiese in this alteration and have declared myself to that House accordingly and this you may depend upon Sir that whenever your Interest is concerned my good wishes will be there and my attention and assistance too as far as I dare with decency and good Manners extend them. Your remark upon Mr. Shirley's praises of me (which indeed he had better spared) do quite overwhelm me. I can only say again what I have wrote and said a thousand times that I shall as long as I live bear the most grateful remembrance of you . . .

P. S. In my declaration to Messrs. Shirley and Martin I did on your Account take the Liberty to reserve to myself the right to interfere in the *Pocock's* Cargo in case that by death or other accident in their House it should become necessary.

249. Henry Laurens to Joseph Brown, 1763.[1]

24th Decemr. 1763.

Joseph Brown, *Geo. Town*

Dear Sir, . . . The Request that you make for my assistance to procure you a Small Cargo of Negroes I shall most readily comply with as far as 'tis in my power if you yourself will lay down a plan to proceed upon which I am affraid you will find attended with some difficulty and not a little risque and danger to your own Interest; for the very reasons you assign will operate powerfully with the owners of Guinea Men against sending a Vessell to your Port without a warrantee both as to the price and remittances; as there never have been an attempt of that Kind made the first adventure must be tempted by some sure promises especially while there is so fine a Markett for slaves in the Center of the province and in the old beaten Track then the people that you quote being as you say in General poor their honesty allowing to be greater than other folks will be no inducement to the affrican Traders who love to go and allways seek for that Market where there is most money, stirring and where there are Men of Fortune who in Case of a Glutt will

[249] [1] Hist. Soc. of Pa., Laurens Letter-Book, Oct. 30, 1762-Sept. 10, 1766, Georgetown.

take of[f] a Cargo at some rate or other and pay for them. Now Sir the two points that you have to establish are assurance that in your new trade better prices than at Charles Town will be obtained and also better remittances and to give security for the performance of both for without something better offers you know that no Trade can be diverted from its' old Channel but wou'd you make such offers? I think not, I wou'd advise you as a friend not to do it; at least before you have well considered the nature of such an engagement, suppose you had a Cargo of Negroes arrived to you on one wing of the Province while there was another upon the right and two or three in the Center which in all probability will be the Case this year how would you be perplexd how embarrs'd? forced to sell for long Credit in order to m[a]intain the prices or to run off the Slaves very low for Money in order to comply with the terms of remittances; perhaps about the same juncture you may fall Sick and perhaps die —what a Situation would your widow and Children be in, more I cou'd say but may be I have said too much until I hear of or see your proposals which are always to be laid down as the first step and therefore I suspend the Subject untill I hear from you again. . . .

[*Notes to no. 250* (p. 386)—continued:]

[5] "To be sold in Charles Town on Thursday the 30th Instant very healthy young Female Negroes, being the choice of a large number (at the factory of Annamaboe on the Goald Coast of Africa) Just arrived, after a short passage in the ship *Lion*, capt. Barnabas Binney, by TORRANS, GREG, and POAUG." *S. C. Gazette*, Aug. 25, 1764.

[6] The advertisement of a cargo from Havana is unusual: *King George*, Thomas Erskine, 70, "picked out of sundry cargoes at the Havana and just arrived there". The Spanish appetite for slaves rarely left any for shipment to the northern colonies.

[7] On Nov. 19 the cargo of the *Charming Sally*, Captain Evanson, was again advertised, this time by Smyth and Farr.

250. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1764.[1]

Gazette[2]	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
	Feb. 9	*Sally*	Floyd	St. Kitts	5	Henry Laurens
Feb. 18	" 21	*Hope*[3]	Wm. Royall	Antigua (Angola)	170	George Smith
	Apr. 14			Calabar	50	Henry Laurens
	May 7		Bostock	Windward	410	Brewton and Smith[4]
	June 10	*Jenny*	McKie	Whydah	292	" " "
	" 27	*Pocock*				
	Aug. 10	*Queen Barra*	Taylor	Sierra Leone	300	Brewton and Smith
Aug. 25	" 30	*Lion*	B. Binney	[5]	150	Torrans, Greg, and Poaug
	Sept. 10	*Manchester*	Livingston	St. Kitts	15	
Oct. 8	Oct. 18	*Africa*	Hugh Moth	Gambia	180	Smyth and Farr
" 22	" 25	*Marquis of Granby*	John Kitchin	Gambia	200	Middleton, Liston, and Hope
" "	Nov. 1	*Phillis*	Peter Gwinn	Sierra Leone	70	David Stoddard
	" "	*Molly*	John Wooster	Barbados	20	
" 29	" 2	*King George*	Thos. Erskine	Havana[6]	70	Torrans, Poaug, and Company
	" 9	*Prince of Wales*				
Nov. 12S.	" 13	*Charming Sally*	Evans Evanson	Havana (Gold Coast)		Corrie, Scott, and Carsan[7]
" 19		*Success*	Cookson	Barbados		Brailsford and Chapman
Dec. 3	Dec. 6	*Friendship*	John Amory	St. Kitts	60	Geo. Smith and Josiah Smith, jr.

[250] [1] To this list many small cargoes from the West Indies should be added. The reiterated advice of the preceding year had taken effect and English merchants, not yet acquainted with the revival of the Charleston market, were not ordering cargoes to that port. Charleston prices were however known in the West Indies and many West India houses were sending small lots north, hoping to profit by the restored prices before the market was again glutted with African cargoes.

[2] Where no date appears under "Gazette", the date of "Sale" is that of the letter of Laurens in which occurs the first mention of the arrival of the vessel.

[3] On Dec. 15 Laurens wrote to John and Thomas Tipping of Barbados: "if Mr. Knight's Ship *Hope* brings any prime Slaves in her I expect to make a very great Sale of them I do think that a fine Cargo to arrive early in Feby or March will average £36 Stg. but the Coast is dangerous to encounter at that Season with a Live Cargo and I speak only of what may be done if every [thing] conspir'd in ones favour at the same time it is my opinion that Negroes will sell very well here all the Next Summer." If this is Knight's *Hope*, Laurens had apparently resigned the consignment.

[4] May 7, 1764, Laurens to John Knight: "Brewton and Smith averaged Capt. Bostock's Cargo of 410 Windward Slaves last week at £36. I never saw them But am told they were not a fine Cargo and many little ones—the average is just now sent to me by themselves. this is probably the flower of the Market and I wish your Factors had gathered it."

[Notes continued on p. 385:]

251. Henry Laurens to Smith and Baillies, 1764.

9th Feby. 1764.

Per Capt. Nelme
Smith and Baillies, *St. Christophers*

. . . Of your five Negroes per the *Sally*, Capt. Floyd,[1] I have sold four and hope to sell the other tomorrow so as to average upwards of £41 Sterling which you will say is very great considering their Country and that two of them were little Boys, but let me beg of you not to be encouraged from this as to dabble to[o] freely for our high prices will probably occasion vast Importations and soon knock down the Market but If you do send any more let them be young Men, likely and healthy and none others, and to come early in the Year and to have some Clothing and great care taken of them in the passage.

You must know Gentlemen that I have in general declined the African business, altho I have had the most kind and friendly offers from my friends in London, Liverpool, and Bristol, and do believe that I might have sold 1000 or 1500 last Year and more the Year we are now in if I wou'd ask for them but having no Partner I do not chuse to embarrass and perhaps involve myself in concerns too unwieldly for a single Man both on his own and his friends Account, however a few more now and then of a good sort I can manage well enough for you while the prices keep up of which I shall keep you advised.[2]

252. Henry Laurens to Richard Oswald and Company, 1764.

3d March 1764.

per Floyd
Richd. Oswald and Co., *London*

. . . I have an Inclination to send a small Vessel to your Factory at Bance Island for Negros for my own use provided I coud Ship Some Articles from hence that woud assist in paying the pur-

[251] [1] This refers to an incalculable source of supply for Carolina: the cargoes of miscellaneous goods from the West Indies were often supplemented by half a dozen negroes. These would but rarely be advertised in the *Gazette,* nor would they be suggested by the custom-house returns there published and it is impossible to form any estimate of the number thus brought in during a year. These, it must be remembered, were new negroes, that is, negroes who had not been in the West Indies six months, otherwise the duty on them would have been prohibitive.

[2] On Mar. 1 Laurens reported the returns from these negroes as £1322, and the amount received for a single negro sold for James Smith, as £228.17.6. In the same letter he asked that whatever cash of his lay in the hands of this house be invested in new negroes, to be sent to him by a "carefull and humane" captain. On the same day he wrote to Martin and Stevens of Antigua: "I lately sold a few from the West Indies at an average of £37. 10 Sterg. Net Proceeds Duty and Freight etc. all paid but no doubt we shall be fully supply'd and great abatement of prices before the Summer is over."

chase and the remains in Bills of Exchange. I therefore beg the favour of your opinion of my scheme, and information of such Goods as will be acceptable at your Settlement and the Sterling price of prime Negroes delivered there, that if practicable I may provide in time for the next Season.

I shall have two Plantations to settle and think I may procure hands by this means on easier terms than purchasing here and this method of Selling Negroes if I remember right is most consistant with the plan laid down by yourselves. . . .

A Cargo of Negroes, about 120 Angolas from Antigua, sold a few days ago at an average of £43 Stg. but this cannot hold when the usual supplies arrive.[1]

253. Henry Laurens to Joseph Brown, 1764.[1]

15th March 1764.

Joseph Brown, *Georgetown*

. . . meantime I send you five fine Negroes for Sale each hath a Blanket and I hope will produce as much as the rest that I have sold here *viz* £330 to £320 payable in two Months and some for Cash and in my opinion these are equal to any of them save the difference that fancy may make. You will sell these and pass the proceeds after deducting your Commission to my Credit. . . .

254. Henry Laurens to John Knight and Company, 1764.[1]

14th April 1764.

per Capt. McGee
John Knight and Co., *Liverpool*

. . . I should be glad for your sake that some of your African[s] would drop in. I sold as wretched a fifty Ebo Slaves[2] this week as ever I saw at £34. 6/ Stg. round. They were sent to me by a friend in the West Indies contrary to my will as well as expectation. had they been tolerable they would have yielded £8 or £10 more but there was no less than 31 scrawney females amongst them and none except 4 Boys that Could be called passible. . . .

[252] [1] On Feb. 24 Laurens wrote to John Knight: "a little Cargo unexpectedly sent to me from the West Indies avergd. £43 Sterling. I call it a Cargo tho there were only 14 in the number but being too old, two Swelled and Sick, and two Boys under Size the colection makes no bad epitom of a Cargo."

[253] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.

[254] [1] On Mar. 21 Laurens wrote to Capt. Henry Todd of the sloop *John*: "if you can purchase likely little Negro Boys either there or to Leeward not lower than 48 to 50 Inches high for about £16 to £20 Sterlg. per head you may lay out my Money in three or four such if it will extend so far."

[2] From Calabar. There is no record in the *Gazette* of this sale. In fact the *Gazette* announces no sales between Feb. 21 and Aug. 30, yet on July 6 Laurens wrote that about 2000 negroes had been received since February.

255. Henry Laurens to Smith and Baillies, 1764.

30th April 1764.

per Capt. Mitchell
Smith and Baillies, *St. Kitts*

Gentlemen, On the 6th Inst I recd. your favour of the 21st March per the *Mary Ann* Sloop with Bill of Loading for 50 New Negroes on Your Acct. which came in all alive but extreamly meagre and thin. I viewed them with great attention over and over again and likewise took the opinion of a Gentleman who had formerly lived with me and Assisted at the Sale of many Thousands, and upon the whole was convinced that the ordinary course of this Market would by no means turn them out to your advantage, and having that Solely in view I had project'd a voyage to George Town Winyaw in which I should have Subjected myself to no small risque, and had given Capt. Mitchel orders to deliver the Slaves on board a Schooner which I had engaged for that purpose but the Wind coming suddenly round to North and blew fresh and put an end to that Scheme. I then purposed to send them to Port Royal but could not agree upon terms to induce me as I do not so well like the payments in that quarter; and at length Mr. Francis Stuart of Beaufort made me an offer of £11,200 for the whole which I rejected, at the same time told him he might have them for £12,000, which after a day or two he agreed to give but then we parted on Acct. of the time of Payment which he would have to be 1st January next he went out of Charles Town and left directions with a House here to agree with me if I should come to his terms. And after placing your Negroes in the most advantageous light that I could

vizt. 5	Men not extraordinary at	£300—£1500
10	inferior 3 of them very ordinary	£280— 2800
15	Women cheifly small and very thin	245— 3675
16	Girls very thin and slender	£200— 3200
4	Boys small	£240— 960
		£12,135

and considering the very great probability of a large abatement from these prices by the arrival of African Ships I thought it most for your Interest to accept of Mr. Stuart's offer which with some difficulty I got the Gentlemen here who were grown very cool to confirm, and I think my self very Lucky in effecting the bargain, because I could not have sold upon so good terms above one half of them before the arrival of a Ship from the Windward Coast with 410 which would have knocked the Sale of the remainder on the head. upon the whole I have done the utmost in my power to

make a good Account of them and should have been very glad to have got any body else to have accepted the sale upon the same conditions. the Credit that I have been obliged to give may pro[b]ably be attended with some inconvenien[c]e to you. its evedently so to me by the advance that I am oblidged to make for the Sloops Cargo and for the Duty which you are heartily welcome to. please now to receive Accts. sale of said Negroes Nt. proceed to the Credit of your Acct. £10,905—which Acct. is also charged for Amot. of 244 Barrels and 62 half Barrels of Rice and 5 M Shingles Shipped on your own Account per the *Mary Ann* and her disbursements £3536.1.7 as per Invoice Bill of Loading and one of Capt. Mitchells Rects here inclosed. . . .

256. Henry Laurens to Edward Martin, 1764.[1]

10th June 1764.

Edward Martin, *Charles Town.*

A ship belonging to Mr. Knight in Liverpooll arrived yesterday with about 260 to 280 Slaves from Whyda [2] and orders to call on me and put the Cargo into my hands if I would undertake to dispose of it, this I am determined not to do unless I find it necessary for my friends Interest to interfere. I see the Captain has an alternative in case of my refusal; and the name of Your House Messrs. Shirley and Martin is Mentioned. he informs me that his orders are to have remittances for the whole Amount in the Bottom *Vizt.* a load of Rice and some Deer Skins and the remainder in Bills at 3 and 6 months. If you incline to take him up be pleased to inform me directly and take as soon as you can the necessary steps for making a good Sale. Let who will sell them, my regard to Mr. Knight will oblige me to offer my best services upon that occasion and the more as he seems to require it in very pressing terms.

257. Henry Laurens to Brewton and Smith, 1764.[1]

10th June 1764.

Brewton and Smith, *Chas. Town*

Gent'n, I believe you have not been explicit with Capt. McKee—offer him as good terms of remittances for his Cargo as any that have been made the present Year and you need not doubt of having the Sale of the Cargo of Negroes on board his Ship. Let who will sell it if they will accept of my best Services they may be assure[d] of having them.

Your Answer before 6 oClock is necessary.

[256] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.
[2] *Jenny,* Captain McKie.
[257] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.

258. Henry Laurens to Captain William Frierson, 1764.[1]

11th June 1764.

Capt. William Frierson, *Williamsburgh*

Dear Sir, The Cargo of Negroes for Sale as per inclosed Advertisements to be sold by Messrs. Brewton and Smith belongs to a particular friend of mine in England.

The Negroes are from that part of Africa which people in the West Indies esteem most for producing the best Slaves.

Please to disperse the Advertisements as quick and as generally as you can and I wish it may suit you and many others of my old friends in your Quarters to attend the Sales. . . .

259. Henry Laurens to Colonel Daniel Heyward, 1764.[1]

11th June 1764.

Collo. Daniel Heyward, *Indian Land*

Dear Colonel, A Cargo of Negroes belonging to a very good friend of mine is offered to Sale by Messrs. Brewton and Smith as per inclosed Advertisement—which I take the Liberty to forward and recommend to your consideration. You have often complimented me with enquiries when I should have Negroes and promised of further favours which add to the obligations that I am under for all past ones. Now Sir your aid at this Sale of my friends will oblige me as much as if I made the Sale myself and if I can but win you to come and see them I am under no doubt that the Country will tempt you to make a small purchase.

260. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1764.

12th June 1764.

per Reeves

John Knight, *Leverpool*

. . . Last Saturday Morning the 19th [9th] Inst. your Ship *Jenny,* Capt. McKie, arrived here with 269 Slaves on the Ships Acct. and 23 upon Freight from Whydah, Capt. McKie wrote to me that he had orders to make an offer of his Cargo to me, for which Additional favour I beg leave to repeat my most grateful thanks; upon enquiry I found that you had given the Capt. an alternative in case of my refusal and named the Houses of Messrs. Shirley and Martin, Brewton and Smith or any other that I should recommend and that the terms in case I didnot take up the Ship were remittances for the whole per Bills in the bottom Payable at

[258] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.
[259] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.

3 and 6 Months save the Amount of a Cargo of Rice and some Deer skins, this I say was the information he gave me. My reply was that nothing should tempt me to touch her but an absolute necessity to serve you and therefore I desired him to apply without delay to those other Houses, he asked me which? and I could not help on your account recommending him to the latter for many evident reasons which I assigned to him and shall here repeat some of them *vizt.* the same objections lay against the other house that I make to myself, Mr. Martin is at present alone and consequently not so capable of going thro business of this importance as those two partners with the assistance of the Elder Mr. Smith [1] whose extensive acquaintance and ability in dispatch of business as well as influence with the Planters are at least equal to those of any other Man in the Province; Sudden Death or even a Sharp disorder to a single person would greatly injure your Interest for I am sure by experience that it cannot be so well taken Care of by any Subs[t]itute—again Mr Martin's acquaintance is not very extensive yet and indeed his name scarcely known by a great many very good customers for Negroes who are very cautious of bonding themselves to strangers and therefore he must be under some disadvantages in case of one or more competitors altho he might if there were no other Cargoes at Market do very well and here lay the weight of my argument. We had upon your Ship's arrival the *Sally* of Bristol with [*blank*] Slaves to Smith and Brewton, a small Cargo of 90 to Middleton, Liston, and Hope, the Sales of both to come on within these eight days, besides several Little scattered parcels from West Indies and more daily expected, as well as a Cargo of 500 from Angola which B and S have late advice of and hourly expect its arrival. these are too powerful opponents for a new House and must distress one greatly, besides on the other hand since it falls out so and there is really a demand for the whole, confining them to one House or nearly so, does undoubtedly enable that House to maintain its prices and I am morally sure it will have that effect in the present case. Capt. McKie hereupon wrote to those Gentlemen whose reply was that they would comply with his terms except in point of remittances which they could not make better than 3-6 and 12 Months, being the stated periods for other Cargoes sold by them. then I wrote to Mr. Martin but found that all my reasonings with the Capt. were unnecessary because Mr. Martin was out of Town and not to return before tomorrow, a delay which I could by no means subject your business to. Next I offered the Cargo to Mr. Thos. Savage, a Young Gentleman of exceeding good connexions here and for his encouragement told him he might depend upon my ut-

[260] [1] Benjamin Smith.

most assistance to make a good Sale; that I would undertake to procure him all the Bills wanted and he should have the whole Commission but he had not resolution to encounter the terms—in the meantime McKie became anxious to fix with B and S and to avoid further loss of time—nevertheless I made one effort more and that was with Messrs. Brailsford and Chapman, making them an offer of the Cargo upon the terms prescribed or I believe more properly squeezed by your Captain assuring them that I would make no further attempts if they would comply, but those Gentlemen would come no nearer than 3-6 and 9 Months, which made me turn once more to the Other House who at length agreed to remit in 3-6-9 and 12 Months, the difference here lays wholly in the Interest of the last paid portion which in my opinion is greatly overweighed by some of the considerations above mentioned, therefore I closed with them and your Cargo is advertized for sale on the 19th Inst. the same day with the *Sally's*.

I have wrote Letters to some of my old Friends and if needful my utmost services shall be exerted on the day of sale but I am very sure those Gentlemen will do everything in their power to serve you and that they can do much more that [than] I a single Hand could do even barring the accidents of Sickness etc. which are no small considerations in this Climate where one Man is obliged to bustle thro a great deal of business. I know these things very well from some experience and observations and must confess that, I have not resolution and avarice enough to endanger either my good Friends who would intrust me, on one hand—or my Family on the other to great disappointments and losses, upon the precarious tenure of my Life. . . .

I took notice just now of the probability of your Captains having squeesed the terms of 3 and 6 Months for I cannot think that a man of Mr. Knight's judgement and generosity would lay such heavy and unprecedented Bonds upon honest Men, nor expose himself on the other side to the danger of being made a dupe of his own Policey by the rapaciousness of designing Men who will Lick themselves whole under any terms; but Dear Sir I now talk of this, did you ever find any inconvenience attending the mode of remittances made by the Houses of A and L and A L and A—*vizt.* according to the times of payment set forth in the Sales? surely you did not or, if ever you did they were small in comparison of the difference of prices obtained for a few months Credit, but I believe upon the whole you had your remittances made in a shorter time than those Gentlemen who had tied up their Factors to certain Rules for remitting the whole in the bottom, and I have known the time when some of our Neighbours under those Limitations have pocketed by gain of Interest a Com-

mision of 12 or 13 per Ct. when we have made barely 9 per Ct. averaged more Money upon the Cargo sold by us and remited the whole or within a trifle of the whole in the Course of 7 to 9 Months and the bulk of it in the bottom and in 3 to 6 Months of which I think I can produce more than two or three instances. now in the present case Your Negroes will all or almost all will be paid for in Cash or an Interest of 8 per Ct. running upon the deficiency within 4 or 5 Months of the Sale. this is a benefit which in my sense of things ought to be wholly yours but yet there is no prevailing upon Gentlemen tied down to remit in the bottom to give it, they argue and with great plausib[i]lity, the difficulty of purchasing Bills for the Amount of a whole Cargo of Negroes and the risque they take upon themselves in Shipping the produce of the Country to raise a Bank and make some compensation to their friends who in the mean time give Credit to their draughts by accepting them without effects in hand. If indeed the advantage of handling and negotiating those long sighted bills are more than adequate to those other considerations in moving the great wheel of unfathomable commerce round, which you know best, the case is greatly altered, upon the whole, I shall be as strenuous as I dare to be with these Gentlemen not to crimp the average merely for the sake of speedy payment. . . .

261. Henry Laurens to Paul Trapier, 1764.[1]

25th June 1764.

Paul Trapier Esqr, *Geo. Town*

Sir, At the request of Mr. William Price who has embarked himself and me in a purchase of Negroes which he intends to sell at Geo. Town, I take the Liberty of requesting your countenance and friendship to him upon that occasion. I tell Mr. Price that I do not know of any right I have to make so free with you and to yourself permit me to say that whatever favours you are pleased to shew him shall be thankfully acknowledged whenever it is in the power of[2] . . .

262. Henry Laurens to Edward Martin, 1764.[1]

27 June 1764.

Sir, I enclose you a Letter from our friend Mr. John Knight and refer you to that part of it relative to the Brigt. *Pocock,* which you see he insists upon my taking up, a[t] the peril of nothing less than

[261] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.

[2] Price and Hest had entered into partnership in Charleston in the spring of 1764. Laurens on May 9 wrote to Thomas Hartley and Son of Whitehaven that if they consigned negro cargoes to this new firm he would give to them his advice and be responsible for the performance of their obligations. On June 26 Laurens wrote to Joseph Brown, soliciting his assistance in the sale of Price's negroes.

[262] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.

his Friendship; this I would not forfeit for Twenty *Pocock* Cargoes but I cannot think that he will inflict so heavy a penalty upon me for continuing to refuse the consignment, when he hears my further reasons for doing so, the principal one I shall mention to you and is this; that after having made a full and clear surrender to your House as you Know I did some months ago of that Vessel, I would not upon any accot. (but such as I then reserved) deprive or baulk you of your expectations, which indeed may be more injurious to your credit than the loss of double the Amount of commission, arising by another Kind of misadventure for when tis given out that a House expects such a Cargo of Negroes and that same consignment is seen to go by to another House it must occasion whispers and conjectures amongst Trading Men to Lessen the reputation of the first.

And in order to give my very Kind friend all the satisfaction in my power I beg leave to offer in case your partner does not in the meantime arrive to lend you a helping hand—my utmost assistance to obtain good customers and to make a profitable Sale of the *pocock's* Cargo, and even after his arrival if he and you shall think that I can be of any service—I am not very well and therefore could not write this Letter through with my own hand which I beg you will excuse.

263. Henry Laurens to Joseph Brown, 1764.[1]

29th June 1764.

Joseph Brown, *Geo. Town*

Dear Sir, I herewith inclose you a Letter rece'd per Capt. White. I observe that you had not sold my three Negroes when you last wrote—that your Customers had greatly altered "their notions since last Winter". Let me take occasion from hence to remark how you would have been embarrassed and how I should have been put to the blush, if I had recommended and you had undertaken the Sale of a Cargo, for if the Sale of three proves so difficult how must a man be puzzled to sell and remit for 300, but by the by this is a Little strange too, because I see people come from all quarters and give £320-£325 per head for Negroes not superior to those you have and I did a few days ago put a small parcel of Ten into the hands of a young House here—they were Ebo two of them grey-headed and one Boy and they produced me £315 round pay'ble, in Cash for more than half and the remainder pay'ble in 60 days. if they remain unsold when this reaches you be so good as to deliver them to Mr. Price on my Accot. unless you can obtain about £320 per and I will thankfully repay all the expense you have been at on this Accot.

. . .

[263] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.

264. Henry Laurens to Samuel Wragg, 1764.[1]

13th July, 1764.

Samuel Wragg, Esqr, *Geo. Town*

Sir, I reced. two days ago your favour of the 29th ulto which was the date of what I wrote last to you.

I now send you per the Schooner *Susanna* William Smart Master the consignment of thirteen Gold Coast Negroes just arrived from the West Indies, *Vizt.*

4 Men 1 Boy 7 Women 1 Girl	all in good health, tho' one of the Women has Guinea Worm in her Leg which is of no great injury I beg you will sell these as speedily as you can to good safe Men for

ready money or produce of Pitch or Rice deliverable presently upon Bonds bearing Interest, the prices shall be left to you not doubting but you will do as much for me as your Market will admit of and transmit to me an Accot. of the Sale etc. as soon as you can.

If this consignment is not acceptable be pleased to transfer it to William Smith (but observe he knows nothing of it nor will without you inform him) with an extract of this Letter for his direction —but if you have no dislike to it I shall endeavour hereafter to make you some of the same Kind and perhaps more valuable.

P. S. Note these are really Gold Coast Negroes bought at Anamaboo and the little Boy a very fine one. I am expecting an answer to the Subject of mine the 29th Ulto. If you think it necessary please to give each of these a Blanket.[2]

265. Henry Laurens to William Price, 1764.[1]

21st July 1764.

William Price, *George Town*

D'r Sir, In answer to your favour of the 10th Inst. the short notice that is given of this opportunity will permit me only to say— that what Negroes may remain upon your hands when this reaches you I would sell them (if I was in your place) to good Men for a barely saving price rather than Keep them longer upon hand and next to that attempt in case it should fail I would bring them to Charles Town again rather than let designing people compass their ends of getting them at their own prices. this that you experience is always the case at little markets they must be fed sparingly and then they pay the dearer for their meat, but if you put any large quanti-

[264] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.

[2] The notices of sales occasionally contain the item, "The Negroes are well cloathed". *S. C. Gazette*, Feb. 18, 1764.

[265] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.

ties in their way they triumph and will not purchase even what they stand in need of unless at their own prices and terms. . . .

Just as I had subscribed to the foregoing Mr. Dickison brought me your favour of the 16th I have no more to add respecting the Negroes but that you may leave them in such hands as you like best I should certainly have sent the 13 Negroes that went to Mr. Wragg to your adress to avoid that clashing of Sale which you apprehend if I had not flattered myself with hopes of your being on the point of returning to Charles-Town—but be not discouraged and neither be talked out of reasonable demands by people who may design to tire you out.

266. Henry Laurens to Joseph Brown, 1764.[1]

21st July 1764.

Joseph Brown, *George Town*

Dear Sir, Having but very short notice of this opportunity I cannot be very full in reply to your favour of the 7th Inst. but shall endeavour to say the needful.

You have really mistaken my remarks upon the subject of Negroes for Sale at George Town, and from thence put your self into a very unnecessary heat I cannot see that there is one word *cruel* or *hard* or even inclining to either in my whole Letter, and I am sure there was nothing of that nature intended by me. What I suggested there; still appears to me to deserve attention; that if instead of a few prime Negroes you had had a mixed Cargo of good and bad old and young you would have been embarrassed and I should have been put to the blush if I had recommended such a Cargo to you and you had been as much puzzled to sell it as you were to dispose of the few that I troubled you with. You may say and insist upon what you please about peoples' notions that every Negroe's being a refuse that goes from Charles Town; but I am sure with submission to you that it is not invariably the case; and I need not go further than your own Letter for a proof. Is there a more wary Man in dealing than Mr. Davidson, has he not given me a very good price for those very Negroes wch you found unsaleable for so long a time? why did he as you say "go out of your House and somewhere into Town" and then return and take my Negroes? I am no conjurer but yet with the small share of penetration that is fallen to my Lot I will venture to answer that question. He delivered you my order to secure the preference of my Negroes to himself then he went some where into Town, that is to say to take a view of Mr. Prices Cargo or perhaps some others and when he had satisfied himself he returned and took those from you. Is not this a full proof that he

[266] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.

could easily discern the difference between the negroes in one place and the other? 'tis too true that many refuse Slaves are sent to Geo. Town which no doubt does make people there abouts cautious of buying such as go in general from Charles Town and some times even shy of good Slaves, but that must be according to the experience and Knowledge of different Men as occasions offer; and sometimes the most Knowing are deceived or deceive themselves—but now Sir, what does all this prove but that you have not (being on one wing or in a corner of the Province) so good a chance of selling a Cargo (in which there is always some refuse and sometimes a good many) in Geo. Town as the merchants have in Charles Town the Centre of the Province and where purchasers for every sort and size are to be found and this you will be convinced of either to your own or the cost of your New-England freinds let the Cargo that you expect come when it will unless they happen to be all fine Slaves wch can hardly be suppos'd or expected and the less if they are to be purchased on the Coast in the manner you talk of—for let the Salem Gentlemen be never so sober or never so careful Rum and their Bar Iron will not command fine Slaves if any better Cargoes are in the way. I had nothing more in view when I first attempted to disuade you from interfering in the African Trade than your Interest—I am sure you have not a proper idea of the difficulties attending it, when a man acts in such a manner as not to injure himself and family and at the same time to preserve his reputation and do justice to his constituents, in wch there must always be a dash of generosity over and above bare starved justice and if you had not applied to me upon the occasion I should not have been so impertinent as to have troubled you with my opinion. You must Know from other parts of my conduct that it was not owing to a want of Friendship for or inclination to serve you that I declined giving that recommendation that you desired, and you will excuse me for saying that your neglect of answering what I kindly and candidly wrote up[on] that subject because I was not so happy as to chime into your sentiments, was neither, Mercantile, friendly nor Genteel and your applications to New England discovers too plainly that you were miffed with my candour and here I might very justly retort, that it is "cruel hard" to be thus treated in return for one's advice and opinion given to a friend in the most open and unreserved manner, and not without being first asked for them, but let me once more and for the last time recommend to you to forego the shew of profits in the African Trade rather than stake your peace perhaps your Character and fortune to attain to it, unless it be in the way that you talk of making a purchase now and then in Charles Town in which there may some times be profits made and the Basis upon

which you deal is more certain and now drop this troublesome subject.

267. Henry Laurens to Richard Oswald and Company, 1764.

10th August, 1764.

Per Capt. Banfield
Richd. Oswald and Co.

. . . The day before yesterday your Ship *Queen Barra* Capt. Taylor arrived here from Sierraleon with about 300 Slaves of which 106 were Shiped by Mr. Aird on your Account and the rest are upon Freight partly Shiped by that Gentleman and partly by Mr. James Tweed at £6 Sterling per head.

Mr. Aird in his Letter to me of the 11th of June desires me to recommend this concern to the care of some proper Person here. I have therefore agreed with Messrs. Brewton and Smith to sell your Negroes and those which he Shiped upon Freight, to remit the whole proceeds in the Bottom in Bills payable at three, Six and Nine Months, after deducting Charges and the Cost of a Cargo for the Ship, which I shall direct to be in such articles as may promise to pay the best Freight.[1] these in my oppinion are good terms and I am sure that House will make at least as good a Sale as any in Charles Town for it has undoubtedly the most extensive Corrispondence and is upon a par with any other in point of knowledge and application to Business. If I had thought it had been in my power without a partner to do so well for you I should not have let the Commissions pass by me. at present I have no other Interest or advantage therein but the pleasure of making a Greatfull acknowledgement for your repeated favours to me and which I shall continue to do as often as opportunity presents. Captain Taylor has been very sick the whole Voyage and is now in a very low state under my roof where I have obtained permission to lodge him while the Ship performs her Quarrentine Mr. James Tweed is well but necessarily confined on board, if Mr. Aird is in London be so good as to assure him that I shall have a friendly eye to his concerns and that I shall pay my respects to him in a few days.

268. Henry Laurens to Thomas Mears, 1764.

24th Augt. 1764.

per Capt. McKie
Thomas Mears, *Leverpool*

. . . Our Crops of Rice are in exceeding fine order just now and if bad weather does not interupt the Harvest it will be very large

[267] [1] On Aug. 13 Laurens wrote to Henry Bright of Bristol that Brewton and Smith had disposed of one cargo of 300 from Whydah, which he transferred to them, at £36 per head.

and the grain early at Market; the Indigo Planters have also tolerably good prospects being greatly favoured by Latter Season and in general our Planters are in a state of prosperity wch was pretty clearly evinced by their purchase at a Sale of Negroes this Week, where the first 230 of the Cargo averaged £41 Stg. and the whole will turn out near £40 remitted for in the bottom at 3-6 and 9 Months. . . .

269. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1764.

24th Augt 1764.

per Capt. McKie
John Knight, *Leverpool*

. . . permit me to return you my thanks again for the repeated offer of the *Pococks* Cargo of Slaves. I would not forfeit your friendship for a great deal more than the Value of the whole, but I will not suffer such a thought in my breast, as that you will inflict so heavy a penalty upon me, for acting according to the dictates of reason and principles of generosity wch now oblige me to adhere to my first resolution of not selling that Cargo; I had with your permission resigned it to Messrs. Shirly and Martin, they no doubt had fixed some dependance upon that and have talked among their friends of their expectations, after that to be disappointed I should think would not only be galling to them but might create injurious whispers from some people whose envy might lead them to mischief whereever they have opportunity, from this consideration I have told those Gentlemen again that I should not deprive them of the benefit of that Sale, and assured them of my best services in every respect to make a good one, wch they have excepted and were so genteel as to offer me a share of the Commission wch I declined with a hint of the impropriety of making Sale of my Friends favours and that as they would have the trouble and risque attending that transaction, I thought they were intitled to all the benefit arising from it, and I indeed would by all means hold myself detached and indepentant that I may do you in case of need the more effectual service. I am sorry that or some other of your Ships do not appear. I resigned a Cargo from Bance Island this Week of wch about 230 are sold at upwards of £40 Stg. and the general average will be within a few shillings of that Sum. If Mr. Austin's *Black Joke* comes here, as her Cargo will not embarass me much, I shall take proper Care of it and hope to render him a satisfactory Acct. if the Negroes are well chosen and healthy. . . .

Having now run thro all private concerns that have occured as needful to mention at this time; I must beg your patience while I

detain you with an Acct. of a Law just passed in this Province wch I think is of importance to the Public both on your side and on this side of the Water, regarding it either as a Salutary or a pernicious Act. The Law that I mean is one that has passed three Readings in both Houses of Assembly, laying an additional Duty or Tax upon all Negroes imported into this province for the term of three Years from the 1st January 1766 of One hundred Pounds Currt. money wch Amounts to a prohibition;[1] you will receive with this a Copy of the Bill with some remarks upon it to which I refer. it stuck some time with the Council of Carolina House of Lords and would have remained there I do believe til dooms day if it had not been a necessary instrument to save appearences and take off the imputation of outragiousness in a quarrel that the two Houses are unhappily engaged in and wch I fear will be attended with many disadvantages to those whom we represent. as it now stands it awaits only for the Governor's assent wch there is no doubt of, and therefore receiving it as a Law I think it my duty to apprize yourself and other Gentlemen in the African Trade of the Tenour of it as well as to trouble you with my opinion of it, wch I have Sketched upon the Bill and under those heads I took up the time of the House both at the second and 3d readings with many arguments, wch with myself were honest and of great weight, and I made some converts but we were outvoted by four voices, tho none of my arguments were answered. We have only two Merchts beside myself in the House, Mr. Benja. Smith and Mr. Brailsford, from neither of whom I received any assistance. the former had said out of Doors that he was against the importation of more Negroes and he uniformly voted for the Bill. the other Gentleman who countinanced it with his voice at the Second reading, but as if his conceince and his Interest were at variance he would vote on neither side at the third, but retired when the question was going to be put. I think it necessary to say so much to you upon this occasion because if the Law is (as I apprehend it to be) unnecessary with regard to the Local circumstances of the Country in wch it is intended to Operate and at the same time a stroke at the Trade of his Majestys British Subjects, you might otherwise wonder

[269] [1] The committee which brought in this bill consisted of Messrs. Smith, Manigault, Lynch, Gadsden, and Thomas Smith. It was read the first time on Aug. 14, the second time on Aug. 15, and was passed by the lower house and sent to the council on the 24th. Governor Boone had returned to England and Lieutenant Governor Bull gave his assent to the bill on the 25th (Columbia, S. C., MSS. Journals of the House, Aug. 14, 15, 24, 25, 1764). On Sept. 4, 1764, Laurens wrote to Rossel and Gervais: "An impolitic partial act which has been for some time in agitation and is at length passed into a law to prohibit the importation of negroes has made me the more indifferent about that matter in the present juncture [the taking up of land in the Ninety-Six Country] for I am almost certain that if that law is approved of or not repealed in Britain, vacant lands will abound in the year 1767 more than they do in the current year" (Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book; quoted by Wallace, p. 84, n. 2). For the act see Cooper, IV. 187-189.

how such a Law could pass in a Town abounding with commercial Men; but indeed as the generality of them alledge that their own respective branches of Trade are injured by the free importation of Slaves, wch to me is a meer Chimera, so you may be assured very few of them were Enemies to this new and extraordinary measure. . . .

270. Henry Laurens to Thomas Farr, jr., 1764.[1]

1st Septemr. 1764.

Thomas Farr Junr., *Charles Town*

Sir, I informed Mr. Decosta yesterday as the eldest Partner of the late House of Decosta and Farr that I was directed to call upon the said House for the net proceed of Nine Negroes received by them from on board the *Greyhound* Capt. Pinnegar Shiped at Cape Coast by Mr. Mutter on Accot. of Nassau Senior Esqr.[2]

Mr. Decosta sent me a Verbal answer that he would speak to me before Sunset but I suppose something hindered him from coming aboard for I have neither seen nor heard from him since. This is his Sabbath and therefore I must not obtrude business upon him on this day, but as I am writing to London by a Vessel that will Sail tomorrow or on Monday, I beg the favour of you Sir to inform me what is the Amount of said Nt. Proceed and what expectations I may give Mr. Senior of remitting him his Value for the same.

271. Henry Laurens to Day and Welch, 1764.

10th Septembr. 1764.

Capt. Stafford Dickenson
Day and Welch, *St. Kitts*

Gentlemen, With your favour of the 23d June per the *Manchester* Capt. Livingston I Received fifteen Negroes *Vizt.* seven Males and Eight females,[1] which came in most wretched plight, they were in general Aged, some quite Gray others maimed, but you know better than I do what they were when they were Shiped at St. Kitts and you may imagine how much they were improved by a long Voyage and very short provisions, for the Captn. of the *Manchester* alledgd

[270] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.

[2] Nassau Senior was governor of Cape Coast Castle from 1757 to 1761, William Mutter from 1763 to 1766. The latter was dismissed from office by the Committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa for exporting slaves from the coast contrary to regulation: "It is our desire that all persons in our service should thrive but they ought to keep within the bounds prescribed." Martin, *British West African Settlements*, p. 40.

[271] [1] The arrival of these negroes had been acknowledged by Laurens in a letter of Aug. 7 to Arnold, Albert, and Alexander Nesbitt, of London, to whom the proceeds were to be sent.

that the provision you had laid in was exhausted in a few days and that he had spared to them as much as he could of his own for which he made a small charge in addition to his Freight. Such Negroes as those will not sell here upon the best terms nor can it be expected I think I have been exceedingly lucky in what is already done and I hope soon to close the Sale and transmit to you, *Vizt.* I have sold three Men and three Women at £280. per head and one Boy very ill made at £262. 10/ the whole to be paid in a few days or Weeks; but the first lot gave such dissatisfaction to the purchaser after viewing them deliberately at home that he returnd or rather attempted to return two of them upon my hands and I declare upon my Honor if I had been dealing for myself I would have received them but I did not think myself at liberty to use the same freedom with your Interest, however it will still occasion me some trouble and perhaps the loss of an acquaintance merely because he has made a bad bargain for I practice no artifice.

As to the other eight I could not get them off here at any rate, at any tolerable rate, one of them is deaf and dumb and truly they all seem to be proper subjects for an Alms House I have sent them a little way in the Country where I think there is a better chance of Selling them than here and I expect an Accont. of the Sale every day for it can answer no good end to keep such goods on hand, and therefore I have given proper orders to end the Sale without much delay, and you may depend upon it that I shall forward your Money into the hands of Messrs Nesbitt as speedily as possible to whome I have wrote upon this occasion and given them reason to expect a remittance from me on your Accont.[2]

Negroes have sold extremely high even to an Average of £40 Stg. for a Cargo of 320 and £36. for another of about the same number but inferior in Quality and I do believe that prime Negroes will yield a great price thro the ensuing winter but refuse Slaves will not yield any satisfaction.[3]

272. Henry Laurens to Henry Bright, 1764.

12th Sept. 1764.

per Capt. Harbison
Henry Bright Esqr., *Bristol*

. . . The Cargo of Negroes from Bance Island mentioned in my last has netted £39. 19/ Stg. but this branch of Trade, if you

[2] On Dec. 17 Laurens reported to Day and Welch the net proceeds of this sale as £3098. 8. 10, which sum was to be remitted about Jan. 10.

[3] Isaac Da Costa wrote to Aaron Lopez on July 19, 1764, that men were bringing from £270 to £320, women from £200 to £280, and boys and girls from £200 to £280, the boys being worth from £30 to £40 more than the girls. Newport Hist. Soc., Lopez Letter-Book, no. 622, p. 30.

Gentlemen are content,[1] will cease in a few Months and be prohibited for three Years by a law lately passed in our Assembly. It was introduced and hurried through in a manner uncommon, unexpected and without argument to support it. I strove hard to have it deferred until the meeting in December that in the mean time the general Voice of our constituents might be heard but the Junto by which it was planned and introduced knew that would not countenance their designs and so depending upon a Majority in a thin House they pushed it forward and succeeded. I transmit you a copy of the Law with a few Notes on the back of it and leave it to your disposal.

273. Henry Laurens to Samuel Wragg, 1764.[1]

19th Sept. 1764.

Samuel Wragg, *George Town*

Sir, . . . and now that I mention this Vessel let me inform you she is a Guinea Man and may bring 80 to 120 Gambia Negroes, which for some very particular considerations I shall dispose of. do you think Sir, from the experience that you have had that I might expect any advantage by removing such a Cargo to Geo. Town, I mean as well in payments as prices? Your sentiments hereon may induce me to ask your assistance in the Sale if you encourage it to be made there.

I am quite satisfied with the Sales that you have made of the Negroes so far as you have informed me and I do think you have bid full enough for the quiet Woman,[2] was she your [my] own I would surely make you an abatement but it being your own offer and the property a third person's I dare not pay you such a compliment. Please now to close and forward the Sale of those and if you can of the former parcel also that I may Enter them accordingly.

274. Henry Laurens to George Appleby, 1764.

18th October 1764.

per Capt. Moth

. . . As to the affairs of Capt. Stephens, and other Guinea concerns mentioned in both your Letters, I'll tell you what I have

[272] [1] Laurens apparently believed the power of the merchants sufficient to cause a repeal of the act if they chose to exert it. The measure was reported to the Board of Trade by Lt. Gov. William Bull on Sept. 13, 1764; the board asked the opinion of the attorney general, who reported on Nov. 20, 1765, that, since the act placed the duty on the first purchaser and not on the importer, there was no legal objection to it. The size of the duty (£14. 6 stg.) he left to the board (Br. Trans., XXX. 196, 290). The statute was allowed to stand but was not re-enacted at its expiration three years later.

[273] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book. On Aug. 21 Laurens wrote that the negroes sent to Wragg were "refuse", which he was to sell upon the best terms which he could get, to "safe" men. On the 30th he again wrote to Wragg concerning this consignment, since "the Gentlemen who own those Negroes are very anxious to have their money reallized in London". *Ibid.*

[2] Probably the deaf and dumb negro mentioned in the letter of Sept. 10.

done this Summer and what I may possible do in future. when Mr. Knight's *Jenny* arrived here it was really not in my power to do him justice in the Sale of her Cargo. I was wholly unprepared and so unwell that I could not have exerted my self to my own wishes for his Interest; Brewton and Smith undertook the Sale upon good terms somewhat the better by the falling under my disposal. Capt. McKie complaind a little of their remittances but I am sure they were just, tho I might allow there was some room to be generous; but that is a principle whose legitimate issue freeborn only is valueable in my eye and therefore I cannot go about to extort its effects.

another Cargo from Bance Island belonging to Mr. Oswald and Co., Mr. Tweed, and others they sold too under my direction, and in both they certainly have made better averages than any other House—they have as great advantages as any and greater than almost every other in the Town—Mr. Oswald writes that Capt. Stephens will come here, if his or any other Cargo should be Lodged under my care I will assuredly do as shall appear most for the benefit of the Owners by undertaking the Sale if I can do so with Honour to myself and advantage to them or by making the best bargain I can with somebody else, I am tied to none in particular, for I gain nothing by that sort of business—you know I scorn it—unless my friends the Owners are pleased to thank me. I am very loth to touch business of such importance without the assistance of a partner, and I neither see the fit Man nor feel inclination to seek for one on this side.

Your junction with Mr. Knight I hope will be a very happy one but if the Law lately passed in Carolina is not repealed at St. James's you must look out for other Markets for your African Cargoes, this in all probability will be quite overstock'd next year and then for three succeeding Years that Law will operate to prevent a further importation, I transmitted a Copy of that Act with some notes on it to Mr. Knight, Mr. Oswald, and Mr. Bright and I now send you a state of the Trade of this province for the last four Years from whence you may form some further opinions of the propriety of and necessity for such a Law. I thought my self at Liberty to speak boldly against it and made use of arguments and introduced proofs which could not be controverted, nevertheless the Law being artfully introduced did pass and I may say was cramm'd down in the latter end of a Session after other business had been rejusted for no other reason but because it was the latter end of a Session and many members gone home. Our once neighbour Brailsford acted two droll parts upon this occasion, first in voting and whispering strenuously in favour of the Bill and afterwards when I told him that I hop'd he intended to sell no more Negroes at the Crisis, he retired from the House and with[h]eld his Vote as if his patriotism and his In-

terest were in strong debate—he may nevertheless be very honest and the error lay in my want of perception—Mr. Smith was its Father and carried his point as he generally carries all points in which he succeeds, assertions too often are subs[t]ituted by him in place of argument and proof but this must be said for him that his declarations out of doors and in were uniform.[1] . . .

275. Henry Laurens to Samuel Wragg, 1764.[1]

29th Octob. 1764.

Samuel Wragg, *Geo. Town.*

Sir, . . . The Sale which you sent of the parcel of 8 New Negroes per Smart is satisfactory except the charge of Commission, which is the same that is given in Charles Town in consideration of Sale and Guarantee of debts. I have usually paid only 2½ per Ct. and never asked more in the Country for the Sale alone. I am obliged to you for the offer of Keeping the Bonds and receiving the several amounts free of Commission, which you may do if you please but 'tis not improbable that you will be in Charles Town before they fall due which I think you said would be the 1st January, and we may then talk more of this matter. I beg the favour of you to forward the Sale of the first parcel concluding it by the Sale of the short-fingured Woman at the price you name if no more can be obtained but I think she is worth more, however do not stop the Sale of that Accot. . . .

The little Guinea Man which I expected and in which I was to have Ship'd those and other articles of Wood does not yet appear wherefore I hope she is better taken up. . . .

276. Henry Laurens to John and James Graham and Company, 1764.

9th Novem. 1764.

John and James Graham and Co., *Georgia*

. . . The former [1] I have reason to think treats of the *Prince of Wales* Brigt. belonging to our friends Messrs. Abram Parsons and Co. expected from Africa, which I take notice of because she is charg'd upon me in case of her arrival at this port and as I shall not undertake the Sale of her Cargo I would not, if she is worth your acceptance, have you miss of it. therefore with your permission I shall

[274] [1] On Nov. 9 Laurens wrote to Appleby, in Liverpool: "be Wary and cautious in your orders to Guinea Men for Carolina next Summer, but order them to me if any comes. I'll put them upon the best terms into the best hands this Country affords."

[275] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.

[276] [1] "A small packet from Bristol." In another letter of the same date, to Abraham Parsons of Bristol, Laurens wrote of having refused the sale of more than 1400 negroes during the preceding summer.

upon her appearance advertize the Sale in your names and do what is needful until the arrival of one of your House to take the burthen upon yourselves, which no doubt your friends here will endeavour to make as light as possible to you and if you are pleased to command my services none will more chearfully assist you.

277. Henry Laurens to John Haslin, 1764.

19th Novem. 1764.

per Capt. Wooster
John Haslin, *Barbadoes*

Sir, I am indebted for your favour of the 16th Septem. and 6th October—the last per your Schooner *Molly,* Capt. Wooster, who arrived here the 31st Ulto. with twenty poor New Negroes on Accont. of Samuel Maddock Esq. and yourself. I have had no opportunity of writing to you but one presenting for Philadelphia; I advised Mr. William Wharton the 3d Inst. and requested the favour of him to pass the intelligence along by the first Vessel and to assure you that I should give your Vessel all possible dispatch; which I have not failed in.

Please now to receive Accont. Sale of said 20 Negroes Nt. Proceed to your Credit £4143. 1. 6. to the Credit of your Accont. Currt. which is as good a Sale as ever I made considering the assortment—one Man was maim'd by a shot in his ancle and not a little peppered with the venereal disease, one of the Girls very meagre and in a dangerous way and most of the females small and ordinary, nevertheless had there been 8 or 10 likely Men amongst them the average would have been five or Seven Pounds Sterling more, as I have sold them for Credit and not stinted the price for Cash which commonly affects a Sale 10 per Ct. only for two or three Months.

. . . . . .

Capt. Wooster having hinted to me a design of returning here soon after he is unloaden at Barbadoes I take upon me to recommend to you to send a few Prime Negroes none old or defective and let them be clad with Linnen, woolen and a Blanket, about 12/6 Sterling each but not wear their Cloaths until they begin to feel the change of climate and then only by degrees 'till they come upon the Coast. Let them be well fed and humanely treated. such a Little Cargo say 40 to 60 will sell in all probability ext[r]emly well at George Town in Winyaw and the Schooner may be loaden upon as good terms as in this place especially if you can give a little previous notice of her coming. if the weather suits he may go in there directly, otherwise stop here and proceed or tarry as shall appear most for your Interest. If you think that such a Voyage will be advantageous

to you I shall be glad to receive your commands and to do all in my power to make it so. . . .

278. Henry Laurens to John and Thomas Tipping, 1764.

4th Decem. 1764.

per Capt. Dickison
John and Thomas Tipping, *Barbadoes*

. . . Likewise on your Accot. three poor wretched human creatures call'd Negroes, being part of those four which you were pleased to consign to me, one of that number the Captain says died on the passage. I shall do the best in my power with the owners goods but 'tis amazing to me that they continue to send such to this Market where they can expect no gain unless a profit is already laid upon their Invoice. . . . I have sold your three Negroes as per inclos'd Accot. for Net proceeds £492. 8. 6 which considering their quality is the greatest Sale that ever I made and I have done as much as most folks in that branch. I believe you will be so well satisfied with the Accot. that it will be in vain for me to say any more. You may from hence judge what an handsome adventure might have been made for the Owners if you had been permitted to Ship about four score or an hundred prime Negroes and especially if you had avail'd yourselves of that Skill which you think so peculiar to Capt. Holme in the choice of Females—he smiles at this, and says you would not trust him with a commodity worth his care—I am sure that a Cargo of prime Gambia Young Men and Women would sell for upwards of Forty pounds Sterling and this I believe will continue to be the case untill the Cargoes fall in next Spring when probably they may be so numerous from our late Sales as to make a vast alteration. If from this advice you incline to make a consignment to Mr. Head to arrive here any time before the 10th March, you may depend upon my best assistance to him both in the Sale and remittances. He has shew'd me your Letter and I think if you are dispos'd to do a friendly Act to him you have now an opportunity of doing it without any apparent risque to yourselves but you know too much of commercial affairs to depend so absolutely upon any adventure, as to appropriate the profits while the adventure is only in embrio—but so much I can safely say and repeat that there is a good prospect of gain and that you may be assur'd of my aid to make the most of it for you provided you send likely healthy (black) Negroes. . . . If any Guinea Men belonging to my worthy friends and benefactors, Mr. Oswald of London, Mr. Bright of Bristol or Mr. Knight of Leverpoole shall arrive with you in proper time, I intreat you to inform them what I have wrote to you in their branch. let healthy negroes be well fed and well cloath'd and be not afraid of the Cold.

279. Henry Laurens to Smith and Baillies, 1764.

18th Decem. 1764.

per Capt. Emery
Smith and Baillies, *St. Christophers*

. . . You will now receive Accont. Sale of two Negroes Boys, Bob and Allen per the Sloop *John,* Net proceed £358. 1 which no doubt you will think a good price as you know what sort of creatures they were . . . I am given to understand by the Gentlemen who bought your Negroes that they cannot pay me any part before February nor do I expect the whole for a Long time after in the common course of Carolina payments and yet they are very good men. by the latter I have some reason to hope that you are now a good deal in Cash on my Accont. and that you will be so good as to remit my full Balance upon Receipt hereof and the offer of a good opportunity in healthy New Negroes to be pretty well Cloathed and have a Blanket each, under a humane Master who will promise to take care of them. if you are pleased to exceed the said Balance a little or to add any number of Negroes on your own and so make a joint Account of it I shall be speedy in remitting your part I hope you will not fail in this but if it cannot be done be so good as to remit me in the first new Rum that shall come to Market. . . .

280. Henry Laurens to Lloyd and Barton, 1764.

24th Decem. 1764.

Lloyd and Barton, *Jamaica*

. . . Negroes have sold here at very exhorbitant prices all the past Summer and even down to this time. I have just transmitted a Sale of a parcel of Men refuse aged, half blind and one dumb and deaf, which made an average of £34. Sterling—prime negroes will yield full £40 [1] at this time but how long this will continue is very uncertain for we have parcels dropping in every day from the West Indies, many more are expected and the Season is at hand when the Affrican Ships will make their appearance. a great many of them are expected and I am sure that several will come or attempt to come earlier than usual—I have advices from my own particular friends of several. The great prices that have of late been given, The eagerness of some rival Houses in this Town, The Act of Assembly lately passed laying a heavy duty upon all Negroes imported after the year 1765, all will conspire to over stock our

[280] [1] On Dec. 7 Laurens wrote to Meyler and Hall of Jamaica that a parcel of 70 negroes had sold the day before for £42 per head.

Market with Negroes and I shall not wonder if the prices are run down very Low and a necessity for giving very tedious Credit. you will be pleas'd to think on this a little and then give me leave on the other hand to observe, that many people may from apprehensions of the danger which I have pointed at restrain their importations, and that our Crops of Rice and Indigo are very large and sell for high prices whereby the Rich planters are enabled to lay by money and the middling and poorer sort in general to clear themselves of debt, That the latter class stand in need and will take off a great number of Negroes in small parcels, and the first will be induc'd to lay out all their ready money and to strain upon a next Crop to increase their Stocks both for themselves and their Children upon the prospect of that prohibitary law which is calculated to stop the importation of Slaves for three years. now I have said all that occurs to be needful on each side of your enquiry you will be pleas'd to judge for yourselves, I shall only add a word of advice, which may be of service in case you shall determine to adventure in that branch. in such case be early, not later here than 15th March and let your purchase be of the very best kind of Slaves black and smooth free from blemishes, Young and well grown, the more Men the better but not old, none sell better than Gambia Slaves. if you touch any below this description let a very great bargain only tempt and let me know the real cost of them. be sure to give them good covering and victuals and secure the promise of the Master by whom you send them to treat them with humanity and keep up their spirits. if you have an inclination after all that I have said to make an attempt you may have remittances in Bills of Exchange upon London according to the then state of the Market which will be in payments at three, six, and nine or three, six, and twelve months but I would not have you rely upon anything better than the latter tho you may depend upon being treated with honour and punctuality. upon the whole unless you have an opportunity of making a very good purchase, I think you may as well forego the prospect of uncertain profit as to run a risque of meeting certain loss. if I am not in the way Messrs Price, Hest, and Head will receive and obey your commands as effectually as I could do, and I beg leave to introduce that House to your acquaintance. . . .

Gazette [1]	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 19	Jan. 23	*George*	Geo. Dorsett	New Providence	40 [2]	Lloyd and Neyle
Feb. 2		*Alice*		Tortola (Gold Coast)	17	Brewton and Smith
" 9	Feb. 20	*Greyhound*	Alex. Robe	Africa	300	Inglis, Lloyd, and Co.
" 23	Mar. 7	*Prudence*	Thos. Farmer	West Indies	70 [3]	Wm. Kirby
" "	" 6	Unnamed		Jamaica (Gambia)	50	Logan, Guerin, and Vanderhorst
" "	" 8	*Polly* (sloop)	Wm. Phillips	West Indies	40	Ed. Lightwood
Mar. 2	" 13	*Marton*	Jno. Wilkinson	Angola	400	Brailsford and Chapman
" 9	" 20	*Success*	—— Cookson	Antigua (Gambia)		Middleton, Liston, and Hope [4]
" "	" 19	*Charming Sally*	E. Evanson	St. Kitts	8 [5]	Price, Hest, and Head [6]
" 23	" 28	*Lord Pultney*	—— Hodgson	Angola	200	Brailsford and Chapman
Apr. 6	Apr. 16	*Rodney* [7]	Daniel McDaniel	Angola and Gambia	400	" " "
" "	" 10	*Molly*	John Wooster	Barbados	50	Price, Hest, and Head
" "	" 9	*Providence*	Ed. Williams	Angola	100	Middleton, Liston and Hope [4]
" "	" 16	*Jamaica* Packet	—— Dickinson	Antigua (Gold Coast and Senegal)	100	Crofts and Dart

[281] [1] Only the date of the first appearance of the notice is here given. Most of the advertisements are continued in successive numbers of the *Gazette,* sometimes long after the date of sale.

[2] "All well cloathed." The *Gazette* of Jan. 26 advertised negroes, who may have been those left from the sale of the *George*: "A Parcel of very Likely and Healthy New Negroes all well cloathed, to be sold, at a Store on Burn's Wharf, for Rice or short Credit, by JOHN GORDON."

[3] "At Mess's Woodrop and Cathcart On the Bay . . . Being the prime picked out of a large cargo. N. B. Indico will be taken in payment." In a later notice it was stated that this cargo came from Montserrat. On board the *Prudence* was the negro Olaudah Equiano, better known as Gustavus Vassa, who in 1791 published his life. He had been kidnapped at the age of eleven in Benin, and had been first sold in Barbados, then in Virginia. He was later purchased by a Mr. King of Montserrat and Philadelphia, who still owned him at this time though he was in the service of Captain Farmer. He writes of having taken a negro cargo to Charleston at the time of the celebration of the repeal of the Stamp Act, a troublesome statement, since presumably no cargoes were coming into Charleston at that time. *Life of Gustavus Vassa,* p. 191.

[4] This cargo was sold at Beaufort, Port Royal.

[5] "Likely negro boys and girls."

[6] See "Jour. of Webster", Southern Hist. Assn., *Publications*, II. 143n.

[7] On June 1 the following notice appeared in the *Gazette*: "Now selling, The ship *Rodney's* cargo, formerly advertised, of about Four Hundred Negroes by BRAILSFORD and CHAPMAN. To remove as much as may be any prejudices our country friends may have on account of the small-pox that broke out in this cargo, we can assure them, that the utmost care has been taken to cleanse them thoroughly of every

[*Negroes imported into South Carolina*—continued:]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Apr. 13	Apr. 16	*Elizabeth*	—— Campbell	Barbados	100	Crofts and Dart
" "	" 23	*Essex*	Geo. Barwick	Angola	150	Middleton, Liston, and Hope [4]
" "	" 19	*Sally*	John Jones	Senegal [8]	90	Brailsford and Chapman
" 20	" 24	*Captain*	Rich. Dobbs	Windward and Grain Coast	280 [9]	" " "
" "	" "	*Hannah*	Ed. Prescott	Angola	300	Middleton, Liston, and Hope
" 27	May 6	*Success* (schooner)	Wright Westcott	Antigua	60 [10]	Ancrum, Lance, and Loocock
May 4	" 7	*Antelope*	Thos. Paly	Gambia	150	Middleton, Liston, and Hope [4]
" 11	" 21	*Essex* (ship)	—— Leaman	Windward and Grain Coast [11]	190	Brailsford and Chapman
" 18	" 22	*Etty*	—— Denison	Gambia	283	Brewton and Smith
June 1	June 11	*Black-Joak*	Robt. Riddle		90	Brailsford and Chapman
" "		*Apollo*	Jno. Hamilton	Gold Coast	150	" " "
" 8	" 13	*Chloe*	Wm. Hayman	Windward Coast	130	Ancrum, Lance, and Loocock
" 15	" 26	*Fox*	Rich. Eaton	Gold Coast	170	Brailsford and Chapman [12]
" "	" "	*Bonetta*	Jos. Mayes	Windward Coast	50	Inglis, Lloyd, and Co.
" 22	" 27	*Virginia* Packet	Gersham Spear	Gold Coast	80	Torrans, Poaug, and Co.
" 29	July 4	*Lively*	—— Caird	Gambia [13]	160	Thos. Shirley, Ed. Martin
July 6	" 10	*Fanny*	Ralph Sampson	St. Kitts		Robertson, Jamieson, and Co.
" 13	" 18	*Molly* (snow)	Thos. Woodburn	Sierra Leone	200	Torrans, Poaug, and Co.
" "	" 23	*Woodmenstone*	Jos. Miller	Windward Coast	190 [14]	John Neufville
" 20	" 30	*Minories*	W. Williams	" "	260	" "

thing that could convey the least infection, and that it is now upwards of six weeks since they had the least appearance. Likewise, Now Selling, One Hundred and Fifty choice Gold-Coast Negroes, Just arrived in the snow *Apollo,* Captain John Hamilton, directly from thence, by BRAILSFORD and CHAPMAN."

[8] "Such as are usually imported from Gambia."

[9] "Directly from the windward and Grain coast of Africa, being such as are usually brought from Gambia, as fine a parcel as ever was imported into this province, stout able men and women, with a few boys and girls, all in perfect health, there being none thin or disorder'd among them."

[10] "Chosen out of a large cargo at Antigua."

[11] "Such as are usually brought from Gambia and inferior to none imported this year."

[12] Brailsford and Chapman apparently found themselves with more negroes than they could dispose of in Charleston, for on July 27 the *Gazette* carried the following notice: "On Thursday the first day of August next Will Be Sold, At Public Vendue, At Jacksonborough, Ponpon, Sixty likely Angola and Windward Coast New Negroes: Eighteen months credit will be given, paying interest after three months from the day of sale, and giving security if required. The sale to begin precisely at eleven o'clock in the forenoon. BRAILSFORD and CHAPMAN."

[13] "After a passage of 33 days."

[14] "None of sd. cargo of Slaves will be sold or engaged, before the Doors are open, on the above-mentioned day of sale." This assurance is frequently attached to notices of sale. The next advertisement, that for the cargo of the *Minories,* has the following note:

" 27	" "	*Friendship*	Alex. Robertson			Middleton, Liston, and Hope
" 29	Aug. 9	*Elizabeth* (ship)	Jno. McNeill	Gold Coast		Brewton and Smith
" "	" 10	*Newport*	Jno. Shearman	" "	160 [15]	Brailsford and Chapman
Aug. 17	" 21	*Nancy*	Jno. Keast	Gambia	—	Brewton and Smith
" 24	Sept. 3	*Prince George*	Jno. Addison	Sierra Leone	160	Middleton, Liston, and Hope
" 26	" 4	*Ballea Castle*	Matthias Egan	Anamabo	200	" " " "
" 27	" 3	*Dispatch*	Walter Taylor	Guinea	220	Brewton and Smith
Sept. 21	Oct. 1	*Three Friends*	Draper Thomas	Rice Coast	47	" " "
" "	" "	*Success*	John Phillips	Senegal	80	John Forbes and Co.
" 28	" 8	*Speedwell*	Jas. Bevins	Africa [16]		Inglis, Lloyd, and Co.
" "	" "	*King* [*Prince*?] *Tom*	Jno. Read	Windward Coast	250	Middleton, Liston, and Hope
Oct. 19	" 24	*Brittania*	Stephen Deane [17]	Gambia	130	John Neufville
" "	" 29	*James*	Jas. Longster	"	70	Inglis, Lloyd, and Co.
" 31 [18]	Nov. 5	*William*	Wm. Patton	"	68	Brewton and Smith

"N. B. It may be depended on, that this cargo of negroes will be entirely free and unengaged till the doors are open, on the above mentioned day of sale."

[15] "Chiefly young, lusty Men, and as likely Women, as could be picked out of a large number at a Factory on the Gold Coast."

[16] "Small cargo of young negroes."

[17] "On Tuesday put into Tybee . . . a snow from Gambia, Dean, master, bound to Charlestown, having on board about 150 slaves. Capt. Dean lost two anchors of[f] Charlestown bar on Saturday, and upwards of 30 of his cargo of slaves have died during 16 days he has been on the coast" (*Georgia Gazette*, Sept. 26, 1765). The *Gazette* of Oct. 17 reported that the vessel had sailed for Charleston on the 24th.

[18] The *Gazette,* July 6, 1769, reported for this year 6701; that of May 31, 1773, gave 7184. "The number of Negroes brought into this port only since the 1st of November last this day inclusive, is Five Thousand and Eighty-two, which at £35 sterling per head amounts to £177,870 sterling, or One Million Two Hundred and Forty-five Thousand and Ninety Pounds currency" (*S. C. Gazette,* June 29, 1765; *Mass. Gazette and News Letter,* Aug. 1, 1765). The advertisements up to the end of June give a total of 4368, which leaves 714 to the previous November and December. In those months the *Gazette* had recorded but three arrivals, all from the West Indies, two of them with "a few prime negroes", one with 60 blacks. On Aug. 8 the *Georgia Gazette* gave the value of the importations since the passing of the duty act as £200,000 stg., probably reckoning the average value at £35. This would give a total of 5711 slaves. That the *Gazette* list is not complete is of course probable. The *Newport Mercury* on Sept. 16, 1765, notes the arrival in Newport of Capt. Henry Tillinghast, from Anamabo and "last from South Carolina", but his name does not appear here.

282. Henry Laurens to Francis Stuart, 1765.[1]

6th Febry. 1765.

Francis Stuart Esqr., *Beaufort.*

Sir, It gives me some pain to be troublesome to you upon any occasion but particularly upon such an one as the present. I am now in advance for every farthing of the proceeds of those Negroes which I sold you some time ago for £12,000, because I promised our friends at St. Kitts that I would be punctual in remitting. I must therefore request you to order me a reimbursement of the whole if you possibly can but at least send me some part of it to Keep dunns from my Door, the fear of which alone makes me call upon you and I flatter myself that you will give the needfull attention hereunto.

283. Henry Laurens to David Fulton, 1765.[1]

16th May 1765.

David Fulton, *Black Mingo*

Sir, . . . If a proper parcel of good Negroes shall fall in my way I will send them for Sale to Black Mingo but this is so very distant and uncertain that none of my friends can by any means depend upon it and therefore I beg they may loose no opportunity of purchasing elsewhere.

284. Henry Laurens to Elias Ball, 1765.[1]

15th July 1765.

Elias Ball, *Hyde Park.*

Dear Sir, On Tuesday last I chose out of Messrs. Brailsford and Chapman's Gold Coast Cargo Six Negro Women they prevailed on me to take two more in all 8: which I have bought on your Account at £240 per head payable in two months from the 10th Inst. or as much sooner as you can.

I believe they are all young and seem in these five or six days experience to be tractable and healthy; the price is certainly reasonable. I know he sold Women two days after those at £250 per.

If 8 is more than you want please to draw two out for me and send them when a convenient opportunity offers to Wambaw or back again to Charles Town. I shall be glad to have them, I say this because I think you limited me to 6 and the 8 were bought to reduce the Amt. of the price but if you like to keep the whole, do so by all means. Mr. Gaillard charges you with 8 Blankets at 46/6 per piece.

. . .

[282] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.
[283] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.
[284] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book. Elias Ball was a nephew of Laurens.

285. Lieutenant Governor William Bull to the Board of Trade, 1765.[1]

December 17, 1765.

. . . the indulgence equitably intended to be given to the British Merchants trading to Africa (lest too short a period might have interfered with their adventures) by the Act of Assembly for prohibiting the importation of negros for 3 years, has in great measure defeated the salutary end proposed, as above 8000 have been imported this year, being nearly equal to three years importation.[2] whether this sudden addition to a number already beyond a prudent proportion[3] will be productive of unhappy consequences, cannot be certainly foreseen, but I have a few days ago received intimation that some plots are forming and some attemp[t]s of insurrection to be made during these Holydays, at which Time Slaves are allowed some days of festivity and exemption from labour. I shall therefore take proper measures to prevent the execution of such designs by giving necessary directions to the militia and patrols to be alert on their duty on that season. . . .

286. Henry Laurens to Captain Richard Todd, 1767.[1]

23d Septem. 1767.

Capt. Richard Todd of the Sloop *Henry,* Now Bound to *Jamaica*

Sir, You have here inclosed Invoice and Bill of Loading for the Cargo Ship'd on board your said Sloop on Account of the Owners, to wit, 5/8ths on Account of Mr. Henry Todd, jun. and Compa. and 3/8ths on my Account with which you will proceed immediately to Kingston in Jamaica and there dispose of the whole to the best

[285] [1] Br. Trans., XXX. 298.

[2] The act imposing an additional duty of £100 on all negroes imported, to be paid by the first purchaser, went into effect Jan. 1, 1766, to be in operation for three years. Cooper, IV. 187-188.

[3] Webster gives the population of Charleston as 5000 whites and 20,000 negroes; for 1769 Governor Bull reported for South Carolina 45,000 whites and 80,000 negroes. "Jour. of Webster", Southern Hist. Soc., *Publications*, II. 134; Br. Trans., XXXII. 122.

[286] [1] With the South Carolina market closed by the duty Charleston merchants turned to Georgia and Florida, to which they were at liberty to send negroes. Evidence of earlier trade with Florida is also to be found occasionally. On Jan. 29, 1767, John Gordon presented to the assembly the statement that before the passage of the duty act John Dennett of St. Augustine had purchased from Brailsford and Chapman, and Middleton, Liston, and Hope seven new negroes. Dennett had died and the negroes could not be advantageously disposed of. He asked if they could be brought back to Carolina provided the drawback were returned. The request was refused (S. C. House Journals, p. 269). Petitions relating to the slave trade were not uncommon. On Apr. 16 James Phillips asked that the duty of £50 and £100 per head which he had paid on 4 women, 1 boy, and 2 children imported in *Yellowly,* James, be returned to him as he intended to become a resident of Carolina. This the committee reported upon favorably (*ibid.*, pp. 290, 370, 377). On May 22 John Morris, comptroller of customs in Charleston, former resident of North Carolina, asked permission to bring in his 30 slaves without duty but was freed only from the £20 currency imposed by the general duty act on the first purchaser. *Ibid.*, p. 409.

advantage for ready Money and invest the Net proceed in good Rum of a fine colour and full proof, or in Negroes, or in Dollars as shall appear to you most for our benefit. if Rum is upward of 2/6 per Gallon, no great prospect of profit appears at present from that article and therefore in such case endeavor to lay out your Money in fine healthy young Negro Lads and Men, if such of any Country except Ebo are to be purchased at or under Forty Pounds per head, and you will remember that some cloathing will be needful upon your approach to this coast. in case that neither Rum nor Negroes are to be purchased nor Sugar upon as good terms as the last parcel, then bring home our Money in Silver.

We rely very much upon your own judgement and there[fore] do not lay you under any absolute restrictions but after giving our advice, we recommend our affairs in a great measure to your own discretion, perhaps you may see a good opportunity of purchasing Negroes cheap in the way that we were talking of today, such as are sold to pay debts and not for crimes, if so, it is probable that you may make a good return in that way, but remember that in case of Negroe purchases, we must be prepared to export them again from this place therefore if you have above nine on board it will be necessary for you to come to, with the Sloop in Rebellion Road; former directions about the care of Negroes and also the state of your Accounts may serve in the present case, and leaves nothing particular to add upon the Sloop's Account. I beg you will particularly wait upon Mr. Jeremiah Meyler and press him to make me some remittance by the *Henry* in part of the large balance still due to me by Meyler and Hall near £600 Sterling—in Negroes, in Rum, or Sugar.[2] . . .

287. Henry Laurens to Inglis and Hall, 1767.

24th Sept. 1767.

per Mr. Peace
Inglis and Hall, *Savanna*

Gentlemen, I am obliged to you for your favour of the 3d Inst notifying your intended Sale of a Cargo of Negroes, which I received at the State House and communicated the contents to a great many people some of whom have Lands in Georgia.

I had no occasion for Negroes in addition to my stock in that Colony and therefore defer'd answering your favour until Mr. Peace the bearer of this should go to Savanna and I then thought he would have been there within 24 hours of your messenger.

[2] Captain Todd also carried a letter from Laurens to Jeremiah Meyler, importuning him for some payment, which ended, "send me anything but Rogues, from such I have no hopes of any good, but for justice sake send something or other".

I hope you make a good Sale, to your own and the benefit of the owners and wishing you success in all your undertakings

288. Henry Laurens to Smith and Baillies, 1767.

14th Nov. 1767.

per Capt. Pekin via Eustatia
Smith and Baillies, *St. Christophers*

My last was the 22d Octob. per Capt. Robertson, since which I have heard that the Negroes therein mentioned were safe arrived in Georgia, but were under much the same inconv[en]iences as to Landing them as Negroes are in this Country;[1] this was disagreeable intelligence and I had scarcely received it an hour when Capt Simblet brought me your favour of the 25th October inclosing a Bill of Loading for more New Negroes on your Accot which must also be exported but I have not time by this conveyance to say more than to assure you of my endeavours to dispose of them for your Interest as if my own was wholly concern'd therein. . . .

289. Henry Laurens to James Penman and William Makdougall, 1767.

21st Nov. 1767.

per Capt. Harris
James Penman and William Makdougall, *St. Augustine*

Gentlemen, In compliance with your favour of the 8th Inst. I have wrote two Letters of Credit, one to Barbadoes and one to St. Christophers, in your favour for Two thousand Pounds Sterling each, the former to John and Thomas Tipping Esqr.[1] and the latter to Messrs. Smith and Baillies, either or both of which you may make use of and you will receive the Letters here inclosed. St. Christophers I take to be the best Island in the West Indies to purchase Negroes at, tho the Barbadoes gives you a double chance by having all the rest under your Lee. Antigua is not a proper place—very few Guinea Men stop there—the Gentlemen to whom I have wrote are Men of honour and integrity and are also the principal African Houses in those Islands respectively. I wish you much success in the enterprize and

[288] [1] On Oct. 26 Laurens wrote to Clay and Habersham of Savannah that he was sending to them for sale, since they could not be sold in Charleston, thirteen new negroes from Smith and Baillies, and three from Peter Gordon of Grenada. Georgia had in 1762 imposed a tax of £2. 10 on every £100 value imported by transient merchants. In addition such merchants must pay fees to the comptroller and the treasurer. *Ga. Col. Recs.*, XVIII. 484-488.

[289] [1] This letter is accompanied by one to this house, explaining that Penman and Makdougall are stocking a plantation in East Florida upon "a very extensive plan and a sound Capital". Apparently the plan here under consideration was never carried out and the credit which Laurens offered was not used. See Laurens to Ross and Mill, London, May 21, 1768.

have no reason to doubt if the affair is well conducted, but give me leave to ask do you send your Charter'd Vessel away empty, would it not have paid Port charges to take in a mixed Cargo here and made something towards the purchase? Remember to charge your Captain and others to be upon their guard constantly without discovering to the Negroes that they are so. I had a fine Sloop nearly cut off some time ago with only 22 Negroes on board from the West Indies.

I shall send 10 New Negroes by Doran for Sale belonging to Messrs. Smith and Baillies and wish they may suit you at a low price.[2]

290. Henry Laurens to James Penman, 1767.

21st Nov. 1767.

per Capt. Harris
James Penman, *St Augustine*

Dear Sir, I have before me your kind Letter of the 8th Inst. inclosing Bills for £69. 8. 7 Sterling. the application of the former set was a mere oversight which shall be now rectified.

You will see by my Letters to your African company and from the Letters of Credit there inclosed that I am heartily inclined to do you all the service in my power. your plan is a good one and if well executed will be attended with much saving to you but I think Hugh[1] has hardly experience enough to make choice of Negroes and may easily be deceived in allotments from a whole Cargo wherefore rely more on the persons to whom you write than upon him in that part of the business, those to whom my Credits are directed are Men of strict honour and will not deceive him or you. remember that Bills in the West Indies given for payment of Negro Sales pass extremely well at instalments of 3-6-9 and even 12 Months sight, hint this to your friends and they will explain the matter to your Brother, and if the Bills are drawn more favourably than the custom of the day a proper consideration should be made. . . .

291. Henry Laurens to James Penman, 1767.

23 Novr. 1767.

per Capt. Doran
James Penman, *St Augustine*

. . . I take the Liberty of troubling you with a Bill of Loading inclos'd for ten New Negroes per the *Mary* on account of my said

[2] On the same day Laurens wrote to William Stork of St. Augustine that he hoped some of the ten negroes would suit him.

[290] [1] Hugh was a brother, probably a younger brother, of James Penman.

worthy and good friends [1] which I request you to sell on their Account or put them into the best hands you can to be sold for them on the best Terms the Place will afford without much delay I don't know how they came to make such a Mistake as to send Negroes to Carolina where there is a Prohibition upon their Import—and they are such worthy men and valuable Friends that I woud. do every Thing in my Power to serve them. I wish your Family woud. take them at any tolerable Price of your own fixing and send me Bills for the Amot. if you will not buy them and cannot Trouble yourself with the Sale of them, be so good as to tender them to some other good hand that will do my Friends Justice. . . .

292. Henry Laurens to Governor James Grant, 1767.

23d Nov. 1767.

per Capt. Doran
Governor James Grant, *St. Augustine*

. . . Mr. Oswald will have a fine stock in a few Years from his Nursery of Negroes at Musquito,[1] and the idea of putting some of the large Boys under Mr. Waistcoat if he is a clever fellow, is very lucky, and I should think if half a dozen were distributed to learn to row in Canoes and to manage small Boats for two or three Years it would be a further improvement; I was sorry on Mr. Oswalds Account to hear that Nanny was sold and now she will be much missed by Mr. Alert, I have more than a dozen Women of her Value upon Plantations, some that I would not sell for £600 because I know the use of such people among a large gang of ignorant ones. . . .

293. Henry Laurens to Clay and Habersham, 1767.

25th Nov. 1767.

per Mr. Peace
Clay and Habersham, *Savanna*

Gentlemen, Your favour of the 31st October and 14th Inst. are now before me, the former was 15 days in its passage and the latter reached me only 21st. I was in great hopes that you might have obtained a reasonable price for the Negroes consigned to you in the *Broughton Island* Packet and such payments as mentioned in my former Letter, but seeing that cannot be done it only remains that I desire you to sell them up on the best terms your Market will

[291] [1] Smith and Baillies of St. Christopher. On Dec. 24 Laurens wrote expressing his satisfaction with Penman's sale of these negroes, for which he (Penman) was to receive five per cent. commission from Smith and Baillies.

[292] [1] Oswald may have owned land on the Mosquito Coast, a narrow strip of land in Nicaragua facing the Caribbean Sea, or this may refer to land in East Florida, where he possessed more than 8000 acres. Wallace, *Laurens*, p. 127.

admit of and into such hands as you will guarantee, keeping and transmitting to me the Accounts distinctly of the two parcels and be so good as to advise Messrs. Smith and Baillies of the same and transmit Accounts to them also. if a certificate is necessary those Gentlemen will be careful to send you one or two in order to guard against your high duty. please to finish the Sale as soon as possible and embrace the first opportunity of writing to those Gentlemen and if you have an inclination for doing business in their way, their friendship is worth cultivating being a principle House in St. Kitts, and men of integrity and generosity.[1] . . .

294. Henry Laurens to Lachlan McIntosh, 1767.[1]

9th Decr. 1767.

per Mr. Wm. Price
Lachlan McIntosh, *Darien in Georgia.*

Dear Sir, I wrote to you not long since by Mr. Peace, this will be forwarded to you by Mr. Wm. Price who is going to Georgia in order to sell a Cargo of Angola Negroes Men Women and Boys the most sightly that have been imported for many Years and in all appearance the most healthy.

If you have an Inclination to deal with him, I shall in remembrance of my Promise be your Surety so far as to borrow Three hundred and fifty to four hundred Pounds Sterling for you and your offer of Carolina Currency or Bills of Exchange within Three Months must intitle you to some consideration in the purchase. in case you accept of this your presence may be necessary in Charles Town sometime before the Day of Payment. . . .

295. Henry Laurens to Captain John Doran, 1767.

24th December 1767.

Capt. John Doran, of the Schooner *Mary*

Sir, The Negro Man that I have put on board the *Mary* and consign'd to you for Sale at St. Augustine, was part of a Remittance made to the owners of the Ship *Henry* and as such Negroes cannot Legally be sold in this Province I beg the Favour of you to sell him for the most you can obtain in Ready Money or a Bill of Exchange on London or this Place, but not less than £30 Sterlg. clear of Freight your Commission and Charges if any. As to the Negroes Qualities, good or bad, I know nothing of them. I never saw him

[293] [1] On Nov. 28, 1768, Laurens wrote to this firm that this letter, and one of Feb. 9, 1768, remained unanswered, and that he had heard nothing of the fifteen negroes consigned to them from Smith and Baillies and Peter Gordon.

[294] [1] Lachlan McIntosh had at one time been in the counting-house of Henry Laurens or that of his father. See Wallace, p. 126, n. 2.

but once and then very transiently. If you cannot obtain the Price above mentioned and my Schooner is at Augustine put him on board and desire Capt. Peacock to leave him at Broughton Island.[1] if the Schooner is not there leave him with Capt. Adam Bachop or Mr. Alexander Gray. . . .

296. Henry Laurens to Smith and Baillies, 1768.

15th Janry. 1768.

per Capt. Lightburn
Smith and Baillies, *St. Christophers*

. . . Upon Capt. Chilcotts arrival I did every thing in my power to put your Negroes and his into the best hands in Georgia, there happen'd to be in Charles town at that time Mr. McGillivray of the House of Messrs. Graham and Co. and Mr. Hall of the House of Inglis and Hall to each of whom I applied. the former would come to no terms, the latter proposed to sell them upon the best terms of that Market and to remit in 4, 8, 12 and 16 Months. I urged to them the good quality of the Cargo and the terms upon which I had always sold Negroes, to Wit, to remit according to the times agreed upon with the purchasers for Payments but all in vain, they were inflexible. I then took another method and recommended to the House of Price, Hest, and Head to go to Georgia and undertake the Sale upon my terms, which they agreed to. Mr. Price went thither but upon his arrival was intimidated by a transient duty which subjected him as a Stranger to 2½ per Ct. on the Sale and induced him to relinquish the consignment to Messrs. Graham and Co. who sent an Express to my freinds Penman and Co. at St. Augustine who immediately went to Savanna and purchased about 80 of the Cargo of which I understand 38 were yours, at an average of £36. 11. 6 Georgia Money, equal to £33. 13/ Sterling or thereabout payable in Bills upon London at 90 days, but Mr. Price and Capt. Chilcott inform me that Mr. Graham had agreed to remit in 4, 8 and 12 Months which in [*torn*] opinion is ungenerous and I am heartily vexed at it. I resign[ed] the Commission to Mr. Price thinking he would do the [busi]ness as well as any House there and because it was impossi[ble] for me to go to Georgia; without asking or expecting the [*torn*] gratuity or acknowledgement. it has been hinted to me [that] he partakes of the Commission yonder. if this shall be confirm'd to me for fact, I shall be very much displeased that [*torn*] I spoke to him. upon the hold [whole] my good friends I have done all in my power to serve you and am sorry that your affairs have not been managed more to your advantage. the House at Savanna will no doubt advise you fully and I have desired Capt.

[295] [1] Laurens owned 900 acres of land on Broughton Island. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

Chi[l]cotts to write to them immediately to forward your Bills, for so many Negroes as are sold otherwise they may be long delay'd on Account of two or three unsold.

The Gentlemen in Georgia have not wrote a word to me for some time pass about your 10 and Mr. Gordons 3 Negroes but I hope they have been more careful to advise you of their doings as I desir'd them to miss no opportunity. the 10 Negroes which you consign'd to me by Capt. Simblet I sent to Mr. Penman at St. Augustine who sold them for £350 Stg. and has remitted me so much in a Bill upon this Town and another in London. I do his business here without charging him a commission and therefore I suppose he has charged me none up on that Sale and you shall be the gainers by it. The Rice that I ship'd you by Capt. Bell with the Insurance added Amounting to £2236.2.8, together with sundry charges on your Negroes as per Accot. below which please to note to my Credit £379. 10. more will overbalance the said Sale of 10 Negroes.

If you can send 30 or 40 likely unblemished Negroes soon after this reaches you at a price not exceeding £25 Sterling per head for Angola, or £27 for Gambia or Gold Coast consign'd to me on our joint Account, I will undertake the sale of them to the Southward and make you satisfactory remittances for the whole, if they are all Males they will be more valuable by 20/ or 40/ Sterling per head but you give too great a Freight for them. Capt. Chilcott's Negroes were far superior to yours and I am told have yeilded £4 or £5 Sterling per head more than yours. if you make such a Shipment give the Negroes some covering, charge the Master in whose Vessel they are Ship'd to be very careful of them and by all means give me previous advice if possible. . . .

Next Tuesday we determine in the House of Assembly upon the further continuance of the prohibition upon Negroes and you shall soon hear on which side the Majority is found.[1]

297. Henry Laurens to Richard Oswald, 1768.

24th May 1768.

per Capt. Jordan
Richard Oswald Esq., *London*

. . . The high duty upon Negroes expires with the present year and I make no doubt that this will be the best Market for Africans

[296] [1] Jan. 28, 1768, Laurens to John Moultrie: "Yesterday a Motion was made in the House for continuing the prohibitory Duty (intended to expire with 1768) for a longer Term—carried in the Negative the folks who play'd Cat in Pan to get the Duty laid to suit particular purposes, and now want to serve the same purpose by taking it off—kept out of the way, for obvious reasons."

"Upon a motion for continuing the additional duty on negroes imported, a majority appeared against it, by which the Prohibition will cease the first of January next." *S. C. Gazette,* Feb. 1, 1768.

all the next, of any in America. You will have offers enough of service in that branch, I shall only presume to say that if I am upon the spot when any of your Vessels arrive here you may command and depend upon my best advice and assistance to the Masters in agreeing with the most proper house, the benefit (I say this *entre nos*) resulting from the modern practice of remitting in the bottom at 3-6- and 9 Months or 3-6- and 12 have been improved far beyond anything that Austin and Laurens ever experienced—their mode for remittance was fairest—the other way is full of temptation—what I would never enter into altho I have known my neighbours making 13 per Ct. Commission sometimes more—when mine never exceeded Nine per Ct.—on Sales and returns. if a Man is honest you may depend upon his remitting according to the times of Payment set forth in the Sales if he is tricky and avaricious you can't depend upon him at all.[1] . . .

298. Henry Laurens to Smith and Baillies, 1768.

4th July 1768.

per Mr. Price
Smith and Baillies, *St. Christophers*

. . . This goes by the hands of Mr. William Price a Gentleman who has been in trade some Years and is at the head of that House that undertook the Sale of Capt. Chilcott's Negroes last Winter upon more equitable terms than was offer'd by any other. He is going to transact affairs of the partnership in the West Indies and may perhaps call at St. Christophers; if he does and shall enter into any engagement with you, for fourscore or an hundred Negroes of the first quality, I will be answerable for such part as he may take upon his Account and mine admitting the same to be 2/3ds or 3/4ths and make a satisfactory remittance for the Amount as soon as I shall be advis'd of the terms and also for remitting for your part if you shall chuse to hold 1/3d or one quarter punctually when the Nt. proceed shall become due, and likewise do everything in my power that shall be needful to make a good Sale. I am of opinion that such Slaves as I have hinted to Mr. Price, taken such care of on the Voyage as he shall direct will sell for good prices and command a great deal of ready Money. . . .

P. S. As my principal motive to the above proposition is to assist my friends Price, Hest, and Head it will [be] equally agreeable to me to be excluded from a share in the purchase of Negroes and I shall be answerable for the performance of any engagements on their part in the same manner as is express'd in the preceding Letter.

[297] [1] In a letter written the next day, May 25, to Thomas and Richard Millerson and Co. of Lancaster, also sent by Captain Jordan, Laurens, after proffering his advisory services in the market soon to be opened, added, "I have not resolved upon that Trade again or not".

299. Henry Laurens to Ross and Mill, 1768.

2d Septem. 1768.

per Capt. Simblet
Ross and Mill, *London*

. . . In my Letter of the 13th July [1] I promised to write more fully up on the African Trade meaning to enlarge upon the Subject of remittances. It was the constant practice of our House Austin and Laurens to Note upon each Accot. of Sale the terms of payment under different heads as such payments became due, and at each period to remit the full Sum then due. from that method we acted simply as Factors; transacting the business of our constituents for a certain known Commission of 5 per Ct. upon Sales and returns which Netted upon both about 8½ to 9 per Ct. some of our Neighbours in those days endeavour'd to persuade us to fall into a New way which had been proposed and I believe in some measure forced upon them of remitting the Net Proceed of each Cargo in Bills in the Bottom payable in certain proportions and at distant periods, as 3-6-9 to 3-6-12- and 15 Months, but we would not deviate from our plan altho we have known 14 to 17 per Ct. made the other way. I think it my duty in return for the friendly preference that you are pleased to offer me, to hint this much to you. You may learn from our old Accounts from Messrs. Oswald and Co. what remittances we made to them and such or nearly such may always be made while the Negro Trade is worth your attention in Carolina. The Market in this Country does not continue as in the West Indies long at a Medium price, our prices are (almost without exception) either high or too low to make tolerable profits by. in the West Indies terms of payment and prices do not greatly vary, you have a chance of going easily from one Island to another and the Merchant undertakes to turn out the Cargo at so much per head at least; upon such terms of remittance, whence the objection that I make to such remittances from this place is no objection in the Islands, nor any where else where a stated price for the Cargo is fixed. The Owner reaps all the benefit from better prices and the Merchant enjoys all the profits he can make from speedy payments. this is fair and understood by each party. If the House you consign to here, consist of candid and ingenuous Men you may depend upon having strict justice done in Accounts in what I call the old way—if you have any doubts of their integrity they are not fit to correspond with—but take Men as Men, consider how much more you are in the power

[299] [1] Laurens had also written to this house on July 26, expressing in his letter some apprehension over political conditions: "the good Sales of Negroes will depend very much upon the prospect we may have by and by of concord with our friends on your side the Water."

of a House when remittances are to be made by Bill, in the bottom at long periods and no stated price for the average of a Cargo than you are when business is transacted for you at a certain Commission and the Remittances to be made on your Account as the payments become due. I do not mean by these observations to censure anybody nor to impute the mode of remittance, which I so much dislike, to the invention of our Carolina Merchants. I rather think it was forced upon them from your side of the Water by some Gentlemen who said that Bills in the bottom kept the wheel in motion. that is well enough when there is not other strength to turn it, but it is at the same time paying dear for such assistance.[2]

It is very uncertain whether I shall ever sell or be concern'd in the Sale of another Cargo of Negroes, I am determined barring extraordinary accidents to go to England in the Spring of Next Year and if any Negroes shall in the mean time come consign'd [to me] I shall transfer the consignment to Messrs. Thomas Loughton Smith and Roger Smith, the Sons of Benjamin Smith and Thomas Smith Esq. who have both retired from Trade.

The connexions, capital, and application to business of those Younger Gentlemen together with the aid of their Fathers and other able friends will give them an Ascendant over some Houses and enable them to do as much for the Interest of their Constituents in the African branch as any House in the place, both in obtaining good prices and making faithful remittances; they are ready to give good Security for performance of their engagements. when Austin, Laurens, and Appleby recommended Smith, Brewton, and Smith to their old benefactors and correspondant in the Negro Trade, it arose (next to a knowledge of the ability of that House) from a consideration of favours often received in their own Negro Sales and upon other occasions from Mr. Benjamin Smith and the same considerations attach me at present to the Interest of his Son and his Nephew, without meaning or intending to injure or by any means disparage Mr. Brewton and his new connexions whom I wish very well.[3] I believe that great Sales will be made next Year of Negroes in this place, if no extraordinary interruption by public disputes shall prevent our progress. I cannot form a compitent judgement of the Temper of the times, nor can I expect that great things will be done in our favour to make us quiet while you are in such confusion at home but you will have the first opportunity of seeing into public measures and will shape your own accordingly. We have a prospect of a large Crop of Rice and great plenty of Negro Provision which is no small inducement to planters to purchase Negroes and the Crop of Indigo tho

[2] A letter of the same tenor was written to Henry Bright Aug. 25, 1768.
[3] Brewton's new partner was Doyley.

not very large will make a considerable addition to our Remittances and besides all that the old Crop of Rice is wound up at 75/ per Ct., many Planters out of debt and full of Money which they must spend in the Horse Races if they cant lay it out in Negroes.[4]

300. Henry Laurens to William Fisher, 1768.[1]

9th November 1768.

per Capt. Mason, returned and went by a Schooner
from Messrs Johnson and Simpson
William Fisher, *Philadelphia*

. . . I have been largely concern'd in the African Trade. I quitted the Profits arising from that gainful Branch principally because of many Acts from the Masters and others concern'd toward the wretched Negroes from the Time of purchasing to that of selling them again some of which, altho within my knowledge were uncontrolable. Yet I never saw an Instance of Cruelty in Ten or twelve Years experience in that branch equal to the cruelty exercised upon those poor Irish, who are to be I suppose the Subject of Mr. Jackson's Application. No! Self Interest [causes] the baptized Heathen to take some Care of their wretched Slaves for a Market—but no other care was taken of those poor Protestant Christians from Ireland but to deliver as many as possible alive on Shoar upon the cheapest Terms. . . .

301. Henry Laurens to Captain Hinson Todd, 1768.

15 Novem. 1768.

Capt. Hinson Tood of the Sloop *Montague*
now bound to *Jamaica*

. . . You are to vest the Net Proceeds of the Sales all in good Jamaica Rum provided you can purchase full proof at a price not exceeding 2/9 per Gallon—as much lower as you can—if Rum is not to be had at or under 2/9 per Gallon don't purchase above 15 or 20 Hogsds. and lay out the remainder of the Proceeds in likely Negroes not exceeding £45 Jamaica Money per head for young Men and Wom-

[4] On Oct. 15 Laurens wrote again of the need for caution because of political difficulties: "if we are thrown into confusion by political disputes and contentions for Liberty, our Market must be a very bad one at such times for the Sale of Negroes." On Oct. 21 he added: "Just as I was going to close the above Copy of my last the 15th Inst. your obliging favour of the 12th Augt. came to hand. You may rest assured of my utmost endeavours for your Interest when any of your Guinea Men arrive here. the unlimited confidence that you are pleased to repose in me demands it, but my inclination to do you all the service in my power added thereto secures to you a friendship that is wholly disinterested and I beg that you will not in return make any appoligies."

[300] [1] William Fisher was a Quaker merchant of Philadelphia, and in 1773 mayor.

en or in Sugar, Coffee or Dollars as you shall upon due consideration think will be most for the benefit of the Concern'd. . . .

302. Henry Laurens to Ross and Mill, 1768.

24th December 1768.

per Capt. Hooper
Ross and Mill, *London*

. . . Here are about 150 Negroes imported in different bottoms from West Indies waiting for the opening of 1769—which is now near at hand[1] and I do suppose there will soon be ten Times as many. the Planters are full of Money, and their Rice commands Money wherefore 'tis probable that the Sale of Slaves will be very advantageous at this Market until we are overstock'd, or interrupted by any broils with King's Officers the latter I hope is at a much greater distance than the period of my Life—but yet—the aspect of the Times is exceedingly unpleasant.

[302] [1] "Charleston. The additional duty of £100 currency a head on negroes imported into this province, expiring the last day of this month, negroes for sale are already arriving here." *Ga. Gazette,* Dec. 14, 1768.

303. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1769.

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 12	Jan. 17	Sl. *Ranger*	Horace Wood	St. Kitts		Wm. Somarsall
" 26	" 31	*Betsey* [1]	John Lesuer	Barbados		Wilson, Coram, Wayne, and Co.
Feb. 2	Feb. 9			West Indies	36 [2]	Savage and Leger
Mar. 7	Mar. 13	*Ruby*	Thos. Bragg	Barbados	50 [3]	Jas. Graham and Co.
" 23	" 29	*Sally*	Geo. Evans	Cape Mount [4]	296	Thos.-Loughton and Roger Smith
" "	" "	*Shelburne*	Jas. Clark	Senegal	138	Thos.-Loughton and Roger Smith
" 30	" 30	*Charming Polly*	Jas. Robinson	Antigua	40	Torrans, Poaug, and Co.
Apr. 6	Apr. 13	*Squirrel* [5]	Thos. Fisher	Gambia	114	Brewton, Doyley, and Brewton
" "	" 17	*Royal George*	Thos. Blundell	Angola	360	Brewton, Doyley, and Brewton
" "	" 13			Guinea	40 [6]	Ed. Lightwood
" "	" "	*Corker*	John Allenby	Gambia	127	Thos.-Loughton and Roger Smith
" 27	May 3	*Neptune*	Ebenezer Price	Anamabo	340	Brewton, Doyley, and Brewton
" "	" 17	*Fly*	Alex. Taylor	Grain Coast	130	Inglis and Hall [7]
May 4	" 10	*James*	Henry Billings	Cape Mount [8]	300	Brewton, Doyley, and Brewton
" "	" 9	*Aston*	James Caird [9]	Gambia	126	Edmund Head [10]
" "	" 10	*Countess of Sussex*	Thos. Davies [11]	"	250	John Chapman and Co. [12]
" 11	" 17	*Shark*	John Ashburn	Gabon Coast		Robert Smyth [12]
" 18	" 24	*Jenny*	Rich. Webster	Rice and Grain Coast	200	John Edwards
" "	" "	"	" "	" " " "	11	Nath. Russell
" 25	June 6	*Lilly*	—— Scrogham	Bassa [13]	120	John Chapman and Co.
June 1	" 7	*St. John*	John Clifton	Angola	216 [14]	Thos.-Loughton and Roger Smith
" 5	" 14	*Harriat*	Thos. Rymer	West Coast	157	Thos.-Loughton and Roger Smith
" "	" "	*Mercury*	—— Maxwell	Angola	252	Brewton, Doyley, and Brewton
" 15	" 26	*King George*	Wm. Graham	Bance Island	120 [15]	Thos.-Loughton and Roger Smith
" 22	" 27	*Edgar*	Henry Madden	Africa	275 [16]	Brewton, Doyley, and Brewton
" "	July 13	*Jenny*	Richard Webster		20	Prioleau, jr. [17]
July 27	Aug. 3	*Dembia*	Francis Bare	Sierra Leone	[illegible] [18]	[illegible]

Aug. 31	Sept. 7	*John*	John Fletcher	Windward and Gold Coast	280	Brewton, Doyley, and Brewton
Sept. 14	" 25	*Cato*	Wm. Gill	Benin	210[19]	Robert Smyth

[303] [1] Prime slaves, among whom is an "excellent house wench".

[2] "New negroes", will exchange for rice.

[3] "Being picked out of three large cargoes lately arrived from the Coast."

[4] "Cape Mount, (a Rice Country) on the Windward Coast, after a short passage of five weeks." This cargo was the property of Henry Bright of Bristol.

[5] "N. B. This is not the Vessel that had the Small Pox on board."

[6] "Forty Remarkably Fine Negro Women."

[7] "To Be Sold in the Town of Savannah."

[8] "On the West Coast, which is in the Center of a Rice Country."

[9] The notice of entry of this vessel gave the captain as James Aston, which was probably a mistake, as the *Gazette* of May 25 contained the notice of the death of James Caird, master of the *Aston* of Liverpool.

[10] "In the Yard of the House possessed by Mr. John Narney, the South End of the Bay."

[11] "The Small-Pox having made its appearance on some of the Negroes on board the vessel, soon after she left the coast, the remainder were immediately inoculated, and at the time of her arrival here, on the 31st of March last, only six had then the disorder, and they upon the recovery; Every necessary precaution hath since been taken, to cleanse both ship and cargo, and no danger from infection can be justly apprehended."

[12] "Bills of Exchange on London will be accepted as cash."

[13] "On the Windward Coast of Africa." The care which advertisers took to see that potential buyers knew the region of Africa from which cargoes came, is noticeable throughout the entire history of the South Carolina trade.

[14] "Upwards of 110 of the above Slaves, are Likely Young Men."

[15] "To Be Sold, On Monday the 26th Instant, A remarkable fine healthy Cargo of Negroes, Chose from the Factory at Bance Island, Consisting of One Hundred and Twenty stout able Men and Women, and Thirty likely Boys and Girls, from 10 to 15 years of age; arrived yesterday, in the ship *King-George*, Capt. William Graham, after a very short passage, by THOMAS-L. and ROGER SMITH. The above Slaves are from a country much esteemed and not inferior to any imported."

[16] "One half of this cargo are Boys and Girls."

[17] "To Be Sold at auction, at the usual place in Charles-Town, on Thursday the 13th July next, at eleven o'clock, for ready money; Twenty Valuable Negroes, (Lately imported in the ship *Jenny*, Richard Webster, Master, from Africa) Belonging to the estate of Thomas Fowler, deceased: most part of them can speak English, having been the property of the said Thomas Fowler, for some years past, on the Rice or Grain Coast, *viz*, two men, five women, twelve boys, from 12 to 18 years of age, and one girl. N. B. Three of the above boys are bound to Mr. Paul Pritchard, shipwright, for five years, and two for seven years, which must be sold under that incumbrance, and at the risk of the purchaser. SAMUEL PRIOLEAU, jun. and Comp."

[18] In the collection of papers relating to the slave trade owned by Mr. George Plimpton is a broadside announcing the sale of this cargo, and intended to be distributed through the country. "Charlestown, July 24th, 1769. To Be Sold, On Thursday the third Day of August next, A Cargo of Ninety-Four Prime, Healthy Negroes, Consisting of Thirty-nine Men, Fifteen Boys Twenty-four Women, and Sixteen Girls Just Arrived, In the Brigantine *Dambia*, Francis Bare, Master from Sierra Leon, by DAVID and JOHN DEAS."

[19] "All of whom have had the Small Pox." The *Gazette* of May 31, 1773, gives the importation for 1769 as 4612. From Jan. 1 to July 1, 4233 are reported. See *post*, no. 308, also no. 310.

304. Henry Laurens to Ross and Mill, 1769.[1]

11th March 1769.

per Capt. Bound
Ross and Mill, *London*

. . . Several small parcels of Negroes have been imported here from the West India Islands and the best of them have sold pretty well but there is generally a mixture of refuse Negroes amongst such and therefore after the very best are disposed of, the bulk remains often times upon hand and do not yeild great prices, therefore no opinion can be formed from such adventure what a fine Cargo directly from the Coast would sell for, and indeed from the despondency of many People here on Account of the late Revenue Laws, from whence many were or pretended to be resolv'd against purchasing Negroes [2] I have not thought it for your Interest to Give Capt. Gray any encouragement to come to this Market. If such resolution shall be formed and adhered to by the Planters your friends will have a very difficult Card to play in order to save you from very great Losses and in such case you may rely upon the most strenuous exertion of my abilities to serve you. but I hope our next intelligence from Great Britain will clear away the gloom which at present hangs on our minds, otherwise depend upon it necessity will drive us to wear our old Cloaths over again until new ones can be wrought from our own manufactures. this is the general voice of the People; a very sensible Publication lately appeared in one of our Gazettes dissuading the Planters from purchasing Negroes and I am told it is much regarded in the Country.[3] I shall observe what happens at the first large Sale and if the bent of the Planter is really against purchasing Negroes until better times come, shall write to every Island from Barbadoes downward to prevent if possible any of your Interest from coming hither. . . .

305. Henry Laurens to Ross and Mill, 1769.

31st March 1769.

per Capt. Simblet
Ross and Mill, *London*

Gentlemen, The preceding is duplicate of my last under the 11th Instant, since which two African Vessels directly from the Coast with

[304] [1] Laurens's letters for this year give little idea of the amount of importation going on. No longer actively engaged in it, he either knew less of its details or was less concerned to transmit them to foreign correspondents.

[2] This suggests that the non-importation agreement of July was already being informally discussed.

[3] It is possible that Laurens refers to the following sentence, which had appeared in the *Gazette* of Mar. 2: "A Calculation having been made of the Amount of the Purchase Money of Slaves expected here the present Year, it is computed at £270,000 Sterling, which Sum will by that Means be drained from this Province."

upwards of 400 Negroes arrived to Messrs. Thomas and Roger Smith. some wealthy young Planters, and family connexions purchased a good many at £300 for Men and £270 for Women but there were not so many planters appear'd as used in former days to appear at such Sales nor did they discover that eagerness for buying as might be expected from the abundance of their Crops and the high prices obtained for them and Mr. Smith fears that his Sales will not average much above £31 or £32 and yet both Cargoes were very fine and no House in Town more capable of Selling Negroes to advantage. Such Cargoes in the present prosperous state of our Planters if they had not been under the dread of New Taxes the weight of which they cannot judge of until the demand is made, would have gone off upon very different terms. indeed it may be said that many of them stand off in hopes of purchasing cheaper a Month or two hence and I believe there is truth in that observation, but it is as certain that all the most sensible people act with more caution and restrict their expenses more than they would otherwise do, on Account of the present attempts of the Ministry to burthen us with Taxes of every kind.

306. Henry Laurens to Henry Bright and Company, 1769.

2d June 1769.

per Capt. Blundell—with the papers mentio[n]ed therein
Henry Bright Esq and Co.
Owners of the Ship *Sally, Bristol*

. . . The second best Negro Man of the Nine Slaves imported in the *Sally* fell down from the Ship's Main Deck to the very bottom of a swept hold and after lingring a few days the poor Wretch died. one of the Survivors is a likely fellow, one a likely Man boy; one an ordinary Boy, one a Meagre sickly and elderly Man, two ordinary Young Women and two likely Girls. there are so many Negroes of various Cargoes remaining on the Merchants hands and often selling at Vendue that nobody will at present offer prime Cost for yours. I have therefore sent them into the Country, shall recruit them and they will be a little Seasoned and then perhaps somebody may buy them. There are two of them that would not by a forced Sale yeild £10. Stg. per head.[1] Your late project in demanding Remittances in the bottoms of your Guinea Men at stated periods will account for the unexpected low averages at our Market. our Merchants here are by no means to blame,

[306] [1] Laurens was apparently lending assistance to Thomas-Loughton and Roger Smith in disposing of the unsold residuum of the *Sally's* cargo, despite his positive statement that he had wholly retired from the African business. Laurens to Richard Millerson, June 3, 1769.

those on your side have forced such terms upon them and may ascribe the consequences to their own policy. in the days of A and L I used to reckon our Commissions on Sales and returns about 9 per Ct. and never would consent to fall into the Measures alluded to above altho I clearly saw some of my Neighbours pocket without risque 14 to 17 per Ct.[2] . . .

307. Henry Laurens to Oswald, Grant, and Company, 1769.

14th June 1769.

per Capt. Lowley
Oswald, Grant and Co., *London*

Gentlemen, Yesterday I received a Letter from Messrs. Knight and Davidson your Agents at Bance Island inclosing a Bill of Loading for 150 Slaves on board the Ship *King George,* William Graham Master, on your Account now arrived within this port, and in the Evening your much esteemed favour of the 5th April by the Packet together with a duplicate of the 23d January and an inclosed Letter all came to hand. I am under great obligations to you for these intended consignments and shall never think I can do too much to serve you in return, altho it is not in my power consistently with my regard for your Interest to reap the benefits of them. my present plan of business renders me incapable of selling Negroes to such advantage as I used to do. I live a little remote from town, am very often in the Country and by an inattention to mercantile affairs for some Years past have lost a great many of my old Country acquaintance but besides these impediments I am endeavouring to go to England some time in next Month and shall do so if I possibly can put my affairs in order to admit of my absence. I have therefore recommended this Cargo to the care of Messrs. Thos. L. and Roger Smith whose interest and connexions are such as enables them to make (in my opinion) the best Sales in Charlestown. I shall talk to them upon the head of remittances and make no doubt that everything will be done by them to give you satisfaction and as I have no Interest in the Sale directly or indirectly save only to serve you and them so I can speak to them with the greater freedom and Mr. Thos. Smith will be with you very soon after you receive this. he leaves in his absence two excellent substitutes his own and his Partner's Father.

Docter Gordon from on board the *King George* writes to me that five of the Slaves died on the Passage, the remainder much

[2] On Oct. 31 Laurens wrote that the negroes had brought £1426. 8. 8, or £400 more than if he had sold them at once. To what he had already written of the cargo he added: "a third poor pining creature hanged herself with a piece of a small Vine which shews that her carcass was not very weighty. . . . Who that views the above Picture can love the African trade?"

improved since they left Bance Island and in general very healthy.

When Capt. Stevens arrives you may depend upon my utmost endeavours to serve him in every respect and as he is very sensible and well acquainted with People here I shall put him in the way to make the most advantageous contract the times will admit of. I am told prime Negroes, say Men, sell quick at £300 per head others (ordinary ones excepted) in proportion.

308. News Item relating to Slave Trade, 1769.[1]

Upon examining the Imports of Negroes, from the year 1756 to 1766, it appears, that 23,743 were brought into this Province in that Period; the Medium of which is 2374 a Year; but if the last of those Years is taken off, (when 6701 were poured in upon us, on Account of the high Duty that was to take Place the Year following, and which did put an entire Stop to the Importation til last January) the Medium is then only 1894. From the 1st of January last to the 1st Instant, no less than 4233 have been imported, and near as many more, we hear, are expected, before the close of the Year, notwithstanding several Vessels that were intended here, have met, and will meet with Orders in the West-Indies, to sell there. There surely needs no Comment upon this; every Man's own mind must suggest the Consequences of such enormous Importations, in every view, especially at this Time.

309. Non-importation Agreement, 1769.[1]

July 22, 1769.

IV. That from and after the 1st Day of January, 1770, we will not Import, Buy, or Sell, any Negroes that shall be brought into this Province from Africa; nor after the 1st Day of October next, any Negroes that shall be imported from the West-Indies or Any Other Place, excepting Africa as aforesaid: And that, if any Negroes shall be sent to us, contrary to our Agreement in this Subscription, such Goods shall be Re-shipped or Stored, and Such Negroes Re-shipped from this Province, and not, By any Means, offered for Sale therein.

[308] [1] *S. C. Gazette,* July 6, 1769.

[309] [1] *S. C. Gazette,* May 3, 1770. In the original form in which the non-importation agreement appeared in the *Gazette* negroes were not mentioned, but the enlarged agreement presented to the meeting of Charleston inhabitants July 22, 1769, contained the paragraph here printed. The agreement was signed by 142 merchants and importers and enforced by a committee containing, among others, the following merchants: John Neufville, Daniel D'Oyley, Thomas Shirley, Peter Bacot, Roger Smith, and William Price (*ibid.*, July 27, 1769; *Boston News Letter*, Aug. 17, 1769). For an account of the controversies over the adoption of the agreement see McCrady. *Royal Government,* pp. 645-658; Sellers, *Charleston Business on the Eve of the Revolution*, pp. 203-209.

310. Lieutenant Governor William Bull to Secretary Hillsborough, 1769.[1]

December 6, 1769.

. . . The only Article of Import I shall mention is that of Negroes as they increase the means of Agriculture. Since the 1st of January last at which time expired the prohibition to import them 5435 negroes have been imported which being mostly Adults for immediate Service sold upon an average near £40 Sterling each amounting to the great sum of £200,000 sterling purchased in Africa chiefly by british merchants residing in London, Bristol and Liverpool.[2]

311. Henry Laurens to Ross and Mill, 1770.

14th April 1770.

per Capt. Chamberlain
Ross and Mill, *London*

. . . When I recommended the House of Messrs. T. L. and Roger Smith for the Sale of your African Cargoes be assured Gentlemen I had your Interest solely in view. I thought that from their connections and particularly from the great assistance, which they might have from their respective Fathers both in person and purse no House in Town was better qualified to make advantageous Sales. all that I have gain'd by it is ill Will from some who would gladly have given me a part of the Commissions for the business and downright ungrateful Language from one a Young Man [1] who used to live with me, to whom I have done every proper service in my power but could not think as he did, that he was equally well qualified to sell Negro Cargoes as more established Houses. I mention so much because it really grieves me to think that after such disinterested measures as I took to serve you, you have not received that satisfaction from the conduct of my friends which you had a good right to expect but I still hope Mr. T. L. Smith has explain'd the Account in such manner as to convince you that their was nothing unfair in the transactions of his House. I told you long ago that I did not approve the mode adopted for the Sale of Negroes in this Province, but if each party is satisfied at making the contract and the

[310] [1] Br. Trans., XXXII. 129. In a similar letter written by Bull to the Board of Trade, Dec. 5, he gives the number of negroes imported as 5438. *Ibid.*, XXXII. 122.

[2] This corresponds with the estimate in the *Gazette* of Mar. 29, 1770: "But for the General Resolutions entered into by the Inhabitants of this Province, it is computed, that the British Merchants would have drawn from us this Year, no less a Sum than Two Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling, for the Article of Slaves Alone, purchased chiefly with British Manufactures."

[311] [1] This may have been either Felix Warley, or Head, both of whom Laurens had befriended.

Selling party here complies with his or their engagements no blame can justly be laid to them. If you and I, had half an hours conversation I could I think I could put you in a way to have advantageous Sales made here and give a very acceptable Commission to your Factor.

I have not the least doubt but Negroes will sell extremely well here as soon as the market is open and if your first Cargo come under my care I will try to do you a piece of service by employing a friend (perhaps the same House) to sell it in the old way. . . .

312. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1770.[1]

May 3, 1770.

In the Brigt. *Tartar* Capt. McCall, (arrived here the 11th past from Jamaica) 40 Negroes were imported, which, agreeable to our Resolutions, must be re-shipped from this Province, and not, by any Means, offered for Sale therein. Another Parcel of Slaves arrived here last Tuesday, in the Ship *Africa,* Capt. Sewell, from Grenada, under the same Circumstances. And the Ship *Sally*, of Liverpoole, Capt. Evans, from Africa, arrived Yesterday, with 300 more.

May 10, 1770.

A Part of the Negroes lately imported here, are, Agreeable to the Resolutions, re-shipped from this Province, and gone for Georgia; whither the rest will soon follow.

May 17, 1770.[2]

Yesterday sailed for Georgia the Ship *Sally,* George Evans Master, which arrived here the 2d Instant, with 345 Slaves from the Coast of Africa. Captain Evans had been to Georgia by Land, and returned a few Days before the above General Meeting, where he attended, intending to propose "to stay her about two Months; to repair his Vessel, and see if any Change of Affairs might happen in his Favour; and to offer Security that he would not, in the mean Time sell any Part of his Cargo in this Province;" But when he saw the People assembled, he thought it most adviseable, to decline his intended Proposal, to fill his Water-Casks the Day following and Sail the next, with his whole Cargo, tho' he has no Prospect of a good Sale where he is gone.

[312] [1] *S. C. Gazette,* for the dates given. The first item also appears in the *Ga. Gazette*, May 10, 1770, and in the *Mass. Gazette and News Letter*, June 7. South Carolina apparently made a very genuine effort to enforce the agreement. The *Gazette* reports a meeting called Jan. 1 or before, to enquire of the committee "whether any negroes have been imported from the West-Indies since the 1st day of October last, and sold here; and by whom (if any) purchased?" (*S. C. Gazette,* Dec. 21, 1769). In March "a meeting of Merchants and Factors framed an agreement to prevent masters of vessels from importing and clandestinely selling goods, wine and slaves". *Ibid.,* Mar. 8, 1770.

[2] In the Supplement to the *Gazette,* May 17, 1770.

If it is possible, that any Planter in this Province can be so destitute of public Virtue, as to countenance the unfeeling Merchants of Georgia (while they counter-act our Resolutions, and remain dead to every Thing but their own Interest) by purchasing Slaves in That Province, and introducing them over Land into This; he will do well to consider, that Every Slave so introduced, is liable to Seizure and Forfeiture, One Half to the Informer; that he will be so narrowly watched, even by his Brethren, as well as Overseers and others, that it will be almost impossible to secure one such Slave; and that there is a Resolution taken, to inflict the highest public Censure upon such Offenders, particularly and to treat them with a Contempt equal to the Atrociousness of the Offence—as Enemies to the Liberties of America.[3]

July 19, 1770.

We are informed, that a Seizure has already been made at Beaufort, Port-Royal, of some Negroes clandestinely brought into this Province, for not having paid the Duties and that three or four other Purchasers are obliged to conceal theirs, to avert the same Inconveniency, being narrowly watched by some Resolutioners.[4]

313. Nathaniel Russell to Aaron Lopez, 1770.[1]

Charlestown 28th May 1770.

Dear Sir, . . . the State of Markits here are much the same as when I wrote. Rice continues at 45/, here has been several Vessells with Negroes but none sold they are Oblig'd to carry them to Other Provinces most of them are gone to Georgia if they could be sold here they would command a very good Price at this time. . . .

314. Henry Laurens to John Holman, 1770.

8th Septem. 1770.

per Favour of Capt. Savery
John Holman, *Island of Delos, Africa*

. . . If you send any Slaves to this place consign'd to me, you may depend upon it, that I shall either sell them myself, or put them

[3] This paragraph was repeated in the *Gazette* of May 24.

[4] On Sept. 22 Laurens wrote to a Dominican correspondent: "The Negroe which you have sent cannot possibly be landed in this Province for several Reasons—perhaps Capt. Hoggat may find some Opportunity to dispose of him for immediate Exportation to some neighboring province—otherwise you must expect to see him return in the Vessel."

[313] [1] Newport Hist. Soc., Lopez Letter-Book, no. 631, p. 11. For further information concerning Russell and Lopez see this work, vol. III., index.

into such hands as will do you the most Service in the Sale and the most perfect Justice in every Respect, but send none but young ones. I don't mean Children, when a small parcel of old or ordinary Slaves come to hand it is exceedingly difficult to dispose of them at any Rate. . . .

P. S. To Mr. Holman's Letter. I refer you to Capt. Savery for an Account of the Restriction laid on the Importation of Slaves into this province, by the Resolution of the people and it is my opinion that the Market will not be open again until April next, and that will depend entirely on the Repeal of certain Acts of Parliament, which we Americans complain of as unjust, oppressive and unconstitutional—and if you come to reside here, you will thank us for the bold opposition—which Duty to our latest posterity has obliged us to make against a Ministry who after having drained the Wealth of G. Britain and Ireland are endeavouring to subject America to the payment of pensions for their mignions of both sides. But we will not bow.[1]

[314] [1] On Sept. 10 Laurens wrote to Richard Oswald: "these Resolutions remain a Bar to the Importation of Negroes. . . . Our planters are out of Debt and in general have large Funds for purchasing Negroes, which they will do very eagerly whenever an Importation takes place." On Sept. 29 he wrote to Alexander, James, and Evan Baillie of St. Christopher: "Negroes would make not only a saving but a gainful Remittance if our Resolutions did not prohibit the Importation . . . Whenever the parliament will enable us to depart from our present Resolutions, you may depend upon it that our Market will be the best in America for fine Negroes." News of the defection of Rhode Island reached Charleston in the summer. Later, word arrived that New York and Pennsylvania had abandoned the agreement. At a general meeting held Dec. 13 the inhabitants of Charleston declared non-importation at an end. McCrady, *Royal Government,* p. 679.

315. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1771.

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Feb. 7	Feb. 16	*Greyhound*	Geo. Catton		40[1]	John Darrell
" "	" "	"	" "	St. Kitts	39	Sam. Prioleau, jr.
Apr. 4	Apr. 11	*Ottley*	Wm. Higgs	Antigua and St. Kitts	80[2]	Geo. Smith
" "	" "	*Friendship*	John Wooster	Africa	105[3]	Elias Vanderhorst and Felix Warley
" "	" 15	*Benjamin*	Nat. Dickinson	Barbados	92	Ed. Lake and Savage and Legare
" 25	May 7	*Aurora*	Sam. Spinks	Barbados (Gold Coast)	80	John Edwards and Co.
May 2	" "	*Adventure*	Clement Conyers	Antigua	49[4]	Geo. Smith / Smith and Darrell
" 30	June 11	*Hector*	Wm. Lewellin	Angola	280	Miles Brewton
" "	" "	*New Britannia*	Stephen Deane	Gambia	90	" "
June 6	" 19	*Betsey*	Wm. Morgan	Angola[5]	280	" "
" "	" "	*Saville*	Jas. Kendall	Sierra Leone	172[6]	Andrew Lord
" 27	July 9	*Sally*	Geo. Evans	Cape Mount[7]	290	Thos.-Loughton and Roger Smith
July 25	" 30	*Bance Island*	Geo. Smith	Sierre Leone[8]	230	Alex. Inglis, Nath. Hall
Aug. 1	Aug. 13	*Mars*	F. Holland	Windward Coast	200	Powell, Hopton, and Co.
Sept. 5	Sept. 10	*Two Brothers*	Hugh Glen	Gambia	200	Andrew Lord
" "	" 17	*Bance Island*	James Tosh	Bance Island	118[9]	Thos.-Loughton and Roger Smith
Oct. 3	Oct. 15	*Gambia*	Jas. Willis	Gambia	133	Powell, Hopton, and Co.
" 17	" 22	*Warren*	John Thompson	Sierra Leone	120	" " " "
Dec. 5	Dec. 24	*Friendship*	John Wooster	Barbados	90	John Edwards and Elias Vanderhorst

[315] [1] "At Roper's Wharf, for present Payment either in Cash, Rice, or Bills of Exchange on London . . . . consisting of Men and Women from the Age of Fifteen to Twenty-Four Years who have had the Small Pox in their Country." The first sale of these negroes was apparently not successful, for on Feb. 28 and Mar. 7 the following advertisement appeared in the *Gazette*: "To be Sold, either for Cash, Rice, or Pork, At Colonel Beale's Wharf, Twenty New Negroes, consisting of Men and Women, from 15 to 25 Years of Age, who have had the Small-Pox in Guiney, just imported in the *Greyhound,* George Katon, Master."

[2] "Picked out of a large cargo."

[3] "Being chiefly of the Coromantee and Fantee Country, or what are commonly called Guiney Negroes, just imported . . . in the Yard of Mr. Robert Dillon's House in Broad Street."

[4] From the Windward Coast, 25 men, 5 women, 13 boys, 6 girls.

[5] "Mostly of the Masse-Congo country, and are esteemed equal to the Gold Coast and Gambia slaves."

[6] "Not one sick on Board . . . in seven Weeks and three Days." [7] "A Rice Country on the Windward Coast."

[8] "Being the Choice of the Factory at Bance Island." This sale was to take place in Savannah, not in Charleston. "Yesterday Mr. Waldron, one of our Pilots, spoke with the Snow *Bance Island,* George Smith Master, from Sierra-Leon, with Slaves, bound for Georgia, all well on board" (*S. C. Gazette*, July 18, 1771). The *Gazette* (May 9, 1771) also reported the arrival in Savannah of 120 slaves in May.

[9] "Being chosen for a particular Purpose from the Factory." The vessel bringing this cargo was not the *Bance Island,* which had come

316. Henry Laurens to Richard Oswald, 1771.

4th February 1771.

per Capt. Ball
Richard Oswald, *London*

Dear Sir, I was informed this morning by an accident, that a Snow which had delivered Negroes at St. Augustine and had been laying off the Bar of that place had been driven from her Anchors and was put into our Port in distress. it struck me immediately that she belonged to you and therefore thought it my duty to make some further enquiry.

I find her to be the *Charlotte* or *Charlotta,* James Tosh Master, that Capt. Tosh had landed 115 good Slaves at St. Augustine and was on shoar there with them, that he left the Pilot on board with orders to carry the Vessel into Port if possible; she had been at Anchor six days without an opportunity of going in, when a Gale of Wind drove her from all her Anchors which together with two of her cables are in all probability totally lost. the Mate Joshua Fox says he attempted to go into Tybee but finding it impracticable he bore away and with some difficulty (for we have had extreme tempestuous weather) he Entered this Port safely. the Vessel must have two or three New Anchors with Cables and Halsers and all her upper works require caulking which shall be done with dispatch and frugality and she may be in readiness for Sea when the Master arrives here. a small Vessel is to sail for Augustine to morrow and I shall embrace that opportunity for writing to Capt Tosh and he in all probability will be here in the course of this Month.[1] the Vessel has not one White Seaman, the Mate excepted, on board, and it will take up a fortnight to put her in order for Sea, therefore I think upon the whole it will be best to detain her in Port until the Master shall arrive or transmit orders to his mate. I understand from the latter that the Snow is to return directly to Bance Island, if that is the case I shall advise the master to take from hence a few articles which may be wanted at the Factory or may be disposed of on Your Account to advantage.

Mr. Gervais is now in Town with his little Crop of Indigo. he hopes to remit you One hundred Pounds Sterling and will give such security for the Balance of his Account as you require. I hear your *Bance Island* is on her Passage hither, if she brings a fine Cargo of Negroes you may expect to have a good account of the Sale barring a declaration of War and a greater fall in the price of Rice which is now at 45/ per Cwt.

[316] [1] On Mar. 8 Laurens wrote that Captain Tosh had arrived five or six days before that date. The *Gazette*, Mar. 7, 1771, reported the arrival of this vessel in Africa. See introduction, p. 245n.

317. Henry Laurens to John Hopton, 1771.

8th April 1771.

per Capt. Baker
John Hopton

In order the more effectually, to enable you to make offers and accept the Sale of African Cargoes We hereby bind ourselves, to become your Sureties in the Sum of Ten Thousand Pounds Sterling for due Performance of any Contract which you may make for the Sale of such Cargoes, assuring our Friends generally and particularly Richard Oswald Esqr., Oswald, Grant and Co., Proprietors of Bance Island, and Messrs. Ross and Mill in London that we think you in all Respects capable of rendering as good Accounts of Sales for Negroes as any Gentleman in Charles Town, of your Age and Experience—to which you and those Friends who shall be pleased to intrust you, may depend upon the additional aid of [1]

318. Henry Laurens to Richard Oswald, 1771.

28th May 1771.

Per Capt. Alexander
Richard Oswald, Esquire, *London*

. . . My Son John will, if he lives, Sail for England some day in next Month. I am endeavouring to accompany him and hope to accomplish my wish and gratify the desires of my best friends, in such case I shall see none of your Guinea Men but I shall leave such directions as may be useful to the Master or Masters of them. a Cargo of 110 Negroes amongst whom were no less than 37 Boys and Girls was lately consign'd to me, I transfer'd the favour into the hands of a Neighbor who had been unfortunate and a young Gentleman who still lives in my House and became their Security.[1] they tell me that their Sale averages £275. 13. 4 Each—700 per Cent—and their latest remittance 9 Months. . . .

319. Henry Laurens to William Cowles and Company, 1771.

29th May 1771.

per Capt. Alexander
William Cowles and Co. *Bristol*

Gentlemen, In order to serve a neighbor of mine and a Young Gentleman who has lived with me some Years, and behaved very well, I became their security for an African Vessel which they under-

[317] [1] Signed "W. H." and "H. L."
[318] [1] Elias Vanderhorst and Felix Warley, who sold the cargo of the *Friendship*. On Apr. 20 Laurens had written that several parcels from the West Indies had sold at great prices, sometimes averaging as much as £40 stg.

took to dispose of in this Port, and further to serve them and to satisfy the other Party, I drew in terms of their engagement for Balance (I believe) of their Account, on you payable in London to their Order *Vizt.* to the order of Elias Vanderhorst and Felix Warley in three sets dated 23d. 24th. 25th. Inst. at Three, Six and Nine Months sight for One Thousand and Ninety six Pounds each set—say £1096 Sterling each set—which Bills I recommend to your favor for acceptance, and desire you to Charge the Amount under the title of Elias Vanderhorst and Felix Warley or any other, distinct and separate from my ordinary Accot. with you, and you may be assured that you shall be put in Cash time enough to discharge each Bill on the day it shall fall due—for it is my intention while I serve those Gentlemen without any motive of gain to myself—to give you no other trouble than to accept and pay the Bills with their money, and to draw the customary Commission and Postage. . . .

320. John Hopton to Richard Oswald, 1771.[1]

6th Septem. 1771.

per Capt. Turner of the Ship *Carolina* Packet

Richard Oswald, *London*

Sir, Your much esteem'd favour to Mr. Laurens of the 25th May last came safe to hand a few days after His departure from this. He is gone to the Northward with his Elder and Younger Sons, and from thence He intends to accompany them to England, where he expects to be by the latter end of the next Month, but left directions with me relative to your Guinea Men in case they should arrive, in what manner I was to proceed.

Yesterday afternoon Capt. James Tosh in your Snow *Charlotte* arrived here in eight weeks from Bance Island with a Cargo of 118 as likely and healthy young Negroes as ever were seen in this Province. I immediately after perusing your Instructions to the Captain and agreeable to Mr. Laurens's orders to me; waited on Messrs. Thomas Loughton and Roger Smith to make them the offer of the Cargo which they readily accepted of and promised to do all the needful for your Interest.

I am informed that your *Bance Island* arrived at Georgia upwards of seven Weeks past and Sold her Cargo very well. I am in hopes that this Cargo will turn out full as well.

[320] [1] The next day the same writer reported to James Burnett of Jamaica the difficulty he had encountered in disposing of a small cargo from Jamaica on which he had been obliged to pay the £60 (£50 plus £10) duty on seasoned negroes. On Sept. 21 he wrote to Oswald that the cargo of the *Charlotte* had been sold on the 17th.

321. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1772.

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Apr. 23	Apr. 28	*Prince George*	Thos. Davis	Windward or Grain Coast	123	Powell, Hopton, and Co.[1]
May 7	May 14	*Mary*	Wm. Laverdy	Sierra Leone	197	Andrew Lord
" "	" 15	*Molly*	John Moore	Gambia	101	" "[2]
June 4	June 11	*Betsey Hendy*	John Dow		140	Edwards, Fisher and Co.[3]
" 11	" 19	*Two Brothers*	Hugh Glen	Gambia[4]	203	Andrew Lord
" 18	" 20	*Henrieta*	Benj. Steel	Windward Coast	98	Ed. Blake
" "	" 30	*New Britannia*	—— Deane	Gambia	220	Miles Brewton
" "	" 26	*Apollo*	Ed. Fisher	Cape Mount	147	Powell, Hopton, and Co.
July 2	July 9	Sh. *Friendship*	Jas. Cuming	Gold Coast	350	Miles Brewton
" "	" 6	*Africa*	—— Wallace	Sierra Leone	218	John Lewis Gervais
" "	" 8	*B. Friendship*	Rich. Wooster	Barbados	110[5]	Alex. Rose
" 9	" 23	*Fly*	Eglesfield Griffith	Grain Coast	138	Inglis and Lloyd
" 30	Aug. 5	*Beggar's Benison*	David Dunn	Cape Coast	100	David and John Deas
" "	" "	*Unity*	Robt. Norris	Whydah[6]	315	Powell, Hopton, and Co.
Aug. 10	" 18	*Thomas and Anthony*	Solomon Gibbs	Gambia	200	Wm. Somarsall
Sept. 3	Sept. 15	*Betsey*	Wm. Morgan	Angola	285	Miles Brewton
" 10	" 25	*Lovely Jenny*	Lawrence Harvey		100	Ed. Fisher and Co.
" 17	" "			Barbados	45	Ed. Blake and Sam. Legare
Oct. 15	Oct. 21	*Content*	Downing Wilkinson	Barbados (Angola)	116	Ed. Fisher and Co. and Ed. Blake
" "	" "			Gold Coast	20	Savage and Legare
" "	" 21	*Suky and Nancy*	Thos. Newbold	" "	120	Ed. Lightwood and Thos. Eveleigh
" 29	Nov. 5	*Hector*	—— Lewellin	Angola	300	Miles Brewton
Nov. 5	" 13	*Warren*	John Thompson	Sierra Leone[7]	130	Powell, Hopton, and Co.
" "	" 12	*Jamaica* Packet	John Young		19	Wm. Hinckley
" 12	" 14	*Eloisa*	John Foster	Antigua	30	John Simpson and Co.
Dec. 24	Jan. 5	*Providence*	Ramsay	St. Kitts	25	David and John Deas

[321] [1] "No Preference will be given before the Day of Sale."
[2] "Twelve Months Credit (without Interest) will be given."
[3] "Proper Allowance will be made for Cash, and good Bills of Exchange which will be taken at Par."
[4] "A Rice Country." Both Andrew Lord and Edward Blake offer three months' credit without interest. The *Two Brothers* was regarded as having made a remarkably quick voyage, as it was but four months out from England.
[5] "Being the First Choice of a Cargo of Five Hundred which came in a very short Passage from the Coast to Barbados"; Negroes of the "Coromantee and Fantee Countries".
[6] "N. B. Whidah is esteemed to be the finest Country in Africa and Slaves from thence, usually sell in all the West-India Islands. for Five Pounds Sterling per Head more than Negroes of any other Country."

322. John Hopton to James Burnett, 1772.

22 January 1772.

per Mr. McDuffy
James Burnett, *Jamaica*

Sir, The beginning of this present month I had the pleasure to receive your much esteem'd favour of the 28th October, and I am truly sorry, that the amount of the Negroes which I had Sold and mentioned to you in my last of the 7th September, did not answer your expectation, but I do assure you upon my honor that my endeavours were not wanting in order to render an Advantageous Sale of said Slaves; and were they my own property I could not have done more in the disposal of them, than I have done for you or the proprietor, for the people here as I mentioned to you before, seem prejudiced against West India Negroes, that, with the heavy Duty laid on all season'd Slaves imported into this Province, have been a means of lessening the Value of them prodigiously.

Please now to receive under this cover an Account Sale of the said Negroes, Net Proceed of which is £930. 7. 8 Current money, together with an Account Current annexed finally balanced (free of Commission) by my Bill of this date on John Tarleton Esquire,[1] Leverpoole, Payable in London to the order of Charles Jackman Esquire, £137 Sterling at 679 per Cr. Each and remitted to him this day agreeable to your request—per the *Swallow* Packet, William Copeland, Esquire Commander.

You will also receive inclosed, the separate Doctors Bills for the cure of Rosetta which I send in order that you, or the Proprietor of said Wench may be better convinced of the Condition She must have been in, for to remain so long a time under their hands as to raise such extravagant Accounts before she was perfectly cured. These Charges also helps to prejudice the Value of the Negroes very much. Doctor Tucker who was the first person employed for this Negro Woman at her arrival attended and sent medicines for her for at least two Months and at the end thereof, She seem'd to complain of her Disorder as much as ever. She was really disagreeable about our House and as the Doctor would not take her to his own house, where in fact she should have been at first I was obliged to send her to the Hospital here and put her under two other Practitioners in order that they might perfect the cure of her as speedily as possible. There the said Wench remain'd upwards of two Months more before she was well enough to be discharged. I would have sent you the Sales of the Negroes before now but was deprived by the

[322] [1] See this work, vol. III., index.

long Illness of Rosetta who I was fortunate enough to Sell, I think extremely well, considering her late circumstances.

With regard to the Entry of these Negroes as season'd Slaves, in which you apprehend the Captains were in fault, I will relate to you in as few words as I possibly can, to shew that they are blameless. Capt. Newbold by whom I received the first Two Wenches was obliged by his Owners here to have them Enter'd as Season'd Slaves. Capt. Henry who brought in the last, had Enter'd them as New Negroes, but as I knew they were not and that had Mr. Laurens been on the spot at the time he would not have received them before they were properly Enter'd, I therefore consulted some of his friends here about them, who advised me by all means not to take Charge of said Negroes without I intend to Enter them as season'd as they are liable to be seized at any time within the course of a Twelve Months. in consequence of their advice I received and Enter'd the said Negroes as season'd and paid the Duty accordingly. I am fully convinced of the hardship 'tis to the Proprietor of them and I am heartily sorry that it was not in my power to render a more pleasing Account Sale. Turpentine is very scarce just now and not to be had without paying an extravagant price of 20 per Ct. which is too high for your Market, otherwise I would have remitted you the Net Proceed of said Negroes in that commodity. I am greatly obliged to you for your kind offers of service to me and I shall at all times take great pleasure in rendering you those of mine.

323. Henry Laurens to James Laurens, 1772.

Bristol 6th Feby. 1772.

Sent to Mr Snoxell
James Laurens, *Charles Town*

. . . I have already refused the Offers (unask'd by me) and without Security, of Negro Cargoes from three Houses, and have not yet been at Leverpoole or Lancaster. might I not accumulate Business, if I was to lay out for it? but these Branches, the most profitable, I have quitted to people who are more eager for them. You know that I have given up many Thousands of pounds, which I might have added to my Stock in that way.[1] . . .

[323] [1] On Feb. 3 Laurens wrote to Felix Warley in the same vein, evidently greatly pleased with his treatment in England: "Mr. Oswald will send his African Ships to me, or to whomever I please. The mayor of Bristol [probably Henry Bright, who was mayor in 1771] says, Mr. Laurens, I have a Ship with Five hundred and fifty Negroes going to Carolina—will you have her? or who will you advise me to send her to—and if I was to lay myself out for the purpose I might obtain many other such offers."

324. Henry Laurens to Samuel Brailsford, 1772.

Westminster 25th Feby. 1772.

Samuel Brailsford, *Bristol*

. . . I must inform you, what I have learn'd from Mr. Oswald, of Mr. Hopton's addresses to him, and his answers relative to the Consignment of his African Vessels at Charles Town

Mr. Oswald says, that upon Mr. Hopton's first Application, and shewing a Letter of Credit from me, he received him with proper marks of Respect that when Mr. Hopton introduced the African Trade into Conversation he replied, that such Ships as he should send to Carolina, should always go to Mr. Laurens, and that he might do as he pleased with them that Mr. Hopton call'd upon him a second time, and then ask'd him or to use Mr. Oswald's very words seemed to wish that he would consign such African Vessels as had been talk'd of, to the House, in which he was newly concern'd.[1] But Mr. Oswald was not very well pleased with such importunity and declined or refused it. this is what Mr. Oswald has inform'd me of, after taking time to recollect what had pass'd, with the assistance of Mr. Herries his partner, and Mrs. Oswald, who were present, and it seems to be fully confirm'd by Mr. Hopton's Letter to me of the 22d May 1771—which I here inclose, for your perusal—added to this paragraph as below *—and had been never so much inclined, to have complimented my own Brother with the Sale of the Cargo, I do not think that I could have done so, consistently with honour, because Mr. Oswald in the earliest Advice of his Intention, to send an African Vessel to Carolina, had mentioned the name of Thos. Ln. [Loughton] Smith, as an alternative in case of my Refusal, and I believe had taken Security from Mr. Nutt on his Account in consequence thereof I had informed Mr. Smith, some time before I left the province, that such Guinea Men would probably fall into his hands. Mr. Oswald view'd the Credit which in Conjunction with the elder Mr. Hopton, I had given to the younger Mr. Hopton, in its true Light as a means of introducing him into Business, as opportunities should offer but not by any means, as even intimating a Resignation of any Branch of Business on my part.

If therefore, he told you, that I had resign'd or intended to resign Business in his favour, and that Mr. Oswald had promised him any of his African Consignments, I am sure he was mistaken, in the former, and there appears from the above Representation, the highest probability of his being also mistaken in the latter. . . . Mr. Oswald has not determined, to whom he shall consign his Ships, the present Year. his Partner Mr. Herries tells me that Mr. Nutt has

[324] [1] Probably Powell, Hopton, and Co., whose first advertisement appeared in the *Gazette* of Aug. 1, 1771.

long since been about him, on Account of Mr. Thos. Ln. Smith, and I am persuaded that you are a Man of too much Generosity, to desire to interpose to his Disadvantage, considering he transacted the Business last year, made good Sales, and gave Satisfaction, but Mr. Oswald himself, gave me no Opportunity of mentioning any Name or House, before he at our first meeting had told me, he had an inclination to try the Abilities of a Gentleman in Carolina, sent and recommended there by himself, and in which plan he is so particularly interested, as seems fairly to supercede all other Considerations. what therefore he will finally determine upon, I shall know some time in the Course of this Month.[2] . . .

* if I had told Mr. Hopton that I had resigned or intended to resign business in his favour, he would not have admitted (as he did in that letter) the possibility or probability of my selling Mr. Oswald's African Cargo. if Mr. Oswald had given Mr. Hopton any assurance that such Cargoes should fall into his hands next to mine, in the event of my refusal to sell them, neither you nor I can doubt, but that Mr. Hopton would have inform'd me thereof in words much more explicit than those in which he has now, as it were, recommended the House you had taken him into as being capable "of doing such business upon at least as good terms as any other". this general recommendation, without claiming a preference (much less any preference from promises, which had never been made on my side) was pertinent and proper from him to me, and in due time, it should and would have produced some good effects, all the good effects that could reasonably have been hoped for. I am sincerely grieved at his miscarriage, by going beyond that style, when he introduced himself to you, but with respect to that African Vessel of Mr. Oswald's, which did arrive at Charles Town and the other if she had arrived; if I had been on the Spot.[3]

325. Henry Laurens to John Lewis Gervais, 1772.

Westminster, 28th Feby. 1772.

Per Truman from Bristol
John Lewis Gervais, Esqr. *Herenhausen*

. . . You will find under Cover hereof, a Letter from that Gentleman [Mr. Oswald], advising you of a Consignment of Negroes for the Sale of which, and Dispatch of the Vessel to Africa again it will be necessary for you to make immediately provision—that is

[2] The reference is to John Lewis Gervais, who had been recommended by Oswald to Laurens in 1764.

[3] At this point the letter abruptly ends.

to say as to the 1st pt. Apply to your good Friend Mr. Trapier, and to Collo. Heyward and to every other Friend who can be of Service to you, in the Country and inform them in a proper way of your expectation. The Messrs. Bales and Messrs. Harlestons and many others of my old Friends, you may speak to, with good Success, by taking a casual Ride Round to Mepkin [1] but I need not tell you, that barely mentioning that you expect soon, to have a Cargo or two, of Negroes, from the Windward Coast for Sale, and that you shall be glad to have an Opportunity of serving their Wants, will be sufficient and perhaps prevent Inconveniencies, which sometimes follow pressing Intreaties. to Mr. Trapier, you may write fully, it will be in his Power to retain and recommend a great many valuable purchasers, and I make no doubt, but that he will appear at any of your Sales, and give you the most friendly and effectual Assistance. Mr. Manigault and my Brother, will leave no reasonable thing in their power undone to assist you in Charles Town and there you have also many other Friends, of your own and mine to apply to, as you shall see occasion. Mr. Warley will be ready to help you in every Article, from the Arrival of the Vessel, to the Completion of the Sale, and Reloading; for which you may compliment him, if you please, with fifty or Sixty Guineas, on each Vessel and no more. I take the Liberty of restricting this, because I have thrown very handsome Commissions, already in his way—and shall have Opportunities of doing more for him—and because I wish the Commission on Mr. Oswald's Vessel or Vessels to be as ample as the Cargoes will admit of, to your own Benefit. The measure lately adopted in Charles Town, for the Sale of Negroes, is to give three Months Credit, to Purchasers with Interest from the Date, in most Cases, I would recommend to you to pay no Regard to this Rule. endeavour to obtain full as good prices as any other House—as much Cash, and Bills of Exchange in payment, as you possibly can—and deal with each Man who shall require Credit, according to the Length of Credit required but none beyond four or six Months and you will in such Cases, either receive a price in proportion to the Credit, or include Interest from the Day, if you obtain no more than the ready Money price. the Old Accounts of Sale of Austin and Laurens'—which my Brother will readily put into your hands—will serve you as a Guide for modelling your Accounts. These are the best Hints I can at present give you for the Sale of a Cargo of Negroes. I should have included one, to be early, and extensive as possible, in Advertizing the whole Country of your intended Sale. But as the Alterations which are introduced into particular Branches of Trade from time to time

[325] [1] Mepkin was about thirty miles from Charleston, on the north bank of the Cooper River. Here Laurens had purchased an estate of three thousand acres in 1762. Wallace, *Laurens,* p. 125.

demand in many Instances, a Conformity to the Ruling Mode So you will receive what I have said under this Head, only as Hints and govern yourself finally by the Advice of your Friends on the Spot.

Now with regard to Remittances, I refer you likewise to the practice of Austin and Laurens; that House remitted, as the payments on each Sale of Negroes became due. I have suggested to Mr Oswald, that it may not be in your Power to comply exactly with such Terms, for want of such a Capital, as that on which they traded, to which he very generously replied, that he should not be at all uneasy on that head, but then on your part, You will observe, that if you are not able to remit, when the payments become due, The Interest arising on the Bonds, will certainly become, and ought to be remitted as the property of your Constituent. As it is a part of the Negro Contract for the Factor to stand to all bad Debts, so you will for your own Safety, call in the Debts as speedily as possible, and I hope, in such a prosperous Year as this is for the planters, You will be enabled to make a very large Remittance, soon after the Close of the Sale, from Cash and Bills, paid down by purchasers and that you may also, exchange many good Bonds for Bills on London, in which Mr. Manigault may be very assistant to you, and at the same time make an agreeable Exchange to himself. by all means endeavour to compleat your Remittances without Delay, for tho Mr. Oswald is pleased to say, that it is a matter of no great Consequence to him, whether the Remittances are made immediately or not, yet I know that nothing is more disagreeable than long depending Accounts, in America, and that no Man however large his Capital may be, will go chearfully into a new Years Account, before that of the old is settled. At whatever Rate of Discount you purchase Bills of Exchange remit them. the Advantage is fairly due to your Friend here. By observing these Rules, Your whole Commission may not be so large, as if you were to adopt some new Methods, but they will be large enough and probably increase. I proposed to Mr. Oswald to be your Security if he requir'd it, which he likewise generously declined. I need not say to a Man of your good Sense and Gratitude of Heart, that he is entitled to your best services. . . .

I hope you enter upon and go through the above intended Business with Credit to yourself and Satisfaction to Mr. Oswald and that your Plantation Affairs will be put into, and conducted by such hands as will admit of your Absence a few Months without Loss, and that next Year, you will repay that Gentn. all the Money advanced for you, and Interest thereon, but if it shall so happen, that from any Cause, you are incapable of undertaking the same then Mr. Manigault and my Brother to whom I shall write, and to whom I shall direct this Letter in your Absence will put Mr. Oswalds Ship or

Ships, into the hands of Gentlemen in Charles Town, who will do him Justice.[2] I wish they may find a House that will transact the Business on the same plan which Austin and Laurens used to do. Such House [and] our worthy Friend on this Side will be mutually benefited, and that is what he at present desires from you. If you transact the Business as I hope you will, guard against any Embarrassment to Mr. Oswald, in case of your Death, By entring and declaring all the Bonds [*illegible*] to the full Amount of his Balance to be his absolute Property and your Affairs to rest in the hands of Mr. Manigault and my Brother.[3] . . .

326. Henry Laurens to Gabriel Manigault, 1772.

Westminster 2d March 1772.

per Capt. Wm. Curling
Gabriel Manigault Esqr. *Charles Town*

. . . My worthy Friend Richd. Oswald Esqr. who first recommended Mr. Gervais to me in the Year 1764, lately proposed to make a Trial of his Abilities, in the Sale of one or more of his African Cargoes, in order to give him an Opportunity by Commissions arising from thence, to cancel a Debt for Money which Mr. Oswald had advanced; and if he Mr. Gervais acquits himself tolerably well in this Business, it will be attended with a present benefit of 1000 or 1500 Guineas to him, and may be the Foundation of large future Fortune.

When my worthy Friend first made this proposition to me, tho' I had before spoke very handsomely of Mr. Gervais's Character in general, yet it alarm'd me, with the appearance of being an Engagement, of too much Weight and Importance, for the Experience and Capital of my Friend on your Side, I therefore took the liberty to suggest to Mr. Oswald, that as Messrs. T and R Smith had given him Satisfaction, in the Sale of a Cargo which they made last year, it might be better for all parties, to address his Cargoes of the present Year, to those Gentlemen in such a manner, as would leave it optional to them, to act conjunctly with Mr. Gervais, upon Terms consistent with the Dignity and Honour of Merchants, or to relinquish to him. my Interposition in this Case pleas'd Mr. Oswald, and it

[2] Whether Gervais sold the cargo of the *Charlotte* we do not know; he advertised that of the *Africa* on July 2.

[3] This letter was accompanied by one to James Laurens, giving most explicit directions as to the course to be followed in case Gervais was unable or unwilling to undertake the sale of the cargo. He likewise wrote advising Felix Warley to do all in his power to aid Gervais. The Letter-Book also contains a long letter to Gervais, inscribed "not sent", which explains in great detail the reasons why a negro cargo was sent to him. From Laurens's change of mind about sending this letter one may surmise that he thought better of having the detailed circumstances known in Charleston, since the story reflected some discredit on a well-known Charleston house. An abbreviated account of the transaction is to be found in the letter which follows.

was his Intention to have address'd one half of about 400 Negroes in two Cargoes, or the largest of the two Cargoes to those Gentlemen. I happen'd to mention this Circumstance to Mr. John Nutt their correspondent, and as his own Interest was to have been concern'd in it, I did suppose that the Intelligence would have been very acceptable to him, but it fell out quite otherwise, he express'd much Dissatisfaction, and said he would speak to Mr. Oswald himself, to which I could have no reasonable objection, notwithstanding it seem'd to supercede my Interest with that Gentleman and my good Wishes for Messrs. Smith; accordingly, he applied to Mr. Oswald, and some part of his Address I believe disgusted my Friend, who does not love many Words—and induced him to send me a Note signifying his Determination to trust both Cargoes in Mr. Gervais's hands, upon the most generous Terms, without Security or particular Restrictions for Remittances. I beg leave to refer you to a letter which I have wrote to Mr. Gervais on this Subject, which he will lay before you. and now Good Sir! the Favour which I have to ask on his Behalf, is your friendly Advice and such Assistance to him, as you can render, without incommoding yourself, as Mr. Oswald introduced Mr. Gervais's name without the Addition of any other, altho' I knew he would consign his Vessels, to whomsoever I should desire, I would not venture to add the Name of Mr. Warley, nor indeed of my own Brother, lest there be the smallest Appearance of Self Interestedness on my Part; but you will see that I have desired Mr. Gervais to employ him, and to make some proper Consideration for his Trouble. Mr. Oswald has seen what I have wrote on this head; and has express'd great Satisfaction with the whole. . . .

327. Nathaniel Russell to Aaron Lopez, 1772.[1]

Charlestown [14] July 1772.

Dear Sir, . . . their has been a Great many negroes imported here this Summer and many more Expected; they continue at very Great Prices, a Cargo of 220 very Prime Slaves Averag'd Last week £52 Stlg. which is the highest ever known here, they are at Least £10 Stlg. higher here than in the West Indies notwithstanding they are much higher there than usual, if you should order a Cargo here Next Summer and favour me with the Sale of them I make no Doubt but I should give you satisfaction the Terms they are sold on this year

[327] [1] Newport Hist. Soc., Lopez Letter-Book, no. 633, p. 56. On June 6 John Hopton wrote to a Bristol firm: "Several Guinea Men having arrived lately has occasion'd a greater demand for Bills than was expected and should they continue to drop in as they have done for some days past, Bills will certainly be at par before long." Reference to the list of arriving vessels (*ante,* no. 321) shows that vessels continued to arrive frequently throughout the summer.

are Bills at 3, 6, 9, and 12 Months sight Remitted in the Bottom. . . .[2]

328. Nathaniel Russell to Aaron Lopez, 1772.[1]

Charlestown 1st Sept. 1772.

Dear Sir, . . . I am very sorry that I Did not acquaint you Earlier that slaves were Likely to be high here this Summer but no body Expected Last winter that they would have sold at the Prices they have done and now do, their has been about 3500 imported[2] and the Poorest Cargo Averaged £40 Stlg. and the Greatest part from £46 to £50, the Prices next year will Depend much on the price of the Present Crop, Negroes from 15 to 25 years of Age sute this market Best. . . .

329. John Hopton to John Holman, 1772.[1]

8th September 1772.

per Capt. Wallace of Ship *Africa*
John Holman, *Island of Delos, Africa*

Sir, Your favour of the 6th April last to Mr. Laurens I received with a Bill of Loading for 30 New Negroes per the Ship *Africa*, Capt. Wallace, Consign'd to him on your Account; but Mr. Laurens being in England His Attornies could not possibly comply with what you requested in your said Letter, therefore they thought it most proper for your Interest as Negroes were in great demand to put those of yours into the hands of John Lewis Gervais, Esquire, Merchant here, to be disposed of for your Account. Mr. Gervais informs me they average upwards of £45 Stg. per head, which is great and will no doubt be satisfactory to you. He intends to send you by this same conveyance an Account Sale of said Negroes together with your Account Current, the Balance of which he will if agreeable to you pay into the hands of Mr. Laurens on your Account at his arrival here, which is expected in about three months. . . .

330. Levinius Clarkson to William Neale, 1772.[1]

Charles Town So. Carolina Decer. 5th 1772.

Sir, I have already advised you of my determination of settling in this place chiefly with a view of transacting Business in the Com-

[2] On May 1 Russell had written to Lopez that prime slaves were selling at £360 and £370. Lopez Letter-Book, no. 632, p. 40.

[328] [1] Newport Hist. Soc., Lopez Letter-Book, no. 633, p. 71.

[2] The *Gazette*, Aug. 20, 1772, stated that 3076 new negroes had been imported since Oct. 30, 1771; that prime slaves had sold for double the price ten years earlier; and that the Virginians had petitioned to be allowed to restrict importation.

[329] [1] Laurens Letter-Book.

[330] [1] Library of Congress, Levinius Clarkson Letters. Addressed, "Mr. William Neale Merchant, London".

mission way, since that determination I have had from different Merchants offers of several Guineamen being address'd to me annually provided my Bills for their Cargoes were garanteed by any House in London of which they approv'd. Nothing is wanting to complete those Consignments but a support in England. The mode of disposing of those Slave Cargoes is this, Three Months Credit is given the Purchaser who gives his Bond (with Security if required) payable in that time, which bears 8 pC. Interest from the date until paid, and the Factor Charges a Commission of 10 pC. on the Sale, the Owners are paid for the Proceeds of their Cargoes in Bills of Exchange on London, If the proceeds of a Cargo amount to a considerable Sum (say £4000 Sterlg.) the Bills in payment thereof are divided into four sets, that is to say, the first set for £1000 is drawn at three Months sight, the second set six, third nine, and the fourth at twelve Months. therefore by depositing £1000 in your hands together with the £500 Credit my Father in Law [2] has given me on you will be sufficient to pay my first drafts supposing them to be more than above stated, which perhaps they may, and before the other three sets of Exchange become due I shall have it in my power, by receiving the purchase Money of the Slaves, and otherwise, to remit you in Rice and Indigo or Bills at a short sight their Amount and probably more, but admitting there shoud. not be in your hands Effects of mine sufficient to answer the second and third drafts I will allow you at the rate of 6. pC. Int't for whatever Sum you advance on my account, besides the usual Comn. for honoring my drafts, and for whatever Sum of mine that may be in your hands I shall expect to be allowed 5 pC. Int't which you know is customary. Upon the whole, shoud. this meet with your approbation, you will please by the earliest opportunity to advise Mr. Vanhorne that you will Guarantee or accept such Bills (mentioning to what amount) as I may in future draw on you, for the Proceeds of Guinea Cargoes which will be communicated by him to those Guinea Adventurers with whom he is acquainted, but before Mr. Vanhorne mentions it to them he shall see that £1000 Sterg. is deposited in your hands. Rice is now Sold at £3 and it is generally believd that it will be as low as 45/ before the end of next Month. Freights to Cowes and a Market £3—to London, £2:10 p T. and from the few Shipping in Port and the great Crops there is no doubt of their continuing high during the Season.[3]

[2] David Van Horne of New York, in 1764 a correspondent of Nicholas Brown of Providence, R. I. *New England Quarterly*, III. 491-492, n. 88.

[3] On Feb. 18, 1773, William Neale, in a letter to Van Horne, agreed to give Clarkson credit to the amount of £1000.

331. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1773.

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Feb. 8	Feb. 16	*Mary*	And. White	Gambia	300	Samuel Chollett [1]
Apr. 6	Apr. 14	*Sebenia*	James Clark	Senegal	200	Smith and Inglis, and Roger Smith
" "	" "	*Roseau*	Walter Clark	"		Smith and Inglis, and Roger Smith
" 12	" 19	*Cavendish*	Thos. Williams	Gambia and Gold Coast	300	Sam. Chollett
May 3	May 12	*Mentor*	Thos. Reynolds	St. Kitts	52 [2]	Miles Brewton
" "	" "	*Charlotte*	Thos. Powell	Sierra Leon	110 [3]	Andrew and Geo. Lord
" 24	June 1	*Blossom*	William Briggs	Cape Mounte	270	Robt., John, and J. Smyth
" 31	" 8	*Swift*	Step. Deane [4]	Gambia	65	Miles Brewton
" "	" "	*Liberty*	Geo. Crump	Whydah	175	Powell, Hopton, and Co.
" "	" "	*Stanley*	John Abson	Sierra Leon	155	" " " " [5]
" "	" "	*Africa*	Gavin Fraser	Africa	190	Inglis and Lloyd
" "	" 7	*Venus*	Thos. Goodwin	Gold Coast	350	Roger Smith and Alex. Inglis
" "	" 8	*Greyhound*	Terence O'Neal	Africa	130	" " " " "
" "	" "				160	Edwards, Fisher, and Co.
" "	" "	*Friendship*	And. MacKenzie	Gold Coast	140	John Simpson and Co.
" "	" "	*Thomas* [6]	Ed. Lyon	Angola	160	Edwards, Fisher and Co.
" "	" 11	*Robert*	Luke Mann	Gold Coast	130	Powell, Hopton, and Co.
" "	" "	*Little-Ben*	Thos. Milling	Windward Coast	106	" " " "
" "	" 8	*Gambia*	Jas. Willis	Gambia	170	Roger Smith and Alex. Inglis
" "	" 10	*Maesgwyn*	Windsor Brown	Anamabo	270	Powell, Hopton, and Co.

[331] [1] "The Terms of Payment will be made entirely agreeable to the Purchasers."

[2] "N. B. They are really the First Choice of a large Cargo the above Vessel brought from the Coast."

[3] "All in Perfect Health."

[4] "On Wednesday last arrived here, in the Sloop *Swift* from Gambia, Capt. Stephen Deane, late Master of the Snow *New Britannia*, whose Vessel was blown up, on the 24th of February last, in the River, with 236 Slaves, 96 Free Negroes, all his Crew, and one Capt. Thomas Davies, on board; himself and only one man more escaping, by their having providentially got into the Boat but a few Minutes before, to take up some Slaves who had thrown themselves over board." *S. C. Gazette*, May 31, 1773.

[5] "Both the above-mentioned Cargoes are directly from the Coast. The Slaves likely and in good Order."

[6] This is probably the vessel unnamed above.

[*Negroes imported into South Carolina*—continued:]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
June 14	June 23	*Fanny*	Benj. Hicks	Gold Coast	206[7]	Miles Brewton
" "	" 17	*Edward*	Henry Grayson	Africa	180	Powell, Hopton, and Co.
" "	" 23	*Hazard*	Jos. Hughes	Grain Coast	165	Robt., John, and J. Smyth
July 5	July 13	*York*	Robt. Wilson	Guinea	125	" " " " "
" "	" "	*Betty and Jenny*	Alex. Thomson	Gambia	180[8]	John Simpson and Co.
" 12	" 16	*Corsican Hero*	Clement Noble	Anamabo	210	Powell, Hopton, and Co.
" "	" "	*Molly*	John Read	Sierra Leone	100	" " " "
" "	" 20	*Betsy*	Wm. Morgan	Gambia	150	Miles Brewton
" 26	" 29	*John*	Jos. Montany	Sierra Leone	86	" "
" "	" "	*Hope*	John Tunnard	Gambia	100	Sam. Chollett[9]
" "	" 30	*Catharine*	James Fraser	Angola	200	John Neufville
Aug. 2	Aug. 11	*Jason*[10]	Geo. Merrick	"	200	Miles Brewton
" 16	" 25	*Two Brothers*	Hugh Glen	Gambia	160[11]	And. and Geo. Lord
" 23	" 26	*Heart of Oak*	Robt. Patterson	Senegal	104	Miles Brewton
Sept. 6	Sept. 10	*Nelly*	Jas. Maychel	Sierra Leone	180	Powell, Hopton, and Co.
" 13	" 21	*Briton*	Wm. Clift	Senegal	150	Roger Smith and Alex. Inglis
" 27	Oct. 1	*Hawke*	Thos. Ralph	Windward and Grain Coast	250	Robt., John, and J. Smith
" "	" 5	*Nancy*	Thos. Blower	Cape Mount	100	Edwards, Fisher, and Co.
" "	" 6	*King George*	Wm. Graham	Senegal	150	Miles Brewton
Nov. 8	Nov. 17	*Prudence* [*Providence*?]	Robt. Aynstie	Gambia	130	" "
" 22	Dec. 1	*Prince George*	Thos. Davis	Sierra Leone	80	Powell, Hopton, and Co.

[7] "N. B. Not one Sick Negro on Board."
[8] "Mostly Stout Young Men." This cargo made the passage in 33 days.
[9] The sale of this cargo was also announced for Aug. 20.
[10] The *Gazette* refers to the *Jason* as the "34th Guineaman to arrive this season". If that is the case the above list is not complete.
[11] "N. B. Only Two died on the Passage, and now not One Sick on Board."

332. Henry Laurens to John Lewis Gervais, 1773.[1]

Westminster 20th January 1773.

sent to Mr. Groube at *Falmouth*
Jno. Lewis Gervais, *Charles town*

. . . Mr. Oswald was withdrawing himself wholly from business, that therefore you could not depend upon a long continuance of African consignments from him. . . . you will receive the *Africa* again in May next and probably that worthless Wretch Wallace will be continued because they dare not discharge him in Africa.[2] Mr. Oswald is endeavoring to sell out his Interest in Bance Island, but he does not yet speak it publicly therefore it is between ourselves. when his hands are cleared from that engagement he will withdraw wholly from Trade and you will commend his resolution.

333. Henry Laurens to John Lewis Gervais, 1773.[1]

31st Jany. to 13 March, 1773.

per Capt. Gunn [2]
John Lewis Gervais, *South Carolina*

. . . Once I was at Messrs. B and C's [3] and was to have met them again by appointment to adjust some of their African engagements with Mr. Barber but the Doctor forbid me going abroad. I therefore, in addition to my sentiments delivered at the former meeting sent them a cautionary hint in a Note, against Warranting Remittances to be made at any fixed Exchange, which to make a proper Impression on them I said might be the Ruin of a Young House. I have for some Months past thought I foresaw the Trade of Carolina falling into difficulties the common consequences of great sudden prosperity. . . .

He [Oswald] has got your Letter of the 25th Decem., which has shewn me the foundation for certain applications by the Resident Partner of Capt. Wallace's Securities to our worthy friend for his African Consignments at two several times which he gave me intimations of. The attemp[t]s were ungenerous and no doubt from our friends conduct he esteems the Attempters as he does their Acts. It would be a matter for Investigation if the prosecution against Wal-

[332] [1] Gervais and Chollet were forming a partnership.
[2] The only *Africa* advertised is not commanded by Wallace nor advertised by Gervais. A further reference to the misdeeds of Wallace will be found in no. 333.
[333] [1] The allusions in this letter are nowhere in the correspondence made clear.
[2] By the same captain Laurens wrote to Manigault: "Mr. Gervais will inform you what has been done by his friends on this side on his behalf. He will find a good establishment provided. The Patrons of the New York House are not too kind in procuring African Consignments upon dangerous Conditions of Remittance." One wonders whether the New York house was that of Levinius Clarkson.
[3] Probably Messrs. Bourdieu and Chollet of Liverpool.

lace for Murder should be suppressed. You will keep your Eye upon it.

. . . if you have, as I believe you will have, a superabundant Importation of Negroes this Year, some Houses on both sides will be shook to the Foundation. look well about you lest you should unhappily find a change for the worse contrary to all prospect and the Wishes of your Dearest Friends.[4] . . .

334. Levinius Clarkson to David Van Horne, 1773.[1]

Charles Town So. Carolina Febry. 23d. 1773.

Honord Sir, In conversing with Mr. Ray of this place, relative to Negro Cargoes, I find his relation Mr. Henry Bogert had offered him the Consignment of his part of the Cargoes of two Vessels that are expected here; but as Mr. Ray assures me he intends quitting this place soon, You'll very much oblige me if you will please to wait on the owners of these Vessels, Messrs. Henry Bogert, John Cortlandt and John Reade and offer them my services on terms equal to any given here. You can mention to them what Security I can give. You make no mention to me in what manner you have back'd my proposal to Mr. Neale, As to any doubt those Gentln. may have of my being a Stranger to the Business, I can assure them I have not been idle in attending to the mode of disposing of Negroes and I may venture to say that I have as many friends among the Planters as any Merchant in the place some of whom have already assured me that I shall have the preference when they purchase Negroes, In case I have any for Sale. It is their Interest to encourage As many Mercantile People settling among them as possible and from the very nervous Letters my friends gave me to this place, particularly those I had for the Planters, they seem extremely anxious for my settlement, tho' they appear a little doubtful of it, not having Mrs. Clarkson.

There is a ship lately arriv'd here from Gambia with 318 Slaves which will average £43 Sterg. it's true they are prime Slaves. Shoud. you meet with any new Negroes who have not been Six Months in any of his Majesty's Colonies (if they have been more than that time they are subject to a Duty of £60 on importation here) you may purchase ten or twelve on our joint Account provided you can get them for £50 or £55 york Cury p. head. they must be Boys or Men from the Age of 14 to 24, likely and Stout made. You must procure a Certificate that they have not been in an English Colony Six Months. If the above mention'd Gentlemn. shoud. conclude to address their

[4] Mar. 8, Laurens to Manigault: "The great prices of Negroes last Year will be the cause of vast Importations the ensuing Summer, the consequences of which may easily be seen and every prudent Man will endeavour to guard against them in time."

[334] [1] L. C., Levinius Clarkson Letters.

Vessels to me it will be necessary that they lodge Letters in my hands for their Captains. Assure them that nothing shall be left undone by me for their Interest. The Captain of the above mention'd Vessel tells me that he left Capt. Richards well on the Coast, he brought Letters from him for his Owners which have been forwarded. I beg you may Embrace the earliest oppty. of Advising me what those Gentn. say on this subject.

[P. S.] Had I Purchas'd 10 or 20 of the Negroes that John Beekman had for sail on my departure for this Place I am Certain I could have cleared 50 pc by them. Should David be Sick of his Purchase wch was one of them you may give him the same price Provided you can Certifie he has not been in your Province 6 Months, Such Lads are daily selling here for £420 to £450 Currancy.[2] . . .

335. Henry Laurens to Lachlan McIntosh, 1773.

Westminster 13 March 1773.

per *Heart of Oak* under cover to J L
Lachn. McIntosh, *Georgia*

. . . With respect to the purchase of "40 Young Slaves to be picked out of a Cargo and at a moderate price", upon Mortgage of uncultivated Land in Georgia I am quite certain none of the Owners of such Cargoes, it would give me more than one Civil hearing if I should make the proposition, and if they would condescend to give me any answer these several obstacles (and you Sir are a very good judge of them) would be opposed, first the taking 40 Young Slaves out of a Cargo would be a great Injury to the Sale, and nothing but a fixed tempting high price could induce them to submit to a measure so manifestly destructive to their Interest unless guarded by such consideration. the indefinite term of Moderate price would induce them to think that I was either very Ignorant of business or not in Earnest,

[2] In an undated letter belonging to 1773 Clarkson wrote: "Yesterday I attended a Negro Sale of 175 Gambia Slaves. tho as Indifferent a Cargo As has been Sold this Season they averadged £47 Stg. Such is the Goodness of this Market for Slaves, After a Saile of near 9000, Mention this to Rivington as it may be asserted as a fact." On Mar. 4 Clarkson wrote, probably to Van Horne, asking him to inquire from Benjamin Mason whether F. and E. Malbone were intending to send him the cargo which Mason had promised. A few days later he asked that John Cortland, John Reade, and Henry Bogart be asked what they would take for "Negroes that are Landed Safe and sound (Men, Women and Children) and the Credit they will give . . . the Usual Credit is 3-6-9 and 12 Month before they remit their payments if sold by a Factor. I have since my Last had several Applications from the Principal Planters to know what I would take for a hundred of Negroes Men Women and Children, and I wish I could be Certain that Messrs. Malbone Intended me a Vessel. If not I would draw my Money out" (Mar. 16, 1773, Clarkson to Van Horne). The Francis Malbone here mentioned is in all likelihood the same Malbone of whom William Almy wrote, after the Revolution: "the last time I conversed with him, he was Violently opposed to the abolition of the Slave Trade, and tho of an open frank disposition yet a rash unregarded Man, to conclude I think there must be a wonderful conversion in his mind to fit him for a Delegate in Congress." Moses Brown Papers, Misc., II. 105 (undated).

lastly one of the most Capital objections would be to the Mode of Payment, that of long Credit on American Security, to avoid which they forego the benefit of 8 per Cent Interest and take Security for the Remittance of Bills in each Bottom tho under manifest disadvantages as to Payment, merely to keep the Wheel going round as they term it, by making such Bills often at 12 and 18 Months sight become a Paper Currency passing in their respective Circles by a proper discount for Cash. Hence Sir, you will perceive the almost Insuperable difficulty which I should have to encounter, if you had transmitted descriptions of your Land, sent me Legal Authorities for pledging it and had been explicit and Liberal in your price for Negroes, as well as the utter impossibility to render you any service upon your present unfixed plan. . . .

336. Henry Laurens to James Laurens, 1773.

Westminster 11 March 1773.

per Capt. Gunn
James Laurens, *So Carolina*

. . . My Mind Indicates to me from reflecting the State of Affairs on both sides of the Water that this and the next will not be the most prosperous Years for Carolina. I have a foreboding of several troublesome Events. In the first place there will probably be a superabundant Importation of Negroes. Charles Town will be thereby in danger of Contagious Distempers which alone are very dreadful. the Amot. of Imports taking in the Arrears of last Year will far exceed that of Exports, the bad Sale of all our produce on this side, will drive Guarantees and Creditors here to push Debtors on the other, Rise of Exchange, Injurious delays of payment and failures where least expected will follow, if you should have unfavourable Seasons, a Hurricane or there should happen a sudden Declaration of War, our Carolina circumstances will be ten times worse, and at best I perceive that we shall have a considerable Balance against us. To guard against the consequences of Infectious disorders if any such should be Introduced by the Importation of Multitudes of Negroes, nothing can be said but what will occur to your Mind upon the first appearance and you are in a good situation, but in such a Calamity the distress of our neighbors is sensibly felt by ourselves. . . .

337. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1773.

Westmr. 17th Mar. 1773.

John Knight, *Leverpoole*

. . . Concerning the African Trade at So. Carolina I am heartily chagrined on that article alone by the delay of my thoughts which I

could wish had been Imparted to you a Month ago. I verily believe that Province will be overstocked by the present Years Importation of Negroes. I view the Crops of 1772 according to the fallen prices and stagnation of Sale both of Rice and Indigo to be Mortgaged or nearly so for the last Years debt. The Debt which will be Incurred by the Sale of 8 perhaps 10 Thousand Negroes in 1773 will Amount to much more than the Balance of another large Crop, after the Debt for European, West India and Madeira Importations, is deducted. this state at best promises difficulty to every Guarantee on this side and threatens a rise of Exchange on the other, which will in so far made [make] a deduction on the Nominal Average of Sale. this appears to me to be the true prospect of the present Year admitting the Crops of Rice and Indigo to be equal to those of the last. But if a great drought, a vast glut of Rain, a Violent Hurricane or only the appearance of a Storm of War, should intervene—what will the consequences be then? As to the prices which Negroes may sell for I can say nothing but that the Value will be in proportion to the Number Imported and the demand for them. this Latter may be much abated by the depreciated Value of Rice and Indigo, which will abate that madness which has appeared in some of the Merchants there for purchasing at any rate, some of whom (or perhaps their constituents) I am assured will sink £10,000 by the Article of Indigo alone.

A vast Importation of Negroes into Charles Town especially in the present relaxed State of Government in So Carolina will greatly expose the Capital to the danger of Infectious Distemper—Small Pox or Fever. Circumstances of this kind are very detrimental to the Sale of Negroes. I have been a Witness of the Loss of £500. or £1000. on a Cargo only from a Report of such Dangers. Upon the whole Sir, if I was concerned in the African Trade I would be cautious this Year of sending many Negroes to Carolina, if the demand is considerable in the West Indies and the prices at and upwards of £40, I should esteem a Sale there as the proverb tells us we should estimate a Bird in hand. if my orders were gone forth for Carolina I would meet my friends with Cautionary hints of the danger of the Rise of Exchange and recommendations to Remit Bills speedily while to be had. I press this particularly to you my Dear Friend, because I apprehend the risque of Exchange will in your Adventures be your own. The Houses in Common will take [like] the rest of Mankind in such Circumstances sit down Easy and make tempor[ar]y Paper Money when they Can. they will draw at their stated periods and trust to the approach of each for refunding their Friends on this side, which will Create a vast demand for Bills in the latter part of the Year. Opportunities which may present in the meantime ought by all practicable means to be embraced by Men of foresight. . . .

338. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1773.

31 March 1773.

John Knight Esqr., *Leverpoole*

Upon Receipt of your very kind favour of the 28th [1] I applied to Messrs. Bourdieu and Chollet who Consented to become surety for the House of Gervais and Chollet for Amount of your African Consignments, but you are not explicit whether you demand full remittances by Bills in each Bottom and are silent on the Periods for payment. it does not appear to me therefore that you mean to insist upon such Returns especially as you refer to, and say you will be Content with transactions equal to those of A and L, who did not remit all Bills in the Bottom. be that as it may, the Gentlemen on this side tho very willing to Enter into Suretyship generally and extremely desirous of cultivating your Friendship do not seem Inclined to accept Bills which may come all in one Remittance lest they should incur too great a Load of Acceptance upon them at one Juncture of Time—their Credit is established upon a firm Basis and they are Wisely tenacious of holding it free even from a Suspicion of being under difficulties, and the subject is of too delicate a Nature to admit the Interposition of my opinion much less of Persuasion or Importunity. . . .

339. Henry Laurens to John Lewis Gervais, 1773.

22d March 1773 to the 7th April 1773.

per *Le Dispenser*

John Lewis Gervais, *So. Carolina*

. . . Some Days ago my Friends Messrs. Ross and Mill intimated to me a dissatisfaction with their Correspondents in Charles Town and their intention to Change, that they had an Opening for any Friend of mine. upon discovering that they were not only disingaged but determined to apply to Mr. Nutt in case of any refusal, I could not do less than recommend your House, and you will in consequence thereof Receive the *Peggy*, Capt. Mill from the Gold Coast with a large Cargo of Negroes, about 400, for which Messrs. Bourdieu and Chollet are Guarantee, the Remittance for the Balance are to be in Bills at 3-6-9 and 12 Months sight—by a Letter which R. and M. have this minute sent me, because our Other friend in Lime Street made a point of my adjusting that part. I was prodigiously surprised at the Recpt. of a Letter the 20 Ulto. from my Old and good friend John Knight Esq., of Leverpoole, in which he inclos'd a Letter for

[338] [1]On the 25th Laurens had written to Knight: "My friend Mr. Oswald first Introduced Mr. Gervais to me and by my recommendation he consigned him 2 African Cargoes last Year and two more the present Year."

Capt. Wotherspoon of his African Ship *Nanny*, desiring me to transmit it to my Friend in Charles Town to whom the Capt. would have Orders to deliver his Cargo, he said Messrs. Head and Giball had dissolved their Copartnership and that he would not consign to either of them separately, but I was not more surprised at the Information then affected and concerned on behalf of my Friend Sir Edmund and also of his partner. I therefore ca[ex]postulated with my Friend in Leverpoole, hoping to reconcile him, at least to a Conditional Consignment to one or both of those Gentlemen but he seemed Galled by something or other and was inflexible, therefore I was in some degree necessitated to recommend you, which when I was about it, I did in the warmest terms, and perfectly consistent with Truth.[1]

You will find inclosed the Letter above mentioned for Capt. Wotherspoon who will deliver his Cargo to Garvais and Chollet. Nothing rejoices me more than doing service to my Friends. but I must confess there is some alloy to my satisfaction when I perceive as in the present Case that other Friends are suffering any kind of disappointment. I wish my Friend Head had put it in my power to serve him, by communicating the change of his Circumstances to me, but of late for what reason I know not he has wholly withdrawn his correspondence, tho I have since my arrival in England not only spoke in his favour when applied to, but have offered to be his surety for an African Cargo or more. but to return—Mr. Knight has insisted upon my making terms for the *Nanny* on one hand, and the Gentlemen in Lime Street on the other Hand are wisely Cautious of engaging too largely in the acceptance of Bills, here I am in a Dilemma. there are but three other men in England from whom I would at this time have accepted a Cargo of Negroes for you, and truly I must say that if this application had not been made in manner aforesaid to me I should not have sought for them, but such Correspondents as Ross and Mill and Mr. Knight are Valuable and ought not to be treated slightly—to have their business and their Good Will is an establishment to a House. You will have much difficulty to strive with in order to keep your Friends here from being in a Very heavy advance, but you must strive with ardour and diligence, and you will succeed, if your Friends perceive you helping yourselves they will help you out in some unavoidable deficiencies; *I would* if I was on the spot and will do all that I can on this side. As Mr. Knights Cargo will be from Bonny not so saleable to good Purchasers nor for Cash as the Gold Coast Cargoes I shall expect that he will be content with Bills, at 6-9 and 12 Months sight which I hope will put you to no difficulty to accomplish, let you[r] Endeavours be to make a good and faith-

[339] [1] In the notices in the *Gazette* for the year 1773 neither the *Peggy* nor the *Nanny* appears.

ful Sale for the benefit of your Constituents but at the same time you must have a Proper regard for your own and the security of your Guarantee, make the Best Sale you can to good Men, take Collatiral Security from every person whose Circumstances are doubtful, Collect as much Cash as Possible and remit to Messrs. Bourdieu and Chollet in such a Manner as to keep them from being in advance, leave no stone unturn'd for that purpose, be continually on the Watch for Bills of Exchange and rather Borrow Money upon Interest to pay for them than be deficient. the Exchange for Remittances must be ascertained at the Current Course when each Sale is made and the Sooner you Remit, the less risque you will run from a variation. . . .

340. Henry Laurens to Gervais and Chollet, 1773.

10 April 1773.

per *Le Dispenser*
Gervais and Chollet, *So. Carolina*

Gentlemen. I beg leave to refer you to what I have already written on African affairs, to your Mr. J L G, whose letter I closed too Soon and omitted to put into it, one which you will find under this cover from my worthy and Dear friend Jno. Knight Esqr. of Leverpoole [1] for Capt. Wotherspoon of the Ship *Nanny,* which opened this opportunity for addressing myself to you. I need not repeat that Mr. Knight is a Gentleman of the first character as a Citizen and a Merchant, he is just and very Liberal and deserves particular attention from all his friends, and I am persuaded that in every Instance of your correspondence with him you will find an Inclination from Gratitude to do rather more for him than you may be Strictly obliged to do by Contract. I speak from an experience of upwards of 24 Years acquaintance.

I am not sure what will be the final adjustment for Remitting the Net Proceed of the *Nannys* Cargo but probably in Bills at Six, eight, and twelve Months Sight and as Much better as you can make them consi[s]tent with your own safety and a grateful attachment to the Interest of your friend.

Excuse my Freedom in recommending to you to Make good Sales tho I would by no means encourage you to give Credit to every Man who may offer to deal with you merely for the Sake of a high price and a flaunting Average, which must end in the prejudice of your Constituents and your own Ruin, yet on the other hand if you consult only your own Safety by Selling to Monied Men who are always careful to

[340] [1] A brief letter to John Knight suggests the difficulty which Laurens is encountering in arranging terms which shall satisfy Knight, Gervais and Chollet, and Bourdieu and Chollet.

obtain full abatement for Cash, you will depreciate your prices to such a degree as you will Injure your friends, the Owners of Cargoes consigned to you, hurt those who have recommended you, and greatly undervalue your own Credit and Reputation. . . .

341. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1773.[1]

May 31, 1773.

Although there are now no less than Twelve Cargoes of Negroes for Sale here (all but two arrived since our last) yet the Number on board does not exceed 1900; most of the vessels having come off the Coast with less than Half the Quantity of Slaves they were sent to purchase. The greatest Quantity we find imported in any one Year, was 7184 in 1765, which is 4457 less than have arrived the present Year:[2] the next greatest Number imported in a Year, were 4865 in 1772, 4612 in 1769, and 3740 in 1760. The whole Quantity of Slaves imported from the 1st of January 1753, to the 1st of January 1773, is 43,965.

June 7, 1773.

Nothing could have happened more injurious to the British Merchants concerned in the Slave Trade, than the recent Stop put to the granting of Lands, at the same Time that the First Cutting of Indico is lost: But for these Events, the Cargoes of Negroes now here (tho' many have arrived almost together)[3] would have been sold at considerably higher Prices than they are now likely to be.

June 14, 1773.

Even now the Number of Negro Slaves imported the present Year, falls short 3066 of what were imported in the Year 1765 and, although not less than 3514 have arrived here since the 1st of May, the Sales have been well kept up, and there are not many on Hand, besides the three Cargoes which are to be exposed for Sale on the 15th, 17th, 23d Instant.

Philadelphia, June 23 [1773].[4]

The Beginning of last Month there was the greatest Number of New-Negroes for Sale at South-Carolina, that perhaps ever was

[341] [1] *S. C. Gazette* for the dates mentioned unless another reference is given.

[2] "In the second paragraph of our last Monday's Charles Town Intelligence, relative to the Importation of negroes, for less read more." *Ibid.*, June 7, 1773, quoted in Sellers, *Charleston Business on the Eve of the American Revolution*, p. 133.

[3] "1773, June 3. Savannah. Mr. Piercy went this morning to Charleston . . . with Mr. Ambrose Wright, and another friend to purchase negroes, many having arrived there for sale." Ga. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, VI. 230-231.

[4] *Mass. Gazette and News Letter,* July 8, 1773. That this item was copied from Philadelphia into a Boston paper is suggestive of widespread knowledge of and interest in the Charleston importation. The item dated July 26 (*S. C. Gazette*) is to be found in the *News Letter* of Aug. 26.

known at one Time: It being computed that upwards of 2600 had arrived there the latter End of May and Beginning of June. One Cargo was sold for Forty Pounds Sterling a Head.[5]

July 26, 1773.

The whole Number of Negroes imported here, since the 1st of November last, including the Cargoes not yet exposed for Sale is, 6471, *viz.*

From the West Indies (in 26 Vessels	700
The Northern Colonies (in 6 Vessels)	40
Directly from Africa (in 33 Vessels)	5731
Total	6471

Which Number is supposed to have created an extraordinary Demand for upwards of 90,000 Bushels of Indian Corn, the Exportation of which Article is stopped in Georgia, where they have purchased at least 1000 of the Negroes.

September 20, 1773.

The Number of Slaves imported here, since the First Day of November last, now amounts to 7507—6768 of them in 39 Guineymen, directly from the Coast of Africa. The Ship *Hawke*, Captain Ralph, of Liverpoole, took a Pilot on Board last Wednesday, off the Bar, but has not yet got in: This Ship will make the 40th, and is said to have upwards of Three Hundred Negroes on Board.

September 27, 1773.

On Wednesday arrived here the *Hawke*, from Africa, with about 250 Slaves, consigned to Messrs Robert, John and James Smyth; the *Nancy* with about 120 more; to Messrs. Edwards, Fisher, and Company; and on Saturday the *King George*, with about 160, to Miles Brewton, Esqr. These Arrivals have increased the Number of Guineymen to 42, and the Number of Negroes imported to about 8050.

. . .

342. Nathaniel Russell to Christopher Champlin, 1773.[1]

Charleston, So. Carolina, July 28th, 1773.

Sir, I Received your favor by Captain Earl with a Negro fellow for Sale who I have sold for £325 Currency, three months Credit. I have

[5] The *Gazette* for June 28 reported, "Upwards of Three Thousand Eight Hundred Negroes have been imported here since the Beginning of May, yet they are all sold, and the Demand for them continues; which proves a rapid Encrease of Wealth and Inhabitants of late Years in this Province". This item was copied in the *Mass. Gazette and News Letter,* Aug. 5, Suppl.

[342] [1] *Commerce of Rhode Island*, I. 447. For information concerning the trade of Christopher Champlin see this work, vol. III., index.

been fully determin'd for some time past not to sell another Negro except they were enter'd here and Duty paid. I had rather loose the whole commissions I have made on selling Negroes than be detected in smugling one; the Shipper would be no Looser by paying the Duty as the Negro could then be expos'd publickly and no person will give so much for them under those Circumstances, they being always liable to be seized for the Duty. I must beg you never to send me another except you intend to pay the Duty. . . .

343. NATHANIEL RUSSELL TO CHRISTOPHER CHAMPLIN, 1773.[1]

CHARLESTON, 1st December, 1773.

Sir, You have herewith Account Sales of your Negro sent me by Earl, Nett Proceeds £296.15 which I would have sent you by this opportunity but cannot possibly get it chang'd into hard money. Bills of Exchange has been so very scarce that all the Dollars and Heavy Gold has been sent to Great Britain for Remittance. if you can draw on me or order it in produce, if that will not suit you, I will desire Capt. Durfee to pay it you when he is in Cash on my Account. . . .

Sales of a Negro man received per the *Nancy*, Capt. Earl, on Account of Mr. Christopher Champlin of Newport.

1773, August 1.	By Wm. Johnson for 1 Negro man	£325.
	Charges	
1773.	To Cash paid his passage	£12.
	To my Commission 5 per Ct.	16. 5
	Nett proceeds to your Acct. Curr't.	296.15
		325.

Errors Excepted.
NATHL. RUSSELL

344. HENRY LAURENS TO JOHN KNIGHT, 1773.

WESTMINSTER 2d Decemr. 1773.

John Knight, *Leverpoole*

. . . One of my Attornees in Carolina, presses me in Strong tims [terms] to make a further provision of Labourers for a Tract of my Uncultivated Land,[1] and I would if it was practicable buy about

[343] [1] *Commerce of Rhode Island*, I. 466.

[344] [1] In a letter to Richard Oswald, also written on Dec. 2, Laurens refers to his tract of 13,000 acres at Long Canes, in what was then the Carolina frontier region. Half of this he had given to Gervais for his services in surveying it, half he now pressed on Oswald, suggesting that he stock it with domestic slaves from the Bance Island factory, from which Oswald was at this time withdrawing. Oswald at first accepted the suggestion and careful instructions were sent to Gervais for settling the negroes upon this tract of land and providing for their housing and food, but further consideration led him to alter his plans and consign them to East Florida. Letters of Apr. 9 and May 18, not here printed, deal with this affair.

Fifty, but Suche a Number taken from a good Cargo would leave a pernicious blemish upon the Remainder, therefore I have in contemplation to make a purchase of a whole Cargo of One Hundred or twenty more or less—from Gambia or the Gold Coast—to be delivered to my order in Charles Town at a certain price in Sterling Money per head—free from Duty and Commission.

The first part of the payment, to be by Loading the Vessel according to Order and paying the Captains Coast Commission and Ships disbursements Exchag. at 700 per Cent—no Commission to be charged on either—the remaining Sum to be paid by Bills in London in equal thirds at Three, Six, and twelve Months Sight, to be delivered to the Master of you[r] Vessel or transmitted to you when the Vessel is cleared out for Sailing. The Cargo to be assorted about 50 Men, 40 Women and 20 Boys and Girls from 4 feet to [*blank*] feet high.

Be so obliging Dear Sir to Signify if an engagement of this nature is worth your attention; if it is, we may descend to particulars, respecting the time of delivery, number of privilege Slaves, certain provision if any to Spare at delivering the Negroes, and exceptions in case the Cargo Should prove unhealthy or of improper Sorts. probably when your answer comes I may be out of London but it will Soon overtake me wherever I am and I Shall give the needful reply without delay.

345. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1774.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 21	Jan. 28	*Molly*	George Smith	Bance Island	150	John Lewis Gervais
Mar. 14	Mar. 22[2]	*Prince Tom*	—— Mason	Gambia	150	Roger Smith
June 6	June 18	*Caton*	Jos. Williams	"	230	Andrew and Geo. Lord
" 13	" 21	*Expedition*	John Spence	Senegal	100	Roger Smith
" "	" 17	*Peggy*	Geo. McMain	Rice Coast	140	Edwards, Fisher, and Co.
" 20	" 27	*Fanny*	John Stenton	Gold Coast	60	Levinius Clarkson
" 27	July 5	*Frances*	Ed. Williamson	Senegal	120	Edwards, Fisher, and Co.
" "	" 6	*Hector*	Wm. Llewellin	Angola	280	John Neufville
" "	" 7	*Hope*	Elisha Warner		50	John Smith and Co.
July 11[3]	" 26	*Jenny*	John Thompson	Sierra Leone	120	Powell, Hopton, and Co.
Sept. 26	Oct. 5	*Sebenia*	Walter Clark	Senegal	200	Roger Smith
" "	" 11	*Betsey*	Wm. Morgan	Gambia	128	Dupont, Brewton, and Co.
Oct. 3	" "	*Lord North*	Thomas Cornwall	Senegal	180	Roger Smith
" 24[4]	" 27	*Maria*	Rich. Grinnell[5]	Sierra Leone	36	Powell, Hopton, and Co.

[345] [1] From Nov. 12, 1773, to Jan. 28, 1774, there had been 274 negroes entered. *S. C. Gazette,* Jan. 28, 1774.

[2] "A Correspondent says, 'he is sorry to see Guineymen permitted, at a season when no bad Weather is apprehended, to come up from Rebellion Road, before they have there performed the Quarantine required by Law; by which he apprehends the Inhabitants of the Town may be exposed to some terrible Calamity worse than the Rage to buy Negroes'" (*S. C. Gazette*, May 16, 1774). This suggests that there may have been vessels discharging cargoes in Charleston between Mar. 22 and June 18, 1774, even though none is recorded. Further evidence of this is to be found in the fact that on May 4 Levinius Clarkson wrote to Van Horne: "Times never known to be so dull as at Present. Not a Ship in Port to Load. I am Informed a Sloop is Cutt off on the Coast of Guinea belonging to New York. There is a Guineaman Just arrivd, when she comes up I shall make Enquiries." Levinius Clarkson Letters.

[3] During the summer two slavers bound for Georgia put into Charleston "in distress", the *Charlotte* with 140 slaves, and the *Friends,* William Ross. *S. C. Gazette,* June 13, July 18, 1774.

[4] That these were not the last arrivals of the year may be surmised from a later note in the *Gazette*: "The Ship *Two Brothers*, Capt. Jones, with Slaves, consigned to Messrs. Andrew and George Lord here, was likewise disabled in the above-mentioned Gale, and is put into Georgia, whence the Slaves are sent for." *S. C. Gazette,* Nov. 21, 1774.

[5] Captain Grennel, who had arrived in thirty-seven days from Delos (Isles de Los) brought word of a negro insurrection on a New York brig under Capt. Daniel Darby. *Mass. Gazette and News Letter,* Dec. 1, 1774.

346. Henry Laurens to John Lewis Gervais, 1774.

Westminster 5th Febry. 1774.

per *Sandwich* Packet
John L. Gervais

. . . believe me according to present appleasures [appearances] you will be better off, if you receive only two African Consignments than you would be if you had more.

It Seems to me now as if all parties concluded that your Connexion or intended Connexion with Mr. J Chollet was Barred. I meet Mr. Bourdieu but he never Speaks of the Subject, and I would advise you to trouble your Self no more about it. you are not undeserving my good opinion and you are intitled to it and I told Mr. Herries two days ago that I would be your Security for Ten Thousand pounds if Mr. Oswald Shall require it, and if I did not think it would be injurious to your Interest I would Secure you the Consignment of Several Cargoes of Negroes the present Summer. I am pressed by Some friends on this Side to do it, but for your own Sake I dare not go a Ship further at present. look out for a good Partner, you deserve a good one, and I can make a connexion with you Merit the attention of Some of the best in Charles Town. I will do a great deal to Serve you but Entering into the African Trade is so repugnant to my disposition and my plan for future Life that it Seems as if nothing but dire necessity could drive me to it.

347. Henry Laurens to John Lewis Gervais, 1774.

Westminster, 2d March 1774.

per *Eagle* Packet
John Lewis Gervais, *So. Carolina*

. . . Mr. Oswald's continued absence from Town has hindered me from writing further on African Consignments. You will have his Brigt. the *Amelia* again, and Mr. Knight expects every hour to hear of your having Sold the *Livily's* Cargo,[1] for payment of which I am Surety and I fancy that by a late draught upon me under the name of a Loan he is beginning to Collect part of it betimes. these vessels if you get no more in 1774 will make the pot Boil and the Contracted Circle in my opinion will be most beneficial in these precarious times. . . .

Ha! I congratulate you on the arrival of the *Molly* which I learn by the *Gazette* of 21st January. we had given her up for lost. I hope you will make a good Sale and quick remittances now you will have Negroes enough for one year. . . .

[347] [1] The *Gazette* does not record the sale of a cargo from the *Amelia,* though Laurens writes as though Gervais had already received and sold a consignment by that vessel. It will be seen from the next letter that the *Lively* was not sent to Charleston.

348. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1774.

Westminster 17th March 1774.

John Knight, *Leverpoole*

. . . Mr. Gervais and I are well off and probably you are not worse, by the diversion of the *Lively* from Charles Town. I don't like the Complexion of the times, there will be trouble and Confusion in America—Carolina will partake of the Evil. if I was an Owner of African Vessels on this Side I would not trust a Cargo there; if a Merchant there, I would not wish to receive a Cargo. Your Guarantees on this Side are Rich in paper. Should there be a Sudden Check to Correspondence, the bottoms, of Some will appear to be but paper. if I might venture to give my opinion to my Dear friend Mr. Knight, it would be to draw in, rather than extend debts in the present State of affairs. . . .

349. Levinius Clarkson to David Van Horne, 1774.[1]

Ch. Town, 18th June 1774.

. . . Since my last Mr. Brewton had a Cargo of 62 Prime Slaves wch I have Consented to dispose of at 4, 8, 12, and 16 Month Sight for the Bills, so that I shall draw on Mr. Neal for a Part, If you chose I shall remit him for it. . . . I am Affraid the Planters and many Merchants will not only come to an Agreement not to Import but also not to Export. . . .

350. Levinius Clarkson to David Van Horne, 1774.[1]

Ch. Town So. Carolina 24 June [1774].

Hon Sir . . . I am Disposing of a Cargo of Slaves wch I Excepted from Mr. Brewton, Since wch I have Recd. a Letter from Mr. John Mawdswell of New Port who infor[ms] me has Order[ed] his Brign. *Mary* John Allen to my address, And that you have given Security for the Same. I should be happy to serve this Gentleman, But as the Present Contest for Liberty is Such in this Province, As to Induce the Worthy Carolinians to Stop Importation as well as [I ?] Surmise they will Exportation. If so In what manner is the Merchant to make his Remittances to his Guarantie. From wch Noble Spirit I shall not Except of his Cargo, But on those Conditions to sell them on his own Acct and Remit the Proceeds to him as it comes to hand in Bills on New York, Cash or Rice. . . . Discourage any Guinea Adventures in your Town from coming here this Season for it is wth the Greatest difficulty to git rid of such a Cargo. Rest Assured

[349] [1] Levinius Clarkson Letters. On June 8 Clarkson wrote that Brewton had offered him a newly arrived cargo of 107 which he had refused.

[350] [1] Levinius Clarkson Letters.

I shall not sell one But to a good Man or Men [?] to the Name of Cash.

351. Non-importation Agreement, 1774.[1]

October 20, 1774.

We will neither import nor purchase, any slave imported after the first day of December next; after which time, we will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it.[2]

352. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1775.[1]

March 6, 1775.

The same Evening [Saturday] arrived, in the Rebellion-Road, the Ship *Katherine*, of Bristol, Capt. Fraser, with 300 Slaves from Angola, to the Address of Mr. John Neufville, (the worthy Merchant who owns, and to whom the Cargo of the Ship *Charming Sally* abovementioned was consigned): which, as soon as she can be supplied with Provisions and Water for another Voyage, (having Provisions for only 4 Days when she came in) is to proceed for the West-Indies, with the Whole of her Cargo.

[351] [1] *Journals of the Continental Congress,* I. 77. The South Carolina merchants had in a meeting preliminary to the general meeting of July 6 resolved not to accede to any non-importation and non-exportation agreement. In the resolutions entered into July 6, 1774, there was no mention of non-importation. At this meeting however those candidates for delegates to the Philadelphia meeting who were supported by the merchants were defeated. The opposition group believed that the successful delegates were committed to non-importation, should that be the desire of the congress. The general committee appointed by South Carolina to act with the other colonies contained among its fifteen merchants Miles Brewton, Thomas Shirley, John Neufville, Roger Smith, William Savage, and David Deas, all of whom had traded in slaves (*Am. Arch.,* fourth ser., I. 525-526, 531-533). On Aug. 2 the Commons House of Assembly in South Carolina was acquainted with the fact that during the recess of the house, by a general meeting of the inhabitants July 6 and 8, Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, and Edward Rutledge had been appointed deputies to a congress to meet in Philadelphia in September (*Journals*, I. 23-24; Drayton, *Memoirs,* I. 128-131). McCrady says that the merchants continued to oppose non-importation until August (*Royal Government*, p. 411). On July 8 Clarkson wrote to Van Horne: "The Province have been Considering of Proper Measures to relieve their Neighboring Province Boston . . . have las[t] Night Come to a determination to send 5 Gentlemen to Meet a Congress at Philadelphia on Eleven with full Power to [act] as they think most Conducive for the Interest of the Colonys and this Province."

[2] On Jan. 3, 1775, Laurens wrote to Ross and Mill of London: "You have long Since been informed of the proceedings of the American Congress and that a total prohibition to the Importation of Slaves is implied in one of their Resolves." A Liverpool petition to the House of Commons refers to the trade to Africa as threatened with ruin if some remedy is not found (*Am. Arch.,* first ser., I. 1531). One of the effects in Carolina may be surmised from a suggestion of Clarkson to Van Horne on Jan. 24, that the period of non-importation of negroes would be a good time in which to buy a plantation. On Sept. 20, 1776, the resolution of the Continental Congress was read in the Carolina assembly: "Resolved that no Slaves be imported into any of the Thirteen United Colonies." *Journal of the General Assembly of South Carolina, Sept. 17, 1776-Oct. 20, 1776* (ed. Salley, 1909), p. 22; E. C. Burnett, *Letters*, I. 415n.

[352] [1] *S. C. Gazette* for the dates given.

March 27, 1775.

Last Friday the Ship *Katharine*, Capt. Fraser, that arrived here on the 4th Instant, from Angola; with 300 Slaves, (which according to the Continental Association could not be imported or purchased here) sailed for the West-Indies with her whole Cargo

353. Henry Laurens to John Laurens, 1776.[1]

Charleston, S. C., 14th August, 1776.

. . . My negroes there [on Laurens's Georgia plantations, which he had just visited], all to a man, are strongly attached to me—so are all of mine in this country. . . . These negroes were first enslaved by the English; acts of parliament have established the slave trade in favour of the home-residing English, and almost totally prohibited the Americans from reaping any share of it. Men of war, forts, castles, governors, companies and committees are employed and authorized by the English parliament to protect, regulate, and extend the slave trade. Negroes are brought by Englishmen and sold as slaves to Americans. Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, etc., live upon the slave trade. The British parliament now employ their men-of-war to steal those negroes from the Americans to whom they had sold them, pretending to set the poor wretches free, but basely trepan and sell them into tenfold worse slavery in the West Indies, where probably they will become the property of Englishmen again, and of some who sit in parliament.[2] . . .

354. Henry Laurens to John Lewis Gervais, 1783.

London 9th Augt. 1783.

per the *Betsy*, Bloy
J. L. Gervais Esqr., *So. Carolina*

. . . Mr. Oswald unexpectedly came in and asked me to recommend some friend in Charles Town to whom he might consign for sale his East Florida Negroes about 170 in Number, I could not forbear the name of Gervais, tho' I confess not with that warmth I had been formerly accustomed to. our friend had complained and I was conscious he had ground for complaint. Mr. Oswald replied he had not heard from Mr. Gervais since the Year 1775. it would have been kind said he if in the course of so many Years he had embraced some opportunity and certainly many have offered for writing me only a

[353] [1] F. Moore, *Materials for History printed from Original Manuscripts: Correspondence of Henry Laurens of South Carolina* (New York, Zenger Club, 1861). In the letter from which this extract is taken Laurens goes on to express his deep distaste for the institution of slavery and his intention of freeing his own slaves.

[2] During the Revolution importation of slaves into South Carolina ceased.

Line and saying, "I am alive, I hope you are alive". I could say nothing in excuse for your neglect and thinking my friend determined against enlarging his Account with you, I named Mr. John Owen and urged Arguments in his favor warranted by experience and truth. Mr. Oswald paused, then said, it shall be so, I'll send the Consignment to him; soon after, he added—but as my former Consignments to Mr. Gervais were made on your Account I don't wish to affront him, suppose I were to join them. I was extremely well pleased to hear this and therefore closed with the proposition, you will accordingly be addressed in conjunction with Mr. Owen by our worthy old friend.[1] . . .

355. Henry Laurens to Felix Warley, 1783.

London, 11th Augt. 1783.

per the *Betsey,* Bloy
Mr. Felix Warley, *So. Carolina*

. . . Mr. Bloy applied to me to recommend some proper person in Charles Town to whom he might consign cargoes of Negroes. after assuring him of my hearty dissent to further importations of slaves in any of the United States of America and of my hopes that the Trade would be prohibited in South Carolina,[1] I gave him the names of several of my old acquaintance, leaving a choice to himself after conversing with them. your name is in the list and Mr. Bloy will call upon you. Should the African Trade be encouraged in our Country no particular censure can fall upon you for participating.

356. Henry Laurens to Joseph Clay, 1783.

Bath 16th Augt. 1783.

Joseph Clay Esqr., *Savannah in Georgia*

D'r Sir, My very worthy friend Richd. Oswald Esqr. intended applying to you for the prosecution of his Views of withdrawing about

[354] [1] Oswald changed his plans for these negroes not long after this letter was written (see *post,* no. 356). To this letter and also to those from Laurens of Aug. 16 and 26 and Sept. 9 Gervais replied on Dec. 16: "I flatter myself my Letter to our worthy Friend Mr. Oswald the same Month will lessen his displeasure. . . . permit me My Dear Sir to thank you for mentioning my name to him again respecting his East Florida negroes. I had no right to expect he would be inclined to enlarge his accounts with me before the old ones are settled. Therefore I am very well contented that he has been pleased to make it a joint Concern with Mr. Owen." The letter ends with an enumeration of the debts owed to him which his debtors cannot pay, partly because of the action of the British in removing slaves from South Carolina. N. Y. Hist. Soc., Letters of John Lewis Gervais to Henry Laurens.

[355] [1] A bill introduced into the Carolina house in February, forbidding negro importations, had failed to pass. Instead, a law was enacted placing a duty of £3 per head on African negroes over four feet in height, 30 *s.* on those under that, and £20 on those from places other than Africa. Cooper, IV. 577; Journals of the House, 1783, pp. 170, 183, 240.

170 Negroes from East Florida and setting them down on a Plantation to be hired in Georgia where they [there] may be houses standing for their Reception and where they may be put immediately to labor. Should either of my plantations, Broughton Island, or New hope on the Altamaha, or Wright's Savanna on the North Side of Savanna River be as fit for the purpose of our friend as any other which may present to your View, it will afford me Satisfaction that you should adopt one of mine because I derive no Rent except barely so much as will pay the public Tax nor even so much as an Exemption from Taxes unless you shall be fully persuaded that the Bargain will be beneficial to Mr. Oswald.[1] . . .

[356] [1] Similar letters were sent to Gervais and to John Owen. To the latter Laurens added: "you are to impute [Oswald's plan] wholly to his humane feelings, his wishes to keep the families together and Reluctance to separate them, however the Scheme may militate against his Interest."

357. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1783.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Sept. 24	Sept. 27	*Polly*	—— Higgins			J. Versey and Co.[2]
" "	Oct. 1	*Eagle*	David Miller		104	J. Ve[r]sey and Co.
Oct. 1	" 10	*Neptune*	George Seymour	Antigua	90	Wm. Somersall
" "	" 8			Gold Coast		Daniel Bourdeau[3]
" 8	" 7	*Roseau*	—— Simpson			[4]
Dec. 11						Hort and Warley[5]

[357] [1] The information to be derived from the advertisements in the *Gazette*, is much more fragmentary than that for the period preceding the Revolution. The character of the sales had apparently changed somewhat, and it seems no longer to be expected that a single sale will dispose of the cargo. The clause, "The sale to continue every fair day (Sundays excepted) until all be sold", becomes a common one. Drayton, in *View of South Carolina* (1802), p. 167, gives the importation from Africa and the West Indies in 1783 as 1003, that from St. Augustine as 167.

[2] These are to be sold "at Mrs. Dewees's, No. 43, Queen-street".

[3] "Will commence at the subscriber's yard, No. 109, King-street."

[4] "At Mr. Manigault's Lot, the Corner of Amen-Street, behind St. Philip's Church." No seller's name is attached to this notice.

[5] "Hort and Warley Have For Sale a Number of very valuable and handsome Negroes (Just Imported) Among whom are Sempstresses, Cooks, Washers, and Ironers and some Field Slaves, which they will dispose of for Cash or Produce at Market Price." *Gazette of State of South Carolina,* Jan. 1, 1784.

358. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1784.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 15	Jan. 23	*Mary*	—— Taylor			A. Wilkinson and Co.
Apr. 15	Apr. 21	*Sally*		Jamaica	20	Lewis McPherson[2]
May 6	May 13	*Betsey*		Gambia		George Garner[3]
" 13	" 17	*Two Brothers*	Jacob Swift	Windward Coast		John Mitchell[4]
" "	" 18	*Bennington*	Josiah Conyers	Gold Coast	90	Smith, Desaussure, and Darrell
" 20	June 1	*Le Leger*	Louis Castandet	Angola	300	Daniel Bourdeaux
June 24	" 29				25	Cudworth and Waller[5]
July 8	July 15	*Antigallican*	William Parke	New Calabar	216	Ball, Jennings, and Co., and Smith, Desaussure and Darrell
" 15		*Old England*	John Garnet	Gold Coast	181	Fisher, Hughes, and Edwards
" "		*Alert*	Thomas Walker	" "	199	" " " "
" 26		*Louisa*	John Court	Gambia	56	Ball, Jennings, and Co., and Smiths, Desaussure and Darrell
" "	Aug. 3	*Count De Norde*	James Penny	Angola	600	Ball, Jennings, and Co., and Smiths, Desaussure and Darrell
Sept. 16				West Indies	6	Smith, DeSaussure and Darrell
Oct. 14	Oct. 18	*Molly*	—— Hort	Windward Coast	150	Fisher, Hughes, and Edwards
Dec. 16	Dec. 21	*Success*	John Conner	Gold Coast	260	Ball, Jennings, and Co., and Smiths, Desaussure and Darrell[6]
" "	" "	*Fanny*	Barton Overton	Africa	137	James and Edward Penman

[358] [1] Most of these advertisements appear a number of times, but only the date of the *Gazette* in which one first appears is given. Drayton (*View of S. C.*, p. 167) gives the importation from Africa and the West Indies as 4020, that from St. Augustine as 1372.

[2] "At Mrs. Dawson's No. 46 Queen-street. All men, from 15 to 22 years of age, imported in the ship *Sally* from Jamaica, at which

[*Notes to no. 358*—continued:]

place they were picked out of a large cargo that had just arrived from Africa. The conditions of the sale are one half Cash, and the other moiety in three months, on bond with approved security. LEWIS MCPHERSON."

[3] "They are allowed by every Gentleman that has seen them, to be the finest Slaves that have been imported these 15 years; these Slaves are well acquainted with the cultivation of Indigo, Rice, and Tobacco; Specimens of which may be seen at the Exchange Coffee House. Conditions of Sale Ready Money or Produce. GEORGE GARNER."

[4] "Negroes for Sale. On Monday the 17th of May instant, Will be exposed to Sale at Eveleigh's Wharf on board the Ship *Two Brothers,* Jacob Swift Commander, A Cargo of prime healthy, stout Slaves, from the Windward Coast of Africa. They are choice slaves, in good order, and fit for immediate service. Conditions of sale, Ready Money, Lumber of all species, Indigo and Rice." The advertisement for this cargo was copied in a London journal, with this introduction: "What must be the feelings of a Philosopher on reading the following advertisement which is copied verbatim from the *South-Carolina Gazette*?" The London item found its way back to South Carolina and appeared in the *Gazette* of Sept. 13.

[5] "At our Auction-Room, Tuesday, 29th of June, Will be sold, precisely at 12 o'Clock, 25 prime New Negroes. Conditions of sale will be made known on the day." These are probably the residuum of some early cargo taken over for sale by Cudworth and Waller.

[6] Negroes at this time must have been disposed of with difficulty for as late as Mar. 10, 1785, the *Gazette* was advertising: "Gold Coast Negroes. On Thursday, the 17th of March instant, Will be exposed to Public Sale, Near the Exchange, (If not before disposed of by Private Contract) The remainder of the Cargo of Negroes imported in the ship *Success,* Captain John Conner, consisting chiefly of likely young boys and girls in good health, and having been through the winter, may be considered in some degree seasoned to the climate. The Conditions of the sale will be credit to the first of January 1786, on giving bond with approved security where required—the Negroes not to be delivered till the terms are complied with. BALL, JENNINGS, and Co., SMITHS, DESSAUSSURE, and DARRELL."

359. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1785.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 13	Jan. 18	*Commerce*	Saltonstall	Gold Coast	117	Winthrop, Tod, and Winthrop
Apr. 21					10[2]	Freeman and Pringle
May 9	May 16	*Little Hornet*	Phillips	Angola	210	Jennings and Woddrop [?][3]
" 19					20[4]	Freeman and Pringle
" 30	June 7	*Mentor*	Wm. Lyttleton	Gambia[5]	152	Robt. Hazlehurst and Co.
June 13	" 23	*Gambia*	Robt. Champlin	Anamabo		Nathaniel Russell[6]
July 4	July 12	*Sisters*[7]	Diedareck Wise	Windward Coast		Robert Norris
" 7	" "	*General Heath*	Koperholt	Windward and Gold Coast		A. Pleym[8]
" 11[9]	" 13	*James*	Forrest	Gambia	230[10]	W. Macleod and Co.
" 20	" 21				20	Laurence Campbell[11]
" 21		*Neptune*	Thomson	Jamaica	30[12]	Dan. Bourdeaux
" 23	" 23				13	Colcock and Gibbons
" 25	Aug. 2	*Mary*	Jas. Bowie	Bance Island		Jas. Anderson, R. and W. Lindsay
" 29	" 8	*Eagle*	Olderman	Isle de Los	260[13]	Scarbrough and Cooke, Theo. Galliard
Aug. 8	" 16	*Commerce*	Thos. Morton	Gold Coast	200	Fisher and Edwards
" 25		*Geheimeraad Gregers Juul*	Lorentz Waaben	Windward and Cold Coast[14]		A. Pleym
Sept. 8		*Eliza*	Robert Bennet	Jamaica[15]		James and Edward Penman
Nov. 28		*Alert*		Gold Coast		Fisher and Edwards

[359] [1] The majority of the notices of sale contain the clause, "continued daily until the whole are sold", and appear in the *Gazette* for four or five weeks. Many of them refer to the familiarity of the negroes with rice planting.

[2] "Ten prime healthy privilege Slaves, just arrived."

[3] "To approved Purchasers . . . great consideration for immediate payment in rice or other produce, or in money." Later the names "Smiths, Desaussure and Darrell" were added to this notice.

[4] These are advertised as "New Negroes" but there is no indication of their origin.

[5] "The Negroes from this part of the coast of Africa are well acquainted with the cultivation of rice and are naturally industrious."

[6] "Gold Coast Negroes. Just arrived in the Brig *Gambia,* Captain Robert Champlin, directly from Anamaboo, And to be sold, On Thursday, the 23d inst. A Cargo of very healthy prime young Negroes, the greatest part of them are fit to be put into the field immediately.

[*Notes to no. 359*—continued:]

The conditions of sale: Bonds payable the first of January, 1786, with interest from the date; a proper discount will be made for ready money. NATHANIEL RUSSELL." *S. C. Gazette*, June 13, 1785.

[7] "For Private Sale, The Ship *Sisters*, With or without her Guinea Materials. She is a stout British built vessel, burthen about 100 tons, exceeding well found, sails fast, and is well calculated for the African or any other trade, and may be sent to sea at a small expence. For further particulars inquire of the Master on board, at Roper's wharf. ROBERT NORRIS and Co." *S. C. Gazette,* Aug. 18, 1785.

[8] On July 11 the original notice of this sale was amplified: "Just arrived in the Danish Ship *General Heath,* Captain Koperholt, And to be Sold, On Friday, the 15th Instant, On board the vessel at Prioleau's wharf, A Choice Cargo of Windward and Gold Coast Negroes, Who have been accustomed to the planting of rice. The appearance of the negroes will sufficiently confute a report which has been circulated of their being much infected with the scurvey. The sale to continue from day to day until the whole are disposed of. The conditions will be as moderate as possible and be made known on the day of sale, by applying to A. PLEYM."

[9] The notices of July 11, 20, and 23 appear in the *Charleston Evening Gazette.*

[10] "Inoculated for small pox and recovered without the loss of one." The Macleod advertising this cargo is probably the defendant in a suit brought in 1797 for failure to deliver 38 new negroes. He pleaded that the legislature had prohibited the importation of negroes but the court held that the contract was not thereby rescinded. Catterall, *Judicial Cases,* II. 279.

[11] This notice and the one of July 23 are of public auctions, in the one case of "New Negroes", in the other of "Gambia Men". On Nov. 18 Laurence Campbell was again advertising new negroes.

[12] "Picked from a cargo of 500."

[13] "160 Men and Men Boys, 30 Boys and Girls, 70 Women." The conditions for this sale were one-third payable in January, for the remainder, credit until Jan. 1, 1787, with interest.

[14] These negroes were advertised as accustomed to the planting of both rice and corn.

[15] "A few prime Gold Coast Negroes picked from a large cargo there."

360. Joseph and Joshua Grafton to Captain Robert Champlin, 1785.[1]

Salem 15th Apr. '85.

Sir, This goes under cover to Mr. Nathl. Russel to whom if you [*illegible*] should not have any further information from us after this we would have you put your Cargo of slaves into his hands to dispose of upon the reasonablest terms you can. you will show him your orders [2] and he will pay you agreeable to them. The Peoples Wages we will pay here to your mate (Mr. Hamilton) is in our Debt for 454 gall. N. E. Rum advanced him for his adventure at 22 *d* and 4 Hogd. for Do. at 22/ Amtg. to £46. 0. 4 Curry. which we somehow or other expect to be paid out of the Voyage. We shall be in immediate want upon your return here of 8 or nine thousand Dollars which you must bring us in Cash or good Bills on London and if the Bills are at 12 months sight they may answer our purpose. If you take Bills you must have one or two good endorsers and let Mr. Russell be one of them. We don't wish for any setts to exceed 2000 Dollars and if not half that Sum so much the better, for small Amts. are much easier disposed of than large ones. After raising 8 or 9000 Dollars the remainder of your Cargo you may have disposed of at one or 2 years Credit provided Mr. Russel will be accountable for bad Debts for which we shall expect to allow him as customary. But if he (Mr. Russel) will not be accountable for bad Debts in this case he must do with our Inst. at [as] with his own. We wrote you on the 19th Ult. by our ship *Africa*, Capt. Robinson at which time we presumed that your family and friends were well, we have this day reced. a Letter from Mr. Champlin confirming it.

361. Nathaniel Russell to Joseph and Joshua Grafton, 1785.[1]

Charleston, 2d July 1785.

In my last of the 13th Ulto. I informed you of the arrival of Captn. Champlin, and that I had undertaken to sell his Cargo, the

[360] [1] Essex Institute, MSS., Slave Trade in Salem. For further knowledge of the Graftons and of Capt. Robert Champlin see this work, vol. III., index. Among these papers are two sheets of accounts of trade at Vintan on the Gambia River, carried on by Capt. Geo. Nelson of the brig *Anthony* between Dec. 17, 1781, and Apr. 10, 1782. There is no evidence as to the owner of the brig, but the other papers in this envelop evidently relate to the business of the Graftons and this may also be one of their ventures.

[2] A copy of Captain Champlin's instructions, signed by the captain but unsigned by the owners, dated Oct. 19, 1784, is to be found among these papers. The captain was to have eight privilege slaves, he was to remember that his number of men was large (but ten are listed), and was to keep his owners informed of his whereabouts for the sake of the insurers. A printed wage agreement for the "Briganteen *Gamby,* bound from Salem to Africa", thence to Charleston, S. C., and back to Salem, contains the names of the mariners but not the amounts of the wages. The bill of lading contains 15395¼ gallons of New England rum and one cask of tobacco. Slave Trade in Salem.

[361] [1] Essex Institute, MSS., Slave Trade in Salem. The names are supplied by the editor.

sales of which are now enclosed, wth proceeds being £5987. 1, which are the greatest sales ever made in this State or perhaps any where else, They were remarkably healthy and in general very good slaves. The Cargo consisted of an hundred, including an old woman and her grandchild abt. 20 months old, both, not worth half a prime slave. I have taken care to sell them into the very safe hands and if no unforseen accident happens, I do not think that you will loose a shilling by bad debts. I shall enclose you a list of bonds—most of them are pay'b in Jany. '86 and I flatter myself that I shall be able to receive at least one half the amt in the course of the next [*illegible*] that is by the 1st Jan. Every thing will depend on a good season. At present the prospect is flattering. The reason of my selling the last 42 at so great price was, that Melson, who bot them had Mr Stith [?] paper for which he wanted Cash, but it was for so large an amount, that he could not obtain the money from any one person. He was therefore under the necessity of buying Negroes, which he sold at a very great loss; The bond is as good as any that I have.

I have charged you £254. 16. 9 for Captn. Champlain's Coast Comn., being 4 on 104. Have credited your acct wth the am't of your order on Mr. Charles Hamilton £46. 0. 4. Curry equal to £35. 16. 4 stg. you have a list of bonds £5610. 17. 7. the Brigt. *Gambia's* disbursments £118. 14. 8 a Bill on S. A. Otis Esqr. 100 Dollars and Captn. Champlains receipt for £7. 18. 8 being the balance of 3 Negroes sold for Cash. Since I closed the sales 4 large ships have arrived with a great number of negroes [2] and many more daily expected, which must lower the prices and lengthen the credit greatly.

It is not in my power to sell any more of the negroes for Cash unless at very low prices.

You may be assured that I consulted your Interest in the whole of the business and I make no doubt but my conduct will.[3] . . .

362. Debate on the Importation of Negroes, 1785.[1]

September 27, 1785.

In the Committee sitting to consider the State of the Republic, *Mr. Ralph Izard* moved

That a report be made to the house, that it was the opinion of this

[2] This suggests that the list for 1785 is far from complete.

[3] The remainder of the letter is missing.

[362] [1] *Charleston Evening Gazette,* Sept. 28, 1785. "A short sketch of the debate, Sept. 27, in the Committee of Enquiry into the state of the Republic, on a motion that a report should be made to the house, that a bill be brought in to prohibit the importation of negroes into this state for three years". On Mar. 4 John Lewis Gervais wrote to Laurens: "A Bill was brought in the house of Representatives to prevent the importation of negroes and yesterday after a long debate it was rejected 65 to 58 but the Matter is not given up—another Bill will be brought in at the expiration of six days." N. Y. Hist. Soc., Letters of Gervais to Laurens.

committee, a bill ought to be brought in for preventing the importation of negroes into this state for the term of three years

The Honourable Gentleman spoke a few words in favour of his motion, which being read, *Mr. Maurice Simons*, rose to second it. This he said he would do with the most perfect goodwill, and also wished to add an amendment, that such high duties should be laid on articles of luxury, as would amount to prohibition. . . .

Mr. Bee thought a bill prohibiting the importation of slaves, would throw the ballance of trade against us for two years, without receiving from the measure such capital advantages as were expected. . . .

Mr. Izard thanked the hon. member for his support with regard to the motion, but could not by any means admit of the addition proposed, on the contrary, he would vote in the house against the importation of Negroes, for the space of three years, but when the other point came to be discussed he should vote the other way. . . .

Mr. J. Rutledge was against the proposed measure of restricting the importation of Negroes for any given time into this state; he had been of opinion for many years, that Negroes were an increase of our wealth; what number of slaves had been imported since the peace? not above 7000, take these on an average at 50£ a piece, would amount in the whole to about 400,000£ and surely that was not a sum sufficient to have occasioned the present national calamities; was the above sum in any proportion to the immense quantities of dry goods which had been imported, certainly not, it was there the evil originated, and it was there a speedy remedy was necessary; However, as the business to which the House was now confined was what must originate in this committee, and as at present there was nothing before the house, he should vote for the motion, although when the report was made he should be at full liberty to oppose it in the house, if he were so inclined, the report was then read and agreed on.[2] . . .

Mr. Bee . . . thought the manner in which negroes had been lately imported threw the ballance of trade greatly against us, and therefore was the one great cause of our present calamities. He understood that last year we imported negroes to the value of 300,000 £, our exports for that period amounted to 400,000 £ now we had also imported in this time a very extensive quantity of goods, which we had left only 100,000 £ to pay for with. Was this wise, was

[2] On Sept. 28 Judge Pendleton reported to the house that the committee on the state of the republic recommended non-importation of negroes for three years. On Sept. 30 Chancellor Matthews presented a plan for prohibiting importation for four years (*Charleston Evening Gazette*, Sept. 28, 30). The following debate took place in the committee of the whole to consider the bill for non-importation of negroes for three years. Ralph Izard moved the discussion of the question. *Ibid.*, Oct. 1, 1785.

it politic? undoubtedly not. There were articles of foreign production that were indispensibly necessary for us to procure, especially whilst there appeared so great a backwardness amongst the people for establishing manufactories, such as those of the coarser kind, which we must have, but if we went on and imported luxuries, it was unreasonable to suppose we should ever be out of debt. The great quantity of negroes now pouring in upon us, occasions every planter to wish an increase of his stock, the sight of a negroe yard was to[o] great a temptation for a planter to withstand, he could not leave it without purchasing; in short, there seemed to be a rage for negroes, without any consideration how they were to be paid for. He did not object to this increase of slaves when we were out of debt; let that happy period arrive, wait with patience until we can clear ourselves, and then it would be time enough to permit importation. As it would be unreasonable to turn away those vessels that were already on their way for this state, if the proposition should be agreed to by the Committee, he wished the time of its taking place might be fixed for the 1st of January next. . . .

Judge Pendleton: . . . We wanted a large supply of negroes, and superfluities, when we could not devise means to pay for those we were already in possession of. . . . In a debate last year upon this subject, it had been said, and he did not doubt but the argument would be used this day, that negroes should be considered as the riches of a country, but this was an opinion he could by no means assent to. They might indeed constitute the strength of it, but its riches should be estimated by the number of its white inhabitants, for it was upon them that our commerce, our agriculture, and manufacture depended. . . .

General Pinckney went extensively into the question. He made a clear enumeration of the negroes imported, and their value on an average. He thought the strength of this country constituted its riches; that this sort of strength once saved this city, in the war, was the case when Prevost over-ran the country: 'twas true he only looked at us and went away, but what was this owing to—why to the number of bastions hastily thrown up, a service performed entirely by the negroe pioneers. This country was not capable of being cultivated by white men; as appeared on the attempt made in Georgia, during General Oglethorp's administration, but entirely failed, and ended in the white people emigrating from that state into this, where they could have negroes to cultivate their lands. Such part of this country was unhealthy as had not yet been cleared, so that the useful labours of negroes contributed to promote salubrity in the air. Much had been said about our exports being inferior to our imports, but his measure tended to diminish the exports still

more, and of course prevents a great deal of specie from being brought into the state. Negroes were to this country what raw materials were to another country, they increased the staple commodity, a point well worth gentlemen's attention, as was also the large duty paid to the state for negroes imported; being about 3 £ per head. Who was it that wanted negroes? why those brave men that had suffered by the war; they had the general misfortune to find, on being released from captivity, there plantations plundered, and every negroe swept away. Was it not well understood, that no planter could cultivate his land without slaves? and yet is he not oblidged to pay his land tax? Is it not a moral impossibility for any planter to pay that or any other tax when by passing of this proposition they deprive of the means! Another observation of material consequence was, that to shut our ports against the importation of negroes, the whole of our trade would center in Georgia and North Carolina; they would keep their ports open while ours were shut; and so drain us of all our produce—was this the intention of gentlemen? surely not! and yet this would be the consequence if the committee agreed with the proposition. He concluded his speech with a declaration that he would vote against the proposition.

Mr. E. Rutledge made an animated speech for the proposition.

General Pinckney said a paper had been put into his hands, which stated, that in 1783, negroes sold, on an average at 90 £ a head, how they had fallen in price every one knew; this was an evident demonstration of the advantages arising from importation.

Mr. Izard observed that the purchasers of negroes at 90 £ a head had them on a credit, which was a benefit, but the late mode of purchasing was, for planters to give bonds to make speedy payments for their negroes in England with produce.

Mr. Smith wished to know what was become of a memorial, signed by six hundred names, and which had in a great measure occasioned there being convened at this present time: one part of that memorial attributed the poverty in which the country had been involved, to take its source from the importation of negroes, and prayed a check might be given to this increasing calamity. He thought many of the arguments of former speakers applied to our situation in former times, rather than the situation of the country at present. It [had] been already agreed upon by the committee, that it would be improper to emit paper money, and yet should they disagree to the proposition, the introducing more negroes would drive us headlong into that very measure, for paper money must be made to pay for them. Something had been urged as to the policy of increasing the quantity of our negroes, that was a point he would not enter into argument upon at present, he could not help observ-

ing, that the previous consideration ought to be how we could pay for them, this was a duty incumbent upon us to do, if we wished to prove to the world, as he was satisfied we always should do, that we preferred honesty to policy. The legislature were bound in duty to restrain an exuberence in any that had a tendency towards injuring the public interest: food was absolutely necessary for the existence of a man, but was it any reason, that because he has a craving appetite that he shall eat until he burst, An observation had been made that the people had given into an excess of luxury; he thought the imputation was only justly applicable in part, to Charleston, for he knew people in the country lived in a very moderate manner. An honorable friend of his had said, that to stop the importation of negroes would greatly enhance the value of those in the state; he did not coincide with this idea—he rather thought people would look round to their superflous negroes, at present sunk in indolence, and send them to work. He supposed there were at present in Charleston not fewer than 10,000 negroes, of this over-grown number he did not doubt but 7000 could well be spared, if the proposition is agreed to, those families that have about their houses perhaps 25 negroes, will find out that five are sufficient, and send the rest to their plantations. On the whole he was entirely for the proposition, and should vote accordingly; not that he was very anxious about its fate, because he was satisfied that the evil every day would cure itself more and more, the improvident manner in which we contracted debts hastened the loss of credit, and we should cease to purchase, when merchants no longer could be found to trust us.

When the chairman mentioned the first of January, as the time for the act to take place, *Commodore Gillon,* said if the committee were of opinion to stop the importation of negroes, they ought to do it immediately; before the first of January 10,000 negroes might be brought here from the West Indies.

The question being called for, it was put, and the committee divided, when there appeared to be,

For the proposition	47
Against it	51
Majority against the proposition	4

October 5, 1785.[3]

The order of the day being called for, *Mr. E. Rutledge* rose to introduce his promised motion for prohibiting the importation of

[3] On Oct. 3 Mr. M. Simons requested that since four more members had arrived the matter be again discussed in the committee of the whole, and the debate was therefore resumed Oct. 5, on a motion of Mr. E. Rutledge against the importation of negroes. *Charleston Evening Gazette*, Oct. 18, 1785.

negroes during the term of three years. He said although on a former day the question which he now meant to submit for consideration had been discussed much at large, and received a negative, yet from a review of the arguments made use of at that time, and a recollection of the small majority of numbers that defeated the proposition proposed by his honorable and learned friend he was induced still to persevere, not only from a hope that many gentlemen had altered their sentiments, but from a something in his constitution that powerfully stimulated him to persevere to the utmost in accomplishing any measure that had an obvious tendency to promote the public good. He had considered the former arguments divested of prejudice and passion; had weighed them well in his mind for conviction, but he still found the forcible truth of such reasons offered against this destructive importation, and did not doubt but the decision of that day would prove to the world we had become sensible of what really was our natural interest. . . . *Mr. Rutledge* then observed that the true cause of all the misfortune in which this country was involved at present should be attributed entirely to the immense debt, by which we were overwhelmed. That justice had been more regularly administered immediately after the evacuation of this state by the British than it was six months ago, and better six months ago than at present; as people were pressed by their necessities, they became refractory, and finally might be disposed to lay aside all subordination. The only way to relieve ourselves from those distresses, and avoid their evil consequences, would be to extricate ourselves from debt, and he could think of no measure so likely to bring relief as the one which he had had the honor of offering; he hoped therefore it would be taken and executed now, or it might probably be out of our power to do it to any good purpose hereafter. Nor was the measure a new one—it had been adopted by our ancestors more than once;—it had been adopted with success. The war of 1739 had involved this country in distress very similar to those under which she now labors; with this difference indeed that our produce was then scarcely of any value—the executive Officers of the Law were effectually opposed, and a scheme for the valuation of property was set on foot. But the wisdom of our ancestors, in prohibiting the importation of negroes, and by the blessing of providence on their honest endeavors, the public tranquility was again restored, and the faith of private engagements was inviolably preserved. During the war of 1758 few negroes were imported into this country but immediately on the signing of the peace of 1763 the negroe trade was embraced with avidity. There were many men then alive who had smarted under former calamities—they remembered the evils which he had re-

lated—they wisely stept forward, and in some measure checked the evils which they had well grounded reasons to dread—they prohibited the importation of negroes, tho' they were then in a preferable situation in point of debt and trade than at present. Mr. R. then went into a state of the imports of the years 1765, and 1766, and demonstrated that by stopping the importation of negroes the ballance in favor of the country was 71,800 £, sterling. though there had been a failure of crops, and by recurring to the crop same preceding year he shewed that if a full crop had been made in 1776, when the importation of negroes was entirely stopt, the ballance would have been 151,800 £ sterling. He then stated the debt which it was thought was due from this state, and called upon the house to shew what probability there was of there ever being in a better situation than at present if they continued to import negroes. . . . It [had] been strongly urged in a former debate, that negroes were the riches of this state, he did not feel himself inclined to combat this opinion in the fullest extent, he should only at present observe that this supposed wealth could not exist but in better times. The general mode of talking was, we have a large quantity of lands that must lie dormant until we can procure negroes to cultivate them, and for this purpose we will plunge ourselves into difficulties; did not this resemble the conduct of men that were willing to sacrifice all natural comforts and advantages for the aggrandisement of their heirs. Great stress has been laid, in a former debate, on the unhealthiness of our climate, he could not accord with the general opinion on this point, beca[u]se in the course of his observation he had known many persons arrive at a ripe old age, owing to their temperence, which had a salutary influence upon the health of mankind. Fears were also expressed that Georgia would import slaves when we did not, and draw into her bosom all our produce in payment for slaves; but there were material obstructions against that state entering into the African trade; the merchants must possess large capitals to enable them to prosecute the trade with success; such was the disorder prevalent there, and such the diliatory manner of collecting debts (three years time being necessary) that no merchant in Georgia on a sudden could become an importer of negroes; however, allowing the argument in its fullest extent, still he flattered himself that he had a remedy to propose, perfectly efficacious, and unexceptional, this was to render null and void all bonds given in Georgia for negroes during a limited time; such a restriction would compleatly prevent an illicit trade being carried on between the two states, and avert the threatened evils which gentlemen were so much in fear of, he hoped too we had another security in the virtue of the people—he hoped that

when it was understood that the legislature had stopped the prohibition of negroes to relieve our national distress, the people would be emulous in exertions to keep the law; . . .

Chancellor Matthews seconded the motion; as he had given his opinion on the subject when it was before the committee, he should not trouble the house at present.

Mr. Pringle said this republic depended on her produce materially for her national welfare and support, . . . The increase of domestic industry lays the foundation of foreign commerce, but how could we continue industrious if the motion were agreed to for taking the very means of our industry away. it was from our negroes we were capable of cultivating our lands; the labour of a white person in the field under the burning sun in August amounted to very little; whilst the hardy Ethiopian pursued his task without appearing to feel any inconvenience from the heats that rendered his master enervated and useless. . . . With regard to the ballance of trade he had long been of opinion, that it depended on the cheapness of labour; this rule prevailed in other states, why not then in this? and if it did would not a scarcity of necessary labourers tend to enhance the price of labour, and throw the ballance of trade still more against us? not that he thought the late calculations had been on just principles, our imports had indeed been very large, but his was owing to our new situation. . . . In calculating our imports last year at 300,000 £ and our exports at 400,000 £ it was argued that we should be more frugal; he sincerely hoped we would in the introduction of foreign articles of luxury, but negroes were not luxuries; they were a sort of rough journeymen, and from their numbers stimulated our white workmen to a higher degree of exertion than they would otherwise arrive at. What tho' for three years our crops had failed, should we lay our account that they would always be unproductive? in former times our produce commonly amounted to about 100,000 barrels of rice, which at 3 £ per barrel made 300,000 £ exclusive of 50,000 wt. of indico, and other articles, so that what reason appeared for fears that our debts could not be paid. He made other observations, and pressed the house to consider whether it was not probable that if the ports were shut up for three years the Liverpool Merchants might not be induced to quit the African trade entirely, for he understood they were at present undetermined what steps to take.

Mr. Izard. . . . He again entreated gentlemen to consider what the motion was, being simply if under our present enormous load of debt, we could be justified in going any further.

Dr. Ramsey would have supposed himself amongst an assembly of divines, from the great piety with which a political question had

been argued. Since the evacuation 9000 Negroes had been brought into this state; and this importation occasioned us to run largely in debt; our creditors were very pressing, yet what we were about to do, not anxious to become honest by making payment, but studying how to gain greater credit. In former times our negro trade was carried on very differently from what it was at present, much more to our advantage; we could then purchase negroes on a credit of 5 years, and so much did honesty flourish amongst us, that he remembered an instance of a planter, who had taken up some negroes on a credit for a time, but finding himself unable to pay, from bad crops, he brought the negroes back to the merchant and desired to return them, because he found himself unable to keep up to the terms on which they had been purchased: the conduct of the merchant would have graced the primitive times of innocence and virtue; he said to the planter, take back your negroes, and add as many more to them as you please: I shall never distress any man that can satisfy me he is honest, But this mutual confidence no longer existing, no other prudent alternative remained, but to stop importing. . . . He thought little of the opinion that our produce might find its way to Georgia; since the peace that state had only imported one vessel with slaves; but should the shutting up our ports, occasion her merchants to import Negroes, he thought the precaution of rendering bonds void, as recommended, would prevent any clandestine trade being carried on between us and Georgia. It had been observed that great duties were paid for negroes, and therefore we should go on importing; but he could tell the house that although the money did not come into the treasury under the denomination of duties, it would still be paid for taxes; it was frequently the case that a planter on his way to the treasury with his taxes, unluckily stumbled on a negro yard the temptation was too great for his philosophy to withstand, and he purchased negroes with the money that ought to have been devoted to payment of his debts. Much had been said of our unhealthiness, for his part he did not think a greater number of negroes would make our climate in the smallest degree more wholesome; but if it were so, he would rather continue as we were than run more into debt, for he hated a dun infinitely more than he dreaded a fever. A gentleman had said that the Liverpool merchants were at present undetermined what steps they should take with respect to their future trade, and might be induced to discontinue engageing in the slave trade, if we shut up our ports; well let them do so; what loss will this be to us? on the contrary the confederation will profit by it; for the African trade could be carried on by the New England states, he meant as mer-

chants, not as Christians, with as much advantage, as by any country under the sun. . . .[4]

Judge Pendleton approved greatly of the motion, and entered into a defence of it; he then answered several arguments of General Pinckney's, which are in justice omitted. It had been urged that a non importation of negroes might throw that trade into the hands of Georgia, but this was no good reason why we should continue it to our ruin, because a few negroes would probably be introduced amongst us from that state; with equal propriety the commander of a vessel might object against putting to sea, fearing to perish, because he took in a few drops of water. It had been observed, that a man's life was estimated at seven years; this perhaps was a certain calculation in England, where the temperature of the climate was more regular and wholesome than here, but, all disadvantages attending new negroes, being maturely consider'd he did not think the calculation of a negroes life should exceed two years; if he should be right, what became of all those high sounding arguments about national wealth deriving such abundant addition from the importation of slaves, when it was obvious that a man who bought one at the current price, had a balance against him, for no slave could be expected to produce for his master 30 £ per annum. . . .

Mr. Calhoun wondered how it happened that gentlemen argued so strenuously against a measure that they at the same time encouraged; riding to this city from the country he met about 20 fine healthy new negroes; enquiring who they belonged to, he was informed Judge Pendleton; he did not think bonds could be taken in the manner proposed by the honorable gentleman that made the motion; without militating against an article of the confederation, which he read and explained.

Mr. Rutledge explained that article of the confederation, which Mr. Calhoun had read to permit a very different construction than it had received. He made a round, elegant speech in reply to Gen. Pinckney.

The question being put on motion the house divided, when there appeared to be,

For the motion	48
Against it	63

[4] Mr. Smith, General Pinckney, and Chancellor Matthews here spoke but their remarks were not reported.

363. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1786, 1787.

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Mar. 22, 1786[1]		*Neptune*	Archibald Thomson	Jamaica (Gold Coast)		Daniel O'Hara
Apr. 3		*Jean*	Amos Minott	" " "		Abram Saspartas
June 27		*Brothers*	Glyn	" " "		J. and E. Penman
July 27	Aug. 3	*Gambia*	Ed. Boss	Gold Coast		Nath. Russell
Aug. 2	" 8	*Industry*	Benj. Hicks	" "		" "
" 23		*Good Intent*	Garner	Gambia		J. and E. Penman
" "		*Triumph*	Dennison			" " " "
Sept. 20	Sept. 25	*Nancy*	Jonson	Gold Coast		Dan. O'Harra and Wm. Trenholm
Oct. 19	Oct. 24	*Collector*	John Carnes	Sierra Leone		Nat. Russell[2]
Jan. 2, 1787[3]		*Perseverance*	Mix		14	Thos. Stewart
Mar. 24	Apr. 2	*Williams*	Hill	Dominica (Gold Coast)		Wilkinson, Cooke, and Peppin[4]
" 31		*Friendship*	Murray	Jamaica	12	Wm. Trenholm

[363] [1] On Feb. 6 Gibbs and Graham and Daniel Hall and Co. offered a few "Prime New Negroes", probably left from cargoes which came in 1785. *S. C. Gazette,* Feb. 6, 1786.

[2] The *Gambia* and *Collector* were New England vessels. See this work, III. 80, 82n.

[3] The items for 1787 are taken from the *Charleston Morning Post.* This paper, on Jan. 18, 1787, copied a Jamaica comment on the Carolina trade which is of some interest: "Kingston, Dec. 5. . . . The Guinea trade both to the Gold and Windward coasts of Africa, is carried on with vigour from Charleston, South Carolina, altho' on a contracted scale, the vessels being now smaller than usual." One explanation of this is probably that a larger proportion of the vessels was owned in America than had been the case before the war. The American-owned vessels had always been the smaller vessels.

[4] "Just arrived in the Ship *William*, Capt. Hill, from Dominica, The pick of a Cargo from the Gold Coast, consisting of prime young Fellows, Wenches and Boys. Conditions, Cash, Paper Medium, or produce. Wilkinson, Cooke and Peppin."

"A report having prevailed that the above cargo of slaves were engaged previous to the day of sale—in justice to our friends and to the public, we declare that no such engagements were made, nor a preference given. The sale is continued at No. 106, Broad street, where we have yet to dispose of some prime fellows, women and boys." *Charleston Morning Post,* Apr. 5, 1787.

364. Accounts of the *Gambia*, 1786.[1]

Sales of a Cargo of Negroes Recd. by the Brigt. "Gambia" Ed. Boss Master from Africa on acct. of Messrs. Joseph and Joshua Grafton, Merchs. in Salem Vizt.

When Sold	To whom sold	Men	Women	Boys and Garls	Pay'ble	What pd. in	Price Sold at	Gross Amount
Aug. 3	Pratt	6				Indico	£70	£ 420. 0
" "	"		2	2		"	£65	260. 0
" "	"			5		"	50	250. 0
" "	Robt. Smyth			1	1 Jany.	Paper		40. 0
" "	John Hart			2			47. 10	95. 0
" "	Wm. Lee			1				52. 10
" "	Augustino Menrech			1				47. 10
" "	Josiah Merick	1	3					271. 10
" "	Dreny Robertson	4					75	300
" "	" "	1						65
" "	Robt. Blair	1		2				157. 10
" "	Wm. Scott						32 Specie 3 paper	35
" "	Robt. Hazelhurst			1			Specie	40
" "	Debin Timpson	2	1				do.	160
" 5	Robt. Cochran	1					paper	65
" 8	Joshua Lock-wood	1						65
" "	Tobin Wilson	4	1					300
" 10	Eliza. Cochran	1					Specie £40 for £10	50
	do.	2			1st Jan'y	Paper	60	120.1[0]
" "	Paul Tripp	2					60	120.
" 11	Wm. Wyllis	1						60
" "	Christn William	1						60
	Wm. Wilkie			1				75. 10
	Wade Hampton	6	5		half 1 Jany.	and Half	50	650
" 15	John Horlbeek	1			Jany. 1			50
" "	" "	1						47. 10
" 29	Henry Cope	1						44.
" 30	Danl [?] De Saussiere		2	1				120
" 31	Lewis Listersitte Vendue	1						40
	Gibbs and Graham	1	4	Sick				98. 19. 2
		1	1					49. 4. 10
Sept. 4	Ripley Singelton	2			1 Jany.			105. 10
	Wm. Chambers			1				45
	Wm. Seall			1				40
	Gibbs and Graham Vendue		1					31. 10. 9
								£4412. 14. 9[2]

[364] [1] Essex Institute, MSS, Slave Trade in Salem. See this work, III. 81, for a letter of the Graftons to Captain Boss.

[2] A mistaken transcription is probably responsible for the discrepancy in these figures.

[*Accounts of the "Gambia"*—continued:]

Charges				
Duty on 87 Negroes at 60/	£261			
3 ps. Stripd Linning	4	15	11	
6 Blankets for Sick Negroes	2.	8		
Rum Sugar and Limes	1.	17		
Nursing and Bord'g Sick Negroes	1.	11.	3	
Gibbs and Graham Vendue Charge	6.	14.	4½	
Advertisement	2.	4		
Doctr Logans bill attend'g Sick Vist'g Vessell	7.	6.	6	
Commissions on £4412. 14. 9 at 5/ per Ct.	220.	12.	8	
Neet Proceeds Carried to Acct. Curr.	3904.	8.	0	£4412. 14. 9

CHARLESTON 7th Sept. 1786
E. E. etc.

365. DEBATE ON THE IMPORTATION OF NEGROES, 1787.[1]

March 22, 1787.

When the house came to the clause relative to negroes, where the Senate had inserted "three months".[2]

Commodore Gillon opposed any time being allowed, because a great number of negroes could be brought from the West Indies.

Mr. E Rutledge would rather vote to strike out this clause together; for if this ruinous and impolitic species of importation went, even for a short time, the legislature would be called on next year to pass another Instalment law. Indeed this was the only good clause in the bill, and tended to do away [with] those misfortunes which reduced them to the necessity of passing it.

Judge Burke thought some attention should be paid to the situation of those merchants who had already sent vessels to bring slaves; if the house did not admit some exception, they were actually making an *ex post facto* law?

Mr. Darrel asked whether all acts for paying debts by instalments were not *ex post facto* laws? If merchants had sent for negroes they might find a market for them in the several ports of the West Indies. If importations were not immediately stopt, the clause would do very little if any good, as a proof, a vessel had recently arrived at North Carolina, with 100 slaves, who were intended to be sent here.

Dr. Ramsey opposed any time. He made a jocose remark, that every man went to church last Sunday, and said his prayers, was bound by a spiritual obligation to refuse the importation of slaves.

[365] [1] *Charleston Morning Post,* Mar. 23, 1787, debate in the House of Representatives, S. C., over a bill to prohibit the importation of negroes. On Feb. 18 Gillon had introduced a bill for the recovery of debts which was first read on Mar. 13. On the 17th leave was given to add a clause forbidding the importation of negroes for three years. It is the debate on the third reading which is here reported. Meanwhile the senate, which had had the bill under consideration since the 17th, suggested amendments which the house, on Mar. 24, refused to accept. Jour. of House, S. C., 1787, pp. 96, 272, 298, 300, 325, 334, 350-351.

[2] Before the prohibition of importation was to take effect.

They had devoutly prayed not to be led into temptation, and negroes were a temptation too great to be resisted.

Mr. Simpkins was unwilling to stop the importation of slaves by a legislative interference; not that he wanted the practice to continue, but rather wished to have a clause in the constitution, prohibiting the importation of negroes altogether. To do it in any other way opened a door for persons to speculate. Suppose negroes were imported into North Carolina or Georgia, could they not be very easily smuggled into this state, and then we should lose the duties.

Mr. M. Winn hoped importation of negroes to be stopped immediately, or not at all. They had been told an instance of a man refusing to pay any part of his debts, alledging his inability, and a few days afterwards he purchased 15 slaves! It was their duty as legislators to prevent such people from going on in this line of dishonesty, which operated more to the disadvantage of their constituents than the loss of any part of the duties.

Mr. Hunter wanted the time extended to five months, with a view of giving the merchants time to dispose of their slaves. This law was intended to restrain imprudent persons, but this clause had a tendency to injure prudent persons.

Col. Anderson would not admit of an hour's delay. Why had the house agreed to this iniquitous law? was it not to relieve those who had made purchases, and were not able to pay? It was too notorious to be denied that we were still anxious to purchase negroes, and in five months a great number could be imported, which must be sold on credit, or kept until those prudent men came down to buy them for cash. In the mean time what was to become of debtors that wanted to sell property to pay their debts? Where could they find purchasers? This was the very reason that obliged the legislature to stoop so low as to pass restraining laws, and if they did not prevent importations of negroes, more such laws would be necessary. If this clause did not stand in its original form they had better throw out the bill at once, than hold out to creditors such a deception as that they were going to receive their debts in three years. What was the house to sanction such injustice to serve a few individual[s]? No, surely not. Rather let those monied men go and purchase from persons who were obliged to sell.

Commodore Gillon had another reason against the importation, which was, that negroes would rise in value, and the debtor who sold slaves had a better chance of satisfying his creditors.

The question being put generally for any importation of negroes, the yeas and nays were called, when there appeared to be for the importation 56, against 74.

Then the house agreed to strike out the three months.[3]

366. Act for penalizing the Importation of Negroes, 1787.[1]

March 28, 1787.

An Ordinance to impose a Penalty on any person who shall import into this State any Negroes, contrary to the Installment Act.

1. Be it ordained, by the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives, met in General Assembly, and by the authority of the same, That any person importing or bringing into this State a negro slave, contrary to the Act to regulate the recovery of debts and prohibiting the importation of negroes, shall besides the forfeiture of such negro or slave, be liable to a penalty of one hundred pounds, to the use of the State, for every such negro or slave so imported and brought in, in addition to the forfeiture in and by the said Act prescribed.[2]

367. Voyage of Joseph Hawkins, 1793-1795.[1]

We sailed from Charleston the 1st of Dec. 1793, on board the ship *Charleston,* J. Connelly master, burthen 400 Tons; and after a passage partly boisterous, and frequently becalmed for several days, we made the isles of Delos on the 17th January 1794.[2]

[3] The text of the act, "to regulate the recovery and payment of debts and for prohibiting the importation of negroes for the time therein mentioned", is to be found in the *Charleston Morning Post* (Mar. 29, 1787). It forbade importation for three years, and made the importer liable to a fine of £100 for each slave imported. His slaves were forfeited to the informer.

[366] [1] McCord, VII. 430; Mar. 28, 1787, Jour. of House, pp. 398, 399.

[2] The prohibition act, referred to above as the "installment act", began a policy of exclusion which, by the extension of the law from time to time, was maintained until the end of 1803 (DuBois, pp. 229, 238, 239, 240; McCord, VII. 433-434, 436, 444, 447, 449). "Yesterday the ship *Maria,* Capt. Dennison, from Anamabo, with 204 negroes on board, was seized, under authority of the law which prohibits the importation of slaves for three years" (*Charleston Morning Post,* June 16, 1787; *New Haven Gazette and Connecticut Magazine,* II. 172). The uncertainty during this period as to whether from time to time Charleston was or would be a market for slaves is illustrated in the case of Anderson *v.* Moncrieff (1810). On Oct. 6, 1799, the Andersons had consigned 45 negroes from Bance Island by the schooner *Phoebe* to M'Leod of Charleston, who was instructed to direct the slaves of the complainants, along with his own, to Havana if they could not be sold in Carolina. Catterall, *Judicial Cases,* II. 294.

[367] [1] Joseph Hawkins, *Voyage to the Coast of Africa* (1797). Joseph Hawkins had come to Charleston from New York, searching for an opportunity to earn a living. Not long after his arrival he was offered the position of supercargo on board the Guinea vessel *Charleston.* Such accounts as his of the process of purchasing the negroes in Africa are rare in the annals of the American traders.

[2] This account, as well as occasional items from other sources, suggests that though no slaves could legally be brought into Charleston, Charleston vessels were carrying them to other ports. The *Salem Gazette* (Jan. 31, 1792) reported the loss of the "*Eliza,* Olderman, from Charleston", on the coast of Africa; it may be remembered that Mungo Park in 1797 embarked in a Charleston slaver (this work, II. 640). A letter

These islands are nine in number, and afford harbours and safe anchorage in deep water for ships of any burthen; they are six leagues from the main land of Africa, in 12 deg. 30 min. south lat. they are inhabited by French and English factors, who find their account in living on those islands in preference to the main, particularly from the circumstances of accommodation for their ships, which lye here with the greatest safety in all weathers, and that their slaves cannot easily escape. The slaves are in those islands suffered to go at large, without chains, contrary to the customs on the continent. The surface of the islands is barren and rocky, but there is abundance of fine fresh water; and provisions are procured with facility.

From the factors here we learned that the Ebo and Golo Kings had been at war, the latter of whom having been defeated, and a great part of his army had fallen into the hands of the conqueror, they therefore advised us to proceed for the Reyo-pongo river, about 25 leagues south westward, and from thence the access to the Ebo nation would be easily secured, by a passage up that river and from thence by land, about three hundred miles from the mouth of this river; they furnished us with further directions, and assured us of a certain and good trade.

Agreeably to this information, we provided ourselves with such necessaries as the factors could afford us, and proceeded for the Reyo-pongo, which we made on the 5th of February, and after chusing a proper situation, came to anchor in a handsome harbour within the northern bank (pp. 12-14). . . .

On the 6th February we were visited by numbers of the natives, who offered to barter with us fruit and ivory for our hardwares; but finding after we had exchanged a few articles, that they belonged to a nation which had been before represented to us as thinly inhabited, and that we could not accommodate ourselves here as we wished, we made use of them to obtain information concerning the country of the Ebo king. We fortunately found an interpreter acquainted with that country and the trade, him we engaged, and an expedition was immediately determined upon by the captain (pp. 15-16).[3] . . . . . he proposed that I should go and see the prisoners; we accordingly crossed to the southeastern side of the rivulet, where at the lower side of the town, we found them confined in a large

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of Samuel Hodgden to Timothy Pickering, July 10, 1800, refers to the capture of a Charleston vessel with eighty slaves on board (Mass. Hist. Soc., Pickering Papers, vol. 42, pp. 239-240). In December, 1803, the schooner *Ann*, with a cargo of slaves, was captured by the French. Though her captain called himself a Danish subject and was sailing with Danish papers, the vessel was the property of Mann and Foltz of Charleston (Catterall, *Judicial Cases,* II. 285). See also *post,* no. 368. For further information concerning the American trade with the Delos Islands see this work, vol. III., index.

[3] Hawkins, in spite of his inexperience, was chosen to lead the expedition. The next sixty pages recount his overland journey and his reception by the Ebo king.

area within a thick stockade, on the outside of which was a trench: the inside was divided into parcels, and huts irregularly constructed, and the entrance as well as the whole circuit, was guarded by men with spears.

We commonly find ourselves impressed with emotions of horror or compassion, on entering places where our fellow men are doomed to punishment or thraldom. In the scene before me, the ear was not indeed dinned with the clanking of heavy fetters, but was horrible in its peculiar way. The captives were destitute for the most part of even their necessary covering, and bound indiscriminately together by the hands and legs, the cords being again fastened to the ground by stakes; they were loosed a few at a time once every day, when each was permitted to eat the only meal they were allowed, consisting of rice and palm oil. Benevolence, however, sometimes broke through the rigours of a savage life, and occasionally alleviated the sufferings of the weakly, or the wounded with milk or other necessaries: their condition was on the whole deplorable.

I had often in the course of the voyage, and of the journey, rebuked myself for having embarked in the African trade, but found a consolation in the reflection, that it was not from a malicious inclination or avaricious disposition, that I had embarked in it, but from the pressing call of necessity, and at a time when my dissent could not alter or obstruct the undertaking. On the present occasion, however, I was fully convinced the removal of these poor wretches even into the slavery of the West-Indies, would be an act of humanity, rather than one exposed to censure.

We passed through the whole range of the place of confinement, the old chief pointing out to me those who were the greatest warriors of the Galla nation. He then intimated to me that I might chuse such of them as I should think proper and agree on what he was to receive in return. I agreed to do so, but requested that I might have an opportunity of conversing with them, and chusing such as would go with me voluntarily, if any could be found. To this he readily assented; and for the next week I continued to visit them daily, and took occasion through my interpreter, to exhibit as flattering a prospect to their future situation in America, should they go with me, as I thought was just in itself, and favorable to their wishes. . . .

Having arranged matters on this subject to my mind, I mentioned to the old king the several articles which I proposed exchanging with him, and shewing specimens of such few articles as I had brought, proposed dispatching a person to the ship with a letter, directing the Captain to send a shallop with goods to the mouth of the little Congo, and that rafts should be ready with hands to convey them up the rest of the way. The Galla nation having suffered so much by their last

war, had now became fearful of molesting or interfering with the Ebo people, a circumstance, which if we had previously known, would have saved us a long circuitous and troublesome journey, which might now be performed with ease in one half the time (pp. 92-96). . . .

On the 3d of April, while I was on an excursion abroad, one of the messengers returned from the ship, and I found him before me at my hut in the evening, with a packet from the Captain, advising me of the goods which he had sent by the shallop, to the mouth of the little Congo, and giving me directions how to proceed.

The information being communicated to the old chief, he informed me he would send a number of experienced old men with me, to chuse such articles as they should approve and after three days, provisions and horses being provided, we set out, the company consisting of six of the deputation, with some of their families, a number of persons to carry provisions and goods, and my two wives. We had nearly 100 miles to go, which engaged us six days; riding proved very unpleasant to me, on account of the heat and the want of a saddle. We found the boats as we were directed, and a cargo of brandy, rum, gin, and tobacco, a few coarse guns, some ammunition, swords, knives, spears, and ornament, such as rings of various kinds, for the legs, arms, and fingers, some gilt and plated breast plates for their warriors, tinsel laces, and some glass-ware. An assortment so extensive and rich in their eyes, had never been there before; and bargains were very soon made for goods, in exchange for 100 slaves, (being ordered not to bring down more) for the rest I procured ivory and gold, in dust and bars. In these dealings I found my wives of more use to me than my companion Hurdee, for they sincerely studied my interest, while he studied to profit himself (pp. 136-138). . . .

The slaves that I had purchased were young men, many of whom being eager to escape from their bondage in Ebo, preferred the evil they "knew not of" to that which they then felt; but the majority were evidently affected with grief at their approaching departure.

Arrangements were made and a sufficient body of the Ebo people undertook to accompany me as a guard to the place of embarkation; provisions were provided for the journey, so that each of the slaves was well fed, and a load of provisions or goods given him to carry. They were tied to poles in rows, four feet apart; a loose wicker bandage round the neck of each, connected him to the pole, and the arms being pinioned by a bandage affixed behind above the elbows, they had sufficient room to feed, but not to loose themselves, or commit any violence; and as the guard was provided with arms, we had nothing to apprehend during the night, as we divided the Ebo people into parties, one of which slept while the other watched. . . .

This journey was extremely different in its nature from that in which I had last passed this way; the giddy pranks of the vain, or the inebriated Ebo, was woefully contrasted by the sullen melancholy, and deep sighs of the poor Galla prisoners; often did they look back with eyes flowing with tears, turn sudden round and gaze, seeming to part with reluctance, even from their former bondage. It was excessively affecting to me, but I considered that death might have been their fate otherwise, and I endeavoured to reconcile them to their condition, by representing flattering accounts of the country to which they were going; that the bonds they then bore were only to prevent their flight; that they should be at liberty where they were going, and have plenty to eat, drink, etc. These assurances occasioned a temporary composure, and we at length arrived at the place of our embarkation; two boats had been brought up, as the shallop drew too much water; the slaves were put on board, and necessarily in irons brought for the purpose. This measure occasioned one of the most affecting scenes I ever witnessed: their hopes with my assurances had buoyed them up on the road; but a change from the cordage to iron fetters, rent their hopes and hearts together: their wailings were torturing beyond what words can express; but delay at this crisis would have been fatal; the boat's crews were acquainted with the duty, and they were all safely embarked (pp. 139-143). . . .

We soon lost sight of them in a winding of the river; and continued going down with the current till night; the slaves seemed every hour to feel their situation more grievously, and I ordered them each a dram of liquor which for a while exhilerated their spirits, and quieted their cares. . . . We furnished the slaves with provisions, but whether through grief or sulleness, very few of them would partake of any refreshments beside water.

As soon as we had light we unmoored, and before noon we reached our shallop, extremely fatigued from the heat and closeness of the air, the banks of each side as we passed, being overgrown with wood and thicket, obstructing its free circulation. We had now another disagreeable piece of duty to execute, *viz.* the removal of the slaves from the small boats into the shallop; they were in want of room, and it was suggested to loose six of them at a time; we accordingly moved to the centre of the river, and being moored by a grapling, began to remove them; they appeared generally more quiet, and willing to act as we directed by the interpreter than usual, and had now all been removed, and placed below, but the last six, whom we suffered to remain on deck; when we had got under weigh, and were passing through a narrow part of the river, two of them found means to jump overboard; a sailor who was in the small boat astern seized one of them by the arms, and the end of a rope being thrown to him, the

slave was taken on board, though not without some difficulty. The others who had been at the oars, seeing their fellows, one of them seized, and the other struck on the head with a pole, set up a scream, which was echoed by the rest below; those that were loose made an effort to throw two of the sailors overboard; the rest, except the one in the boat and at the helm, being asleep: the noise had now aroused them, and the scream had impressed them with some degree of terror; they seized on the guns and bayonets that lay ready, and rushed upon the slaves, five of whom from below had got loose, and were endeavouring to set the rest free, while those we had to deal with above, were threatening to sacrifice us to their despair. These transactions were but the events of a moment; I had neither gun nor sword, and to retire in search of either, would have been to give the slaves a decisive superiority; I laid hold of the palloon stick, and had raised it to strike one of them who had nearly wrested a gun from one of the sailors, but before I could give the blow, I received a stroke of an oar, which severed my little finger from my hand; I know not how it was that I felt nothing of the severe pain for the moment, a slight twitch on the hand was the only sensation I experienced; the blow was broken that I had intended, but I renewed the effort, and with effect, for I levelled the fellow, and the sailor recovered his gun, whom I could not prevent from running the poor negro through the body; the hatch was open, and he fell among his fellows, who had, crouded tied, and ironed as they were, to assist as far as they were able, by holding our legs, encouraging their companions, and shouting whenever those above did any thing that appeared likely to overcome one or other of us. We at length overpowered them; one only having escaped and one being killed, the rest were immediately bound in double irons, and took care from thence till our arrival at the ship, not to suffer any of them to take the air without being made fast. Five of the sailors were considerably, but not dangerously hurt, and of the slaves, those who had been riotous above and below, nine were severely wounded.

We reached the ship in five days from our first embarkation, where we were received with much satisfaction; the officers had all provided themselves with three or four wives each, and rebuked me for not bringing mine along, alledging that they would, according to the account given by their messmates, bring a good price when we arrived in America. I was sorry, however, to find that two of our best seamen had expired during my absence, from the excessive fatigue of the ships duty, and the heat of the climate.

While I was away, the Captain had opened a trade in another channel, he had obtained 100 slaves in the place where he lay, beside gold and ivory; and had contracted with some French and English

factors up the river Reyo Naunus,[4] for the remainder of his cargo, and for his sea stores. We accordingly weighed anchor and stood for that river, which lies about 40 leagues N. of the Reyo Pongo, or in 10 deg. 40 min. south, and on the 16th of May arrived off the Cape, which forms one side of the southern outlet of that river (pp. 145-150). . . .

The whole number of slaves that we had now on board, I found about 500, of whom above 50 were then lying in a dangerous state of illness; it was time for us to depart, being now in the 13th of June, 1795. We accordingly got in our anchors, and procured six of the natives boats, with six men in each, to tow us down night and day, when the tide served (pp. 173-174).[5] . . .

368. Cargo of the *Charlotte*, 1799.[1]

In: Sund's shipp'd by H. J. Jones on board the Scho "Charlotte" Wm. Langster Master, for Africa on Acct. and risk of the Shipper and cons'd to the Master on board.

34 Hhd Tobacco 39691 [c]wt		$7.50	2976.82
9 Casks Whiskey 490 at pr		75	367.50
10 bbls. rice 4205 10/6 barrels at 2/3			144.43
			3488.75
Chgs.			
[*illegible*]	15 Hds.	4.05	
Drayage		19.75	
Whfge		10.43	
			34.23
		Ball	3522.98

E. E.[2] Chston, 24 July 1799.
H. J. Jones

369. Governor James Richardson to the House of Representatives, 1803.[1]

Columbia, Nov. 4, 1803.

To the Speaker and Members of the House of Representatives.

Gentlemen, . . . All possible vigilance and my best exertions, have been used to carry effectually into operation the law prohibiting

[4] Rio Nunez.

[5] On the Middle Passage a fever broke out among the cargo which affected the eyes of its victims and Hawkins lost his eyesight. Where the negroes were delivered Hawkins does not say.

[368] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS.

[2] This is endorsed: "H. J. Jones Invoice of Sundries shipped on board Sch: *Charlotte* Wm. Langster Master 1799." The shipper may have been W. I. Jones.

[369] [1] *Charleston Courier,* Dec. 5, 1803.

the importation of negroes into this state; but it is with concern that I have here to state to you, that it has been without success; whether it must be attributed principally to the ill consequences that are apprehended would result from carrying the law into operation, by emancipating the negroes so brought in (a remedy deemed more mischievous than the evil of their introduction in servitude), or whether the interest of the citizens is so interwoven with the species of property, that it prevents there aiding the law in answering the salutary purposes intended, I will not presume to determine; but I am inclined to believe both causes operate as preventatives, for those people are continued to be brought into the state, beyond the possibility of prevention.[2] In all laws intended for the general benefit, they should be so calculated, that their operation should be found equal in every part of the state; when this is not the case, it evinces that there is some radical defect therein, or it is inimical to the interest of the citizens; with this law, such is the situation; for in the state of things, the citizens in the frontier and sea coast districts, do accumulate this property without the possibility of being detected, while those of the interior and middle districts only, experience the operation of that law; from their remote situation of introducing this property, they are deprived of that security to evade the vigilant eyes of the officers of the government. Whatever defects were experienced in this law, and however ineffectual it has been found, and from whatsoever cause, I was induced to hope that the provisions made in the law of congress to prevent the introduction of that property into such states, where, by their laws the same had been prohibited, would prove successful in its operation, and ensure the desired object of prevention; but that also, has not been productive of the purposes contemplated, from not meeting that due support from the citizens, which the laws of the government ought. This, indeed, is a circumstance to be lamented, but such is the true state of our situation, and therefore becomes a subject worthy of your consideration, and one that I trust will engage your endeavours to render equally energetic in every part of the state, that law, which experience has proved partial in its operation, and is oppressive upon such citizens in the interior districts, as holds it an object of desire, to augment their capital in the accumulation of such property. . . .

[2] On Feb. 14, 1804, Lowndes made the statement that the number of negroes imported into South Carolina during the period of the prohibition was but little less than normal. Mitchell, of New York, computed that during the past twelve months (1804), 20,000 negroes had been transported from Africa to the plantations of Georgia and South Carolina. In spite of the ample reward offered to reformers, there were no convictions in South Carolina during the period of prohibited trade (*Annals of Congress,* 8 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 992, 1000, 1031). Drayton in 1802 referred to the number smuggled into the state both by land and water. *View of South Carolina,* p. 146.

370. Debate on the Importation of Negroes, 1803.[1]

Tuesday, December 6.

On the second reading of this bill, *Mr. Barnwell* opposed it. He maintained that by the immense influx of these persons into the state, the value of this species of property would be considerably diminished, insomuch that he did believe negroes would soon not be worth one half of what they might now be sold for. The value of the produce raised by their labour would in like manner be depreciated. It was well known that the stores of Charleston were now filled with our cotton, and that it could not be sold for any tolerable price. Our trade with the nations of Europe was much interrupted and lessened by the great contest which was now maintained in that quarter of the world; a contest on the issue of which, perhaps, everything dear and valuable to man depended. Was it under these circumstances that we ought to lay out the savings of our industry, the funds accumulated in many years of prosperity and peace, to increase that produce whose value had already fallen so much? He thought not. The permission given by the bill would lead to ruinous speculations. Everyone would purchase negroes. It was well known that those who dealt in this property would sell it at a very long credit. Our citizens would purchase at all hazards, and trust to fortunate crops and favorable markets for making their payments; and it would be found that South Carolina would in a few years, if this trade continued open, be in the same situation of debt, and subject to all the misfortunes which the situation had produced, as at the conclusion of the revolutionary war. The Hon. Member adduced in support of his opinion various other arguments, still more cogent and impressive, which from reasons very obvious we decline making public.

Mr Smith said he would agree to put a stop to the importation of negroes, but he believed it to be impossible. For this reason he would vote for the bill.

On putting the question a majority appeared to be in favor of the importation from any part of the world except the Bahama and West India Islands.[2]

[370] [1] *Charleston Courier,* Dec. 26, 1803. This debate is on a bill permitting the importation of negroes.

[2] "The house agreed to the order of the day, resolved itself into a committee of the whole, on a bill from the senate to alter and amend the several acts respecting the importation or bringing into this state, from beyond the seas and elsewhere, negroes and other persons of colour; also a report of the committee of this house, to enquire whether any, and if any what amendments are necessary in the acts, entitled, an act to prevent negro slaves and persons of colour from being brought into or entering this state, and an act supplementary to the act aforesaid; and on that part of the governor's message relating thereto, Mr. H. Deas in the chair.

"Mr. H. Deas from the committee of the whole house, reported, they have had the same under consideration, and are of opinion that the laws prohibiting the importation of negroes and other persons of colour into this state, can be so amended as to prevent their introduction amongst us, and to recommend that a committee be appointed to report a bill for that purpose on Monday next.

371. Reminiscences of Ebenezer S. Thomas, 1803.[1]

This, and the three following years, my business doubled, and trebled, annually. In November, 1803, I returned from my fourth voyage, with a printed catalogue of fifty thousand volumes of books, in every branch of literature, arts, and sciences, being by far, the largest importation ever made into the United States. I had only got them opened, and arranged for sale three days, when news arrived from Columbia, that the legislature, then in session, had opened the port for the importation of slaves from Africa. The news had not been five hours in the city, before two large British Guineamen, that had been laying off and on the port for several days, expecting it, came up to town; and from that day my business began to decline, although then in a situation to carry it on to three times the extent I had ever done before. Previous to this, the planters had large sums of money laying idle in the banks, which they liberally expended, not only for their actual, but supposed wants. A great change at once took place in every thing. Vessels were fitted out in numbers, for the coast of Africa, and as fast as they returned, their cargoes were bought up with avidity, not only consuming the large funds that had been accumulating, but all that could be procured, and finally exhausting credit, and mortgaging the slaves for payment; many of whom were not redeemed for ten years after, to my knowledge. This state of things continued, until put a stop to by that provision of the Constitution which forbade the trade after the first of January, 1808. So completely absorbed were the funds of the agriculturalists, in many instances, that those who had been in the habit of indulging in every luxury, and paying for it at the moment, took credit for a bundle of quills and a ream of paper. For myself, I was upwards of five years disposing of my large stock, at a sacrifice of more than one half, in all the principal towns, from Augusta, in Georgia, to Boston.[2]

"The above report being immediately considered, was agreed to, and the following gentlemen appointed a committee for that purpose, *viz.* Messrs. Falconer, H. Deas, D. Deas, K. L. Simons and Cheves.

December 13.

"The committee appointed by the house of Representatives on Saturday last, to bring in a bill to prevent the importation of negroes into this state, reported a bill for that purpose yesterday, which was read a first time; when a motion was made to postpone the second reading of the said bill until the 1st day of February next, which was negatived, 41 to 62, and ordered for a second reading to-day" (*Charleston Courier*, Dec. 6, 13, 20, 26, 1803). For the act of 1803 opening the Carolina ports to negroes see McCord, VII. 449.

[371] [1] Ebenezer S. Thomas, *Reminiscences of the Last Sixty-Five Years* (Hartford, 1840), II. 35-36. Ebenezer Thomas of Massachusetts, a nephew of the celebrated printer Isaiah Thomas, was occupied with a book-selling business in Charleston during the years indicated.

[2] Occasional unfavorable comment on the action of South Carolina comes from North Carolina: July 26, 1806, the *Raleigh Register* describes the reopening of the trade as a "detested, short sighted policy, which in order to increase the wealth of a few can impose upon the State the greatest calamity with which any nation has ever been afflicted". Taylor, *Slave Holding in North Carolina*, p. 27.

372. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1804.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Feb. 14	Feb. 20	*Governor Dowdeswell*	E. Williams	Africa	329	Tunno and Cox
" 17		*Martha Crawly*	—— Tate	Congo	100	Mortimer and Heron
" 25		*Neptune*			25	Macbeth, Henry, and Co.[2]
" 29		*Nymph*	John Ross	Angola	212	
Mar. 22	Mar. 26	*Lord Rodney*		"	333	Tunno and Cox, Tunno and John Price
" 24	" 24			"	200	Macbeth, Henry, and Co.
Apr. 13	Apr. 18	*Anna*		"	357	Wm. M'Leod
" 24	" 30	*Esther*		Congo	367	Wm. Boyd
May 19		*Brilliant*[3]	Preble [?]	Windward Coast	148	J. and N. Bixby
" 30				Gambia	100	Napier, Smith, and Co.
June 1	June 7	*Argus*		Windward Coast	279	Jas. Miller, sr.
" 26	July 11	*Thomas*	Bishop		104	Thos. Tunno and John Price
July 12		*Horizon*	Alexander M'Clure	Mozambique[4]	243	Alexander and John M'Clure
" 31	Aug. 2				30	Verree and Blair
Aug. 6		*Eliza*		Africa		
" 7	" 9			Gold Coast	100	Jas. Miller, sr.
" 8		*Harriet*	Welch[5]	Gambia		
" 20					20	James Broadfoot
" 27	Aug. 28	*Alexander*	Thompson	Angola		James Lee [?]
" "	" 30	*Francis*	Jas. Sontar	"	185	John Potter
Sept. 3	Sept. 5			Gold Coast	58	Jas. Miller
" 5	" 10	*Christopher*		Congo	270	Wm. Boyd
" 25	" 25				10	Wm. Holmes and Co.
Oct. 11	Oct. 15	*Macclesfield*		Congo	298	Gibson and Broadfoot
Nov. 5		*Active*	Campbell	Havana		J. S. Adams
" 6		*Susan*	Mackie[6]	Goree (Mandingoes)	107	David M'Kelvey
" 16	Nov. 22	*Hamilton*		Windward Coast		Wm. Boyd
" 26	" 28	*John*		" "		" "
" 30	" 30	*Barbados* Packet		Congo	212	Gibson and Broadfoot
Dec. 12		*Ruby*		"	391	Wm. Boyd
" 15	Dec. 17	*Mary*		Gold Coast	87	Jas. Broadfoot

[372] [1] This list, compiled from the *Charleston Courier,* should be compared with that presented to the Senate in 1820, which follows. Each contains vessels not found in the other. Moreau de Saint Méry, in *Voyage aux États-Unis* (p. 331), gives the number of negroes imported into Carolina in 1804 as 5658; John Lambert, in *Travels through Canada and the United States, 1806, 1807, and 1808* (1813), II. 165, gives 5386.

[2] This notice appeared in at least forty issues of the *Courier.*

[3] "Brig *Brilliant,* Preble, of this port, is lost on the Coast of Africa—Cargo saved." *Charleston Courier,* May 31, 1805.

[4] "On Wednesday, the 18th instant, will commence the sale of the Cargo of the ship *Horizon,* at Frink's Wharf, consisting of 243 Mozambique Slaves. . . . The Conditions of Sale for the Slaves are, one third cash, one third payable the 1st of January, and one third payable the first of June, 1805, with interest included in the Notes, and approved indorsers in Charleston. . . . The character of the Slaves from the East Coast of Africa is now so well known that it is unnecessary to mention the decided preference they have over all other negroes" (*ibid.,* July 14, 1804). The *Horizon* had left Mozambique with 543 slaves but off the Cape of Good Hope she was seized by a French vessel and held nearly a month, during which time about 300 of the negroes died (*ibid.,* July 12, 13, 1804). The next issue of the *Courier* offered the *Horizon* for sale: "The Ship *Horizon* Will also be sold if applied for in ten days; she was built in Charleston in 1800, of the best materials, copper fastened and coppered to the bends, and fitted in the most complete manner for an African voyage. ALEXANDER and JOHN MCLURE."

[5] Captain Welch brought word of a Liverpool vessel, the *Angola,* with 170 slaves for Charleston, which had been captured in the Gambia. *Ibid.,* Aug. 6, 1804.

[6] An item in the *Courier* of Feb. 18, 1804, stated that the schooner *Aurora,* Mackie, from Goree had been seized by a French frigate but released when the French learned that she was an American vessel.

373. Customs Entries, Charleston, 1804.[1]

Vessel's Names	Proprietors	Of what Country
Aurora, Charleston	S. E. Turner	New Eng'd
Ann, British	W. M'Cleod	Scotland
Easter [*Esther*?], do.	W. Boyd	do.
Brilliant, do.	Bixby	Rhode Island
Armed Neutrality, Chas'n	Napier, Smith and Co.	G. B.
Argo [*Argus*?], R. I.	James Miller	Ireland
Thomas, B.	Janus [Tunno] and Price	G. B.
Horizon, Charleston	A. and J. M'Clure	do.
Harriot, F.	James Broadfoot	do.
Eliza, R. I.	James Miller	do.
Alexander, Charleston	W. Broadfoot	do.
Francis, do.	J. Potter	do.
Christopher, B.	Wm. Boyd	do.
Favorite, R. I.	James Millar	do.
M'Lespine [*Macclesfield*?], B.	Gibson and Broadfoot	do.
Susanna, Charleston	S. E. Turner	New Eng.
Active, B.	I. Campbell	G. Britain
Hamilton, B.	W. Boyd	do.
Ruby, Charleston	do.	do.
Mary, Norfolk[2]	J. Broadfoot	do.

[373] [1] In a debate in the Senate in 1820 over the admission of Missouri, Mr. William Smith of South Carolina presented to the Senate a list of vessels importing slaves into South Carolina between 1804 and 1807: "This subject had been forgotten in Carolina. It was supposed to be at an end. However, hearing late in the Summer that the storm was gathering to the north, and that the admission of Missouri into the Union would be opposed on account of slavery, or something springing from that source, he wrote to a friend in Charleston, to apply to the customhouse officer for a full statement of all the ships engaged in that trade during the four years, together with their owners, consignees, their places of residence, country, nation to which they belonged, etc., that he might be able to show the public, who were engaged in it. In answer to his request, he had received from the customhouse books, from the hand of the collector, the following authentic documents. He would present to the Senate, in the first place, the documents, which contained the years of arrival, the names of the vessels, the place to which the vessel belonged, the names of the proprietors, the names of the consignees, their country, and to where they belonged. (Explanation—B. British, F. French, R. I. R. Island.)" (*Annals,* 16 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 72-77). Unfortunately the list as it stands does not do all that Senator Smith promised. We are given the name and country of the proprietor of the cargo, if the caption in the *Annals* is to be accepted, but no names of consignees. In many cases proprietor and consignee are the same but not in all. Comparison of this list with the one which precedes it brings to light many mistakes in the *Annals*. Part of the list was reprinted in the *Newport Mercury,* July 27, 1895, where James C. Swann selected the names of all Newport vessels trading to Charleston between 1804 and 1807. Here he attributed to Newport all Rhode Island vessels, ignoring any part which other Rhode Island ports may have taken in the trade. The *Annals* list was also printed in Dawson and De Saussure, *Census of Charleston* (1848), pp. 136-142.

[2] The Charleston papers also mention the following vessels from Charleston or bound to Charleston as on the African coast or spoken by other vessels somewhere on the voyage: Mar. 12, *Ariadne*; May 14, *Daniel and Mary*; Aug. 6, *Angola*; Aug. 14, *Amazon*.

374. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1804.

January 14, 1804.[1]

Public Auction. On Tuesday, the 17th instant, will be sold before my store, 7 prime African Negroes, just landed, *viz.* Five Boys, about 14 years of age, two Girls, from 15 to 16 years of Age. Conditions Cash. James Scot.

February 8.

Public Auction. On Tuesday, the 14th inst. will be sold by the Subscribers, before their Vendue Store, precisely at 11 o'clock, 70 grown African Negroes. Terms will be declared at the time of Sale. Verree and Blair.

July 12.

This Day, the 12th inst. will be sold before the subscribers Vendue Store, suitable for the African trade: 20 Collars, 6 Deck Chains, 143 Pair Shackles, 6—without bolts.[2] Henry Smerdon.

December 22, 1804.

Public Auction. On Monday next will be sold before my store without reserve, 3 Prime Windward Coast Negroes, Two Men and one Woman merely as a trial to see what New Negroes will bring at vendue and for which cash or produce will be taken at cash price. . . . M. M. Campbell.

[374] [1] These early notices in the *Courier* probably represent small lots rushed into Charleston from the West Indies as soon as the news of the repeal of prohibition reached there. The second notice is repeated in the *Courier* for Feb. 9, with the substitution of the figure 17 for 70, which is more plausible. The number of auction sales, with no vessel's name mentioned, increased steadily during the four years. In many instances the vendor probably took over a small lot of negroes unsold by the consignees of a cargo.

[2] Goods for the slave trade had been advertised in Charleston before the port was opened to negroes: "For the African Trade. A few bales blue Baftas, or Guineas, calculated purposely for the African Trade, just received and for sale, for cash or notes at 60 days. W. and E. Crafts." *Charleston Courier*, Oct. 28, 1803.

375. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1805.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 17		*Perseverance*	Warren	Angola	330	T. Tunno and J. Price
Feb. 9	Feb. 11	*Yeopum*[2]		Africa	50	M. M. Campbell
" 13				Windward Coast	45	Nathan Bixby
" 20					50	Wm. Boyd
Mar. 21	Mar. 22	*Marquis of Huntley*		Congo	368	" "
" 26	" 27	*Wentworth*	Fotheringham	Windward Coast	228	John Price
Apr. 24	Apr. 30			Windward and Gold Coast		Thos. Baker, Broker and —
" 29	" "	*Neptune*	Sherman	Gold Coast	144	
May 2	May 2	*Republican*[3]	Welsh	Goree		
" 7	" 8	*Nile*		Congo	264	
" "	" "	*Fanny*		"	179	Price
" 8	" "	*Thomas*	Bishop	Windward Coast		Tunno and Cox
" 21	" 21				30	Verree and Blair
" 22					20	" " "
" 24	" 24	*Resource*		Congo	231	Gibson and Br[o]adfoot
" 31	June 1	*Eliza*		Windward Coast	180	J. S. Adams
June 1	" "	*Armed Neutrality*	Mason	Gambia		Napier, Smith and Co.
" 4	" 4				10	M. M. Campbell
" 12		*Love and Unity*	Preble	Windward	40	John S. Adams
" 22	" 24	*Jack Park*		Gold Coast	268	John Price
" "		*Nanny*		" "		Tunno and Cox
July 9					34	M. M. Campbell
" 16	July 17	*Margaret*[4]	Bowes	Congo	200	Wm. Boyd
Aug. 10	Aug. 13	*Æriel*	Paine	Angola	250	" "
" 19	" 22	*Esther*	Erving	Congo	370	" "
Sept. 7	Sept. 9	*Margaret*	Young	"	249	Gibson and Broadfoot
" 10				Rio Pongus	92	Phillips and Gardner
" 27	" 30	*Fox*	Vincent	Windward Coast		Chas. Bishop
Oct. 5	Oct. 5	*Louisiana*		" "	116	Peter Ayrault
" 21		*Commerce*		Congo	260	Wm. Timmons[5]
" 29	" 31	*Hamilton*	Scott	Windward Coast	171	Wm. Boyd
Dec. 2	Dec. 2	*Washington*[6]	Belcher	Windward Coast, Gold Coast, and Bonny	530	Gibson and Broadfoot
" 24[7]	" 30	*Prince William*	Giles	Gold Coast	370	Tunno and Price

[375] [1] The total number of negroes advertised is 5089; Moreau de Saint Méry gives for this year 6727 (*Voyage aux États-Unis*, p. 33); John Lambert, 6790 (*Travels*, II. 165). A few vessels appear in the advertisements which are not to be found in the customs records; many are in those records which have not been found in the newspapers. From the *Courier* the number of negroes entered week by week can occasionally be obtained. The date given is not that of the *Courier* [illegible]

the date given, the negroes are always from Africa:

May	25,	231	June	22,	549	Aug.	10,	353	Oct.	26,	393	Dec.	7,	530
June	3,	514	July	13,	106	Sept.	28,	147	Nov.	2,	161	Dec.	28,	371
June	15,	59	July	20,	198	Oct.	19,	262	Nov.	9,	130			

[2] The *Yeopum* apparently returned again to the coast, for about a year later appeared the following item: "A letter from Goree, dated December 21, states that the French privateer *General Blandshot* (formerly the brig *Leon*, of this port) capt. Debrux, had entered the River Gambia, and plundered the schooner *Yeopim*, Bixby, of this port, of stores; the *Yeopim* had about 100 slaves on board" (*Charleston Courier*, Jan. 30, 1806). The vessel is later heard of as having gone into Martinique on Apr. 10, in distress for want of hands. *Ibid.*, May 3, 1806.

[3] The arrival at Goree of the *Republican,* owned by Peter Kennedy of Charleston, was reported in the *Courier* of May 29, 1804. The schooner left Goree Jan. 5 and was in Charleston by May 1, 1805. The next year Welsh reached the Carolina coast late in January with 93 negroes. After twenty-five days of futile endeavor to enter the harbor he sailed to Nassau for water and provisions, then made his way to Havana, where he sold his slaves. By Apr. 1 he arrived in Charleston with sugar. *Charleston Courier,* May 29, 1804, Jan. 31, May 1, 1805, Jan. 28, Feb. 4, 6, Apr. 1, 1806.

[4] The *Margaret* shortly before reaching Charleston had encountered two French privateers, which inflicted on the vessel considerable damage and injured 18 slaves and 9 members of the crew. The *Margaret* carried 14 six-pounders, 20 men, and 200 slaves. *Ibid.*, July 8, 11, 12, 1805.

[5] "Also for Sale, A quantity of India Piece Goods, Suitable for the African markets, together with all the stores on board said Brig [*Commerce*] calculated to fit a Vessel for the African trade. Apply as above [WILLIAM TIMMONS]" (*ibid.*, Oct. 21, 1805). It was probably from this cargo that Timmons was still advertising on Dec. 20: "India Goods. Suitable for the African Markets.

130	pieces	blue Bafts (or Guineas)	20	pieces	Blue Romalls
100	"	White "	70	"	Cushetes
170	"	Chellors and Bejdputs	10	"	Allegars.

Also, 30 Elephants' Teeth, of large sizes. All entitled to Drawback. For sale at low prices and a liberal supply of Credit by WILLIAM TIMMONS." William Smith, in a *Letter to Wilberforce* (London, 1807, pp. 36-41), encloses a newspaper clipping which reports that the *Commerce,* Bishop, was destroyed by natives at Cape Mount, and the officers and crew massacred.

[6] "Whereas some evil minded person or persons had fabulously and nefariously set on float, through various parts of the city, an insidious rumour that there prevailed a contagious disorder on board the ship *Washington,* Capt. Belcher, just arrived from the Coast of Africa, with slaves, belonging to us; the following report made to the Medical Society, by a Committee of their body, appointed for the purpose, will, we trust, be deemed a sufficient refutation of a report so void of truth—so injurious in its tendency. GIBSON and BROADFOOT.

"Agreeably to a Resolution of the Medical Society, We the undersigned visited the ship *Washington,* commanded by capt. Belcher, lately arrived in this port from Africa, with Slaves, and having strictly examined the Crew and Slaves on board the said Ship: Do certify, that we did not discover any symtoms of Measles to be present, as was reported to have existed among them, but, on the contrary, that they are healthful, and the ship unusually clean. M. IRVINE, BENJ. B. SIMONS, SAMUEL WILSON, FREDERICK DALCHO, JOSEPH GLOVER.

"CHARLESTON, 3d December, 1805.—Extract from the minutes of the Medical Society of South Carolina, FREDERICK DALCHO, Sec'ry, Dec. 4." *Charleston Courier*, Dec. 7, 1805.

[7] On Dec. 31 the *Courier* reported: "Capt. Brooks left at Matanzas brig *Minerva,* Brookings, and brig *Minerva,* Gernon, of this port. Capt. B. informs us that a Brig has recently been captured by a French privateer and carried into Matanzas, with a cargo of slaves, from Nassau. The Captain had gone to Guadaloupe in the privateer. The crew stated her to be an American, and that she had touched at Nassau on her way from the Coast; but as it did not appear from her Log-Book or Papers that she had been to the Coast, it was conjectured that she was an English vessel, from Nassau bound to Jamaica. Two American schooners have recently arrived at Havanna from the Coast of Africa."

376. Customs Entries, Charleston, 1805.[1]

Vessel's Names	Proprietors	Of what Country
Perseverance, B.	Turner [Tunno] and Price	G. Britain
Kitty, Charleston	G. Parker	Charleston
Lupin, B.	Bixby	Rhode Island
Mary Huntley, B.	Wm. Boyd	Great Britain
Gov. Wentworth, B.	Turner and Price	do.
Experiment, B.	W. Boyd	do.
Eagle, R. I.	Gardner and Phillips	R. I.
Neptune, do.	E. Cook[2]	do.
Fanny, B.	Turner and Price	G. B.
Thomas, Charleston,	do.	do.
Nile, do.	Wm. Boyd	do.
Recourse, B.	Gibson and Broadfoot	do.
Isabella, B.	I. S. Allen	do.
Armed Neutrality, Chas'n	Napier and Smith	do.
Susana, do.	J. Duncan	do.
Love and Unity, B.[3]	S. Adams	R. I.
Jack Park, B.	John Price	Great Britain
Manning, B.	Tunno and Cox	do.
Juliet, R. I.	Phillips and Gardner	R. I.
Margaret, B.	W. Boyd	Great Britain
Louisa, R. I.	Phillips and Gardner	R. I.
Ariel, B.	W. Boyd	Great Britain
Estor, B.	do.	do.
Margaret, B.	do.	do.
Hiram, R. I.	Phillips and Gardner	R. I.
Louisiana, B.	Eddy	R. I.
Maria, B.	Cooper	Great Britain
Hambleton, B.	Wm. Boyd	do.
Rambler, R. I.	E. Sayer	Rhode Island
William, B.	Turner and Price	G. B.

377. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1805.[1]

January 31, 1805.

Capt. Bixby left in the River Gambia brig. *Polly*, of this port. Left at Senegal 5 weeks since, capt. Williams, in a brig from Baltimore; capt. Brumer in a brig from New York; capt. M'Farlane, in a schooner from Philadelphia. The brig —— Kelly, of New York, was lost the day before Capt. B. left Senegal. Left at Goree, Jan. 5, schooner *Republican*, Welsh, from this port.

The brig *Thomas*, Bishop, of this port, had touched at Goree, and proceeded on the Coast.

[376] [1] *Annals*, 16 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 73-74.

[2] This should be C., not E., Cook. Clark Cook went from Newport to Charleston in February, 1805, to meet an incoming slave vessel. See this work, III. 387.

[3] Swann gives this as a Newport vessel. *Newport Mercury*, July 27, 1895.

[377] [1] *Charleston Courier* for the dates given. These items are illustrative of the intelligence communicated to the editor by every incoming captain. Carefully fitted together, such news would make it possible to follow the progress of many of the vessels which left Charleston for Africa throughout their entire voyage.

A great number of American vessels have touched at Goree, for the Coast of Africa—which had made business very dull. Slaves were very high.

March 8, 1805.

Landing at Geyer's Wharf, 75 hhds. New England Rum, suitable for the African Market. Apply to JAMES MILLER, Sen.[2]

April 4, 1805.

In the brig *Maria,* from Havanna, came two seamen belonging to the sloop *Sydney,* capt. Gardner, of this port. The *Sydney* sailed from the River Gambia, about the last of January, with 70 slaves; touched at St. Thomas, where 30 slaves were put on board another vessel—she then sailed for this port, and on the 6th ult. carried away her mast, which tore up the deck, and reduced the vessel to a wreck—two days after, the crew and negroes were taken off the wreck, and carried into Havanna. Capt. Gardner left at Gambia, ship *Armed Neutrality,* Mason, of this port; brig —— White, do.; brig *Polly,* Hovey, do. had been very much shattered by the explosion of a bbl. of gun-powder, by which the second mate, and ten slaves, were killed; schooner *Republican,* Welch, of do.

KINGSTON, (JAM.) September 11 [1805].[3]

The *Montezuma* Guineaman which was sent in on Monday, by the *Rein-Deer* brig. Captain Fyfe, was cleared out in Liverpool, and bound for Charleston, with a choice cargo of 328 slaves, from the River Congo. She was boarded by a privateer, who suffered her to precede unmolested, but afterwards taken, on the 9th of August, by the *Regulator*, of Guadaloupe, who descried her in [the] evening, and ordered her to lay to till the next morning, when she sent a boat's crew on board and took possession. She parted with the privateer on the 20th of the same month, and on the 3rd of September, fell in with the *Rein-Deer,* to whom she surrendered, within four leagues of Barracoa, with little or no resistance. At the time of her recapture she had 18 of the privateer's crew on board; all their provisions, except a sufficiency for two days, were expended. . . .

[2] Various items from the *Courier* indicate the development of other lines of commerce dependent upon the traffic in slaves. This was a feature of the trade fairly new to Charleston, since, in the days before the Revolution, few ships had sailed directly from Carolina to the African coast: "For Sale, on Consignment, for Cash or Approved Notes, 160 quarter barrels Gun-Powder, suitable for the African trade. GREGORIE, jun. and SMITH"; "Per sloop *Alert*, Captain Becket, from Salem, 67 Bales fine Blue Guineas, (or Salempores) Entitled to debenture, suitable for the African Markets, for sale at low prices and on long credit, by THOMAS FLETCHER." *Charleston Courier*, June 3, Dec. 6, 1805.

[3] The *Montezuma,* Captain Ives, was owned by William Maine and Robert Mackey of Savannah. The mate, James Crawford, who arrived in Norfolk Aug. 26, reported that the vessel had had on board 343 slaves when she was captured by the *Regulator. Ibid.,* Sept. 6, 1805.

[November 1, 1805.]

The brig. *Leon* sailed from Charleston and made a voyage to the coast of Africa, and returned to Martinique with Slaves, Mr. John B. de Brux, Supercargo and one half owner, and the other half owner is Mr. Lacoste a merchant in Charleston; he sold his slaves in Martinique and took in Sugars for Charleston; but on his way he put into St. Thomas and sold his Sugars and made a privateer of his brig. . . .[4]

November 18, 1805.

Ship *Margaret.* Wm. Livingston (late commander). The said Vessel, Cargo, and Provisions, is now offered For Sale, as she lies ready for sea, at Geyer's Wharf, and was to have sailed this day, having already shipped her crew, and will be put up at Auction on Thursday next the 21st inst. if not previously sold by private contract. She is about 347 tons burthen; has been completely sheathed, is perfectly equipped for a voyage to Africa, sails uncommonly fast, and is in every respect well calculated for the African trade. Her sails are mostly new, the greatest part being lately made—were of the best canvas; and, notwithstanding inconsistent reports, she is as sound a vessel as any in this port. Any person inclined to purchase her is referred to Mr. William Pritchard, junior, ship-carpenter, who will candidly give his opinion of the said vessel. The whole will be sold a bargain, for an approved note and indorsed with interest included payable at 6, 9, and 12 months. For inventory, very complete, invoice of merchandize, bill of provisions, and terms, apply to

VERREE and BLAIR.[5]

[4] The *Courier* of Nov. 4, 1805, published a detailed account of an act of piracy committed by the *Speedwell,* Captain Cain, with 100 negroes bound from Barbados to Georgia or Carolina. By no means all the vessels which went from Charleston to the African coast reappear in the lists of those bringing slaves to that port: "Capt. Welsh left at Goree, schooner *Young Edward*, Sabb, for this port, to sail next day" (*ibid.*, May 1, 1805); "Schooner *Eagle* Duncan, and schooner *Edward and Edmund,* Shearman, from this port, are arrived on the Coast of Africa" (*ibid.*, June 7); "The Ship *Margaret*, Livingston, of this port, from Mozambique, *via* Barbadoes, has arrived at Havanna, with the loss of half her cargo of slaves, by sickness" (*ibid.,* May 10); "They [French privateer *L'Emerance,* which captured the ship *Two Friends*] stated that one of the Guineamen which they had taken, bound into this port, had 450 slaves" (*ibid.,* June 7); "The Sloop *Independence*, Carlton, from this port, has been lost on the coast of Africa, crew saved" (*ibid.*, May 1). "Capt. Vincent left at Rio Pongos, ship *Maria*, Cooper, of this port, to sail in all August. Capt. Cooper had 40 days passage out; 7 days after leaving this port lost his mate, Mr. Daniel M. Brown." *Ibid.*, Sept. 27, 1805.

[5] On Dec. 13 Verree and Blair advertised for sale the *Hamilton,* "with all her African materials".

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 13	Jan. 14	*Æriel*		Congo	110	Wm. Boyd
" "	" 17	*Minerva*	Laidler	Africa	400[2]	
" 16	" 23	*Mary*	Cowan	Sierra Leone	190	Gibson and Broadfoot
" 17	" 21	*Daphne*[3]	Trenholm	Congo	370	" " "
" 22[4]	" 23	*Kerie*		Gold Coast		Tunno and Cox
" 25	" 27	*America*[5]		Congo and "Gulah"	418	James Broadfoot[6]
" 30	" 31	*Doris*[7]	Davenport		70[8]	Gibson and Broadfoot

[378] [1] Moreau de Saint Méry gives the importation for the year alows: II. 165). By weeks the importation reported in the *Courier* is as fols 8804 (*Voyage aux États-Unis*, p. 331); Lambert as 11,458 (*Travels*,

Jan. 11, 110	Feb. 22, 546	May 10, 74	June 21, 498	Nov. 27, 342
Jan. 18, 450	Mar. 1, 61	May 17, 460	Sept. 20, 307	Dec. 13, 89
Jan. 25, 959	Mar. 15, 109	May 24, 1104	Oct. 18, 205	Dec. 21, 360
Feb. 1, 92	Apr. 5, 323	May 31, 299	Nov. 10, 79	Dec. 27, 626
Feb. 15, 140	May 3, 635	June 14, 457	Nov. 18, 307	

The following items help to answer the question of what became of the stream of slaves pouring into Carolina, certainly far in excess of her need for labor: "Brig *Three Sisters,* Lindsey, from this port for New Orleans, with slaves has put into Havanna in distress—30 of the slaves having died on the passage"; "Philadelphia, September 23. Arrived at the Lazaretto schooner *Fly,* M'Farlan, New-Orleans, August 28, in the Mississippi, spoke the . . . schooner *Lucy,* from Charleston, for Natchez, with slaves. Sept. 8, off Nariel, spoke schooner *Comet,* from Charleston, out 14 days, bound to Natchez with slaves" (*Charleston Courier,* Aug. 11, Sept. 11, Oct. 7, 1806). The *Lucy* had left Charleston July 4, 1806, carrying 50 negroes insured from Charleston to Natchez, the premium 7½ per cent.; the amount of the policy $1800, and 11 negroes for Havana, the premium 5 per cent. On July 24 the *Lucy* was captured and sent into Nassau. When she was acquitted the 11 negroes were removed as lawful prize; also many of the others had died. The remainder were sold in New Orleans "for 3 or 4000 dollars more than they would have yielded at Nassau". While in Nassau $856.60 were expended for clothes and provisions for the cargo. These negroes belonged to citizens of Charleston and of New Orleans. Catterall, *Judicial Cases,* II. 298.

[2] In the *Courier* of Jan. 17 the number is given as 300.

[3] The ships *Cleopatra, Daphne,* and *America* were left at Congo River, and were to be ready for sea a fortnight after the sailing of the *Æriel.* "Ship *Minerva* was at an out port. capt. Hall heard she would sail in a short time after him." *Ibid.,* Jan. 10, 1806; see also Jan. 17.

[4] The *Courier* of Jan. 20 reported the arrival at Nassau of the *Jane,* Munroe, of Bristol, R. I., from Sierra Leone, with 128 slaves for Charleston.

[5] During the year 1806 the following Guineamen were offered for sale in Charleston: *America,* 272 tons; *Daphne,* "with all her African materials"; *Gustavia*; *Rolla,* 310 tons; *Three Friends,* 100 tons; *Sally,* 113 tons; *Mercury,* 80 tons.

[6] "Agent Mein, Mackay and Co., Savannah."

[7] By Apr. 16 the *Doris* was again bound for Africa (*Courier,* Apr. 21, 1806). The suit of Bethune *v.* Gibson, in which the *Doris* and her cargo of slaves were attached, probably relates to this sale. The defendants, who were agents of the owners of the vessel, requested by the master to take charge, ordered provisions and clothing for the negroes and published the advertisement for the sale. Catterall, II. 290.

[8] "Mandingos, Soozees, Ballams, Bagos, Naloofe Negroes." This was probably a Gambia cargo.

[*Negroes imported into South Carolina*—continued:]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
					173 [9]	
Feb. 20	Feb. 21	*Duddon*				
" 24	" 26	*Fair American* [10]	Leslie	Gold Coast		J. S. Adams
" 25	" 25	*Amazon*		Windward and Guinea Coast	222	Tunno and Cox and Thos. Tunno and John Price
" 27	" 27	*Hazard*		Windward		J. S. Adams
Mar. 11	Mar. 11	*Reliance* [11]	Miller	"		Jas. Quin
Apr. 7	Apr. 7	*Factor*		Gold Coast	102	
" 26	" 28	*George*		Angola	250	John Watson and Co.
" 30	May 1	*Gustavia*	Hill	East Africa [12]	230	Spencer John Man
May 1	" "	*Neptune*	Hudson	Gold Coast	132	
" "	" 2	*Robert*		Mandingo	241	Gibson and Broadfoot and T. W. Rawlinson
" 12	" 12	*Love and Unity*	Preble	Windward	75	J. S. Adams
" 15	" 15	*Swan* [13]	Smith	Gold Coast	194	Wm. Boyd
" 23	" 24	*Hector* [14]		Angola	240	John Watson and Co.
" 24	" "	*Ruby*		Congo	350	Wm. Boyd
" "	" 26	*Farnham*		"	311	Henry and John Ker
" 27	" 27	*Ceres*		Africa	300	Gibson and Broadfoot
June 13	June 13	*Alert*		Mandingo	240	Wm. Boyd
" 14	" 14	*Hibernia*	Pratt	Cape Mount (Mandingo)	217	Henry and John Ker

[9] "Soozees, Mandingos, and Timmy negroes."

[10] Word reached Charleston Feb. 10 that the *Fair American* had arrived on the African coast and would leave about Feb. 1.

[11] Captain Miller had left at Rio Pongo, *Thomas,* Suter, and *Hibernia,* Pratt, both of Liverpool, *Samuel,* Griffith, of St. Thomas, and the *America.* The *Hope* and *Edward and Edmund* sailed just before he did.

[12] "Will be opened to-morrow the 1st of May, on board, off Gadsden's Wharf, the Sale of 230 Prime Slaves, imported in the ship *Gustavia,* Captain Hill, from Zanquebar, on the Eastern Coast of Africa, being natives of Gondo, Mocoa, and Swabaytie nations, much distinguished by the Planters of Mauretius. SPENCER JOHN MAN" (*Charleston Courier,* Apr. 30, 1806). "A part of the cargo of the Ship *Gustavia,* from the coast of Mozambique, having undergone the Vacine, and now in perfect health, will be exposed for sale on Thursday next, at Gadsden's Wharf." *Ibid.,* June 2, 1806.

[13] "The brig *Swan,* captain Smith, with 200 slaves from the Gold Coast, for this port, got ashore on Bull's on Saturday morning. The brig has sunk, and will be entirely lost; the crew and slaves were taken off the wreck and brought to town yesterday in a small schooner from Norfolk" (*ibid.,* May 12, 1806). "The brig *Swan* . . . on the 10th instant, early in the morning, got aground at the distance of six miles from the shore of Bull's Island, on this coast. She had on board a cargo of 194 slaves. At nine o'clock . . . she was seen by Captain Jerby of the schooner *Victory,* who . . . bore down to the vessel, and . . . agreed to take the crew and cargo of negroes on board his schooner . . . the business was completely effected by eight o'clock in the evening: on the following morning at ten o'clock they all arrived safe in Charleston. The negroes saved have been appraised by order of the court, and are valued, with the consent of parties, at thirty-eight thousand eight hundred dollars. . . . I decree . . . one fifth to the libellant." Catterall, *Judicial Cases,* II. 287-288.

[14] A single issue of the *Courier* (May 31, 1806) contained advertisements of the cargoes of the *Love and Unity, Swan, Hector, Ruby, Farnham, Ceres,* and *Robert.* The *Hector,* a British ship, was reported in the *Courier* of Apr. 26, as at Angola. Another British vessel, the *Fanny,* Kennan, with 207 slaves for Charleston, left the coast about the same time, was captured off the Charleston coast, and was driven to

June 19	June 20	*Port Mary*	Purcell [15] Berry	Congo	360	Wm. Boyd
" 30	" 30	*Three Friends*		Rio Pongus (Mandingo)	40	Thos. Vincent
					80	John Callaghan
July 2	July 3	*Fair Eliza*		Windward Coast		Jas. Miller, sr.
" 24		*Fox*	Edward Smith	" "		John S. Adams
Aug. 11		*Kitty*		Mandingo	20	J. Vincent
Sept. 9	Sept. 9	*Nantasket*	Boothroyd	Gambia	43	
" "	" 10	*John*	Watson	Gold Coast	73	Thos. Tunno, John Price
" 20	" 22	*Gov. Dowdeswell*		Congo	306	Wm. Boyd
Oct. 8	Oct. 16	*Mary-Ann*		Rio Pongus	8 [16]	William Payne
Nov. 11	Nov. 12	*Croyden*		Congo	307	Wm. Boyd
" 21	" 24	*Kate*		"	340	John Watson and Co.
" 24	" "	*Mercury*		Angola	120	M. Kelly
" 28	Dec. 1	*Union*		Congo	312	W. Boyd
Dec. 2	" 2	*Washington*	Patterson	Windward Coast		David M'Kelvey
" 16	" 18	*John*	Philips	Congo	380	T. W. Rawlinson
" 17	" "	*Nicholson*		"	360	Tunno and Cox
						Thos. Cox, John Price
" 23	" 24	*Edward and Edmund*		Mandingo	108	J. Callaghan
" "	" 29	*Mercury*		Angola	400	John Watson and Co.
" 29	" "	*Little Ann*		Gold Coast	81	Charles Christian
" 31 [17]	Jan. 5	*Margaret*		Mandingo	150	T. W. Rawlinson

[15] Captain Purcell died on the coast. The *Port Mary* on her voyage to Carolina was twice detained by French privateers (*Courier*, June 4, 9, 18, 1806). During June several references are made to the presence of a French privateer not far from the Charleston bar, watching for British slavers as they entered or left the Charleston harbor.

[16] This is not the sale of a cargo, "being part of the Estate of McFarlane and Pleyer, bankrupts, and sold by order of the Assignee. Conditions, Cash. WILLIAM PAYNE" (*Charleston Courier*, Oct. 8, 1806). Not long after this the following notice appeared in the *Courier* (Oct. 18): "Wanted, A smart, active, sober, honest, intelligent, and well informed Captain, who is well acquainted with the navigation of the Coast of Africa. One who has been employed in the Congo Trade would be preferred, and will meet with a favorable employ, by proving himself qualified, as above.

"An intelligent Surgeon, for an African voyage, and a Boiler, of about 80 or 90 gallons. Apply to WM. PRITCHARD, jun. Ship-Carpenter, at his Wharf."

[17] During the year an increasing number of advertisements relating to the slave trade may be found: "446 Muskets, fit for the African Trade. Conditions—Cash. M. M. CAMPBELL"; "Just Received, and for sale by the subscribers, 7 Bales India Goods, Suitable for the African Trade, consisting of Blue Gilla, Frockelsoy Ditto, Blue Gurrahs, etc. DAVIS and CARROLL"; "India Goods, Received per Brig *Venus*, Captain Wasson, from New-York and Landing This Day, 156 bales assorted India Goods, Suitable for the African Market, for sale, reasonable, if applied for immediately. ANDREW HOLMES and Co"; "Just received from Baltimore, By ADAM GILCHRIST, No. 12, East-Bay, The following East-India Goods, Suited to the African and West-India Trade, which will be disposed of on reasonable terms, for Cash or Credit. Company's Blue and White Comboys, Blue and White Nicanies, Cuddalore Blue Handkerchiefs (Romals), Blue Cloths (Ba'ts), Blue and White Moories, Arcot White Chintzes"; "Scarlet Cloth. Suitable for the African Market, for sale by JOHN GILLESPIE and Co." *Charleston Courier*, Feb. 25, Aug. 21, Sept. 4, Oct. 18, Dec. 8, 1806.

379. Customs Entries, Charleston, 1806.[1]

Vessel's Names	Proprietors	Of what Country
Ariel, B	W. Boyd	Great Britain
Mary, B.	Gibson and Broadfoot	do.
Daphna, Charleston	W. Boyd	do.
Carie, B.	Tunno and Cox	do.
America, B.	James Broadfoot	do.
Davis, Charleston	John Davidson	do.
Lydia, do.	Everingham	N. Jersey
Dudton, B.	Gibson and Broadfoot	G. B.
Amazon, B.	Tunno and Cox	do.
Fair American, Charlest.	J. S. Adam	R. I.
Miller, do.	J. Queen	Ireland
Edward and Edmund, do.	Cooper	Great Britain
Factor, Rhode Island	Sherman	R. I.
Louisa,[2] do.	Phillips and Gardner	R. I.
Commerce, do.	Sesson	do.
Gustavus, Swede	Spencer Man	Charleston
Neptune, R. I.	C. Cook	R. I.
Robert, B.	Gibson and Broadfoot	G. B.
Polly, Rhode Island	Benson	R. I.
Hiram, do.	Phillips and Gardner	R. I.
Samuel, B.	Gilchrist	N. Jersey
Love and Unity, B.	J. S. Adams	R. I.
Three Sisters, R. I.	W. Champlain	do.
Hector, B.	John Watson	G. Britain
Ruby, Charleston	W. Boyd	do.
Farmer, do.	John Carr	do.
Maria, do.	Phillips and Gardner	R. I.
Ceres, B.	Gibson and Broadfoot	G. B.
Independence,[3] Baltimore	Churchill	R. I.
Hibernia, B.	Pratt	Great Britain
Alert, B.	Wm. Boyd	do.
Agent, R. I.	Eddy	R. I.
Mary, Charleston	W. Boyd	Great Britain
Three Friends, B.	J. Calligan	do.
Fair Eliza, R. I.	J. Metter	do.
Fox, Charleston	J. S. Adams	R. I.
Kitty, do.	G. Parker	Charleston
Hope, R. I.	W. Lyon	R. I.
Hope, Charleston	Wm. McCormic	Ireland
Nantasket, do.	Boohorod [Boothroyd?]	Great Britain
John Watson, B.[4]	Tunno and Price	do.
Governor Dodsworth, B.	W. Boyd	do.
Mary Ann,[5] B.	J. Kennedy	do.
Diana, B.	P. Mooney	do.
Davenport, B.	J. Everingham	N. Jersey
Corydon, B.	W. Boyd	Great Britain
Kate, B.	Watson and Co.	do.
Mercury, Charleston	W. Kelly	do.
Union, B.	W. Boyd	do.
Washington, R. I.	D. McKelvey	do.
Louisa, R. I.	Phillips and Gardner	R. I.
Nicholson, B.	W. C. Tarmed	G. Britain
Edwd. and Edmund, Charl'n	J. Calligan	do.
Mercury, B.	J. Watson and Co.	do.
Little Ann, R. I.	Christian	Charleston
Margaret, B.[6]	T. Rowlinson	G. Britain

[379] [1] *Annals*, 16 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 74-75.

[2] See this work, III. 383-387.

[3] "By the arrivals yesterday from Africa, the melancholy account of the loss of the ship *Independence*, Churchill, is confirmed. She was blown up at Loango; when her cargo, consisting of about 200 slaves, all the crew, except the captain. one mate, and

380. Reply to Criticism of Slave Trade, 1806.[1]

July 10, 1806.

Editorial: We have, for a considerable time past, seen with the utmost indignation, the many scandalous and scurrilous paragraphs which have appeared in several of the Northern papers, against the citizens of this State, for doing that which the laws of their country permit them to do, and for embarking in a trade which the neccessities of the State require. A more extensive cultivation of land from the increase of our population, renders it necessary that more labourers should be employed to till the soil; the advantages of which not only result in private interest, but the

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two seamen, who were on shore at the time, perished" (*Charleston Courier*, July 24, 1807). In the suit of Ingraham *v.* the Insurance Co., decided in 1815, the underwriters were supported in a refusal to pay the claim for the destruction of this vessel. It had been agreed "that the vessel would not go within five hundred miles of Congo, . . . knowing that the people of that part of Africa were much enraged against the captain, and savage-like, would go great lengths to destroy the vessel, on account of his having taken off some of the free natives of that kingdom on his last voyage". Catterall, *Judicial Cases*, II. 300.

[4] One surmises that this was the *John*, Captain Watson, the cargo of which was sold by Tunno and Price on Sept. 22.

[5] Captain Hudson named the *Mary Ann*, Loughton, of Newport, among those vessels which he left at the Gold Coast when he sailed. *Charleston Courier*, Apr. 30, 1806.

[6] Arrivals from Charleston or for Charleston, on the coast of Africa during 1806, as reported in the *Courier*, were:

Jan. 14, *Lydia*, Wilson, Isles de Los
" " *Susan*, Long, " " "
" " *Doris*, Davenport, " " "
" " *Amazon*, Cape Mount
" 15, *Elizabeth*, Latimore, Cape of Good Hope (Negroes from Mozambique)
Feb. 3, *Love and Unity*, Preble
" " *Hazard*, Blanck
" 10, *Fair American*, Leslie
" 14, *Cleopatra*, Brown
" 15, *America*, Washburn
" " *Edward and Edmund*, Shearman
" " *Reliance*, Miller
" " *Hope*, Maguire
Apr. 30, *Margaret*, Milberry, Goree
May 1, *Diana*, Grant, "
" " *Yeopim*, Bixby
" 12, *Two Friends*, Rio Pongo
" " *Fox*, Vincent, " "
" 19, *Commerce*, Bishop, Cape Mount
" 23, *Port Mary*, Purcell, Congo
" " *Independence*, Churchill, "
June 18, *Tarter*, Taylor, Rio Pongus
July 16, *Hope*, Goree
July 21, *Doris*, Davenport, Rio Pongus
Aug. 4, *Venus*, Preble, Gambia
" " *Washington*, Long, Rio Pongus
Norfolk, Marsden, Gambia (Marston?)
Dolles, "
(R. I.) Bedford, Gambia
James, Preble
Sept. 4, *Eleanor*, Davidson, Gambia
" " *Mary*, Campbell
" 19, *Africa*, Caruth, Angola
Oct. 4, *Washington*, Patterson, Rio Pongus
" " *Eagle*, Wier, " "
" " *Edward and Edmund*, Miller, Rio Pongus
Nov. 10, *Juno*,
" " *Nicholson*,
" " *Maria*, Pike
" 29, *Fourth of July*, Blanck, Rio Pongus
Dec. 1, *Eliza*, Brown, Isles de Los
" " *Dolphin*, Ross, Cape of Good Hope
" " *Young Adam*, Haviland, Cape of Good Hope
" 13, *Three Sisters*, Isle of May

Among the many vessels "spoken" on their voyage to or from Africa the *Courier* of June 23 referred to the *Eleanor*, Davidson, as 22 days from Charleston to Africa on May 9; July 4, the *Minerva*, Gernon, from Charleston bound for Africa. On Oct. 13 it was observed that the *Alcide* and the *Gold Dust* from Charleston had not yet reached Africa.

[380] [1] *Charleston Courier*, July 10, 1806. This is one of a number of editorials which appeared during 1806, which expressed the growing resentment of Carolina against outside criticism of the traffic in slaves, whether it emanated from northern states or from Maryland, Virginia, or North Carolina. See *ibid.*, Jan. 22, July 12, 1806.

public coffers of the nation ultimately feel its beneficial influence. These considerations led to the decision of the Legislature.

It is not for us now to call in question the morality of the trade, for our readers will recollect that we have uniformly opposed the introduction of so many new negroes, as repugnant to the principles of sound policy, as well as of morality; or, in the emphatic language of our Governor, because, "it increases our weakness, and not our strength". The delegates of the people when sitting in solemn general assembly, deemed it essentially necessary for the interest of the state to permit the importation of slaves from Africa, and those merchants who embark in this trade, do no more than carry the intentions and wishes of the government of their country into operation.

Readers! mark the following paragraph, copied from a Philadelphia paper of June 13. After quoting the paragraph from our paper of the 31st of May last, relative to the pardon of Valentine, under the gallows, for negro stealing, the Editor proceeds—"From the same paper we have selected the following advertisements, offering for sale, publicly, and in the face of day, one thousand seven hundred and eleven human beings, Stolen from Africa, and no effort is made to bring to justice the detestable Thieves who dragged them, by violence, from their native homes!" Then follow the advertisements at full length, of Gibson and Broadfoot, Henry and John Ker, John Watson and Co., Wm. Boyd, John S. Adams, T. W. Rawlinson, etc.

The only truth contained in the Editor's observations is, the number of Slaves offered for sale. The rest is a flourish to catch the feelings of the ignorant, at the expense of truth; and as to the epithet of thieves, which he applies to those who bring Slaves from Africa, we shall presently see whether we cannot apply it to the pure, the immaculate, and demure Philadelphian, and some other of the Northern cities, where they are bellowing out, humanity! humanity! humanity! Oh! the rights of dear insulted human nature!

On the 14th of February last there were at Monteveido, in the River Plate, the following vessels, with Slaves from Mozambique and the Gold Coast.

—— Ship *Juliana*, Nicols of Boston
—— *Pigou*, Collet of Philadelphia
—— *Swift*, Mayberry of Newport
—— *Espasia*, Moore of Philadelphia
—— *Ann*, Donaldson of Newport
—— *John*, Watson of Charleston

Out of six slave ships from the coast:
Two belonged to Philadelphia
One to Boston
Two to Newport
One to Charleston

Of these, the one from Charleston was the only one which was authorized to slave by the laws of his country. Neither Philadelphia, Boston, or Newport, are authorized by the laws of their respective states, to equip vessels for slave voyages—and yet it is a fact known to every citizen of Charleston, that where there is one ship belonging to this port, employed in the slave trade, there are three vessels from the northern states. If villainy is to be attached to the characters of those who engage in this trade, under the sanction of the laws of their country, what epithet shall we apply to those reptiles, who, in defiance of the laws of their state, and in defiance of the opinions of their fellow-citizens, engage in, to them, an unlawful and prohibited commerce? Such fellows would set their country in a blaze for money, and then run away by the light of it.[2] . . .

381. Governor Charles Pinckney to the House of Representatives, 1806.[1]

November 26, 1806.

. . . Again, permit me to solicit your attention to the law authorising the importation of Slaves. Were I to address you, gentlemen, in terms suited to all my feelings on this subject, I might perhaps, be considered as expressing myself in some instances, ungraciously, which far be from me; yet using the latitude, which the constitution allows me, I recommend to you most earnestly, a prohibition of this trade. I mentioned in my communication at your last session, that it was draining our country of specie, and involving us in pecuniary distress: Subsequent experience confirms the truth of

[2] The remainder of the editorial attacks an advertisement for the sale of "a German boy" which appeared in the Philadelphia paper under consideration.

[381] [1] *Charleston Courier*, Dec. 1, 1806. A bill prohibiting the importation of foreign negroes was introduced into the house late in the year 1805. The sentiment of the house was strongly in favor of it but it was lost in the senate on Dec. 14 (*ibid.*, Dec. 9, 16, 18, 19, 1805). The debate in the senate was reported by Edward Hooker, sojourning in Columbia. On Dec. 2 the speakers were Keating Simons, Alston, Miles, Taylor, and John Izard Wright, the first two speaking for prohibition of the traffic. The arguments against it were: the material loss to the state by shutting out the negro, the impossibility of preventing smuggling, and the unfairness to the poor man who had as yet been unable to supply himself with negroes. On the 9th the debate was renewed by Izard, who attempted to prove that the scarcity of specie had no relation to the slave trade but was caused by the premium on the East India trade, which drew specie from South Carolina to England and New England. "Diary of Edward Hooker", Am. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1896, I. 867-870, 873-874, 878-880.

this assertion. The eagerness of purchasers, and the failure of crops generally, throughout the state, are in evidence, also, that this trade is becoming every day, more mischievous. Let us, therefore, remove tem[p]tation from the eyes of our citizens, cease to practice what every other state in the union discountenances; and let us shew our moderation by abstaining, while we may of our own will, from a traffic, which it is the attribute of another power, shortly, to interdict, if that power shall so determine. My own mind tells me that it is for very many reasons, wrong. I believe that the general sentiment of the community, is at this time against it; but you gentlemen, will determine, and I doubt not that your decision will be made on principles, not merely of interest, but also of morality. With our laws, such as they should be, and you can make them, an increase of morals throughout the community, and a genuine attachment to our happy constitution must be produced, and with the means of defence in the hands of every man, and a well regulated military system, firmly relying on him, in whose hands are the destinies of nations, fearing no evil or danger, we can confidently await events.[2]

[2] A bill was brought into the house to prevent the introduction of negro slaves, and was carried in its second reading with but two dissenting votes. In the senate it failed to reach a second reading by a tie vote. *Charleston Courier*, Dec. 16, 17, 24, 1806.

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 7	Jan. 7	*Kitty*		Isles de Los		
" 9		*James*[2]	Prebble	Rio Pongus	80	A. Holmes and Co.
" 28		*Speculation*		Congo		Arrived at Beaufort
" 31	Feb. 2	*Cleopatra*		"	300	Wm. Boyd
Feb. 6	" 9	*Tartar*	Mitchell	Angola	240	William Gray
" 7	" "	*Jane*		Windward Coast	98	Chas. Christian
" 13	" 16	*Aspinal*	Hughes	Congo	300	William Gray or William Timmons
Mar. 12	Mar. 14	*Dudon*	Laughton	Windward Coast		Gibson, Broadfoot, and Co.[3]
Apr. 3	Apr. 3	*Anne*		Bonny	368	Tunno and Cox
" 8	" 9	*Alice*		"	364	Thos. Tunno and J. Price
" 18	" 20	*Gov. Claiborne*	Sherwood	Congo	383	Francis Depau
" 25	" 27	*Neptune*	Hudson	Gold Coast	140	C. Cook
"	" "	*Nancy*[4]	Vial	Windward Coast	73	Phillips and Gardner
May 1	May 2	*Morning Star*		" "		Christian and D'Wolf
" "	" "	*Little Watt*		Gold Coast		" " "
" 2	" 4	*Minerva*[5]	Burt	Congo	125	Francis Depau
" 9	" 11	*Factor*		Gold Coast	85	C. Cook
" 18		*Leander*[6]	Vincent	Gambia		Thos. Vincent
" 20	May 21	*Daphne*	Belcher	Congo	460	Wm. Broadfoot
June 1	June 1	*Africa*		"	280	Wm. Boyd
" 2	" 2	*Eliza*	M'Williams	Windward Coast	70	A. Collins
" 4	" 4	*Lark*	Bradford	Gold Coast	95	Christian and D'Wolf

[382] [1] Lambert gives the importation for the year as 15,676 (*Travels*, II. 165). The importation reported in the *Courier* is as follows:

Mar.	21,	62	Apr.	19,	539	May	23,	535	July	4,	242	Aug.	29,	180	Nov.	28,	120	Dec.	19, 120 (Mozambique)
Mar.	28,	233	Apr.	25,	490	May	30,	380	July	11,	204	Nov.	7,	114	Dec.	5,	1101	Dec.	26, 1583
Apr.	4,	368	May	2,	294	June	5,	249	July	25,	571	Nov.	14,	186	Dec.	12,	1447		
Apr.	11,	520	May	16,	110	June	27,	350	Aug.	22,	120	Nov.	21,	98	Dec.	19,	640		

[2] On July 6, 1806, the *James* was spoken, then 27 days out from Charleston on her voyage to Africa (*Courier*, Aug. 5, 1806). One cargo of forty slaves, insured for $250 each from St. Thomas to Charleston, never reached that port. On Feb. 23, 1807, the captain of the vessel wrote to Teasdale that he had put in to St. Thomas for water and repairs, that his sloop was wrecked and that the negroes had been placed on the *Charlotte* and sold in Havana, his reason being that freight for Charleston commanded extravagant rates because of the danger from French privateers. The 37 that lived to be sold commanded $4685. Catterall, *Judicial Cases*, II. 289-290.

[3] C. W. Jansen, in *The Stranger in America* (1807, p. 359), gives copies of three advertisements of Gibson and Broadfoot, and William Boyd, the total amounting to 880 negroes.

[4] The *Nancy*, Vial, was noted in the *Courier* of Nov. 10 as having sailed from Senegal for Charleston, her second voyage in 1807. On Nov. 28 it was reported that she had been captured and carried into Tortola. For her case, see this work, III. 394-404.

[5] The *Courier* of Apr. 27 reported that the *Minerva* had lost 120 slaves on her passage.

[6] The *Courier*, Nov. 10, 1806, reported the arrival of the *Leander* in Gambia. She was apparently attempting to bring in one more cargo before the market closed.

[*Negroes imported into South Carolina*—continued:]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
June 6	June 6	*Alfred*		Windward Coast	84	Phillips and Gardner
" 11	" 11	*Hiram*	Hudson	" "	105	Christian and D'Wolf
" 12	" 12	*Concord*	Botsworth	Gold Coast	48	" " "
" 15	" 15	*Eliza*	[Miller ?]	Windward Coast	68	John Duncan
" 18	" 18	*Flora*		" "	80	Christian and D'Wolf
" 24	" 24	*Ann and Harriet*		Angola	145	Phillips and Gardner
" 27	" 27	*Monticello*		Windward Coast		Christian and D'Wolf
July 1	July 1	*Juliet*		Gold Coast		Phillips and Gardner
" "	" "	*Baltimore*		Windward Coast	80	Christian and D'Wolf
" 2	" 2	*Meriam*	Muir?	Angola		Francis Depau
" 8	" 9	*Heroine*	Smith	Windward Coast	204	John S. Adams
" 16	" 16	*Ruby*	Caruth	Congo	350	Wm. Boyd
" 21	" 22	*Betsy and Polly*	Philips	Windward Coast	106	Christian and D'Wolf
" 27	" 27	*Ann*	Hill?	Congo	250	Francis Depau
" 29	" 29	*Armed Neutrality*	Muir?	"	213	Wm. Boyd
Aug. 8	Aug. 10	*James*	White?	Gambia		Tunno and Cox
" 11	" 13	*John*	Quay	Congo		Tunno and Price
" 14	" 21	*Hindustan*	Wm. Corlett			Verree and Blair
" 15	" 15	*Nantasket* }	Boothroyd	Gambia	40	Tunno and Cox
" 17	" 17	" }				
" 31	Sept. 1	*Eagle*	Shearman	Gold Coast	180	Christian and D'Wolf
Sept. 26	" 28	*Port Mary*	Bowers	Congo	320	Wm. Boyd
Oct. 22	Oct. 22	*Flora*				M. Kelly
" 23	" 23	*Mary*	Clark			Phillips and Gardner
" "	" 24	*Eagle*		Gold Coast		" " "
Nov. 10		*Active* [*Actor?*]	Welsh	Windward Coast		Gibson, Broadfoot and Co.
" 11	Nov. 11	*Hannah*	Bailley [Bartlet?]	Senegal		Phillips and Gardner
" 16	" 16	*Mary*		Angola	133	J. Egleston
" 24	" 23	*Edward and Edmund*	Hilton	Windward Coast		John Macnamara
" 28	" 30	*Experiment*	Fisher			Phillips and Gardner
Dec. 2	Dec. 3	*Rambler*		Gold Coast		Christian and D'Wolf[7]
" 14[8]	" 14	*Mercury*[9]		Angola	133	M. Kelly
" 16	" 16	*Venus*	Preble	Windward Coast		Thos. Vincent
" 24[10]	" 29	*John*		" "	80	Thos. Tunno

[7] Ten years later trouble arose over the sales of Christian and De Wolf in 1807 or 1808. From a cargo assigned to them by Watson they had sold 14 to Whalley, valued at $8280. Whalley, who later failed in England, apparently never paid for his slaves. Catterall, II. 304.

[8] *Courier*, Dec. 7. The *Hindoston, Commerce, Charlotte,* and *Albert*, all from Africa, were anchored off the bar.

[9] It may have been this *Mercury* whose captain was involved in the complicated transactions described in Catterall, II. 305.

[10] During 1807 fifty-six public auctions were announced in the *Courier*, the largest number named being 100 Congo negroes.

383. Customs Entries, Charleston, 1807.[1]

Vessel's Names	Proprietors	Of what Country
Katy [*Kitty*?], Charleston	T. Cassin	Great Britain
James, B.	A. Holmes	do.
Eliza, Charleston	Christian and D'Wolf	R. I.
Cleopatra, do.	W. Boyd	Great Britain
Union, R. I.	Phillips and Gardner	R. I.
Tartar, B.	J. Hambleton	G. Britain
Maria, B.	J. Cooper	do.
James, Baltimore	N. Ingraham	Mass.
Mary, B.	J. S. Adams	R. I.
Aspinal, B.	Hamilton and Co.	G. Brit'n.
James, R. I.	C. Christian	Charleston
Norfolk, Charleston	Cushman	Ireland
Fourth of July, B.	G. Parker	Charleston
Dudder [*Duddon*], B.	Gibson and Broadfoot	G. B.
Habit, F.	Delan and Co.	France
Agent, R. I.	T. Eddy	R. I.
Eliza, Charleston	T. Ogin	Great Britain
Ann, B.	Tunno and Cox	do.
Ellis, B.	James and Price	do.
Andromache, R. I.	Drown	R. I.
Gov. Clairborn, R. I.	T. Depau	France
Hiram, R. I.	Phillips and Gardner	R. I.
Semiramis, R. I.	do.	do.
Neptune, R. I.	C. Cook	do.
Nancy, R. I.	Phillips and Gardner	do.
Minerva, Charleston	T. Depau	France
Columbia, R. I.	Phillips and Gardner	R. I.
Factor, R. I.	C. Cook	do.
Lavinia, R. I.	Christian and D'Wolf	do.
Leander, Charleston	T. Vincent	do.
Daphney, do.	W. Broadfoot	G. Britain
Vulture, R. I.	Christian and D'Wolf	R. I.
Africa, B.	W. Boyd	Great Britain
Three Friends, B.	J. Calligan	do.
Eliza, R. I.	J. Christian and D'Wolf	R. I.
Lark, R. I.	W. Bradford	do.
Alfred, R. I.	Phillips and Gardner	do.
Louisa, Charleston	J. Duncan	Great Britain
Hiram, R. I.	Norris	R. I.
Concord, do.	Christian and D'Wolf	R. I.
Friendship, do.	Phillips and Gardner	do.
Flora, do.	D'Wolf	do.
Ann and Harriot, do.	Phillips and Gardner	do.
Monticello, do.	D'Wolf	do.
Amazon, B.	Bennet	Great Britain
Baltimore, R. I.	Church	R. I.
Juliet, "	Phillips and Gardner	do.
Miriam, B.	Depau	France
Heron, Connecticut	C. Fitzimons	Ireland
Ruby, Charleston	W. Boyd	Great Britain
Three Sisters, R. I.	D'Wolf	R. I.
Betsey and Sally, do.	do.	do.

[383] [1] *Annals*, 16 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 75-76. The dates in the statement are omitted.

[*Customs Entries, Charleston*—continued:]

Vessel's Names	Proprietors	Of what Country
Armed Neutrality, Charl'n	Boyd	Britain
Anna, do.	Depau	France
John, B. do.	Tunno and Price	Britain
Nantasket, do.	Bousroyd [Boothroyd?]	do.
George Clinton, Britain	Delai and Clement	France
Eagle, R. I.	D'Wolf	R. I.
Port Mary, Charleston	W. Boyd	Britain
Eliza, do.	Christy	Charleston
Mary, R. I.	Phillips and Gardner	R. I.
Eagle, R. I.	do.	do.
Actor, Charleston	P. Kennedy	Ireland
Hanna Bartlet, do.	Phillips and Gardner	R. I.
Mary, do.	J. Eglistin	R. I.
Edward and Edmund,[2] "	Hilton	R. I.
Charleston, "	Bailey and Wailer	Britain
Experience, Boston	Fisher	R. I.
Rambler, R. I.	Phillips and Gardner	"
Eliza, B.	J. B. Cotton	"
Cleopatra, Charleston	W. Hoyd [Boyd?]	Britain
Hope, R. I.	D'Wolf	R. I.
Charlotte, "	"	"
Albert, Charleston	W. Timmon	S. Carolina
Commerce,[3] R. I.	W. Lyon	R. I.
Hope, Charleston	N. Ingram	Massachusetts
Wealthy Ann, "	D'Wolf	R. I.
Columbia, R. I.	Phillips and Gardner	"
Agenora [*Angenoria*?], R. I.	D'Wolf	"
Mercury, B.	M. Kelly	Ireland
Venus, Charleston	Preble	R. I.
Agent, "	Depau	French
General Claiborne, "	"	"
James, R. I.	D'Wolf	R. I.
Resolution, Charleston	J. S. Adams	Britain
William and Mary, "	H. Kerr	"
Caroline, F.	Synagal	French
Polly, Charleston	J. Stoney	Charleston
Jupiter, Norfolk	J. Willick	Britain
Heart of Oak,[4] Baltimore	J. S. Adams	R. I.
Horizon, B.	" " "	"
Mary Ann, Charleston	S. Miller	"
Mary Ann, Baltimore	Dallas	
Rio, Charleston	O'Harra	Charleston
Sally, B.	C. Graves	"

[2] Swann gives the *Mary* and the *Edward and Edmund* as Rhode Island vessels.

[3] This vessel sailed again for Africa on June 16, 1807, directed not to remain on the coast longer than four months. On Sept. 5 the captain wrote that his goods were unsaleable and that there were no less than 300 sail on the coast. He touched at Senegal and Goree, then traded in the Gambia, where he lost part of his crew and purchased but 86 slaves. Too late to reach the Carolina market, he proceeded to Matanzas. There his vessel was grounded and lost. Catterall, II. 302-303.

[4] "Sierra Leone. Octr. 15th 1807. Deposited in my hands a Native Slave Girl Nam'd Nancy by Captn. Lazarous Lovel for Captn. Pyke which I promise to deliver to Captn. Pyke or order (accidents excepted) on Demand. MALCOLM BRODIE." Pike was captain of the *Heart of Oak*, Lovel was doubtless the captain sent from Salem to the Isles de Los and to Sierra Leone in January, 1806, with instructions not to trade in slaves. Essex Institute, MSS., Slave Trade in Salem.

[*Summary of Entries, 1804-1807.*]

Vessels belonging to [5]

Charleston	Rhode Island	Baltimore	Boston	Norfolk	Connecticut	Swede	British	French	Consignees, Natives of Charleston	Consignees, Natives of Rhode Island	Consignees, Natives of Britain	Consignees, Natives of France	Total
61	59	4	1	2	1	1	70	3	13	88	91	10	202

Slaves imported at Charleston, from Jan. 1, 1804, to Dec. 31, 1807, and by what nation.

British		19,949	
French		1,078	21,027
In American Vessels.			
Charl[e]ston, South Carolina		7723	
Of this number there were, belonging to foreigners		5717-	5717
Leaving, imported by merchants and planters of Charleston and vicinity		2006	
			26,744
Bristol, Rhode Island	3,914		
Newport, "	3,488	7958	
Providence, "	556		
Baltimore		750	
Savannah		300	
Norfolk		287	
Warren		280	
Hartford		250	
Boston		200	
Philadelphia		200	
New Orleans		100	
		——	[12,231]
			39,075 [6]

[5] The vessels of Charleston, from Charleston, or bound to Charleston which were spoken or reported during 1807 and which do not appear in these lists are:

Jan. 10, *Alcade*, Bixby
" 28, *Juno*, Fisher, Angola
Feb. 2, *Lydia*, Brown, Rio Pongo
" 9, *Washington*
Mar. 26, *Three Brothers*, Slocum
" 28, *Emily*
June 1, *Eleanor*
" 11, *General Eaton*, Edes
" 29, *Belvidere*
July 15, *Warren*, Lindsay, Cape Mount
Aug. 17, *Paul Hamilton*, Bixby
" 28, *Farnham*, Burgess
" 31, *Peter*, Milbury
Sept. 14, *Dolphin*
Young Adam, Haviland (These two carried negroes from Mozambique)
Oct. 10, *Croyden*, Williams
Nov. 2, *Eleanor*, Magrath, Rio Pongo
" 10, *Dispatch*, Brown, Gambia
" 12, *Emely*, Brooks
" " *Eleanor*, Vial
Dec. 1, *Susan*, Blanck
" 10, *William*, Cummings
" 11, *Fair American*, Trask
" " *America*, Windsor
" " *Constance*, Squires
" 21, *Fabian*, Burges
" " *Ranger*, Taylor.

[6] "Here, sir, ends the black catalogue. It would show to the Senate, that those people who most deprecate the evils of slavery and traffic in human flesh, when a profitable market can be found, can sell human flesh with as easy a conscience as they sell other articles. The whole number imported by the merchants and planters of Charleston and its vicinity were only two thousand and six. Nor were the slaves imported by the foreigners, and other American vessels and owners, sold to the Carolinians, only in a small part. They were sold to the people of the Western States, Georgia, New Orleans, and a considerable quantity were sent to the West Indies, especially when the market became dull in Carolina" (*Annals*, 16 Cong., 2 sess., p. 73). Lambert's total is 39,310.

384. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1807.[1]

January 6, 1807.

For Sale, Upon accommodating terms, 2 bales blue Gilla Handkerchiefs, 3 do. blue India Checks, 2 do. Luckapore Baftas, Subject to debenture, and suitable for the African Market, also, 1 bale of Ticklenbergs. Apply to A. K. Smedes, at Mrs. Kerr's, Broad street.

February 2, 1807.

Received, per Ship *Pactolus,* Capt. Beckford, from Salem. The following India Goods, Suitable for the African Market, entitled to debenture, *viz.* 60 bales Blue Guineas, (or Salempores) 8 and 9 kall, 4 ditto Ditto Moories, 12 Kall; 3 ditto Handkerchiefs, 1 ditto Ditto Sukertoons, 1 ditto White Ditto.

50 Hhds. and Pipes Cuba Rum, Fit for the African Market, for sale low, by Bills on Boston.

January 31. James Christie.

West-India Rum, Suitable for the African Market, received by the schooner *Centurion,* and for sale a bargain, if taken from the Wharf. 50 puncheons strong proof St. Vincents' Rum. Cohen and Moses.

February 25.

April 8, 1807.[2]

A Jury of Inquest was held on Monday last, on the body of a Negro Man, found floating by Benjamin Johnson's new wharf; supposed to be an African, and thrown overboard from some slave ship in the harbour, to save the expense of burial. The jury brought in a verdict, that he came to his death by the visitation of God.

A Jury of Inquest was held yesterday, on the body of an African

[384] [1] *Charleston Courier*, Jan. 6, 15, Feb. 2, 26, Mar. 5, Apr. 8, 21, 22, June 1, July 23, Dec. 9, 1807. Slavers offered for sale during 1807: Feb. 23, *Rio*, 170 tons, to be sold at Savannah; May 18, *Leander*, capacity, 250 slaves; June 29, schooner *Eliza*, 95 tons; June 30, *Amazon*, 153 tons, with or without her African materials; July 8, *Heroine*, 201 tons, "with all materials complete for that trade", also *James, Speculation, Nancy, Three Friends, Concord, John, Hiram.* An "African boiler", water casks, handcuffs, a "complete Platform carrying negroes, suitable for a vessel of about 100 tons", and prime Georgia tobacco for the African market were all offered for sale during the year. On June 29 Nathan Bixby advertised for a cooper for Africa.

[2] One peculiarly revolting accompaniment of the importation of these years is suggested by a city ordinance which appeared in the *Courier* of Nov. 22, 1805: "Whereas since the importation of Slaves from Africa, several incidents have occured of dead human bodies having been thrown into the waters of the Harbour of Charleston; and whereas such practices are extremely disgraceful, and ought to be prevented by their severest penalties that can be inflicted by the City Council", a fine of $100 was imposed on any person throwing a dead body into any of the rivers of the harbor. See also *Courier*, Aug. 24, 1807.

Negro, found floating in Pritchard's dock. It appeared to be one thrown overboard from one of the slave ships from Africa, now in the harbour. A practice too prevalent among the captains, and disgraceful to humanity. The jury brought in a verdict, that he came to his death by the visitation of God.

April 21, 1807.

A Jury of Inquest was held on Sunday afternoon, on the body of an African negro woman, found floating near the Market dock—it appeared to the jurors, from its having on the usual dress, of a blue flannel frock, to have belonged to one of the slave ships in the harbour, and thrown into the river, to save the expense of burial; a custom too prevalent in this port with the officers of slave ships, and in itself shocking to humanity. The jury brought in a verdict, that she came to her death by the visitation of God. And the coroner begs leave to remind the seamen and petty officers of those ships, that the City Council have passed an Ordinance, prohibiting so inhuman and brutal a custom, and have offered a reward of One Hundred Dollars, to any person or persons, who will give information, so that the offender or offenders, may be prosecuted to conviction, and their names exposed to the good citizens of this state. The Coroner has received information that there are at this time, the bodies of three or more of these poor wretches floating about Hog-Island, and the marshes opposite the city—the effluvia arrising from which, must be very prejudicial to the health of passengers in boats, passing and repassing them daily.

April 22, 1807.

A Jury of Inquest was held yesterday, on the body of an African Negro woman, found floating at Craft's north wharf. The jury brought in a verdict, that she came to her death by the visitation of God—and supposed her to belong to some of the slave ships in this harbour, and thrown into the river, to save expense of burial.

385. Case of the *Cleopatra*, 1807.[1]

January 16, 1807.

We are informed that the crew of the ship *Cleopatra,* Captain Butman, which arrived in this port on Sunday last from the River Congo, have made oath before James Bentham, Esq. of the barbarous and inhuman treatment which they received during their voyage, from Captain Butman and Mr. Lawson, the supercargo. It appears from their evidence, that three seamen were killed on the passage, and that those who have returned are much maimed from their ill-

[385] [1] *Charleston Courier*, Jan. 16, 17, May 29, 1807.

treatment, and that some of them have been burnt in the face with firebrands, and others were beat with hammers: one man had his arm twisted round nearly out of its socket, another was torn by the dogs, which were purposely set upon him. Thirteen of these unfortunate men have been carried to the Marine Hospital, two of whom it is supposed will die—and another is to have his arm amputated. The seamen are foreigners. Captain Butman and Mr. Lawson, are both commited to goal. We feel it to be our duty, as faithful journalist, to lay these circumstances before our readers; we hope for the honor of human nature, that the account will prove to be in some degree exaggerated.

January 17, 1807.

In addition to the statement which we published yesterday, of the cruelties committed upon the crew of the ship *Cleopatra,* we have now to inform our readers, that Daniel Saunders, the boatswain, was yesterday morning committed to goal, upon the affadavit of the Surgeon's Mate, charging him of having killed one of the seamen by the name of Anderson, and that two men have died in the Marine Hospital of the wounds they received on the passage. The Juries of Inquest brought in the following verdicts:

A Jury of Inquest was held on Thursday last, in the Marine Hospital, on the body of Oluff Groning, a native of Sweden, and a mariner of the ship *Cleopatra*, capt. John Butman and R. V. Lawson supercargo, from Africa, with slaves. The Jury brought in the verdict as follows, That said deceased (Oluff Groning) came to his death by cruel and ill-treatment from the said Captain and R. V. Lawson, the supercargo, by severe beatings, and particularly Mr. Lawson—stabbing him under the left arm with the Tormentors, or Cook's Fork; it having entered the thorax, by which he languished and died; there being also the marks of eight blows inflicted on his arms, hand and foot, said to have been received from said Lawson with a billet of fire-wood and the pump-bolt, on board said vessel.

A Jury of Inquest was held yesterday morning on the body of Daniel Meyer, a native of Denmark, and a mariner of the ship *Cleopatra.* The Jury brought in the verdict—That said deceased came to his death by the cruel and ill treatment, wounds and bruises, particularly by the Captain's twisting and bruising his right arm, from which a mortification took place; and a number of bruises on his arms and legs, which deprived him of the use of them—inflicted by Mr. Lawson and the Captain jointly, on board; of which he died in the Marine Hospital on Thursday evening.

May 29, 1807.

We stated in our paper of the 16th January, that the crew of the ship *Cleopatra,* which had just arrived from Africa, had made affidavits before James Bentham, esq. that, in consequence of the cruelties exercised upon them by capt. Butman, the master, and Mr. Lawson, the supercargo of that ship, three men had died on board,

and that the rest were miserably bruised and maimed: we at the same time expressed our hopes that these accounts, given by the seamen, were exaggerated. The trial of Capt. Butman and Mr. Lawson came on in the Circuit Court on Monday last, before their Honours Judges Johnson and Bee, upon three indictments for murder, and several for assault; when it was satisfactorily proved to the Jury, that they were not only innocent of the crime of murder, but that the assaults, to which they pleaded guilty, were, in some measure, rendered necessary by the state of the slaves; That coersive measures were necessarily resorted to, to compel the seamen to do their duty, and that the wounds and bruises which they said had been inflicted on them by their officers, were the effect of disease. They consequently were acquitted. We understand that three of the crew, who were witnesses on the part of the prosecution, have been committed for trial, by the Court, for unlawful conduct during the prosecution.

386. Accounts of the *Mary*, 1807.[1]

Sales of 5 African Negroes received pr Ship "Mary", Joseph Wood Master on acc. and risk Dean Deblois and Martin

		To whom sold	Men	Women	Boys	Girls		
1807								
Nov	21	Durand			1	1	at 250	500
dec	2d	Joseph Pritchard	1		1		100 and 150	250
"	"	Death	1					00
			2		2	1		750
		Charges						
dec	3d	To 5 [*torn*] Cloths at 3					$15	
		" 3 Blankets 2/2					12. 50	
		Commissions on 750 at 5 pc					37. 50	65.00
		Nett proceeds Dollars						685

E E Charleston 3d dec 1807

387. News from the African Coast, 1807.

Report of capt. Street.[1]

December 10, 1807.

Nov. 6, spoke brig *Norfolk,* Marsden, 20 days from Gambia, with 130 slaves, bound for Charleston, in lat. 13, 30. long. 45.

November 11th, was boarded by his B. M. brig *Hercule,* capt.

[386] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box IV.
[387] [1] *Charleston Courier,* Dec. 10, 1807.

Smith, bound for Barbadoes; treated politely; at 19. 20. long. 52.

List of vessels left at Rio Pongus:

Ship *Eleanor,* M'Grath, to sail for this port 20th Oct.
Ship *Fourth of July,* Brown, uncertain
Ship *Heart of Oak,* ——, unknown
Ship *Tartar,* Taylor, uncertain
Brig *Jupiter,* Beaton, 20th Oct.
Schooner *Tryal,* ——, 20th do.
Schooner *Mary Ann,* Miller, ready for sea
Schooner *Kitty,* M'Cawley, 20th Oct.
Brig *Little Watt,* Clark, Rhode Island, just arrived

Coming over the bar, saw a brig standing in, supposed to be the *Washington,* Grant, from Gambia.

Brig *Sally,* Shearman, was in Rio Noonas; to leave the Coast 1st Nov.

Brig *Venus,* Preble, was to leeward.

Schooner *Aurora,* captain and mate both dead, was to leeward.

Brig *Polly,* Hubbell, of Charleston, from Marseilles, said to be bound to Cape Mount, has arrived at Isle de Los.

The ship *Betsy and Polly,* capt. Bradley, was stranded on the 4th October, near Dr. Butterford's Factory—the ship was taken by the counter tide, when dropping down the river, with boats towing of her, and went upon the rocks; every effort was made to get the ship off before the tide fell, but without effect; when the flood tide made the ship was got off the rocks, but found to be so much injured in her bottom and keel, that there was not a doubt but she would be condemned—the ship had upwards of 300 slaves on board; all saved.

Every vessel in the Rio Pongus is much in want of rice for their slaves and not a ton to be got there. There was no doubt but the greater part would have to go to the Leeward to procure rice, which was very scarce there.

English ship *Hind,* M'Bride, had been laying ten months in the river. Her Doctor, Sailing Master Mate, Second Mate and Boatswain, had attempted to kill the captain, and go off with the ship, but were detected, by the Doctor's confessing every thing, and all were confined in irons. The *Hind* had buried about 70 slaves.

The English brig *Byam,* Williams, had been eight months in the river—most of her people runaway.

[*Reports of other Captains.*][2]

December 18, 1807.

Capt Martin left at Goree, a brig belonging to this port, from Gambia, and schooner ——, Dolles, of this port. . . .

[2] *Charleston Courier,* Dec. 18, 1807.

Capt. Shearman left at Congo, ships *Daphne*, Caruth; and *Africa*, Connelly, for this port. Ship *William and Mary*, Lawson, sailed a few days before the *Governour Claiborne*, for this port. . . .

Accounts from Antigua state, that five Guineamen have been captured by the French Privateers, and sent into Guadaloupe.

Brig *Rio*, Cox, from Cabenda, for this port, with 220 slaves, was to sail 2d ult.

British Vessels left in Congo River, Oct. 14:

Ship *Croydon*, of London, 300 slaves
Ship *Nicholson*, of Liverpool, no slaves
Ship *Mary-Ann*, of do. do.
Ship *Margaret*, of do. do.
Ship 2d *Margaret*, of do. do.
Ship *Hart*, of do. 100 slaves
Ship *George*, of do. 90 slaves

388. Case of the *Amedie*, 1807.[1]

Before the Most Noble and Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of Appeals in Prize Causes.

The *Amedie*, James Johnson, late Master, Martin Robin, formerly Master.

James Johnson, the Master and Claimant of the Ship and Cargo, consisting of 103 African Slaves, as the sole Property of Samuel Grove, a Citizen of the United States of America — Appellant.

against

James Bennett, Esq. Commander of his Majesty's Ship *Swinger*, the Captor, and Charles Bishop, Esq. His Majesty's Procurator-General — Respondents.

(An Appeal from Tortola.)

Appellant's Case.

This is an American Ship, the sole Property of Samuel Grove, of Charleston, Merchant, a Citizen of the United States of America, by whom she was laden at Charleston, with a Cargo of Dry Goods, and

[388] [1] Vice admiralty briefs in the possession of the Marine Research Society. For the privilege of examining these records and of printing large parts of them the editor is indebted to the great generosity of Mr. George Francis Dow of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. The cases included in this volume are placed by date of the capture of the vessel, not by date of trial or decision.

other Merchandize, also his sole Property, destined to Bonny, on the Coast of Africa, to bring back a Cargo of Slaves, with Directions to the Master, should any Occurrence render it impossible for him to return to Charleston before the 1st of January, 1808, (after which Period the Importation of Slaves into America was prohibited by a Law of the United States), then to proceed to the Port of Matanzas, in the Island of Cuba, where he would receive Instructions to regulate his future Proceedings.

The Vessel arrived at Bonny on or about the 1st October, 1807, where the Cargo was sold, and the Proceeds invested in the Purchase of Slaves for the same Proprietor, with which the Vessel sailed from Bonny, on the 1st November, 1807, destined to Charleston; but the Master, finding he could not possibly reach Charleston before the 1st January, 1808, altered the Course for Matanzas, and, on or about the 20th December, 1807, the Vessel was captured near St. Thomas, by his Majesty's Brig *Swinger,* James Bennett, Esq. Commander, and carried to Tortola, and in the Vice-Admiralty Court there Proceedings were instituted against the Ship and Cargo as Prize.

On the 15th January, 1808, a Claim was given by James Johnson, the Master, for the Ship and Cargo, consisting of 103 African Slaves, as the Property of the said Samuel Grove.

On the 10th February, the Judge pronounced the Ship and Cargo of Slaves to be liable to confiscation, and condemned the Ship as Prize to the Captor, and the Slaves as Prize to the sole Use of His Majesty; and directed 1000 Dollars to be paid out of the Proceeds to the said Master, in lieu of his Privilege and Interest in the said Cargo.

From this Condemnation an Appeal has been duly made by the said Master and Claimant; and an Appearance having been given for the Respondent and the usual Proceedings had, the Cause has been assigned for Sentence.

Preparatory Examinations.

James Johnson, the Master, says, to the 1st Interrogatory, He is a Citizen of the United States.[2]

3. That the Capture was made about sixty Miles to the Southward and Westward of St. Thomas, on the 21st or 22d Day of this present Month; he believes that the Reason of the Capture was owing to the Vessel's being bound to Matanzas, in the Island of Cuba.

4. That he appointed himself to the Command of the Vessel, in Consequence of the Death of Martin Robin, the former Master,

[2] The marginal notes have been omitted throughout this brief. The preliminary examinations took place Dec. 28-30, 1807. Johnson was born in New York but for the past seven years had lived in Charleston.

who died some Days after the Departure of the Vessel from Bonny, on the Coast of Africa; the late Master was appointed by Samuel Groves; took Possession of her in Charleston.[3]

7. That the present Voyage is the only Voyage that the Deponent has been in the Vessel; it was from Charlston to Bonny, on the Coast of Africa; it is a Settlement exclusively the Property of the Natives, and the Deponent did not see nor does he believe that there are any Whites settled there; her last Voyage began at Charleston, in South Carolina, bound to Bonny; at which Port she took on board her present Lading, with which she was proceeding to Matanzas, at which Place he expected to receive Orders from Mr. Samuel Groves respecting the Disposal of the Cargo; when the Vessel left Bonny it was the Intention of the former Master to proceed to Charleston, provided he could have reached there by the 1st Day of the ensuing Month; and it was Deponent's Intention, after the Death of Captain Robin, to get there if possible by the Time before mentioned, but, on the 22d of the present Month (as near as he can recollect), finding that he could not possibly reach Charleston by the 1st of January next, he determined to proceed to Matanzas as before mentioned; he therefore cannot say where the Voyage would have ended.

8. That her Lading consists of 103 Slaves; they were taken on board at the Port of Bonny, between the 12th Day of September, and the 1st Day of November last past.

9. That Samuel Groves was the Owner of the Vessel, which he knows from his having cleared the Vessel out of the Custom-House, at Charleston, in that Quality.

12. That Martin Robin was the Lader of the present Cargo; Samuel Groves was the Owner thereof, and in Case the said Vessel had gone to Charleston, it would have been consigned to him, but at present he does not know who would have been the Consignee, as he does not know to what Port she would have been ordered to dispose of the Cargo; Mr. Groves is a Native of America, as Deponent believes; he lives in Charleston, and carries on Business there as a Merchant; he does not know how long he has resided there, or where he resided before; he does not know at what Port the present Lading would have been delivered at, in consequence of the Vessel being bound to Matanzas, at which Place he expected to find Orders respecting the Vessel and Cargo, and in Case he had not found Orders there on his Arrival, he would have waited for them; Deponent intended to do so, in consequence of Instructions given to the former Master, and which are now in the Possession of the Captors; he does take upon himself to swear, that he believes that at

[3] The vessel, with a burden of 111 tons, was navigated by eleven seamen at the time of her capture. Seven of these were natives of New Orleans. Two seamen, in addition to the master, had died on the voyage.

the Time of Lading the present Cargo, now, and if it shall be restored and unladen at the destined Port, it did, does, and will belong to Samuel Groves before named, and to no other Person; he knows it from his having shipped the outward Cargo, of which the present one is the Return; Captain Robin had a small Boy, besides his wearing Apparel, 18 Doubloons, and a Watch, the Doubloons are in Deponent's possession.

13. That there was no Bill of Lading.

15. That there was no Charter-Party for the Voyage.

20. That in Case the Vessel had arrived at her destined Port, and the Cargo had been there unladen, it would have remained the Property of Samuel Groves, until sold at Matanzas, or at what Port it would have been sold.

29. That the Vessel was steering toward Matanzas when captured; her Course was altered in order to speak the Brig by which she was taken, but not otherwise; her Course was at all Times directed towards the Port of Charleston, to which Place she was destined, to the best of Deponent's Knowledge and Ability, until the 22d Day of the present Month, or thereabouts, when Deponent found that he was not likely to reach Charleston by the 1st Day of the ensuing Month, when he bore up for the Port of Matanzas, agreeably to the Instructions he found on board at the Death of Captain Robin, the former Master.

31. That there are no Guns mounted; there are five or six Muskets, two Blunderbusses, and eight Cutlasses, a Keg of Gunpowder, and some small Shot on board; she was thus armed to keep the Slaves in subjection.[4]

32. That he has declared the Whole of what he knows and believes, according to the best of his Knowledge and Belief, regarding the real and true Property and Destination of the Vessel and her Cargo at the Time of Capture.

33. That the Brig has not sailed under Convoy of any Ship of War or other armed Vessel.

34. That the Brig has not sailed to, or attempted to enter, any blockaded Port.

Joseph Carriere, the Mate,[5] says to the fourth Interrogatory, That the late Master was named Martin Robin; he was appointed to the Command by Samuel Groves, of Charleston, the Owner of the said Brig; that the said Master took Possession of her at Charleston, about five Months ago, and Possession was delivered to him by the said Owner.

[4] This was the usual equipment of the slavers taken as prizes.

[5] The mate was to have received $1000 for his voyage from Charleston to Africa and return.

7. That she sailed from Charleston some Time in the Beginning of August, last, laden with a Cargo of Dry Goods, Invoice at about 12000 Dollars, including all Charges, cleared out for and bound to Bonny, on the Coast of Africa, as her Place of Trade; that she sailed in Company with the Ship *Semiramis,* of Charleston, Collins, Master, and belonging to the same Owner that the present Vessel does; that both Vessels arrived at Bonny about the 1st Day of October following; that a Captain Joseph Scott, who went out from Charleston in the said Ship *Semiramis* to Bonny, acted as the Supercargo of both Vessels, appointed by the Owner; that the said Joseph Scott, upon her Arrival at Bonny, sold the Cargoes of both Vessels, and invested the Proceeds in the Purchase of Slaves; that 110 were purchased as the Cargo of the said Brig, and as the Returns of her outward Cargo; that at Bonny one died, and another was drowned; that they sailed from thence on the 1st Day of November last, with 108 Slaves on board; that five of them died on the Voyage, and one since the Capture; that the Master, Martin Robin, he believes died on the 5th Day after their leaving Bonny; that the said Voyage began at Charleston, and was to have ended there, upon the Return of the said Brig; that the late Master had in his Letter of Instructions from the Owner, that if he could not reach Charleston by the last Day of December, he was to put into Matanzas, in the Island of Cuba, there to meet his further Instructions upon which he was to be guided; that the present is the only Voyage he has been upon in the said Vessel.

8. That two Bales of Dry Goods, Part of her outward Lading, still remain on board, which was not disposed of.

9. That Samuel Grove is the sole Owner of the said Brig; he knows him to be so from his giving Directions concerning her at Charleston, when she was there.

12. That Joseph Scott, above-named, the Supercargo of both Vessels, was the Lader of the said Slaves; that he is an Englishman by Birth, and resides in some Port of Great Britain; that he came out to Charleston, where Mr. Grove offered him the Appointment of Supercargo of the said two Vessels, and he accepted it; that the said Grove is the Owner and Consignee of the said Slaves, but he does not know where they were to be delivered, as the Letter of Instructions to the late Master directed, that in Case he could not reach Charleston by the last day of December, he was to proceed to Matanzas, in the Island of Cuba, there to find further Instructions, by which he was to act; that the said Cargo is on the real Account, Risk, and Benefit, of the said Samuel Grove; that Scott, the Lader, has no Interest in the same beyond the Commission he was to derive thereon to his Knowledge; that both Vessels sailed from Bonny together, under

the same Instructions; that they parted Company of a dark Night, about ten Days after sailing, and never saw each other again; that he does take upon himself to swear, that he believes that at the Time of the Lading the said Cargo of Slaves, now, and if it shall be restored and unladen at Charleston, or any other Port, it did, does, and will belong to the said Samuel Grove, and to none other; that he believes it was the Determination of the present Master to proceed to Matanzas, according to his Instructions, as the Time was growing short, and as he was limited, not to proceed on for Charleston, unless he could make that Port before the last Day of December; that if he arrived after that Day, the Vessel and Cargo, according to a late Law of the United States, would be liable to Confiscation; that he believes the said Grove to be sole Owner of the said Cargo, as he was the Owner and Shipper of the outward Cargo, and the present is in Return for the same, to the best of his Knowledge.

20. That in Case the said Brig had arrived at her destined Port of Charleston, or any other Port, and the Cargo had been there unladen, it would have remained the Property of the said Samuel Grove, until sold; that he was to have taken the Chance of the Market of any Place the said Brig might have gone to, to effect a Sale of the said Slaves.

29. That the Brig was steering due West when she was pursued and taken, with the Wind about East-North-East; that their Course was direct for the West Indies, for the first Land they could make, in order to take their Departure from thence for Matanzas, to meet the Owner's Instructions; her Course was not altered upon the Appearance of the Man of War; that when they sailed from Bonny their Course was directed for Charleston, but as the Time grew short it was altered for Matanzas, according to the Instructions of the Owner before named; that it was about the 15th Day of December they altered their Course for Matanzas, in Consequence of seeing by the Latitude the Distance they had to run, and thinking it impossible to reach Charleston before the last Day of December, the Time they were limited to arrive there.

Rena Jena, a Seaman, says to the 9th Interrogatory, that Mr. De Poe was the Owner of the Vessel at the Time of Capture; he does not know his Christian Name; he knows it from having heard Captain Robin, her former Master, say so; he does not know, but believes that Mr. De Poe is an American by Birth, and he believes it from having heard her late Master say so; he lives in Charleston; he does [not] know if he is married; he does not know how long he has lived there, or where he lived before; he is a Citizen of America.

12. That Captain Robin, the late Master of the Vessel, was the Lader of the present Cargo; Mr. De Poe is the Owner thereof; he

does not know to whom it was consigned; Mr. De Poe is an American by Birth; he lives in Charleston, and carries on Business there as a Merchant; he does not know how long he has lived there, or where he lived before; the present Cargo was to have been delivered at Charleston, upon the real Account, Risk, and Benefit of Mr. De Poe before named; he does take upon himself to swear, that he believes that, at the Time of the Lading the present Cargo, now, and if it shall be restored and unladen at Charleston, the Port of Destination, it did, does, and will belong to Mr. De Poe, and to no other Person or Persons; he grounds his Knowledge thereof from having heard Captain Robin, her former Master say so.

29. That he believes the Vessel was steering for Charleston at the Time of Capture; her Course was not altered upon the Appearance of the Vessel by which she was taken.

Thomas Seaborn, a Mariner, says, to the 9th Interrogatory, That he believes Mr. Groves (does not know his Christian Name) to be the sole Owner of the Brig; he believes so from his shipping and employing Deponent; does not know what Countryman he is by Birth, but he resides and does Business as a Merchant at Charleston.

12. That he believes the former Master, Martin Robin, was the Lader of the said Cargo, and he also believes that Mr. Groves is the Owner and Consignee of the same, and that the Slaves were to be delivered to him at Charleston, on his real Account, Risk, and Benefit; he does not know if the said Lader had any Interest in the said Slaves; that he does take upon himself to swear, that he believes that, at the Time of the lading the said Cargo, now, and if it shall be restored and unladen at the destined Port of Charleston, it did, does, and will belong to the said Mr. Groves, and to none other; that he founds his Knowledge from his being the Shipper and Owner of the outward Cargo, and he believes the present is in return for the same.[6]

. . . . . .

On the Part of the Claimant and Appellant, it is humbly hoped that the Condemnation appealed from will be reversed, and the Ship and Cargo, or the Value thereof, decreed to be restored as claimed, for the following, among other

REASONS,

Because the said Ship and Cargo clearly appear to belong to the American Citizen for whom they are claimed.

Saturday the 28th July 1810,[7] R. DALLAS,
J. H. ARNOLD.

[6] Here follows a list of the Ship Papers, with a summary of a few of them.

[7] The date, the names, and the decisions are added with a pen.

Present
Sir Wm. Grant Knt. Master of the Rolls
Sir Wm. Wynne Knt.
Sir John Nicholl Knt.

Amedie — I. Johnson Wr Bishop } For Judgment

Townley

The Lords pronounced against the appeal affirmed the Sentance appealed from and remitted the Cause.

Before the Most Noble and Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners of Appeals in Prize Causes.

Amedie, James Johnson, Master.

James Johnson, the Master, Claimant of the Ship and Cargo, consisting of 103 Slaves, as the Property of Samuel Groves, described a Citizen of the United States, } Appellant,

James Bennett, Esq. Commander of His Majesty's Ship *Swinger*, the Captor, and His Majesty's Procurator-General, } Respondents.

Appeal from Tortola.
Respondents' Case.

This Vessel, under American Colours, sailed from Charleston for Bonny, a Settlement on the Coast of Africa, with a Cargo of Dry Goods, Rum, and Gunpowder, which Cargo was bartered there for 103 Slaves, with which the Vessel was proceeding to Matanzas in the Island of Cuba, when she was captured on the 22d December, 1807, by His Majesty's Brig *Swinger,* James Bennett, Esq. Commander, and carried to Tortola, where the usual Proceedings were instituted against the Vessel and Slaves as Prize.

A Claim of James Johnson, the Master, was given for the Vessel and Cargo, as the Property of Samuel Groves, described a Citizen of the United States of America.[8]

The Cause came on for Hearing, when the Judge having heard Counsel on both Sides, assigned the Cause for Sentence whensoever.

The Judge assigned his Reasons, and pronounced the Ship and Cargo of Slaves, Natives of Africa, to have belonged, at the Time of the Capture, to Enemies of Great Britain, and condemned the

[8] The claim was presented Jan. 15, 1808, the hearing was Feb. 8, the pronouncement of the judge Feb. 10.

Ship as Prize to the Captors, and the Slaves to the sole Use of His Majesty; and directed 1000 Dollars to be paid out of the Proceeds to the Master, in lieu of his Privilege and Interest in the Cargo.

From this Sentence the Claimant appealed, and the Evidence in the Cause is as follows:[9]

The Appeal having been proceeded in now comes for Hearing; and it is humbly hoped, on the Part of the Respondents, that your Lordships will be pleased to pronounce against the Appeal, and affirm the Sentence appealed from, with Costs, for the following, among other

REASONS.

1st. Because the Ship was proceeding from Africa, with a Cargo there laden, to Matanzas in the Island of Cuba, being a Port of a Colony then belonging to His Majesty's Enemies, contrary to the Prohibitions of the Order of His Majesty in Council of the 11th Day of November, 1807.

2d. Because the Voyage was contrary to the prohibitory Laws of the United States of America, made for abolishing the Slave Trade, which have been officially notified to your Lordships by the Act of the American Government, in the Case of the *Chance,* Brown Master; and although such Laws of a Foreign State may not amount to a direct or substantive Ground of Condemnation in a Court of Prize, yet they may and ought to exclude an American Claimant from the Benefit of those Relaxations of the Law of War which, in Favour of Neutral States, have been introduced by His Majesty's Instructions, in regard to their Commerce with the Colonies of His Majesty's Enemies; a Privilege which can only be understood to be granted to Neutral Governments as a Branch of their National Commerce, and not as an Invitation to lawless Individuals to engage in a Trade which the Neutral State itself has prohibited, and desires to discourage.

3d. Because Thomas Scott, the Supercargo and Lader of the Slaves, is admitted to have an Interest therein, which is liable to Confiscation, he being a British Subject, by the Stat. 46 George 3d. cap. 52.[10]

4th. Because there is strong Ground to presume that the Case is fraudulent, and that the Property belonged, at the Time of Cap-

[9] Here follow excerpts from the examinations of the master, James Johnson, the mate, Joseph Carriere, sailors, Rena Jena and Thomas Seaborn, and a list of the Ship Papers.

[10] "An Act to prevent the Importation of Slaves by any of his Majesty's Subjects into any Islands, Colonies, Plants, or Territories belonging to any Foreign Sovereign State or Power."

ture, either to His Majesty's Enemies, or to British Subjects trading with the Enemy, contrary to their Allegiance.

CHR. ROBINSON.
V. GIBBS.
JAS. STEPHEN.

Joint Appendix.[11]

On the 28th Day of December 1807.

TORTOLA,
Vice Admiralty Prize Court.

The Brig *Amedie,* Martin Robin, late Master.
James Johnston, present Master.

James Bennett, Lieutenant and Commander of His Majesty's Brig *Swinger,* maketh Oath and saith, That the Papers and Writings hereunto annexed, and marked from No. 1 to No. 80, inclusive, are all the Papers and Passes, Sea-Briefs, Charter-Parties, Bills of Lading, Cockets, Letters, and other Documents and Writings which were delivered up, or otherwise found on board the Brig *Amedie,* whereof the said Martin Robin is Master, lately taken and seized by His Majesty's Brig *Swinger,* whereof James Bennett is Commander, and brought to the Port of Tortola, at which Capture this Deponent was present. And he further maketh Oath, That the said Papers and Writings are brought and delivered in as they were received and taken, without any Fraud, Subduction, Embezzlement, or Addition, saving the numbering as aforesaid. . . .[12]

Claim and Attestation of the Master.

TORTOLA,
Vice-Admiralty Prize Court.

On the 15th Day of January, 1808.

Brig *Amedee,* —— Johnson, Master.

The Claim of James Johnson, a Citizen of the United States of America, and Master of the said Brig *Amedee,* for and on Behalf of Samuel Groves, also a Citizen of the United States of America, the true, lawful, and sole Owner and Proprietor of the said Brig, her Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, and of the Cargo laden on board,

[11] The formal heading of the brief is here omitted.

[12] This is signed by J. Bennett and endorsed: "Same Day, the said James Bennett was duly sworn to the Truth of this Attestation, before me, James Robertson, J. Filed 12th January, 1808. Mark D. French Dep. Reg." The same endorsement is attached to all the examinations: those of the captain, mate, and two sailors, excerpts from which are printed in the *Appellant's Case.* The testimony *in extenso,* here omitted, adds nothing of importance.

consisting of 103 African Slaves, at the Time of the Capture thereof by His Majesty's Ship *Swinger,* Lieutenant James Bennett, Commander, and brought into the Port of Tortola; for the said Brig, her Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, and the Cargo so laden on board, as the sole Property of an American Citizen, and as aforesaid, and for all such Freight, Costs, Charges, Damages, Demurrages, and Expences, as have arisen, or shall or may arise, by reason of the Capture and Detention of the same.

SIMPSON, JAMES JOHNSON.

TORTOLA,
Vice Admiralty Prize Court.

On the 15th Day of January 1808.

Brig *Amedee,* —— Johnson, Master.

Appeared personally James Johnson, and made Oath, That he is a Citizen of the United States of America, and was Master of the said Brig *Amedee* at the Time of the Capture thereof by His Majesty's Ship *Swinger,* Lieutenant James Bennett, Commander, and that the said Brig was so captured on or about the 22d Day of December last past, in the Prosecution of her Voyage from Bonny, on the Coast of Africa, to Matanzas, in case he could not make his Voyage to Charlestown, previous to the 31st Day of December last past, when he was to wait for Orders, with a Cargo of 103 African Slaves: And he further made Oath, That Samuel Groves, a Citizen of the United States of America, was, at the said Capture, and now is, and, if restored, will be the true, lawful, and sole Owner and Proprietor of the said Brig, her Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, and of the Cargo laden on board at the Capture aforesaid: And, lastly, the Deponent saith, That no Person or Persons, being a Subject or Subjects, Citizen or Citizens, of the Republic or Empire of France, or of the King of Denmark, or of the Batavian, or Ligurian, or Italian Republics, or a Subject or Subjects of the King of Spain, or the Elector of Bavaria, their Factors or Agents, or any other Person or Persons, an Enemy or Enemies of the Crown of Great Britain, had at the Time of the Capture, or now have, or, if restored, will have in the said Brig, her Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, and the Cargo so laden on board, or if the same had arrived at its destined Port, would have had, directly or indirectly, any Right, Title, or Interest in the same, or in any Part thereof; and that the Claim hereunto annexed is a true and just Claim, and he will be able to make due Proof thereof, as he, this Attestant, verily believes.

JAMES JOHNSON.

Ship Papers

No. 70. Certificate of Ownership.

No. 29. Twenty-nine.

(L. S.) Simeon Theus, Collector
District of Charlestown, Port of Charlestown.

We, Simeon Theus, Collector, and Thomas Waring, Sen. Naval Officer of said District, do hereby certify, that Samuel Groves has taken and subscribed the Oath, that he is a Citizen of the United States, and has sworn that he is the only Owner of the Ship or Vessel called the *Amedie* of Charlestown, whereof Martin Robin is at present Master, and is a Citizen of the United States; and that there is no Subject or Citizen of any foreign Prince or State, directly or indirectly by way of Trust, Confidence, or otherwise, interested therein, or in the Profits or Issues thereof; and Edward Weyman, Surveyor of this District, having certified, that the said Ship or Vessel has one Deck and two Masts, and that her Length is 67 Feet 4 Inches, her Breadth 22 Feet 2 Inches, her Depth 8 Feet 10 Inches, and that She measures 111 36/95 Tons; that she is a square sterned Brig, has no Galleries, and has no Figure Head; and the said Samuel Grove having consented and agreed to the Description and Admeasurement above specified, this Certificate of Ownership for the said Brig, has been issued accordingly at the Port of Charlestown.

Given under our Hand and Seals of Office, at the Port of Charlestown, the 29th Day of June in the Year of our Lord 1807.

(L. S.) Tho. Waring, Sen. N. Off.

Sea Letter.

Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States of America.

To all who shall see these Presents greeting; be it known, that Leave and Permission are hereby given to Martin Robin, Master or Commander of the Brig called *Amedie* of Charlestown, of the Burthen of 111 36/95 Tons, or thereabouts, lying at present in the Port of Charlestown, bound for Africa, and laden with Rum, Dry Goods, Iron, Crockery, Muskets, Swords, Rice, etc. to depart and proceed with his said Brig on his said Voyage, such Brig having been visited, and the said Martin Robin having made Oath, before the proper Officer, that the said Brig belongs to one or more of the Citizens of the United States of America, and to him or them only.

In Witness whereof, I have subscribed my Name to these Presents, and affixed the Seal of the United States of America thereto, and

caused the same to be countersigned by Simeon Theus, Collector of Charlestown, this 29th Day of June, in the Year of our Lord Christ 1807.

(L. S.) By the President, TH. JEFFERSON
JAMES MADISON, Secretary of State.

Most Serene, Serene, Most Puissant, Puissant, High, Illustrious, Noble, Honourable, Venerable, Wise and Prudent, Lords, Emperors, Kings, Republics, Princes, Dukes, Earls, Barons, Lords, Burgomasters, Schepens, Counsellors, as also Judges, Officers, Justiciaries, and Regents, of all the good Cities and Places, whether Ecclesiastical or Secular, who shall see these Patents, or hear them read, We, Abraham Crouch, Notary Public, make known, that the Master of the Brig appearing before us, has declared upon Oath, that the Vessel called the *Amedie* of Charlestown, of the Burthen of about 111 36/95 Tons, which he at present navigates, is of the United States of America, and that no Subject of the present belligerent Powers have any Part or Portion therein, directly or indirectly, so may God Almighty help him; And as we wish to see the said Master prosper in his lawful Affairs, our Prayer is to all the before mentioned, and to each of them separately, where the said Master shall arrive with his Vessel and Cargo, that they may please to receive the said Master with Goodness, and to treat him in a becoming Manner, permitting him, upon the usual Tolls and Expences in passing and repassing, to pass, navigate, and frequent the Ports, Passes, and Territories, to the end to transact his Business where and in what Manner he shall judge proper, whereof we shall be willingly indebted. In witness, and for Cause whereof, we affix hereto the Seal of our Office, at CHARLESTOWN, June 29, 1807.

(L. S.) ABRAHAM CROUCH, Notary Public.

No. 78. Mediterranean Pass.

By the President of the United States of America.

Suffer the Brig *Amedee,* Martin Robin, Master or Commander, of the Burthen of 111 36/95ths Tons, or thereabouts, mounted with no Guns, navigated with sixteen Men, to pass with her Company, Passengers, Goods, and Merchandize, without any Hindrance, Seizure, or Molestation, the said Brig appearing by good Testimony to belong to one or more of the Citizens of the United States, and to him or them only.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the United States of America, the 29th Day of June, in the Year of our Lord 1807.
No. 72, seventy-two.

(L. S.) By the President, TH. JEFFERSON.
JAMES MADISON, Secretary of State.

To all Persons whom these may concern.
State of SOUTH CAROLINA, District of CHARLESTOWN,
Countersigned by SIMEON THEUS, Collector

No. 79. Invoice of sundry Merchandize shipped by Samuel Grove, resident Merchant of Charlestown, and Citizen of the United States of America, on board the Brig "Amedie," Martin Robin, Master, bound to Africa, to the Address of Mr. Jos. Scott, Super of the "Semiramis" for Trade and Returns.

37	Puncheons West India Rum			4119 Gallons			
	Add one-third for High Proof			1370 [1373]			
				5492 Gallons, or			
	87 Hhds. of 63 Gallons each at 50 Cts. [per gal.]						2746
4	Bales blue Goods,	60	Pieces, ea.	240	Pieces at $8		1120
5	Ditto Neccanas,	120	Pieces, ea.	600	Pieces at $4		2400
1	Bale Sooty Romals,			120	Pieces at $4		480
2	Ditto Manilla Ginghams,	120	Pieces, ea.	240	Pieces at $4		960
180	Bars of Iron, 1849 lb.						221.88
3	Crates earthen Ware						111
180	Stone Jugs						90
1	Lot Musquets and Swords						85
18	Barrels Rice						380
							8593.88
2	Boxes Handkerchiefs from *Semiramis*					$1200.75	
64	Pieces Taffetas on board of ditto at $9					576	
40	Kegs Gunpowder on board ditto, 1000 lb.					600	2376.75
							10970.63
	Halling, wharfage, shipping, etc.						300
							$11270.63
						Commission	563.53
							$11834.16

CHARLESTOWN, June 29th, 1807.

SAM. GROVE.

Report and Manifest of the Cargo laden at the Port of Charlestown on board the Brig "Amedie," Martin Robin, Master, bound for Africa.

Marks	Numbers	Packages or Articles in Bulk	Contents or Quantities	Value
		Thirty-seven Puncheons	Rum	
		Four Bales Blue	Goods	
		One ditto, Sooty	Romals	
		Five ditto	Nicanees	
		Two ditto	Manilla Ginghams	
		One hundred and eighty	Bars Iron	
		Three Crates	Crockery	
		One hundred and eighty	Stone Jugs	
		Loose, twenty	Muskets	
		Ditto, a Lot	Muskets and Swords	
		Eighteen Tierces	Rice	

(L. S.) SIMEON THEUS, Collector. (L. S.) THO. WARING, Sen. N. Off. District of the Port of CHARLESTOWN, State of SOUTH CAROLINA.

These are to certify all whom it doth concern, That Martin Robin, Master or Commander of the Brig *Amedie,* of Charlestown, Burthen 111 36/95 Tons, or thereabouts, mounted with no Guns, navigated with 16 Men, foreign built, and bound for Africa, having on board Cargo as per annexed Manifest, hath here entered and cleared his said Vessel according to Law.

Given under our Hands and Seals, at the Custom-House of Charlestown, the 29th Day of June 1807, and in the thirty-first Year of the Independence of the United States of America.

Bill of Lading.

1 *a* 37 Puncheons Rum
E 12 Bales India Goods
180 Bars Iron
1 *a* 3 Crates Crockery
180 Stone Jugs
1 *a* 18 Tierces Rice
Loose Musquets and Swords
SAMUEL GROVE

Shipped in good Order, and well conditioned, by Samuel Grove, Esq., in and upon the good Brig called the *Amedie,* whereof is Master for the present Voyage Martin Robin, and now riding at Anchor in the Harbour of Charlestown, and bound for Africa, to say, 37 Puncheons of West India Rum, 4 Bales blue Goods, 1 ditto Sooty Romals, 5 ditto Niceances, 2 ditto Manilla Ginghams, 180 Bars Iron, 3 Crates Crockery, 180 Stone Jugs, 18 Tierces Rice, and a Quantity of Musquets and Swords loose, be-

ing on Account and Risk of the Shipper, a Citizen of the United States, being marked and numbered as in the Margin, and are to be delivered in the like good order, and well conditioned, at the aforesaid Coast of Africa (the Danger of the Seas only excepted) unto Jos. Scott, or to his Assigns, he or they paying Freight for the said Merchandize nothing, being Owner's Property.

In Witness whereof the Master or Purser of the said Brig hath affirmed to three Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date, one of which being accomplished, the others to stand void.

MARTIN ROBIN.

Dated CHARLESTOWN, 29th June 1807.

(L. S.) ABM. CROUCH, Not. Pub.

Attestation of Property.

United States of America, State of SOUTH CAROLINA, City of CHARLESTOWN.

Be it known unto all whom it may concern, that on this 30th Day of June, in the Year of our Lord 1807, and in the 31st Year of the Independence of the United States of America, before me, Abraham Crouch, a Justice of the Quorum in and for the said State, and a Notary Public for Charlestown by lawful Authority, duly sworn and commissioned by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of the State, and residing in the City and State aforesaid.

Personally appeared Mr. Samuel Grove, Merchant, who being duly sworn according to Law, on his solemn Oath, did declare, that he the said Samuel Grove, is a resident Merchant of Charlestown aforesaid, and a Citizen of the United States of America; that the Merchandize specified in the annexed Bill of Lading, and by him the aforesaid Samuel Grove, here shipped on board of the Brig. *Amedie,* whereof Martin Robin is Master, bound from the Port of Charlestown for Africa, is the sole Property of, and shipped on the sole Account and Risk of him the aforesaid Samuel Grove, a Citizen of the United States of America as aforesaid; and that no Ruler, Citizen, or Subject of any of the present belligerent Powers, or of any foreign Prince or State, directly or indirectly, by way of Trust, Confidence, or otherwise, hath any Right, Title, Part, Share, or Interest therein.

SAMUEL GROVE.

In Testimony whereof the said Appearer hath hereunto subscribed his Name, and I, the said Notary, have also hereunto set my Hand, and affixed my notarial Seal, at this City of Charlestown, in the State of South Carolina, on the Day and Year aforesaid.

State of South Carolina. By his Excellency CHARLES PINCKNEY, Commander in Chief in and over the State aforesaid.

To all to whom these Presents shall come, know ye, that Abraham Crouch, Esquire, whose Seal and Signature appear to the Instrument of Writing hereunto annexed, is one of the Justices of the Quorum, assigned to keep the Peace for the said State, and Notary Public, commissioned by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of the State.

Therefore all due Faith, Credit, and Authority is, and ought to be had and given to his Proceedings and Certificates as such.

In Testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my Hand, and caused to be affixed the Seal of the State, in the City of Charlestown, this 30th Day of June, in the Year of our Lord 1807, and in the 31st Year of the Independence of the United States of America.

By the Governor.

STEP. LEE, Jun. Secretary of State.

No. 77. Letter of Instructions from Samuel Grove to Captain Martin Robin.

CHARLESTOWN, June 29th, 1807.

Captain Martin Robin, of the Brig *Amedie*.

Sir, Your having been highly recommended to me as a proper Person to undertake a Voyage to the Coast of Africa, in which Trade I understand you have had much Experience, has induced me to fit out the Brig *Amedie* under your Care, to go in Company with the *Semiramis* to Bonny, to trade there, under the Direction of Mr. Jos. Scott, the Supercargo of the *Semiramis,* and to come back to this Port. From the Experience you have had in the Nature of the Voyage you are about to undertake, and considering in your Discretion and good Conduct, and assisted by the Advice of Mr. Jos. Scott, I do not consider it necessary that I should detail to you the Points which most essentially claim your Attention, as to the putting your Vessel in proper Order, the Precautions required on the Coast, the Care of the Slaves, the Necessity of treating them with Humanity, keeping them amused and in good Spirits, etc. But I have to impress on your Mind the urgent Necessity that you should use every necessary Effort to perform your Voyage within the Time limited by the Laws of this Country, as upon this Event depends the Prospect of a prosperous Adventure. Should any Occurrence intervene to render it

impossible for you to return to this Port before the 1st of January next, you will in that Case proceed by the Way of the old Streights of Bahama to the Port of Matanzas, in the Island of Cuba, where you will meet my Instructions, which will regulate you in your future Proceedings. On the Accomplishment of your Voyage, you will receive your full Commissions as given to Captains being Consignees, agreeable to the Regulations of this Port, although you are to receive the Assistance of a Supercargo on the Coast, whose Commission of two per Cent. on the gross Sales is to be a Charge on the Adventure of the *Amedie,* without any Deduction from your Commission. I have no Doubt but the Adventure will profit by the Aid and Assistance of Mr. Scott in conducting you over the Bar of Bonny, and in trading on the Coast, in Proportion to the Expence of his Commission; and in order the more to secure the Success of the Voyage, should any Accident happen to you or Captain Scott, and that you may contribute one to the other mutual Relief, you have my peremptory Order not to separate, and that you will keep Company with the *Semiramis* until you return to this Port. In the Event of Death, Sickness, or Inability happening to the Supercargo of the *Semiramis,* the Conduct of the said Vessel will devolve on you, in Consideration for which you will receive such a Commission as may be deemed equitable by the Merchants of this Port.

It is customary in Voyages to the Coast of Africa, for the Supercargo or Captain to open a Book of Account on Arrival and commencing Trade, in which is kept a methodical Statement of the Distribution of the Cargo and of the Slaves taken in barter; and I have to request you will comply with these Usages, and that you will render regular Accounts of any Disbursements which may be necessary for your Vessel.

Your Brig being ready for Sea, I furnish you with the necessary Papers in regular Order; and as soon as a favourable Opportunity offers to go over the Bar, you will immediately proceed with the *Semiramis* on the Voyage as above described.

I am, Sir, your most obedient Servant,

SAMUEL GROVE.

(Addressed)
Capt. Mn. Robin, of the Brig *Amedie*, bound to Bonny.

No. 19. Agreement between M. Robin and James Johnson as to Wages.

CHARLESTOWN, June 29th, 1807.

It is hereby agreed between Capt. Martin Robin, Master of the Brig *Amedie*, and Mr. James Johnson, Mate of the said Vessel, That

the said Martin Robin agrees to pay unto the said James Johnson 1000 Dollars for his Services as Mate of the said Vessel, during the Voyage in the said Brig from hence to Africa and back again to Charlestown; and on the said Sum of 1000 Dollars he the said James Johnson is to receive 50 Dollars in advance.

MN. ROBIN.

Extract from the Registry of His Majesty's Vice Admiralty Court at Tortola.

Before James Robertson, Esq. Judge and Commissary of the same Court.

In the Presence of Mark Dyer French, Notary Public and Deputy Registrar.

Brig *Amedie,* Johnson, Master.

Our Sovereign Lord the King against the Brig *Amedie*, whereof James Johnson was Master, and her Lading, taken by His Majesty's Brig *Swinger,* whereof Lieutenant James Bennett is Commander, and brought to Tortola; and also against the said Master, Claimant of the said Vessel and Cargo intervening.

Forbes brought in Attestation, with Ship Papers, and four Preparatory Examinations, and prayed the usual Monition, which the Judge, at his Petition, decreed.

Simpson gave in a Claim of the said Master, for the said Brig, her Tackle, Apparel, Furniture, and for the Cargo laden on board, consisting of 103 African Slaves, on Behalf, and as the Property of Samuel Groves of Charlestown, South Carolina, Merchant, with an Attestation annexed.

On the Admission of the Claim of the said Master, for the said Brig and Cargo, Simpson prayed the same to be admitted, and the said Brig and Cargo to be restored as claimed, with Costs, Expences, etc. Forbes prayed the said Claim to be rejected, and the said Brig and Cargo to be condemmned. The Judge having heard the said Claim and Proofs read, and Advocates and Procters on both Sides thereon, assigned the Cause for Sentence whensoever.

For Sentence.

The Judge assigned his Reasons, and by Interlocutory Decree, pronounced the said Brig *Amedie,* her Tackle, Apparel, Furniture, Boats, Guns, and Cargo of Slaves, Natives of Africa, to have belonged at the Time of the Capture and Seizure thereof, to Enemies of the Crown of Great Britain, and as such, or otherwise, subject and liable to Confiscation, and condemned the said Brig, her Tackle, Apparel, Fu[r]niture, Boats, and Guns, as good and lawful Prize, taken by his Majesty's Brig *Swinger*, James Bennett Commander;

and condemned the said Slaves, Natives of Africa, the Cargo of the said Brig, as Prize of War, to the sole Use of His Majesty, his Heirs, and Successors; directed 1000 Dollars to be paid out of the Proceeds to the said Master, in lieu of his Privilege and Interest in the said Cargo. Simpson notified to the Court, that on the Part of the Claimant, he appealed from the said Sentence of Condemnation. Commission of Appraisement, at the Instance of both Proctors. The Judge then ordered, that the Marshal, with the Assistance of the Appraisers, or any two of them, ascertain and certify to the Court the Number of Male and Female Slaves of the said Cargo, distinguishing those that are in good Health from those that are otherwise, their respective Ages, and those above 14 Years of Age from those of that Age, or under.

MARK D. FRENCH, Not. Pub. and Dep. Reg.

389. NEWS ITEM RELATING TO SLAVE TRADE, 1807.[1]

500 Dollars reward.

Absconded from on board the ship *Cleopatra,* at Gadsden's Wharf, on the night of the 24th inst. Twelve New Negroes, of the Congo or Angola nation.

Peter is about 28 years of age, speaks a little English 5 feet 10 inches high; had on a pair of old black nankeen trowsers, and a red flannel shirt.

Jim is about 24 years old, 5 feet 5 or 6 inches high; dress, red flannel shirt, and blue baft trowsers; has a smooth face, and also speaks English.

Frank a boy of 16 or 17 years of age, has his mouth awry—dress red flannel shirt blue woolen trowsers, and red worsted cap.

Nine other Men and Men-Boys, who cannot speak English. they have all red flannel shirts, and blue cloth trowsers, with red worsted caps.

It is supposed that they have been enticed away, by some persons from the upper country, as one who accompanied them, but who could not keep up with the others, was found yesterday on the road near the quarter house. He says that there was a country born negro with them, and who was persuading them that he was taking them back to their own country. They took from the ship, 5 or 6 muskets, and other arms.

Whoever will give such information as will lead to the recovery of the above slaves, will receive 30 dollars for each; and if to the detection and conviction of the Thief, 500 dollars besides.

WILLIAM BOYD.

December 28.

[389] [1] *Charleston Courier*, Dec. 28, 1807.

390. Case of the *Africa*, 1808.[1]

Before the Most Noble and Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of Appeals in Prize Causes.

Africa, Jeremiah Connolly, Master.

Lieutenant John Mitchell, Commander of His Majesty's Ship *Haughty,* the Captor, } Appellant,

Jeremiah Connolly, the Master, and Claimant of the Ship and Cargo, as American Property, } Respondent.

Appeal from Tortola.
Appellant's Case.

Captured 30th Jan. 1808. This Ship, under American Colours, laden with a Cargo of Dry Goods, sailed from Charleston on the 27th July, 1807, to the River Congo, on the Coast of Africa, where the said Cargo was bartered for 323 Slaves, with which the Vessel was returning, as represented by the Master, to Charleston, when she was captured on the 30th of January, 1808, by His Majesty's Brig *Haughty,* Lieut. John Mitchell Commander, and carried to Tortola, where Proceedings were instituted against the Vessel and Cargo as Prize.

13th Feb. 1808. A Claim of Jeremiah Connolly, the Master, was given for the Ship and Cargo, as the Property of William Boyd, a Citizen of the United States of America.

14th March. The Cause came on for Hearing, when the Judge, having heard Counsel on both Sides, assigned the Cause for Sentence whensoever.

16th March. The Judge assigned his Reasons, and retained the Claim of the said Master for the said Ship and Cargo, and decreed the same to be restored as claimed; but, considering the peculiar Circumstances of the Case, decreed the Captors not only their Costs, but a Re-imbursement of all the Expences that have been incurred in the Preservation and Safe-keeping the Property in Question.

From this Sentence the following Appeals have been prosecuted.

. . . *1808, 27th May.* An Inhibition was extracted by the King's Proctor on an Appeal from so much of the said Sentence as restored the Ship and Cargo.

1809, 9th March. An Inhibition was extracted on behalf of the Claimant from so much of the said Sentence as decreed the Captors their Costs and Expences. . . .[2]

[390] [1] Vice Admiralty briefs, Marine Research Society. The marginal notes have been inserted in the body of the text in italics.

[2] The summaries of the preparatory examinations which customarily appear in the cases of the appellant and respondent have here been omitted and those examinations

The Consolidated Appeal now comes on for Hearing; and it is humbly hoped, on the Part of the Captor, that your Lordship will reverse the Sentence of Restitution, and condemn the Ship and Cargo as Prize, and otherwise affirm the Sentence appealed from, for the following, among other

REASONS.

Because the Proofs of Property are insufficient.

Because the Voyage was destined to the Colony of an Enemy, under Circumstances, which do not bring the Case within the Intention of the Order of the 24th of June, 1803.

CHR. ROBINSON.
V. GIBBS.

Before the Most Noble and Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of Appeals in Prize Causes.

The *Africa,* Jeremiah Connolly, Master.

Lieutenant John Mitchell Commander of his Majesty's Brig of War, *Haughty,* the the Captor of the said Ship and the Cargo laden therein, consisting of Slaves,	Appellant from the Restitution of the Ship and Cargo.
and	
Jeremiah Connolly, the Master of the said Ship, and the Claimant of the said Ship and Slaves on behalf of William Boyd, of Charlestown in North America, Merchant, a Citizen of the United States of America, the true, lawful and sole Owner and Proprietor thereof.	Respondent on the said Appeal.
The said Jeremiah Connolly, the Master and Claimant, as aforesaid,	Appellant from the Allowance of Captor's Costs, and Expences.
and	
The aforesaid Lieutenant John Mitchell, Commander as aforesaid,	Respondent on the said Appeal.

in full as they appear in the joint appendix have instead been printed. Those whose testimony is omitted are Jeremiah Connolly, the master, Abraham Perlu, the surgeon, Nicholas Barry, the steward, Thomas Tilly, mate, John Burton, mariner.

On an Appeal from the Vice Admiralty Court of Tortola.
Case on behalf of the Claimant.

This is an American Ship, the sole Property of William Boyd of Charlestown, Merchant, a Citizen of the United States of America, by whom she was laden at Charlestown, with a Cargo of dry Goods and other Merchandize, also his sole Property, destined to the River Congo, on the Coast of Africa, to bring back a Cargo of Slaves, with Directions to the Master, to use every Means to insure his Return to Charlestown before the 1st of January, 1808, on which Day the Act, prohibiting the Importation of Slaves into America, would become operative; sailed from Charlestown in the Month of July, 1807, and having arrived in the River Congo, there disposed of the principal Part of her outward Cargo, and invested the Proceeds in the Purchase of Slaves for the same Proprietor; sailed therewith, and with a few Articles left unsold of her outward Cargo, from Congo, on the 17th December, 1807, destined to Charlestown, but not intending to go into that Port before the Master should have received Advice from his Owner, whether he could be admitted to an Entry or not, and if not, to what other Port he should then proceed, and on the 29th Day of January 1808, was captured by his Majesty's Brig, *Haughty,* Lieutenant John Mitchell, Commander, and carried to Tortola, where Proceedings were commenced, by the Captor, against both Ship and Cargo, as Prize.

On the 13th February, 1808, a Claim was given by Jeremiah Connolly, the Master, for the said Ship and Cargo, consisting of three hundred and ten Slaves, four Boxes, and two Bales of return Goods, and two Pieces of Ivory, as the Property of William Boyd.

On the 16th Day of March, 1808, the Judge was pleased to restore the Ship and Cargo, but decreed that the Captors should be paid, not only their Costs, but also a Reimbursement of all the Expences that had been incurred in the Preservation and safe keeping the Property in Question.

From which Decree two Appeals have been interposed, one by the Captor, from the Restitution of the Ship and Cargo, and the other by the Claimant, from that Part thereof by which the Captor's Expences are decreed to be paid, and from the not condemning him in Costs and Damages, which Appeals have been consolidated and regularly prosecuted, and the same now stand assigned for Sentence. . . . . .[3]

On the Part of the Claimant, it is humbly hoped that your Lordships will be pleased to affirm the Sentence of the Court, appealed from, so far as directs Restitution of the Ship and Cargo, and to

[3] Summaries of the preparatory examinations are here omitted, also a list of the Ship Papers and summaries of a few of them.

reverse so much thereof, as has pronounced the Captor's Expences to be due, and to condemn the Captor in Costs and Damages; for among other the following

REASON:

Because the said Ship and Cargo clearly appear to belong to the American Citizen for whom they are claimed, and the Circumstances afforded no Pretext for Seizure as Prize.

R. DALLAS.
M. SWABEY.

Saturday the 17th November 1810 at the Council Chamber WHITEHALL [4]

Present
Sir Wm. Grant Knt. Master of the Rolls
Sir Wm. Wynn Knt.
Sir Wm. Scott Knt.
Sir Jno. Nicholl, Knt.
in the presence of Robt. Jenner Notary Public one of the Deputy Registrars

Africa Bishop	(2 appeals)	J. Connolly Mr. / Moore	For Sentence

The Lords pronounced for the Appeal reversed the Sentence appealed from, therein rejected the Claim given in the Court below and now Condemned the said Ship and Cargo as good and lawful prize to the sole use of His Majesty his Heirs and Successors pursuant to Act of Parliament in that Case made and provided and moreover pronounced against the Appeal of the Claimant and at Petition of Bishop decreed a Monition against James Murphy of the Island of St. Thomas and G. D. Dix of Tortola the Sureties to answer the Appeal, to pay or cause to be paid into the Registry of this Court the sum of £21,772. 19. 6 Current Gold and Silver Money of Tortola being the appraised Value of the said ship *Africa* her Tackle Apparel and Furniture and 236 African Slaves remaining of her Cargo.

Before the Most Noble and Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners of Appeals in Prize Causes.

Africa, Jeremiah Connolly, Master

Appeal from Tortola.
Joint Appendix.

On the 13th of February, 1808.

Claim of the Master for Ship and Cargo, sworn 13th Feb. 1808.

The Claim of Jeremiah Connolly, a Citizen of the United States of

[4] The decision of the Lords is inserted with pen.

America, and Master of the Ship *Africa,* on behalf of William Boyd, also a Citizen of the United States of America, the true, lawful, and sole Owner and Proprietor of the said Ship, her Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, and of the Cargo laden on board at the Time of the Capture thereof by His Majesty's Armed Brig *Haughty* Lieutenant Mitchell Commander, and brought into the Port of Tortola—For the said Ship, her Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, and the Cargo so laden on board, as the sole Property of an American Citizen, and as aforesaid, and for all such Freight, Costs, Charges, Damages, Demurrages, and Expences as have arisen, or shall or may arise by reason of the Capture and Detention of the same.

C. SIMPSON. JEREMIAH CONNOLLY.

Attestation in Support of Claim.

TORTOLA
Vice-Admiralty Prize Court.

Appeared personally Jeremiah Connolly, and made Oath that he is a Citizen of the United States of America, and was Master of the said Ship *Africa* at the Time of the Capture thereof by His Majesty's Armed Brig *Haughty,* Lieutenant Mitchell Commander; and that the said Ship was so captured on the 30th Day of January last past, in the Prosecution of her Voyage from Congo on the Coast of Africa to Charleston, with a Cargo of 310 Slaves, 4 Boxes, and 2 Bales of Return Goods, and 2 Pieces of Ivory, and brought into the Port of Tortola. And he further made Oath that William Boyd, of Charleston, also a Citizen of the United States of America, was at the said Capture, and now is, and if restored will be, the true, lawful, and sole Owner and Proprietor of the said Ship, her Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, and of the Cargo so laden on board at the Capture aforesaid. And lastly this Deponent saith, that no Person or Persons being a Subject or Subjects, Citizen or Citizens of the Republic or Empire of France, or of the Batavian, or Ligurian or Italian Republics, or a Subject or Subjects of the King of Denmark, or of the King of Spain, or the Elector of Bavaria, their Factors or Agents, or any other Person or Persons an Enemy or Enemies of the Crown of Great Britain, had, at the Time of the Capture, or now, have, or if restored will have, in the said Ship, her Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, or in the Cargo so laden on board, or if the same had arrived at its destined Port would have had, directly or indirectly, any Right, Title, or Interest in the same, or in any Part thereof; and that the Claim hereunto annexed is a true and just Claim, and he will be able to make due Proof thereof, as he this Attestant verily believes.

JEREMIAH CONNOLLY.

Same Day sworn before me, JAMES ROBERTSON, J.
Filed 13th Feb. 1808,
MARK D. FRENCH, Dep. Registrar.[5]

Preparatory Examinations.

The Examination of Abraham Perlu, Surgeon of the said Ship, aged Twenty-Two Years, a Witness produced and sworn.

1st. That he was born in the County of Somerset, State of New Jersey, in North America; it has always been his Place of Residence until about Three Years ago, when he left it; that he has lived Two Years since in New York, and the last Year he has been travelling to the Southern States of North America, once to the West Indies to Port au Prince in St. Domingo, and the last Six Months he has been on the present Voyage; that New York was his last Place of Abode, and he considers it so still, when not at Sea; he has lived there Two Years of the last Seven; he is a Citizen of the United States; has never been admitted a Burgher or Freeman of any Place; that he is not married.

2d. That he was on board the said Ship when she was taken; she had no Commission.

3d. That the Capture was made in about the Latitude of 22 or 23, on the 29th Day of January last: he does not know upon what Pretence it was done; the said Ship was conducted into this Port on the 5th Instant; she sailed under American Colours, and had no other on board besides her private Signal, a Blue Burgee with a White Cross, and an American Pendant hoisted over it, as the Merchant's private Signal, made no Resistance; was taken by his Majesty's Brig *Haughty*; no other Vessel was in Sight at the Time to his Knowledge.

4th. That the late Master of the captured Ship was named John Connolly; he died at Sea on the 1st Instant, of the Gout in his Stomach; he knew him for about Seven or Eight Months last past; he was appointed to the Command by William Boyd, of Charleston, South Carolina, Merchant, the Owner of the said Ship; he took Possession of her there in the Month of June last, and it was delivered by the said Owner; that the said Master's Place of Abode was in Charleston; he does not know how long he lived there; he informed Deponent he was born in Ireland; that he was a Citizen of the United States; he does not know when he became a Citizen thereof, but Deponent has heard him say, he has sailed out of the United States in that Employ for Fifteen or Twenty Years; that the said Master was married, and his Widow and Children reside in Charleston; that in consequence of the Death of the said Master,

[5] This attachment is hereafter omitted.

Jeremiah Connolly, the Chief Mate, is now to be considered the Master of the said Ship; Deponent has only known him for the present Voyage; that he lives at Charleston; does not know how long he has done so; does not know where he was born, but believes in Ireland; he is a Citizen of the United States, is not married.

5th. That he believes the said Ship is registered 175 Tons; she was navigated by Twenty-three Persons in all, when taken, including the Master, who died Two or Three Days since the Capture; that the Crew consists of different Nations; about Five or Six of them are Americans, the rest are English, Spanish, Dutch, Prussian, and One Italian; they all came on board at Charleston; the late Master shipped and hired them there some Time in the Month of July last; that one of the Crew also died since the said Ship sailed from Congo on the present Voyage.

6th. That neither himself, the late Master, or any of the Officers or Mariners, had or have any Share or Interest in the said Ship or her Cargo; that the deceased Master, he believes, had Two or Three of the Slaves as his Privilege; Jeremiah Connolly, the Master, he believes has also One; he knows of no other Privilege Slaves; Deponent belonged to the said Ship, when taken, in quality of Surgeon, appointed by William Boyd the Owner; he has only known her for the present Voyage; first saw her at Charleston; he believes she was built at Bermuda.

7th. That her Name is the *Africa*; he does not [know] how long she has been so called, he never knew her by any other; that she had a Passport and Sea-Letter on board, obtained at Charleston, South Carolina, aforesaid; she sailed from there on the present Voyage on the 27th Day of July last, laden with Dry Goods, Hard Ware, Crockery Ware, Gunpowder, Muskets, and Rum; cleared out for and bound to Congo, on the Coast of Africa, as her Place of Trade; that she arrived there some Time in the Month of October following, where the late Master bartered the Cargo he carried out for Slaves, save a small Part that remains on board; that he believes 326 or 327 were purchased, which Number they sailed from Congo with some Time in December last; that the Voyage began at Charleston, but he does not know where it was to have ended; the present is the only Voyage he has been upon in the said Ship; that he has understood at Charleston she made Three Voyages from there to Congo; he believes Two of her Return Cargoes were sold at the Havannah, and one she returned with to Charleston; that he also believes the said Voyages all ended at Charleston, from whence they commenced; the said Ship is under the Direction and Management of Mr. Boyd, the Owner, as to her Employment in Trade; Deponent does not corre-

spond with any Person on the Concerns of the said Ship or her Cargo.[6]

8th. That the Outward Lading consisted of Dry Goods; he believes principally of India Goods, Hard Ware, Crockery Ware, Gunpowder, Muskets, and Rum; he knows not the Quantity thereof, or the Invoice Amount; he believes there might have been as many as from 500 to 700 Muskets; that the present Cargo consists of from 307 to 310 Slaves; that 326 or 327 were purchased as the Cargo, but about 19 of them have died since the Voyage commenced; that the said Slaves were put on board from about the Month of October, when they arrived down, to December when they sailed.

9th. That William Boyd is the sole Owner of the said Ship to the best of his Knowledge; he believes him to be a Scotchman by Birth; he resides at Charleston, and carries on Business there as a Merchant; that he is not married; he does not know how long he has lived there, or where he lived before; that he is a Citizen of the United States, but how long he does not know; that he has heard the said Owner himself say that he was a Scotchman by Birth.

10th. That he knows of no Bill of Sale of the said Ship to the Owner.

11th. That the Slaves were all purchased at Congo, and put on board there.

12th. That the deceased Master was the Lader of the present Cargo; William Boyd, above described, is the sole Owner of the same to the best of his Knowledge, but does not know who was the Consignee thereof, what Countryman he is, or any thing about him, neither does he know where the Slaves were to be delivered, but he believes wherever they were delivered it would have been on the real Account, Risk, and Benefit of Mr. Boyd; that after the Capture, as the Master, who was then living, and the Lieutenant commanding the Brig, were overhauling the Ship's Papers together, the said Master took up a Chart and said, "This is the Chart I have to carry me to New Providence"; that he never heard, previous thereto, where the said Ship was bound, neither does he know what she was going to New Providence for, but he apprehends it was to wait there for Orders from the Owner, or in Expectation to receive them there on

[6] Thomas Tilly, in answering the 7th question, was more explicit: "the first Voyage he made in the Vessel was from London to the Coast of Africa, carried Dry Goods, which were bartered with the Natives at Congo River for Slaves; at that Place took on board 325 Slaves, and went with them to Havannah, at which Place they were sold, and returned to London in Ballast; the next Voyage was from London with Dry Goods, which they carried to Congo River, and at that Place bartered them with the Natives for 320 Slaves, which they carried to the Havannah, and disposed of them at that Place; there took on board a Load of Sugar, which they carried to Charleston and delivered it there; the third Voyage was from Charleston to Congo River again; carried Dry Goods, which were bartered with the Natives for 320 Slaves, which they carried back to Charleston, where they were landed and sold; the present is the next voyage."

her Arrival; he does not know for what other Purpose she was going there, or where the said Voyage was to have ended; that he does not know if the late Master had any Interest in the said Cargo, besides the 2 or 3 Slaves, he believes were his Privilege, and the Commissions he was to derive on the Voyage; that he does take upon himself to swear that to the best of his Knowledge, that at the Time of the lading the said Cargo, now, and if it shall be restored and unladen at any Port, it did, does, and will belong to the said William Boyd, and to none other, save and except the Priv[i]lege Slaves for the former Master and Mate.

13th. That he knows of no Bills of Lading being signed for the said Cargo.

14th. That he believes the Papers regarding the said Ship and Cargo to be in this Country, in the Possession or Power of the Captors.

15th. That there is no Charter-Party.

16th. That he cannot specify the Papers which were on board the said Ship when she took her Departure from Congo, he believes they have all been delivered up, or taken Possession of by the Captors; none have, to his Knowledge, been burnt, torn, thrown overboard, destroyed, or cancelled, concealed, or attempted so to be dealt with.

17th. That he does not know if the said Ship has ever been taken and condemned as Prize.

18th. That he has not sustained any Losses yet by the said Capture; that about 4 of the Slaves have died since they were captured, and a Six-oared Cutter destroyed, which was on one of the Quarters of the Ship; no Indemnity or Promise of Satisfaction has been made for the said Loss, or any thing further that might be sustained by the said Capture.

19th. That he heard the deceased Master mention, when at Congo, that the said Ship and Cargo were insured at Lloyd's, but he does not know at what Premium, or the Nature of the Insurance, as the said Master did not mention.

20th. That he believes in case the said Ship had arrived at New Providence, or at any other Port, and the Cargo been unladen, it would have remained the Property of William Boyd above named; he does not know what Market he was to have taken the Chance of for the Sale of the said Cargo.

21st. That the Slaves are all Natives of Africa.

22d. That the whole of them were brought from the Shore of the River Congo.

23d. That he knows of no Papers being in any other Country besides this, or on board any other Vessel regarding the said Ship or her Cargo.

24th. That no Papers were delivered out of the said Ship but to the Captor.

25th. That Bulk has not been broken, otherwise than to get rid of the dead Slaves.

26th. That there were no Passengers on board.

27th. That he believes the Papers found on board to be true and fair, there is nothing to his Knowledge, to affect their Credit.

28th. That he has not written or signed any Letters or Papers concerning the said Ship or her Cargo, except in signing the Ship's Articles in his Capacity as Surgeon.

29th. That he believes the Ship was steering for New Providence when taken, there to receive or wait for Orders from the Owners as he apprehends; her Course was not altered upon the Appearance of the Man of War; but to bear down to speak her upon Sight of her, in order to ascertain the Longitude; it was at all other Times directed, as he apprehends, for New Providence, after leaving Congo.

30th. That he knows nothing concerning the Sales and Transfers of the said Ship.

31st. That there are Two Four-Pounders mounted; they have about One Dozen Muskets, the like Number of Cutlasses, Two or Three Brace of Pistols, and Two Blunderbusses, some Powder and Shot to serve the said Guns, and some ready-made Musket Cartridges; she was so armed for self Preservation, and to keep the Slaves in Subjection.

32d. That he has declared the whole of what he knows and believes regarding the real and true Property and Destination of the said Ship and her Cargo at the Time of Capture.

33d. That the said Ship has never, to his Knowledge, sailed under Convoy.

34th. That she has never sailed to or at[t]empted to enter any Port that he knows of.

ABR'M PERLU.

The Examination of the said Master, aged Twenty-five Years, a Witness produced and sworn.

1st. That he was born in Ireland; he has lived in Charl[e]ston, in South Carolina, for the last Seven Years; he lives there at present, and has been living there for the last Ten Years; he was formerly a Subject of his Britannic Majesty, he now considers himself a Citizen of the United States; he was admitted a Citizen of the United States in December, 1800, and at that Time took the Oaths to that Government, before Fed[e]ral Court, held at Charleston; he has lived at and been sailing out of Charleston ever since his Admission; he paid Twenty-two Dollars for his Admission; he is not married.

2d. That he was on board the Ship at the Time of Capture; she had no Warlike Commission.

3d. That the Capture was made on the 30th Day of this present Month, in Lat. 22 deg. 50 min. or thereabouts; he was informed that the Capture was owing to the Laws of America not allowing them to import Slaves after the 1st Day of January, this present Year; the Vessel was sent into this Port; she sailed under American Colours, and had none of any other Sort on board; made no Resistance; the Capture was made by His Majesty's Brig *Haughty*; there was no other Vessel in Sight at the Time of Capture.

4th. That he is himself at present the Master of the Ship, the former Master, John Connolly, having died on the 2d Day of this present Month, and previous to his Death he appointed Deponent to the Command of the Ship; the former Master was appointed to Command of the Ship by William Boyd; he took the Possession in Charleston on the 2d Day of June last, Mr. Boyd delivered him the Possession; he lives in Charleston; the Master's fixed Place of Abode was at Charleston, he had been living there upwards of Sixteen Years; he was born in Ireland; he was married, and his Family lived in Charleston.

5th. That he does not know the Tonnage of the Vessel; she was navigated by Twenty Persons besides himself, Thirteen of them are Americans, the others are Danes and Swedes, they all came on board at the Port of Charleston on the 25th or 26th Day of July last past; the former Master shipped them.

6th. That neither himself, or any of the Officers or Crew of the Vessel, have any Part, Share, or Interest in her or her Lading; he has heard the late Master say that he had an Interest in the Cargo, but he does not know what it is; Deponent has One Slave as an Adventure, the Doctor has One Slave, and the Third Mate has Two Slaves; he belonged to the Vessel at the Time of her Capture in Quality of Mate; he has known her about Four Years, he first saw her about that Time in Charleston; she was built in Bermuda.

7th. That the Name of the Ship is the *Africa*; he does not know, but believes she has always been called by that Name; she had a Sea Letter on board; it was obtained from the Custom House at Charleston; the first Voyage he made in the Vessel was from Charleston in South Carolina to the River Congo; carried Dry Goods, which were sold at that Place, and there took on board a Cargo consisting of 323 Slaves and 2 Teeth of Ivory, and returned direct to Charleston, w[h]ere they were sold; the present is the next Voyage, it was from Charleston to a Place called Talltrees in the River Congo, at which Place the Cargo, consisting of Dry Goods, was delivered, and the present Cargo, consisting of 323 Slaves, and 1 or 2 Ivory Teeth, were

taken onboard, with which he was proceeding to Charleston when taken; it was not the Intention of the former Master to go into that Port before he had received Advice from the Owner respecting their admitting him to an Entry, Charleston or not; in case they had not been admitted to an Entry at Charleston he supposes they would have gone to the Havannah to dispose of the Cargo, from the Circumstance of her having sold Two Cargos of Slaves there some short Time before he shipped on board her; the last Voyage began at Charleston and it was to have ended there; the Vessel sailed from Talltrees on the 17th Day of December last past, as near as he can recollect; the Vessel sails under the Management and Direction of William Boyd with respect to her Employment in Trade; he does not correspond with any Person upon the Concerns of the Vessel or her Cargo; she was built at Bermuda.

8th. That the Lading which the Vessel carried out on her first setting sail on her last Voyage consisted of Dry Goods; her present Cargo consists of 323 Slaves; they were taken on board between the 1st Day of November and Middle of December last past.

9th. That William Boyd was the Owner of the Vessel at the Time of the Capture; he knows it from his having employed Deponent; Mr. Boyd is a Native of Scotland; he lives in Charleston; he is not married; he has been living at that Place Twelve Years to Deponent's Knowledge; he does not know where he lived before; he is a Citizen of America.

10th. That there was a Bill of Sale for the Vessel to her aforesaid Owner; he does not know when it was made; it was made at Charleston; he does not know who were the Witnesses thereto; there was no Engagement entered into concerning the Purchase further than what appears upon the Bill of Sale; he believes it is among the Papers given up to the Captors.

11th. That the whole Cargo was taken on board at Talltrees, in the River Congo, between the 1st November and Middle of December last.

12th. That John Connolly, the former Master, was the Lader of the present Cargo, William Boyd was the Owner and Consignee thereof; the Lader was a Native of Ireland, the Owner and Consignee a Native of Scotland; he lives and carries on Business in Charleston; he has been living there Twelve Years to Deponent's Knowledge, he does not know where he resided before; the whole of the Lading was to have been delivered at the Port of Charleston in South Carolina, as far as Deponent knows, has heard, or believes, and on the real Account, Risk, and Benefit of William Boyd aforesaid; but in case she would not be admitted to an Entry at the Port of Charleston he believes that she would have been ordered by the

Owner to proceed to the Havannah, to dispose of the Slaves; it was the Intention of the former Master (as far as he knows) to proceed to Charleston, and had the Vessel not been captured Deponent, after succeeding to the Command, would have continued on to Charleston, to abide the Orders of the Owners;[7] he does take upon himself to swear that he believes, that at the Time of the lading the present Cargo, now, and if it shall be restored and unladen at the destined Port, it did, does, and will belong to the Person before asserted to be the Owner thereof, and to none others; he grounds his Knowledge thereof from his having been the Owner of the Outward Cargo, of which the present one is the Proceeds.

13th. That there were no Bills of Lading for the Cargo.

14th. That he believes all the Papers respecting the Vessel and her Cargo are in this Island.

15th. That there was no Charter-Party for the Voyage.

16th. That he does not know what Papers were on board the Vessel when she sailed from the River Congo; none have been burnt, torn, thrown overboard, destroyed, or cancelled, concealed, or attempted to be so dealt with by himself or any other Person, to his Knowledge.

17th. That he has heard and believes that the Vessel was taken and condemned at Guadaloupe some Time ago (he does not know when) on account of her having been English Property.

18th. That he has not sustained any Loss by the Capture; the Ship has lost a Long Boat by being cut away by Orders of the Captor; the Commander of the Brig has promised to pay for her if the Ship is given up; he has received no Indemnity or further Promise of Satisfaction for any thing he may lose thereby.

19th. That he does not know if the Vessel or her Cargo are insured.

20th. That in case the Ship had arrived at Charleston, her Port of Destination, and the Cargo had been there unladen, it would have remained the Property of William Boyd until sold.

21st. That the Cargoes are Natives of Africa.

22d. That the whole of the Slaves were taken from the Shore of the Kingdom of Emmbooma.

23d. That all the Papers respecting the Vessel and her Cargo are in this Island.

[7] Thomas Tilly's statement was: "it was the intention of Captain John Connolly to go into the Port of Charleston with the Slaves, although he had understood upon the Coast of Africa that Vessels with Slaves would not be permitted to an Entry at Charleston after the 1st Day of January last, and he at the same Time observed to Deponent that he expected to be seized by the Custom-House Officers at Charleston, but was in hopes of getting clear by protesting against Wind and Weather, which occasioned a longer Passage than he expected."

24th. That no Papers have been delivered out of the Vessel at Sea, or carried away in any Manner, except those given up to the Captors; every Paper has been given up.

25th. That Bulk has not been broken.

26th. That there are no Passengers.

27th. That all the Papers found on board the Vessel are entirely true and fair, none of them false or colourable; he knows of no Matter or Circumstance to affect their Credit; William Boyd obtained the Sea Letter for the Vessel from the Custom-House at Charleston for this Vessel only, and upon his own Oath; it is to last as long as she remains his Property; he does not know what Fee was paid for it; the Ship was at Charleston when the Sea Letter was obtained; no Person on board had a Let-Pass or Letter of Safe Conduct.

28th. That he has not written or signed any Letters or Papers respecting the Vessel or her Cargo.

29th. That the Ship was steering the best Course she could for Charleston when taken; her Course was not altered upon the Appearance of the Vessel by which she was taken, except to speak her, for which Purpose they bore up; her Course was at all Times, when the Weather would permit, directed to the Port of Charleston; the Ship was not sailing beyond or wide of the Port of Charleston, her Port of Destination, at the Time of Capture, or at any Time before.

30th. That he does not know who sold the Vessel to her present Owner, or when it was done, but he believes it was about Four Years last September, it was at Charleston; he believes that it was for 9000 Dollars; he believes in his Conscience that the Sale and Transfer has been fairly and truly made, and not done for the Purpose of covering or concealing the real Property; and he verily believes that if restored she will belong to Mr. Boyd and to no other Person or Persons; there is no private Agreement to return the Vessel to her former Owner at the Conclusion of the War, or at any other Period.

31st. That there are Two Guns mounted, Seventeen Muskets and some Pistols on board, and also some Powder; she was thus armed in order to keep the Slaves in Subjection.

32d. That he has declared the whole of what he knows and believes, according to the best of his Knowledge and Belief, regarding the real and true Property and Destination of the Vessel and her Cargo at the Time of Capture.

33d. That the Ship has not sailed under Convoy of any Ship of War or other armed Vessel.

34th. That the Ship has not sailed to or attempted to enter any blockaded Port.

JEREMIAH CONNOLLY.[8]

[8] The examinations of Nicholas Barry, steward, Thomas Tilly, trading mate, and John Burton, seaman, follow. Barry was born in Dublin, had sailed out of Charles-

Sea Letter.

Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, of America.
To all who shall see these Presents, Greeting.

Be it known, that Leave and Permission are hereby given to John Connolly, Master or Commander of the Ship called *Africa,* of Charleston, of the Burthen of 178 40/95ths Tons, or thereabouts, lying at present in the Port of Charleston, bound for Africa, and laden with Dry Goods, Gunpowder, Spirits, Cutlery, Iron, Rice, etc. to depart and proceed with his said Ship on his said Voyage, such Ship having been visited, and the said John Connolly having made Oath before the proper Officer that the said Ship belongs to one or more of the Citizens of the United States of America, and to him or them only.

In witness whereof I have subscribed my Name to these Presents, and affixed the Seal of the United States of America thereto, and caused the same to be countersigned by Simeon Theus, Collector at Charleston, the 23d Day of July, in the Year of our Lord Christ 1807.

By the President, TH. JEFFERSON.
(L.S.) JAMES MADDISON, Secretary of State.

Most Serene, Serene, Most Puissant, Puissant, High, Illustrius, Noble, Honorable, Venerable, Wise, and Prudent Lords, Emperors, Kings, Republics, Princes, Dukes, Earls, Barons, Lords, Burgomasters, Schepens, Counsellors, as also Judges, Officers, Justiciaries, and Regents of all the good Cities and Places, whether Ecclesiastical or Secular, who shall see these Presents, or hear them read. We, Abraham Crouch, Notary Public, make known, that the Master of the Ship appearing before us, has declared upon Oath that the Vessel called the *Africa,* of Charleston, of the Burthen of about 178 40/95ths Tons, which he at present navigates, is of the United States of America, and that no Subject of the present Belligerent Powers have any Part or Portion therein, directly nor indirectly, so may God Almighty help him: And as we wish to see the said Master prosper in his lawful Affairs, our Prayer is to all the before mentioned, and to each of them separately, where the said Master shall arrive with his Vessel and Cargo, that they may please to receive

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ton for seven years but resided in Georgia. Tilly was born in Bristol, England, had lived in Charleston three years; Burton was born and lived in New Jersey. Burton testified that the present master was a nephew of the former one; Tilly, that William Boyd, the owner, was a Scotsman who had lived in Charleston about twenty-five years; Burton, that he believed the cargo was to be delivered at New Providence on the account of Boyd. Otherwise their evidence differs but little from that of the surgeon and master. Affidavits as to the Ship Papers, and the certificate of ownership of the vessel, are also omitted.

the said Master with Goodness, and to treat him in a becoming Manner, permitting him, upon the usual Tolls and Expences in passing and repassing, to pass, navigate, and frequent the Ports, Passes, and Territories to the end to transact his Business where and in what Manner he shall judge proper; whereof we shall be willingly indebted.

In Witness and for Cause whereof we affix hereto the Seal of our Office at CHARLESTON, July 23d, 1807.

(L.S.) AB'M CROUCH, Not. Pub.

Mediterranean Pass.

By the President of the United States of America.

Suffer the Ship *Africa,* of Charleston, Peter Caruth Master or Commander, of the Burthen of 178 50/95ths Tons, or thereabouts, mounted with Two Guns, navigated by Twenty-seven Men, to pass, with her Company, Passengers, Goods, and Merchandize, without any Hindrance, Seizure, or Molestation, the said Ship appearing by good Testimony to belong to one or more of the Citizens of the United States, and to him or them only.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the United States of America the 25th Day of November, in the Year of our Lord 1806.

By the President, TH. JEFFERSON.
JAMES MADDISON, Secretary of State.

No. 78. Seventy-eight.

(L.S.)

State of SOUTH CAROLINA, District of CHARLESTON.

Countersigned by SIMEON THEUS, Collector.

To all Persons whom these may concern.

(Indorsed)

District and Port of CHARLESTON, July 23d, 1807.

John Connolly having taken the Oath required by Law, is now Master of the within named Vessel in lieu of Peter Caruth, late Master.

SIMEON THEUS, Collector.
TH. WARING, Sr N. Off.

Invoice of the Outward Cargo.

Invoice of Sundries shipped by William Boyd on board the Ship *Africa,* Captain John Connolly, for the Coast of Africa (River Congo) on Account and Risk of the Shipper, a Citizen of the United States of America, consigned to the said Captain John Connolly, for the Purchase of Slaves, Ivory, etc. being marked and numbered as per Margin.

[Then follow the Marks and Numbers.]

Total Amount		34949 16
Charges.		
Bills of Lading, Certificates, etc.	12 25	
Wharfage, Drayage, Storage, etc.	215 0	
Cooperage and Negro Hire	132 60	
Drawbacks, Entries, Bonds, Certificates	20 0	379 85
£8243 8 9	Dollars	35329 1

Errors excepted,

WM. BOYD.[9]

CHARLESTON, July 25th, 1810.

Bill of Lading of Outward Cargo.

WB 5 15	2	Pipes Brandy
A 1 *a* 18	18	Puncheons Rum
A 1 *a* 58	58	Bales India Goods
59	1	" Cloth
60	1	" Baize
61 *a* 66	1	" }
67 *a* 69	3	Chests } Manchester Goods
70 *a* 71	2	Bales }
72	1	Trunk }
73	1	Truss Caps
74 *a* 76	3	Bales Slops
77	1	Truss Bandannas
78	1	" Britannias
79	1	Bale Plains
80	1	" Cloth
81	1	" Umbrellas
(H)4853—92	3	Crates E'n Ware
A 1 *a* 16	16	Cases Guns
	120	Kegs } Powder
	10	Barrels }
	250	Powder Kegs
A 5	1	Barrel Padlocks
	1	Cask Knives
WB	1	Keg Spoons
A 1	1	Box Pipes
	603	Iron Bars
	600	Stone Jugs
1 *a* 25	25	Barrels } Rice
	11	Half " }
	12,849	lbs New Bread
	150	Bushels White Beans
	8	Barrels Flour
	6	" Mackerel

Shipped in good Order, and well-conditioned, by William Boyd, in and upon the good Ship called the *Africa*, whereof is Master for the present Voyage John Connolly, and now riding at Anchor in the Harbour of Charleston, and bound for the River Congo (Africa), to say, Sundry Merchandize, on Account and Risk of the Shipper, a Citizen of the United States of America, being marked and numbered as in the Margin, and are to be delivered in the like good Order, and well-conditioned at the aforesaid Port of Congo River, (the Danger of the Seas only excepted) unto the said Captain John Connolly, for the Purchase of Slaves, Ivory, etc. or to his Assigns, he or they paying Freight for the said Cargo nothing, being Owner's Property, with Primage and Average accustomed.

In Witness whereof the Master or Purser of the said Ship hath affirmed to Three Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date, one of which being accomplished the others to stand void. Dated CHARLESTON, July 25, 1807.

JOHN CONNOLLY.[10]
WILLIAM BOYD, Shipper.

[9] The affidavit of property of the cargo, the manifest, and the clearance papers from Charleston are omitted.

[10] The attestation of property is here omitted.

Letter of Instructions to the Master

CHARL[E]STON, 24th July, 1807.

Captain John Connolly.

Dear Sir,

The Ship *Africa,* under your Command, being cleared, and ready to proceed on a Voyage to Angola for Slaves, I have to call your Attention to the following Instructions for your Government in conducting the same.

Herewith you have Invoice and Bill of Lading of a well assorted Cargo, for the Purchase of at least 350 Slaves in the River Congo, for which River you will proceed the first Opportunity.

From the very ample Investment with which you are provided I flatter myself you will be able to command the Trade over any other Vessel that may be in the River at the same Time; which I beg you will endeavour to do by every Means possible, so as to insure your Return here previous to the 1st of January, on which Day the Act prohibiting the Importation of Slaves goes into Operation, as there is not a Moment to be lost. I do not mean when I mention the Number of Slaves the Cargo is equal to purchase to bind you down to that Number, but leave this, as well as every thing else that may tend to insure Dispatch, to your own Discretion, and the Time that may remain for completing the Voyage.

I wish you to purchase as many young Men and Men Boys, and as few Females and small Slaves, as possible; in this, however, you must also in a great Degree be regulated according to Circumstances, but on no Account bring any old Men or fallen-breasted Women. It is better to return without Slaves than to croud the Ship with such.

I would by all means recommend your leaving Africa at latest by the 15th November, in which Case, from the *Africa's* fast sailing, there can be no Doubt of your reaching this in due Time. If however you should be on the Coast, and from contrary Winds unable to make Charleston, you will in that Case bear away for any Port you can fetch in the United States before the 1st of January, and report the Ship at the nearest Custom-House, as bound here, but put in by Stress of Weather, and by so doing the Prohibitory Act will not attach to the *Africa,* although she may not reach Charl[e]ston until after that Day. You will take Care to bring with you a Certificate from the Custom-House, where you may have reported of having done so.

During the Purchase and Middle Passage you will no doubt see the Propriety of treating the Slaves with every Attention and Indulgence that Humanity requires and Safety will permit.

The Ship's Articles will point out the Wages that you, your Officers, and Ship's Crew are to receive; in Addition to which you are to receive 5 per Cent. on the Gro. Sales of the Slaves, (out of which you are however to allow, on your own Account, to Mr. Tilly, the Trade Mate, £100;) also I am to allow him Two averaged Slaves of the Cargo, Mr. Connolly, the Chief Mate, one, Doctor Perlu one, and 50 per Cent. Head Money for each Slave, etc. Besides the foregoing it must be perfectly understood that you, the Officers, and Crew, are to have no other Privileges, nor is any private Trade Adventures to be carried on during the Voyage.

By the Invoice you will observe there is Cloathing already made up for 280 Slaves, and likewise a Quantity of Negro Cloth sufficient to make at least 80 other Suits, which you will have ready previous to your coming on the Coast.

Omit no Opportunity of writing me, mentioning your Proceedings, the Number of Slaves on board, Quantity of Cargo expended, etc. Also, after having completed your Purchase, write me by every Vessel that may be in the River bound either here or to the West Indies, covering a Bill of Lading for the whole Number of Negroes and other Cargo then on board, so as to enable me to recover the Loss from the Underwriters in case of Accident to the *Africa*.

Wishing you Health and every thing agreeable during the Voyage.

I remain, dear Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
WM. BOYD.

N. B. There is a Mistake in the Articles respecting your Wages: You are to have the same as Captain Caruth had, say £6 per Month.

Extracted from the Registry of His Majesty's Vice Admiralty Court at Tortola.

Before James Robertson, Esquire, Judge and Commissary of the same Court,

In the Presence of Mark Dyer French, Notary Public and Deputy Registrar.

Ship *Africa,* Jeremiah Connolly, Master.

Our Sovereign Lord the King against the Ship *Africa,* Jeremiah Connolly Master, and her Cargo, consisting of African Slaves, taken by His Majesty's Brig *Haughty,* Lieutenant John Mitchell, Commander, and brought to Tortola; and also against the said Master, Claimant of the said Ship and Cargo, intervening.

10th February, 1808. Forbes brought in Two Attestations, with Ship's Papers and Five Preparatory Examinations, and prayed the usual Monition, which the Judge, at his Petition, decreed.

13th. Simpson gave in a Claim of the said Master for the said Ship, her Tackle, Apparel, Furniture, and Cargo, on behalf and as the Property of William Boyd, of Charleston, South Carolina, Merchant, with an Attestation annexed.

Monday, 14th March. On the Admission of the Claim of the said Master for the said Ship and Cargo,

Simpson prayed the same to be admitted, and the said Ship and Cargo to be restored as claimed, with Costs and Expences, etc.

Forbes prayed the same Claim to be rejected and the said Ship and Cargo to be condemned. The Judge, having heard the said Claim and Proofs read, and Advocates and Proctors on both Sides thereon, assigned the Cause for Sentence whensoever.

For Sentence.

Wednesday, 16th March. The Judge assigned his Reasons, retained the Claim of the said Master for the said Ship and Cargo, and decreed the same to be restored as claimed, but considering the peculiar Circumstances of the Case, decreed the Captors not only their Costs, but a Reimbursement of all the Expences that have been incurred in the Preservation and safe keeping the Property in question.

Forbes notified to the Court, that on the Part of the Captor he appealed from the said Sentence of Restoration.

Simpson notified also, that he appealed from that Part of the said Sentence which made against his Party. Commission of Appraisement at the Instance of both Proctors.

MARK D. FRENCH, Not. Pub. and Dep. Registrar.

391. CASE OF THE *TARTAR*, 1808.[1]

Before the Most Noble and Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of Appeal in Prize Causes.

Tartar, James Taylor, Master.

Daniel Hooffstetter, of London, Merchant, the Claimant of the said Ship and her Cargo, on Behalf of Frederic Tavel, of Charlestown, Merchant, a Citizen of the United States of America, } Appellant.

Against

J. W. Neesham, Esq. Commander of His Majesty's Ship of War *Ulysses,* the Captor, and Charles Bishop, Esq. His Majesty's Procurator General, } Respondents.

[391] [1] Vice Admiralty briefs, in the possession of the Marine Research Society.

(On an Appeal from the Court of Vice-Admiralty of the Island of Barbadoes.)

Case on Behalf of the Appellant.

This is an American Ship which sailed from Charlestown on the 22d Nov. 1806, (long before the Act prohibitory of the Slave Trade passed in America,) bound to Rio Pougas, on the Coast of Africa, there to trade for Slaves, Bees Wax, and other Productions of the Coast, and return therewith to Charlestown. She arrived at Rio Pongas, in the latter End of January, 1807, and remained trading until January in the following Year, the Master being able to procure only 72 Slaves on Account of his Owner, but having taken upwards of 90 on Freight.

On the 2nd of February 1808, when proceeding for the Island of Martinique (the Importation of Slaves into America being prohibited from the 1st January) the said Ship was captured by His Majesty's Ship of War *Ulysses,* J. W. Neesham, Esq. Commander, and carried into Barbadoes.

Proceedings were commenced in the Court of Vice Admiralty at that Place against the Ship and Cargo.

1808, 15th Feb. A Claim was given for the Ship and Cargo as the Property of Fredireck Tavel of Charlestown, Merchant, a Citizen of the United States of America, and for Freight, etc.

9th March. The Cause came on to be heard, when the Judge was pleased to condemn the Ship and Cargo as Prize.

It is understood that the Slaves on Freight, the Property of the Master, Supercargo, and Passengers on-board, were given up to them upon Payment of Freight, which the Captors received under this Decree.

17th October. Daniel Hooffstetter, of London, Merchant, gave a Claim in this Court, on Behalf of the said F. Tavel, for the Ship and Cargo, and interposed an Appeal, which has been duly prosecuted, and now stands assigned for Sentence before your Lordships. . . .[2]

The Proctor of the Appellant will humbly pray your Lordships to pronounce for the Appeal, to reverse the Sentence appealed from, to retain the principal Cause, and therein to admit the Claim of Mr. Hooffstetter, and to decree the Ship and 72 Slaves to be restored, or the Value thereof paid, and to pronounce Freight to be due, on the Remainder of the Cargo, for (among many others) the following

[2] Brief extracts from the evidence of James Taylor, M'Guire, J. P. White, and I. Williams are here omitted, also the list of Ship Papers, letter of instruction, and bill of lading.

REASONS:

Because the same clearly appear to be the Property of the American Citizen, for whom they are claimed, and engaged in lawful Trade.

R. DALLAS.
J. H. ARNOLD.

17 Nov. 1810

Tartar
Addance [?]

J. Taylor } For Sentence
Bishop }

The Lords pronounced against the Appeal Affirmed the Sentence Appealed from and remitted the Cause.

Respondents' Case.[3]

Captured, 2d Feb. 1808. This Vessel, under American Colours, sailed from Charleston on the 22d November, 1806, laden with Tobacco, Brandy, and India Stuffs, bound for Rio Pungos, on the Coast of Africa, where she arrived on the 24th of January, 1807, and disposed of the said Cargo, and in return took in 168 Slaves, and sailed from Rio Pungos on the 9th of January, 1808, and was captured on the 2d February following, whilst proceeding to Martinique, by His Majesty's Ship *Ulysses,* C. J. W. Nesham, Esquire, Commander, and carried to Barbadoes, where Proceedings were instituted against the Vessel and Cargo as Prize.

1808. Feb. 15th. A Claim of Thomas Sandford was given for the Vessel and Cargo, as the Property of Frederick Tavel, of Charleston.

March 9th. The Cause came on for Hearing, when the Judge at Barbadoes was pleased to condemn this Ship and Cargo as Prize to the Captors.

Proceedings in this Court.

1808. 7th October. An Inhibition was extracted on an Appeal of Daniel Hoofstetter, of London, Merchant, Claimant of the Ship and Cargo as the Property of the aforesaid Frederick Tavel, and such Appeal has been proceeded in.[4] . . .

The Appeal having been proceeded in, now comes on for Hearing; and it is humbly hoped, on the Part of the Respondents, that your Lordships will be pleased to pronounce against the Appeal, and affirm the Sentence appealed from, with Costs, for the following, among other

[3] The usual introductory statement of appellant and respondent is here omitted.
[4] The evidence presented, consisting of extracts from the examinations of James Taylor, Patrick M'Guire, J. P. White, and Isaac Williams, and the Ship Papers are omitted. These extracts are not identical with those in the case of the appellant.

REASONS.

Because the Ship was proceeding from Africa with a Cargo of Slaves to the Enemy's Colony, under a false Destination to Charleston.

Because such a Trade, under any Circumstances, is contrary to the Laws of America, and not within the Order of Council of 24th June, 1803.

Because Part of the Cargo is admitted to belong to a British Subject, and is as such liable to Confiscation by Stat. 46 Geo. III. ch. 52.

CHR. ROBINSON.
V. GIBBS.

Joint Appendix[5]

Claim of Mr. Hooffstetter, given in this Court. 27th October 1808.

The Claim of Daniel Hooffstetter, of London, Merchant, for and on Behalf of Frederick Tavel, of Charlestown, Merchant, a Citizen of the United States of America, the true, lawful, sole Owner and Proprietor of the said Ship, her Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, and the Goods, Wares and Merchandizes therein laden, at the Time the same were seized and taken as Prize by His Majesty's Ship of War *Ulysses,* C. J. W. Neesham, Esq. Commander, and carried into Barbadoes, in the Vice Admiralty Court of which Place they were, on or about the Month of March last past, but within Twelve Months of the present Time, condemned. For the said Ship and Goods, as the true, lawful, sole and entire Property of the said Frederick Tavel, and for all such Loss, Costs, Charges, Damages, and Expences, as have arisen and been incurred, or shall or may arise and be incurred, by Reason of the Capture, Detention, and subsequent Condemnation thereof, as aforesaid.

DANIEL HOOFFSTETTER.

Affidavit in Verification annexed.

Appeared Personally, Daniel Hooffstetter, of London, Merchant, and made Oath that he is duly authorized to make the Claim hereto annexed, and that he verily believes that the said Ship, her Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, and the Goods, Wares, and Merchandize therein laden, at the Time the same were seized and taken as Prize by His Majesty's Ship of War *Ulysses,* C. J. W. Neesham, Esquire, Commander, and carried into Barbadoes, in the Vice Admiralty Court of which Place the same were, in or about the Month of March last past, but within Twelve Months of the present Time condemned, were and now are the true, lawful, sole and entire Property

[5] The statement of appellant and respondent is here omitted.

of Frederick Tavel, of Charlestown, Merchant, a Citizen of the United States of America, on whose Behalf the same are claimed, and that no Person or Persons, belonging to or being a Subject or Subjects of, or inhabiting within any of the Territories of the French or Batavian Governments, or the Countries now or lately styling themselves the Italian and Ligurian Republics, the Kings of Spain, Prussia, or Denmark, the Emperor of Russia, the Ports and Territories of Tuscany, the Kingdom of Naples, the Port and Territory of Ragusa, or those of the Islands lately composing the Republic of the Seven Islands, and all other the Ports and Places in the Mediterranean and Adriatic Seas, which are occupied by the Arms of France, or her Allies, their Factors or Agents, or any Person or Persons whomsoever, Enemies of the Crown of Great Britain and Ireland, had at the Time of the Capture aforesaid, or now have, any Right, Title, or interest in the said Ship or Goods, or any Part thereof. And he lastly saith, he verily believes the Claim hereto annexed to be a true and just Claim, and that he shall be able to make due Proof and Specification thereof.

DANIEL HOOFSTETTER.

Same day, the said Daniel Hooffstetter was duly
sworn to the Truth of this Affidavit,
before me
HERBERT JENNER, Surr.

Claim of Thomas Sandford, given in the Court below.

The Claim of Thomas Sandford, of the Island abovesaid, Esq. on Behalf of Frederick Tavel, of Charlestown, South Carolina, in North America, the true and lawful Owner and Proprietor of the said Brigantine or Vessel *Tartar,* with the Cargo on board her at the Time of her Capture and Detention, by His Majesty's Ship of War *Ulysses,* for the said Brigantine or Vessel, with her Cargo on board, as the sole Property of the said Frederick Tavel, a Citizen of the United States of America, and for all such Freight, Costs, Charges, Damages, Demurrage, and Expences, as have arisen, or shall or may arise, by Reason of the Capture and Detention aforesaid of the said Vessel *Tartar* and her Cargo.

Affidavit annexed to the said Claim. Dated Feb. 15, 1808.

On the fifteenth Day of February, one thousand eight hundred and eight, appeared personally James Taylor, Master of the said Brigantine, and made Oath, that he is a Citizen of the United States of America, and that on the second Day of February, in the present Year, the said Brigantine was captured and detained by His Maj-

esty's Ship of War *Ulysses*, and sent into Carlisle Bay, in this Island, and he saith that Frederick Tavel, of Charlestown, South Carolina, in North America, is the true and lawful Owner of the said Brigantine or Vessel, with the Cargo on board, excepting twenty-nine Slaves, belonging to Deponent and the Supercargo; and he further made Oath and saith, that the Claim hereto annexed is just and true, and that due Proof thereof, as he believes, can be made.

(Signed) J. P. MARYES.
THOMAS SANDFORD.

Same Day, before me,
(Signed) JNO. C. STRAKER.

Examinations in Preparatory.

First Witness, James Taylor, the Master. Deponent for Answer to the first Interrogatory saith, That he was born in Boston, in America, and has been living for these last Seven Years past in Charles Town; has lived there eight or nine Years; is a Citizen of the United States of America, is not a Burgher of any Town or City in the World, is a S[i]ngle Man.

To the second, Was present when the Brig of which Deponent is now examined was seized and taken; she had not any Commission of War.

To the third, Saith that in Latitude 13° 24′, on or about the 2nd of February instant, said Vessel was seized; cannot state on what Pretence or for what Reason she was so taken, as none was assigned; was brought into Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes; sailed under American Colours, and had none other on board; made no Resistance; was taken by His Majesty's Ship *Ulysses*; two other of His Majesty's Ships of War were in sight at the Time of the Capture.

To the fourth, Deponent is himself Master of the Vessel taken; was appointed to the Command of said Brig by Frederick Tavel; took Possession of her at New York, in February 1806; was given Possession by said Tavel; he lives in Charles Town in America.

To the fifth, Saith the Vessel is one hundred and sixty Tons Burthen; the Number of Mariners, including Officers, seven; three shipped at Charles Town, in November 1807, the rest in Africa, at Rio Pongas, were hired by this Deponent.

To the sixth, That he hath no Interest in the Vessel; hath an Interest in the Cargo of thirteen Slaves on board her, which are his Property; the Super Cargo has fifteen Slaves on board; no other Officers or Mariners have any Property in Vessel or Cargo; this Deponent belonged to the Vessel in Capacity of Master; has known her for three or four Years; first saw her in Charles Town, three or four Years ago; cannot state where she may have been built.

To the seventh, That the Name of this Vessel is *Tartar*; she has been so called ever since she was built; she had not a Passport or Sea-brief on-board; she touched at the Rio Pongas in Africa, during the Voyage in which she was taken; her last Voyage began at Charlestown, and was to have ended there; the first Voyage this Ship has made since Deponent being Master, was from Charlestown in America, to the Rio Pongas in Africa, laden with Tobacco and Rum; she sailed from Charlestown on the 21st February, 1806, and arrived in Rio Pongas, on the 4th April, in the same Year; the Cargo was delivered at Rio Pongas; she there took on-board one hundred and one Slaves or thereabouts, and sailed from thence on the 6th Day of August 1806, to Charlestown, where she arrived on the 3d Day of October in the same Year; the said Cargo of Slaves was there put on Shore; she sailed last from the Rio Pongas in Africa, on the 7th Day of January, in the present Year 1808.

To the eighth, That the Lading on-board at the Time of her setting Sail on her present Voyage from Charlestown, consisted in Tobacco, Brandy, and India Stuffs, the Quantities of each Sort this Deponent cannot set forth; laden with this Cargo she left Charlestown on the 22nd of November 1806, bound to the Rio Pongas, in Africa, where she arrived on the 24th Day of January 1807, the Cargo was there unladen and bartered for Slaves; saith that 168 Slaves were then laden on-board the Ship; with them on board she left the Rio Pongas on the ninth of January, in the present Year 1808, and was seized and detained as aforesaid with said Slaves; a very small Proportion of Ivory on-board.

To the ninth, That Frederick Tavel is the Name of the Owner of this Vessel at the Time she was seized and taken; he knows so by the Papers of the Vessel, and from having sailed in said Frederick Tavel's employ betwixt four and five Years; believes that Tavel is a Native of Switzerland; he resides with his Wife and Family at three Miles distant from Charlestown in America; Deponent has known him to be living there six Years; cannot say where he may have resided before; is a Citizen of the United States of America.

To the tenth, That there was a Bill of Sale made for this Vessel from a Mr. Hemly to Mr. Tavel, at Charlestown, in November 1805; that said Bill of Sale was drawn by a Notary-Public, whose Name is Crouch, at the Custom House, Charlestown; cannot say in the Presence of what Witness it may have been signed; no further Engagement was entered into concerning the Purchase, than what may appear upon the Bill of Sale; saith that 5500 Dollars was the Amount of the Purchase Money; Deponent last saw the aforesaid Bill of Sale in Charlestown, and believes it to be in the Possession of said Mr. Tavel there.

To the eleventh, Saith the outward-bound Cargo was put on-board at Charlestown, during the Space of three or four Days the Slaves were put on-board at the Rio Pongas, on the Coast of Africa, at different Times during the Space of twelve Months and upwards.

To the twelfth, That aforesaid Frederick Tavel, a Mr. Holman, a Mr. Llangley, and Deponent, were Laders and Owners of the outward-bound Cargo, consisting in Tobacco, Brandy, and India Stuffs; Mr. Tavel's Property was consigned to the Supercargo, Francis Roux; Messrs. Holman and Langley were Passengers on board the said Ship from Charlestown to the Coast, and took Charge of their own Property; Mr. Tavel is a Native of Switzerland as aforesaid; Mr. Holman was born in Africa, and is now resident there; Mr. Langley was by birth an American; since died on the Coast of Africa; that the said Lading was delivered on the Coast of Africa, on the real Account of the Shippers; that the Slaves now on-board belong to Mr. Tavel, Mr. M'Guire, Patrick Kearson, Samuel Sammo, Mr. White, the Supercargo Mr. Roux, and Deponent; that said Tavel is an American Citizen; he cannot state where he was born; that Patrick Kearson is also an American Citizen; the Place of his Birth is unknown to Deponent; that Mr. M'Guire is, Deponent believes, also an American Citizen; Samual Sammo is by Birth an Englishman, as Deponent believes, and resident on the Coast of Africa; though a naturalized American; Francis Roux was born in Saint Domingo, though a naturalized American; Mr. White is an American Citizen, the Place of his birth unknown to Deponent; the distinct Interest of each of the aforesaid Persons as follows, Mr. Tavel's Proportion between sixty and seventy Slaves, Mr. M'Guire's thirty-three, Mr. Kearson's ten, Mr. Sammo's fifteen, Mr. White's six, Mr. Roux fifteen, Deponent thirteen; Deponent can take upon himself to swear, that at the Time of Lading said Slaves, and at the present Time, and also if they be restored, they did, do, and will belong to the Persons asserted in the Answer to this Interrogatory to be the Owners thereof, and none other.

To the thirteenth, Saith each of the aforesaid Shippers had three Sets of Bills of Lading, all of same Tenor and Date, signed by Deponent for their respective Number of Slaves, on-board the said Ship, none of those were false or colourable, and none were signed in any Manner different from those which were on-board the Ship at the Time she was taken.

To the fourteenth, Saith that there are not in Great Britain any Letters, Bills of Lading, Invoices, or Instruments relating to this Ship and the Slaves on-board her, to Deponent's Knowledge.

To the fifteenth, Saith there was not any Charterparty signed for this Voyage in which the said Ship was taken.

To the sixteenth, That the usual Ship Papers, and some Private Letters, were on-board at the Time of the Seizure of the Ship; no Papers whatsoever were burnt, torn, thrown overboard, or concealed at such Time.

To the seventeenth, Saith he hath heard and believes that this Vessel has been seized as Prize by a French Privateer while in St. Domingo, and tried and condemned as such in the Island of Cuba.

To the eighteenth, Deponent hath as yet sustained no Loss by the Seizure and Detention of this Ship.

To the nineteenth, Cannot answer if the said Ship and Goods, or any Part, be insured or not.

To the twentieth, In case the Ship had arrived at the destined Port, the Cargo, on being unladen, would still have been the Property of the aforementioned Persons already asserted to be the Owners.

To the twenty-first, Saith the Slaves are all Natives of the Windward Coast of Africa.

To the twenty-second, Saith that the outward-bound Cargo was taken from the Shore at Charlestown, the Slaves were taken also from the Shore in Africa, and neither transhipped from any Vessel.

To the twenty-third, Saith that he believes there are in America some Letters and Papers relating to this Ship and the Cargo; he Deponent hath written two or three Letters to Mr. Tavel aforesaid, previous to and since the Capture.

To the twenty-fourth, Saith that the Whole of the Papers were taken away by the Captain at the Time of Capture, being delivered up by him, Deponent.

To the twenty-fifth, Saith that some of the Slaves have been put on Shore since the Capture of the Vessel in this Port, by an Application to the Court of Vice Admiralty in this Island for that Purpose made.

To the twenty-sixth, Saith that the aforesaid M'Guire and White, mentioned in Deponent's Answer to the twelfth Interrogatory in this his Examination, as part Owners of the Slaves on-board, were Passengers on-board said Ship, at the Time of the Capture thereof; cannot say what may be their Occupation; they came on board at the Rio Pongas, in Africa, and were destined to Charlestown, upon what Business Deponent doth not know; they had an Interest as aforesaid in the Slaves on-board.

To the twenty-seventh, Saith that all the Papers were true and fair, that he Deponent knows of no Matter or Circumstance to affect their Credit.

To the twenty-eighth, Nothing.

To the twenty-ninth, Saith that the Ship was steering towards Martinique at the Time she was pursued and taken; that her Course was not altered upon the Appearance of the Vessel by which she was taken; that her Course was not directed to the Port to which she appears destined by the Ship's Papers; that the Reason of altering the Destination to Martinique was, that after leaving Rio Pongas, the Vessel was becalmed, and Deponent concluding from this Circumstance that the Slaves and Crew on-board would be in Want of Food and Provisions, if the Ship continued the Course for Charlestown, determined to bear away for Martinique; that she was distant from Martinique about Twelve Leagues.

To the thirtieth, Saith that he only knows of the Transfer of this Vessel from Mr. Hamly aforesaid, to her present Owner, Frederick Tavel, for the Consideration of 5500 Dollars as aforesaid; that he believes that Sum to have been actually paid, and the Transfer duly made, and not for the Purpose of covering the Property, and that if she be restored she will belong to said Mr. Tavel and none other.

To the thirty-first, That a few Muskets, some Cutlasses, two or three Pistols, and a small Quantity of Powder, were on-board at the Time of Capture, and no other warlike Stores.

To the thirty-second, Saith that the real and true Property of said Vessel is American, and the Destination Charlestown, in America; the Deponent saith that if he could have met with an advantageous Offer, he would have sold his Proportion of Slaves at Martinique, the Vessel being destined to that Island, for the Purpose of procuring Food and Provisions as aforesaid.

(Signed) JAMES TAYLOR.

Taken and sworn before me on the 20th Day of Feby. 1808.

(Signed) JNO. C. STRAKER, Registrar.

[6] . . . . . .

Bill of Lading of Goods shipped by John L'Engle on the outward Voyage. Dated 15th Nov. 1806.

Bill of Lading of Goods shipped by John L'Engle, on the outward Voyage. Dated 15th Nov. 1806.
F. and F.
L. No. 1, 2, 3.

Shipped by the Grace of God, in good Order and well-conditioned, by John L'Engle, in and upon the Brig called the *Tartar*, whereof is Master under God for this present Voyage James Taylor, and now riding at Anchor in Charleston, and by God's Grace bound for Africa, Pongas River, to say, No. 28, 83. two Boxes Checks, containing 200

[6] The evidence of Patrick M'Guire and J. P. White, passengers taken on board in Africa, and of Isaac Williams, seaman, also the attestations of John Williams, mate of the *Ulysses*, and Tavel, owner, are omitted. M'Guire was the owner of 33 of the slaves on board, White owned 6.

K.R.M. No. 240

O.W. and Co. 273

B. and L. 3, No. 14

The whole going on sole Account and Risk of the Shipper, a Citizen of the United States of America, John L'Engle.

Pieces; one hundred thirty-nine Bars Iron, Weighing 5430; thirty-five Bundles do. Eighteen Kegs Gun-Powder, F. and F; three small Bales Blue Inkerchiefts; B. 1. Ps. one Bale blue Bafts, containing 60 Pieces; one do. Hamons, containing 100 Pieces; one Box Checks, containing 50 Pieces; low Pipes, containing 10 Dozen; one Box White Hats, containing 2 Dozen; thirty Bags Shot; being marked and numbered as in the Margin, and are to be delivered in the like good Order and well-conditioned at the aforesaid Port of Pongas River, the Danger of the Seas only excepted, unto John L'Engle, or to his Assigns, he or they paying Freight for said Goods, one hundred and seventy-five Bars of Iron, with Primage and Average accustomed. In Witness thereof, the Master or Purser of the said Ship hath affirmed to three Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date, the one of which three Bills being accomplished, the other two to stand void; And so God send the good Ship to her desired Port in Safety, Amen. Dated at CHARLESTON, November 15th, 1806; I do say one hundred and seventy-five Bars Freight.[7]

Manifest of the Outward Cargo.

Report and Manifest of the Cargo laden on-board the Brig "Tartar", James Taylor Master, from the Port of Charleston, bound for Rio Pongo, Port of Africa.

Marks	Numbers	Packages or Articles in Bulk	Contents or Qualities
FF.	1 *a* 48	Forty-eight Hogsheads	Tobacco
E.T.	Same	Fifteen Pipes	Brandy
A.C.H.	"	Six Hogsheads	Tobacco
TR.	70, 77, 45, 16, 47, 46, 4, 39	Eight Casks	Claret
		Forty Barrels	Pitch and Tar
		Twenty Barrels	Flour
		1 Cask 6 Barrels	Vinegar
		24 Barrels	Gun Powder
O.W. and Co.	23 and 273	Two Bales	Humhums
W. and F.	174, 175, 176	Three Bales	Chints
	2 and 5	Two Tierces	Slops
T.L.	1 *a* 4	Four Hhds	Tobacco
		Two Bales	Blue Baffts
		Bundles	Bar Iron
K.R.M.	240	One Bale	Buffts
		Three Boxes	Checks
L.	1 *a* 3	3 Packages	Handkerchiefs
		Two Boxes	Negro Pipes
		One Box	Hats

CHARLESTON, November 15th, 1806.

[7] The attestation of L'Engle, which follows, and Taylor's signatures are here omitted.

It is agreed between the Master Seamen or Mariners of the American Brig "Tartar", James Taylor, Master, now bound from the Port of Charlestown, in the State of South Carolina, for Rio Pongas, in Africa, and from thence back to any Port in the United States of America.

Time of Entry	Names	Quality	Places of Birth	Residence	Citizen or Subject of	Advance Wages Dol's	Wages Monthly Dol's	Witnesses to their Signing
1806, Nov. 15	James Taylor	Master	Massachusetts	Charleston	the United States	50	50	(Signed) Abraham Crouch, Not. Public.
Thomas Ring	Daniel Ingerson, decd.	Mate	Maryland	Baltimore	" " "	45	45	
	his Hugh X Erving Mark	2d Mate	South Carolina	Charleston	" " "	40	40	
	his Anders X Aberg Mark	Mariner	Sweden	Helsingfors	Sweden	30	30	
	his J. H. X Holm Mark	"	Denmark	Charleston	Denmark	30	30	
	his John X Jervison Mark	"	South Carolina	"	the United States	30	30	
	his Isaac X Williams Mark	"	Maryland	"	" " "	30	30	
	his Pedro X Bronsary Mark	"	Ragusa	"	Ragusa	30	30	
	Cornelis Smith [9]	"	Russia	Embden	Prussia	30	30	(Signed) William Greenland.
	Dominique Godels	Cooper	St. Domingo	Charleston	a Freeman	34	34	
	his George X Sammener Mark	Cook	Africa	Rio Pongus	C "	20	20	
	L'Conuet	Physician	France	Charleston	the United States		35	
	his John X Walton Mark	Seaman	Virginia	"	" " "		30	
1807, Oct. 23	his Justice X Williams Mark	"	New York	"	" " "			

[8] Clearance papers are here omitted.

[9] In a list of the crew among the Ship Papers, the birthplace of Cornelius Smith is given as Prussia, and the two names which follow are Godets and Lammener.

Bill of Lading of Goods shipped by F. Tavel, in the outward Voyage. Dated 15th Nov. 1806.

F. 1 *a* 48; 48 Hhds Tobacco
A C H, 6 Hhds. Do.
F T, 15 Pipes Brandy
TR, 8 Casks Claret
40 Bbls. Pitch and Tar
20 Bbls. Flour
7 Vinegar
8 Kegs Gunpowder
O.W. and Co. 23-1 Bale
W and F, 174, 175, 176, 3 Bale Chints 2 and 5. 2 Tierces Slops.
2 Bales Blue Boffs
160 Packages
Shipper
P. F. Tavel

Shipped in good Order and well-conditioned by Frederick Tavel, on his own Account and Risk, in and upon the good Brig, called the *Tartar*, whereof is Master for this present Voyage James Taylor, and now lying in the Port of Charleston, and bound for Rio Pongas, to say, fifty-four Hogsheads Tobacco, fifteen Pipes Brandy, eight Casks Claret, forty Barrels Naval Stores, twenty Barrels Flour, five Bales Dry Goods, as per Margin, going on Account and Risk of the Shipper, a Citizen of the United States of America, being marked and numbered as in the Margin, and are to be delivered in the like good Order and well-conditioned, at the aforesaid Port of Rio Pongas, the Danger of the Seas only excepted, unto Francis Roux, Supercargo, or to his Assigns, he or they paying Freight for the said Goods nothing, being the Owner's Property, with Primage and Average accustomed. In Witness whereof the Master or Purser of the said Brig hath affirmed to four Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date, the one of which four Bills being accomplished, the other three to stand void. Dated in CHARLESTON, November 15, 1806.

(Signed) JAMES TAYLOR.

Bills of Lading of the Present Cargo.

Shipped in good Order and well-conditioned, by Patrick Maguire, a Citizen of the United States of America, in and upon the good Brig called the *Tartar*, whereof is Master for this present Voyage James Taylor, and now riding at Anchor in the Harbour of Rio Pongas, and bound for Charleston, to say, three Prime Slaves, two Women Girls and one Woman, being shipped at the Risque and on Account of Messrs. Ingraham and M'Cormick, being marked and numbered as in the Margin,[10] and are to be delivered in the like good Order and well-conditioned at the aforesaid Port of Charleston, the Danger of the Seas and Mortality excepted, unto Messrs. Ingraham and

[10] "Marked O on the right Thigh."

M'Cormick, or to their Assigns, he or they paying Freight for the said Slaves Thirty Dollars per Head, with Primage and Average accustomed. In Witness whereof, the Master or Purser of the said Ship hath affirmed to three Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date, one of which being accomplished, the others to stand void. Dated November 8, 1807.

(Signed) JAMES TAYLOR.[11]

Shipped in good Order and well-conditioned, in and upon the good Brig called the *Tartar*, whereof James Taylor is Master for the present Voyage, To say, Eight Men, two Women, two Girls, and three Boys, per Account and Risk of Samuel Samos, a Citizen of the United States, and consigned to Mr. Francis Roux, and to be delivered in the like good Order, the Dangers of the Seas and Mortality excepted, at the Port of Charleston, or any other Port, he or they paying Freight for the same at the Rate of Thirty Dollars each.

Shipped in good Order and well-conditioned, in and upon the good Brig called the *Tartar*, whereof James Taylor is Master, to say, Three Men, two Boys and one Girl, marked and numbered as per Margin,[12] and to be delivered in the like good Order and well-conditioned, the Dangers of the Seas and Mortality only excepted, to him or his Assigns, he or they paying Freight at the Rate of thirty Dollars each.

Shipped in good Order and well-conditioned by Robert W. Cunningham on Account and Risque of Patrick Coffin, Citizen of the United States of America, in and upon the good Brig called the *Tartar*, whereof is Master for this present Voyage, James Taylor, and now lying in the River Riopongas, and bound for the West Indies, or a Market; to say, Ten Prime Slaves, seven Men, two Boys, and one Girl, being marked and numbered as in the Margin,[13] and are to be delivered in the like good Order and well-conditioned at the aforesaid Port of Delivery, say West Indies, the Dangers of the Seas, Mortality, and Insurrection only excepted, unto the said Master, or to his Assigns, he or they paying Freight for the said Goods, Slaves, at the Rate of twenty-five Dollars per Head. In Witness whereof the Master or Purser of the said Brig hath affirmed to three Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date, the one of which three Bills of Lading being accomplished, the other two to stand void. Dated in RIO PONGAS, January 5, 1808.

Shipped in good Order and well-conditioned by I. James Taylor, on his own Account and Risk, in and upon the good Brig *Tartar*, whereof is Master for this present Voyage, and now lying in the River Pongas,

[11] From the bills which follow, Taylor's signature has been here omitted.
[12] "O on the Right Shoulder."
[13] "Marked with a Pipe on the left Hipp."

and bound for Charleston, or any other Port, to say, Thirteen Slaves, going on the sole Account and Risk of the Shipper, a Citizen of the United States of America, being marked and numbered as in the Margin, and are to be delivered in the like good Order and well-conditioned at the aforesaid Port of Charleston, or any other Port, the Danger of Seas only excepted, unto I. James Taylor, or to his Assigns, he or they paying Freight for the Slaves thirty Dollars per Head. In Witness whereof, the Master or Purser of the said Brig hath affirmed to three Bills of Lading all of this Tenor and Date, the one of which three Bills being accomplished, the other to stand void. Dated in RIOPONGAS, January 5, 1808.

Shipped in good Order and well-conditioned by Francis Roux, on his own Account and Risk, in and upon the good Brig called the *Tartar*, whereof is Master for this present Voyage James Taylor, and now lying in the Port of Charleston, and bound for Charleston, or any other Port, to say, fifteen Slaves, going on the sole Account and Risk of the Shipper, a Citizen of the United States of America, being marked and numbered as in the Margin,[14] and are to be delivered in the like good Order and well-conditioned at the aforesaid Ports of Charleston, or any other Port, the Danger of the Seas only excepted, unto Francis Roux, or to his Assigns, he or they paying Freight for the said Slaves thirty Dollars per Head. In Witness whereof, the Master or Purser of the said Brig hath affirmed to two Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date, the one of which one Bills being accomplished, the other one to stand void. Dated in RIO PONGAS, 5th January, 1808.

Shipped in good Order and well-conditioned, by Patrick Maguire, a Citizen of the United States of America, in and upon the good Brig called the *Tartar*, whereof is Master for this present Voyage James Taylor, and now riding at Anchor in the Harbour of Rio Pongas, and bound for Charleston, or any other Port, to say, thirty-three Slaves, being marked and numbered as in the Margin,[15] and are to be delivered in the like good Order and well-conditioned at the aforesaid Port of Charleston, the Mortality and Danger of the Seas only excepted, unto Patrick Maguire, or to his Assigns, he or they paying Freight for the said Slaves, to say, thirty-five Dollars, with Primage and Average accustomed. In Witness whereof, the Master or Purser of the said Brig *Tartar* hath affirmed to three Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date, one of which being accomplished, the others to stand void. Dated 5th January, 1808.

[14] "Five Boys, Five Women, Five Men, marked left Arm O. Shipper Fs. Roux."
[15] "Men 19, Boys 5, Women 2, Girls 7. Marked with a Pipe Bowl on the Left Shoulder, except three without Mark."

Shipped in good Order and well-conditioned, by Francis Roux, a Citizen of the United States, in and upon the good Brig called the *Tartar*, whereof is Master for this present Voyage James Taylor, and now lying in the River Riopongas and bound for Charleston, South Carolina, or any other Port, *viz.* Seventy-two Slaves, the same being shipt on the Account and Risk of Frederick Tavel, also a Citizen of the United States, being marked and numbered as in the Margin, and are to be delivered in the like good Order and well-conditioned, at the aforesaid Port of Charleston, or any other Port, the Danger of Seas, Insurrection, and Mortality only excepted, unto Francis Tavel or to their Assigns, he or they paying Freight for the said Slaves Freight free, Owner's Property. In Witness whereof the Master or Purser of the said Brig hath affirmed to three Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date, the one of which Bills being accomplished, the other two to stand void. Dated in Rio Pongo, 5th January, 1808.[16]

Instructions from F. Tavel to F. Roux, the Supercargo. Dated 15th Nov. 1806.

For Francis Roux, Supercargo on board the Brig *Tartar,* James Taylor, Master, from the Port of Charleston to Rio Pongas, Coast of Africa, and back to Charleston. The Brig *Tartar* is bound direct from Charleston to Rio Pongas. Arrived safe in that River, Francis Roux is hereby instructed to apply immediately to all the Factors there, and make his Trade as quick as possible, with such with whom he may meet the greatest Advantage, and above all the quickest Delivery of Slaves in return of the present Cargo under his care. Francis Roux is directed to make his Trade as much as possible at Rio Pongo, not to any other Places of the Coast except in Cases of absolute Necessity, to say, only when he should find no Possibility of obtaining there Slaves in return, he will avoid as much as it will lay in his Power to deliver his Merchandizes without receiving Returns thereof. He will try to dispose of the Whole of his Cargo at once, for a prompt Delivery of the Slaves in return in such Bargain, with proper Security for its Execution on the Part of the Factors or Factor, Francis Roux will trade liberally. Francis Roux will leave nothing behind him on the Coast, whatever may be the Circumstances. The Brig *Tartar* must bring back the whole Returns of his present Cargo; moreover he will observe my Underwriters not allowing the said Brig more than four Months stay on the Coast of Africa; she must by all Means set sail therefrom before that Time expires. The better to enable Francis Roux to execute and fulfil my Orders for prompt Return, I hereby authorize him to trade for Bees Wax, not exceeding one-third Value of his Cargo. This in Case he should find the Slaves too scarce, and

[16] An attestation of Tavel and the sea-letter of the *Tartar* are omitted.

Bees Wax more easy to be had and at reasonable Price. The Brig having any Room left for Slaves when near his Departure from the Coast, and the whole of mine shipped, will take as many as he can on Freight.

Such as he may take on Freight must be marked or stamped according; none to be taken except their being American Property.

Those belonging to the Cargo must also be marked F T, and those that may be shipped on board by James Taylor, Captain, for Returns of his 4 Hhds. Tobacco, shall bear his Marks, in order to have Mortality, if any, supported by proper concerned.

Whenever one or more Slaves shall be sent on board, James Taylor will give his Receipt thereof per Triplicate, *viz.*

Received on board the Brig *Tartar*, bound from this Place to Charleston, Slaves on Account and Risk of Frederick Tavel, Merchant there, Rio Pongo, ditto. These Receipts must be forwarded by every Opportunity, and one Copy thereof left in the Hands of one Factor at Rio Pongo; this being the only Title which would authorize me to receive for the Underwriters, should any Accident happen to my Brig, either on the Coast or on return Passage.

In the Obligations which Mr. Roux will receive in Payment of his Trade, he will have it stipulated as much as it will lay in his Power.

1st. The Quality of the Slaves to be prime, from the Age of 14 to 20.

2nd. The Obligations on the Part of the Traders to bring themselves their Slaves on board the Vessel.

3rd. To have the Slaves delivered at the shortest Time possible, and express a Penalty in case they should not be delivered in the specified Time.

I particularly recommend to Mr. Roux Quickness of Actions; prime Slaves; liberality in Trade, when those Points can be obtained; Care and good Food for return Cargo; Information by every Opportunity as to his Situation, his Hopes, Success, or Misfortunes.

May the Omnipotent grant him Health and Success.

CHARLESTON, November 15th 1806. (Signed) FREDK. TAVEL.

P. S. Should Mr. Francis Roux meet with his Death on his present Voyage, I hereby appoint Mr. John L'Engle, Passenger on board the Brig *Tartar*, to be his Successor, and to take the Management of my Property on the same.

(Signed) FREDK. TAVEL.[17]

[17] Similar instructions to James Watts, supercargo, dated Feb. 15, 1806, are included among the Ship Papers. Watts was directed to give preference first to John Hollman, and then to Lawrence or Gardner. The final paragraphs of his instructions are not found in those to Roux: "Finally, Captain James Taylor having my full Confidence, as well as Mr. Watts, and wish the latter will confer with the former upon every

Sentence appealed from. Dated March 9, 1808.

The Court being opened in the usual Manner by Proclamation. Brig *Tartar,* James Taylor, a Capture by His Majesty's Vessel of War *Ulysses,* Nesham, Esq. Commander, and brought to Carlisle Bay, within the Jurisdiction of this Honourable Court. On the Part of Captors, in Support of the Allegations, the King's Advocate and Attorney-General Mathew Coulthurst, and John Beckles, Esqrs. On the Part of the Claimant, John Pollard Mayers, Esquire, an Advocate. His Honour the Judge having heard the Arguments of Counsel on either Side, as well on the Part of the Libellant as of the Claimant, was pleased to pronounce the said Brig *Tartar,* her Cargo, Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, etc. to be subject and liable to Confiscation, and condemned the same as good and lawful Prize accordingly.

GEORGIA

392. Minutes of the Privy Council, 1735.[1]

April 3, 1735.

May it Please Your Majesty, The Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America in pursuance of the Powers and in Obedience to the Directions of them Given by Your Majestys Most Gracious Charter Humbly Lay before Your Majesty the following Law Statute and Ordinance which they being for that Purpose Assembled have prepared as fit and necessary for the Government of the said Colony, And which they most Humbly Present under their Common Seal to Your Most Sacred Majesty in Council for Your Majesty's Most Gracious Approbation and Allowance.

An Act for rendering the Colony of Georgia more Defencible by Prohibiting the Importation and use of Black Slaves or Negroes into the same.

Whereas Experience hath Shewn that the manner of Settling Colonys and Plantations with Black Slaves or Negroes hath obstructed the Increase of English and Christian Inhabitants therein who alone can in case of a War be relyed on for the Defence and

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Transaction relative to the Question of this Voyage, and they would mutually agree as to its Propriety. . . . I hereby appoint Mr. James Taylor, Captain of the above Brig *Tartar,* as my Representative in this Business and I do authorize him to take the Management of my Cargo and Property under his own Care, whenever he should find it adviseable and convenient; say, whenever the Supercargo should act without Necessity against my above Instructions, or should be taken sick and die."

[392] [1] *Colonial Records of Georgia,* I. 49-52. The Trustees had determined upon the law here quoted, along with one prohibiting the use of rum and brandy, and one for maintaining peace with the Indians, at their meeting on Jan. 9, 1735 (*ibid.,* pp. 197-198). See *ante,* no. 96, for Col. William Byrd's opinion of this action. That there were already negroes in Georgia is shown by the fact that at a meeting of the Trustees on Sept. 3, 1735, £30 was appropriated for a catechist to convert the negroes. Hist. MSS. Comm., *Eighteenth Report, Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont,* II. 192.

Security of the same, and hath Exposed the Colonys so settled to the Insurrections Tumults and Rebellions of such Slaves and Negroes and in Case of a Rupture with any Foreign State who should Encourage and Support such Rebellions might Occasion the utter Ruin and loss of such Colonys, For the preventing therefore of so great inconveniences in the said Colony of Georgia. We the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America humbly beseech Your Majesty That it may be Enacted And be it Enacted that from and after the four and twentieth day of June which shall be in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven hundred and thirty five if any Person or Persons whatsoever shall import or bring or shall cause to be imported or brought or shall sell or Barter or use in any manner or way whatsoever in the said Province or in any Part or Place therein any Black or Blacks Negroe or Negroes such Person or Persons for every such Black or Blacks Negroe or Negroes so imported or brought or caused to be imported or brought or sold Bartered or used within the said Province Contrary to the intent and meaning of this Act shall forfeit and lose the Sum of fifty pounds Sterling Money of Great Britain to be recovered in manner hereafter mentioned one half to the said Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America to be applied for the Benefit of the said Colony as the Common Council of the said Trustees or the Major part of them for that purpose present and assembled shall think fit and proper and the other half to such person or persons as shall sue for the same. And be it further Enacted that from and after the said four and twentieth day of June in the Year of Our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and thirty five all and every the Black or Blacks Negroe or Negroes which shall at any time then after be found in the said Province of Georgia or within any Part or Place thereof in the Custody house or Possession of Whomsoever the same may be shall and may be Seized and taken by such person or persons as for that purpose shall be authorized and Impowered by the said Common Council of the said Trustees or the Major part of them who shall for that purpose be present and Assembled and the said Black or Blacks Negroe or Negroes so seized and taken shall be deemed and adjudged and are hereby declared to be the Sole property of and to belong only to the said Trustees and their Successors and shall and may be Exported Sold and disposed of in such manner as the said Common Council of the said Trustees or the Major part of them for that purpose present and Assembled shall think most for the benefit and good of the said Colony Provided always That if any Black or Blacks Negroe or Negroes shall run away from his Master or Mistress in Carolina or any other of His Majesty's Dominions into the said Province of Georgia if the person

or persons to whom such Black or Blacks Negroe or Negroes shall belong shall within the Space of three months next after such Black or Blacks Negroe or Negroes shall have been Seized and taken as aforesaid enter his or their Claim or Claims to such Black or Blacks Negroe or Negroes in the Court of the Town of Savanah and shall pay all such Costs and Charges as shall have been expended in apprehending or taking such Black or Blacks Negroe or Negroes and also shall make Satisfaction for such Damages and Mischiefs as they or any of them shall have done or Committed on the persons or possessions of any of the Inhabitants whilst within the said Province of Georgia That then and in every such Case the said Court of the Town of Savanah shall and are hereby directed to restore to such owner or owners so claiming as aforesaid all and every such Black or Blacks Negroe or Negroes And be it further Enacted that all Fines Forfeitures and Penaltys which shall be incurred and become forfeited by Virtue of this Act shall and may be recovered in any Court of Record in the said Province of Georgia by Action of Debt Bill Plaint or Information. . . .[2]

393. Diary of the Earl of Egmont, 1735-1738.[1]

Wednesday, 3 [*September 1735*]. The Scots settled at Joseph's Town having applied for the liberty of making use of negro slaves, we acquainted one of their number, who came over to solicit this and other requests made by them to us, that it could not be allowed, the King having passed an Act against it, of which we read part to him. . . .

Monday, 17 [*November 1735*].[2] A letter was read from Mr. Samuel Eveleigh that he had quitted his purpose of settling in Georgia, and was returned to Carolina, because we allow not the use of negro slaves, without which he pretends our Colony will never

[2] The remainder of the act deals with details of enforcement: "Which Act His Majesty thought proper to referr to the Consideration of a Committee of His Majestys most Honourable Privy Council who having received the Opinion of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations thereupon did this day Report to His Majesty as their Opinion that the said Act was proper to receive His Majestys Royal Approbation: His Majesty taking the same into Consideration is hereby pleased with the Advice of his Privy Council to Declare his Approbation of the said Act And pursuant to His Majestys Royal Pleasure thereupon exprest the said Act is hereby Confirmed finally Enacted and Ratified accordingly." *Ga. Col. Recs.*, I. 54.

[393] [1] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Eighteenth Report, Egmont MSS.*, II. 193. From this time for nearly fifteen years, contention over the question of the admission of negro slaves continued. The *Diary of the Earl of Egmont*, in which he summarized discussions of the Trustees, letters and reports received from Georgia, and conversations of those returned from the colony, gives many illustrations of the arguments used to break down the determination of the Trustees or to support their decision. Here Egmont was digesting a discussion of the Trustees.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 204-205. An earlier communication from Eveleigh, a Charleston merchant, on Jan. 7, 1735, stated that the people of Savannah were in good health but "uneasy that they are not allowed the use of negro slaves". *Ibid.*, p. 141.

prove considerable by reason the heat of the climate will not permit white men to labour as the negroes do, especially in raising rice, nor can they endure the wet season when rice is to be gathered in. . . .

Thursday, 24 [*November 1737*].[3] . . . 8. That Mr. — Mackay had without leave on his own head settled on — Wilmington Island and employed negroes. N. B. Smart care must be taken of this, for many are disposed to follow his example. . . .

Tuesday, 6 [*June 1738*].[4] One thing sworn by him [James Howell] is that he heard proclamation made in St. Augustine that all negroes who did or should hereafter run away from the English should be made free, which proclamation had effect accordingly, for several negroes who ran away thither, and were sold there, were thereupon made free, and the purchasers lost their money. . . .

This proclamation concerning the negroes shews the prudence of the Trustees in not suffering the use of negroes in Georgia. . . .

394. Remonstrance of the Inhabitants of Savannah, 1738.[1]

Savannah, 9th December, 1738.

To the Honorable the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America.

May it please your Honors: We whose names are underwritten, being all settlers, freeholders and inhabitants in the province of Georgia, and being sensible of the great pains and care exerted by you in endeavoring to settle this colony, since it has been under your protection and management, do unanimously join to lay before you, with the utmost regret, the following particulars.[2] . . . Timber is the only thing we have here which we might export, and notwithstanding we are obliged to fall it in planting our land, yet we cannot manufacture it for a foreign market but at double the expense of other colonies; as for instance, the river of May, which is but twenty miles from us, with the allowance of negroes, load vessels with that commodity at one half of the price that we can do; and what should induce persons to bring ships here, when they can be loaded with one half of the expense so near us; therefore the timber on the land is only a continual charge to the possessors of it,

[3] *Egmont MSS.*, II. 449. Egmont was digesting the journal of Thomas Causton, chief magistrate of Savannah.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 492. The report from a committee of correspondence of an affidavit by Capt. James Howell, before the governor and council of South Carolina, Apr. 21, 1738.

[394] [1] Ga. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, II. 217-220. Egmont's summary of the petition is to be found in *Egmont MSS.*, III. 50-53, and in *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 154.

[2] The protestants first demonstrate that they cannot command a livelihood by the cultivation of the soil; next, that such restrictions have been laid upon trade as to make it impossible for them to gain any advantage from it. The need for negroes is not mentioned until they turn to the possibilities of profit in timber.

though of very great advantage in all the northern colonies, where negroes are allowed, and consequently, labor cheap. We do not in the least doubt but that in time, silk and wine may be produced here, especially the former; but since the cultivation of the land with white servants only, cannot raise provisions for our families as before mentioned, therefore it is likewise impossible to carry on these manufactures according to the present constitution. It is very well known, that Carolina can raise every thing that this colony can, and they having their labor so much cheaper will always ruin our market, unless we are in some measure on a footing with them. . . . Your honors, we imagine, are not insensible of the numbers that have left this province, not being able to support themselves and families any longer. . . .

But we for our parts have entirely relied on and confided in your good intentions, believing you would redress any grievances that should appear; and now, by our long experience, from industry and continual application to improvement of land here, do find it impossible to pursue it, or even to subsist ourselves any longer, according to the present nature of the constitution; and likewise believing you will agree to those measures that are found from experience capable to make this colony succeed, and to promote which we have consumed our money, time and labor; we do, from a sincere regard to its welfare, and in duty both to you and ourselves, beg leave to lay before your immediate consideration, the two following chief causes of these our present misfortunes, and this deplorable state of the colony, and which, we are certain, if granted, would be an infallible remedy for both.[3] . . .

2d. The want of the use of negroes, with proper limitation; which, if granted, would both occasion great numbers of white people to come here, and also render us capable to subsist ourselves, by raising provisions upon our lands, until we could make some produce fit for export, in some measure to balance our importation. We are very sensible of the inconveniences and mischiefs that have already, and do daily arise from an unlimited use of negroes; but we are as sensible that these may be prevented by a due limitation, such as so many to each white man, or so many to such a quantity of land, or in any other manner which your Honors shall think most proper.[4]

[3] The first essential was free title to the land, which the Georgia settlers were not given.

[4] The remonstrance, signed by 117 residents of Savannah, called forth many counter-representations but did not move the Trustees from their position. For their answer, of date June 20, 1739, see Ga. Hist. Soc., *Collections,* II. 232-233.

395. Diary of the Earl of Egmont, 1739.[1]

Wednesday, 17 Jany. 1738/9. 1. Col. Oglethorpe[2] wrote again to the Trustees, to shew further inconveniences arrising from the allowing the use of Negroes, *viz.* 1. That it is against the principles by which the Trustees associated together, which was to releive the distressed, whereas we should occasion the misery of thousands in Africa, by setting Men upon using arts to buy and bring into perpetual slavery the poor people, who now live free there. 2. Instead of strengthning, we should weaken the Frontiers of America. 3. Give away to the Owners of slaves that land which was design'd as a Refuge to persecuted Protestants. 4. Prevent all improvements of silk and wine. 5. And glut the Markets with more of the American Comodities, which do already but too much interfere with the English produce.

396. James Oglethorpe to the Trustees of Georgia, 1739.[1]

Savannah 12th March 1738/9.

Gentlemen, . . . Mr. Williams is very angry, and hath got the poor People of Savannah, many of whom are deeply in Debt to him, to sign the Petition for Negroes, which affirms that white men cannot work in this Province.[2] This Assertion I can disprove by hundreds of Witnesses, all the Saltzburghers, the people at Darien, many at Frederica, and Savannah, and all the Industrious in the Province. The idle ones are indeed for Negroes. If the Petition is countenanced the Province is ruined. Mr. Williams and Doctor Talfeur[3] will buy most of the Lands at Savannah with Debts due to

[395] [1] *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 95-96; not under this date in the *Egmont MSS.*

[2] Oglethorpe had been deputy governor of the Royal African Company in 1732 but seems never to have been in sympathy with its trade in blacks. W. B. O. Peabody, in his *Life of James Oglethorpe* (*Library of American Biography*, second ser., II.), pp. 223-224, attributes his aversion to the slave trade to his experience with Job ben Solomon; see this work, II. 420-427.

[396] [1] *Ga. Col. Recs.*, vol. XXII., pt. 2, pp. 111-112.

[2] On Jan. 2, 1739, William Stephens wrote to the Trustees concerning Mr. Williams: "but as to the Use of Negroes, I have some reason to think his Aim is more extensive than appears openly; for as he is in Partnership with his Brother and others at St. Hitts [Kitts] and Bristol, who trade much in importing Negroes into the West Indies; tis not hard to conceive what would follow, in case it were in the Power of the Landholders here to alienate such Lands; who for want of money to purchase Slaves, would not want Credit to get 'em upon Land Security; the consequence whereof need not be named." *Ibid.*, vol. XXII., pt. 1, p. 368.

[3] "There is one Talfeur an Apothecary Surgeon who gives Physick and one Williams of whom I wrote to you formerly, a Merchant who quitted planting to sell rum. To these two, almost all the Town is in debt for Physick and Rum and they have raised a strong spirit to desire that Lands may be alienable and then they would take the Lands for the Debts, monopolize the Countrey and settle it with Negroes." Oglethorpe to the Trustees, July 16, 1739, Ga. Hist. Soc., *Collections,* III. 79-80.

them, and the Inhabitants must go off and be succeeded by Negroes. Yet the very debtors have been weak enough to sign their Desire of Leave to sell.[4]

397. Diary of the Earl of Egmont, 1739-1740.

[*Tuesday*], *13 March 1738/9*.[1] The Saltsburgers at Ebenezer wrote and sign'd a Counter-representation to that sent by the Inhabitants of Savannah, earnestly desiring of Genl. Oglethorpe that Negroes and change of Tenure may not be allow'd of in the Province. In it they express their happy condition, and desire the encouragement they had might be given to others to joyn them.[2] . . .

Saturday, 17 [*March 1738/9*].[3] . . . 4. Mr. Stephens' journal[4] from 21 November to 2 January following, the remarkable of which are. . . .

That the inhabitants of the northern district had likewise framed a representation signed by 110 hands, among which was John Brownfield, our Register, Dr. Tailfer and Robert Williams, which the latter designed to bring with him to England and lay before the Trustees, wherein they take upon them to demonstrate that no person can carry on any improvement of land on the foot they now are without certain loss, and that they must be allowed negroes. . . .

Sunday 29 [*April 1739*].[5] This evening Lieut. Col. Cochrane and Capt. Thompson just arrived from Georgia came to see me. . . .

[4] This refers not to the exclusion of negro slaves but to the form of tenure of the Georgia landholder. It will be seen in the passages which follow how closely united the Trustees and the settlers believed negro ownership and land ownership to be.

[397] [1] *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 131; not under this date in *Egmont MSS.*

[2] "The pretended content and satisfaction of the people of Ebenezer, without negroes, will plainly appear to be the dictates of spiritual tyranny, and only the wretched acquiescence of people, who were in truth unacquainted with the privilege of choosing for themselves" ("A Brief Account of the Causes that have retarded the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America", London, 1743, in Ga. Hist. Soc., *Collections,* II. 93). Opposition to the introduction of negroes was also frequently expressed by John Martin Bolzius, pastor at Ebenezer. Mar. 14, 1739, Bolzius to Verelts: "I take the Freedom to beseech the Honourable Trustees not to allow any Negro-man or Woman to be carried to and imploy'd at our place or Neighbourhood, seeing that the Consequences of it would be very bad and the Ruin of poor Labourers. White people, if industrius and to follow the Direction of God Gen: III. 19 [in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread] are capable enough to plant here every sort of Country-Grain without hurting their Health in the Summer season; of which is Witness my whole Congregation." *Ga. Col. Recs.*, vol. XXII., pt. 2, p. 121.

[3] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 37; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 138, where the date is Mar. 16. While the substance of the diary as printed in the *Georgia Records* agrees with that in the *Egmont MSS.*, the wording is seldom identical.

[4] Col. William Stephens was sent to Georgia in 1737, as "Secretary to the Trustees in Georgia". In this office he remained until the government was reorganized in October, 1740, when he was made president of the county of Savannah. A considerable part of his duty was to send to the Trustees a full account of Georgia affiairs, and Egmont writes frequently of the receipt of portions of Stephens's journal. The printed *Journal* is to be found in *Ga. Col. Recs.*, IV., and *Supplement.*

[5] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 53, 55-56; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 157-158.

That there are many among them mutinous for negroes, and for leave to have their tenure changed into fee simple, that they may sell or manage [mortgage] them to procure negroes.

That Mr. Robert Williams who indeed has been the best improver of land, has his own private advantage in procuring negroes to be suffered, because he traffics in them, but that as the Spaniards declare all negroes that run from the English free, and as Georgia is so near to Augustine, it would undo the Colony to suffer the people to have negroes, and enslave them to the merchants who should furnish them with negroes. . . .

Mr. Verelts . . . gave me several letters to peruse, brought by Thompson 19th August. . . .

2. A counter petition from the settlers at Darien (now called New Inverness) to that sent us from Savannah for having negroes, wherein these of Darien set forth the inconvenience of having negroes. Signed by 18.

3. A letter from Mr. Oglethorp to the Trustees from the camp at St. Simons, dated 16 January, against the admitting of negroes. . . . . .

6. Captain Hugh Mackay's deposition, 19 January 1738-9, that white men can work in Georgia in the heat of summer without injury or complaint.

7. Captain Demere's deposition to the same effect, 19 January 1738-9.

8. Lieut. George Dunbar's deposition to the same effect, 20 January 1738/9.

Wednesday, May 2 [*1739*, Common Council].[6] . . . We discoursed concerning the late application for negroes from sundry persons in Georgia, and I found everyone present much against it. . . .

Wednesday 9 [*May 1739*].[7] . . . Mr. Oglethorp's letter to me was to exhort the Trustees not to give way to negroes, or to a permission for the people to sell their land. . . .

Mr. Stephens' journal acquainted us that a conspiracy had been discovered in South Carolina (where they were four to one of the white inhabitants) to cut their masters' throats

Wednesday 16 [*May 1739*, Georgia Board].[8] He [Capt. Hugh Mackay] told me . . . they [the people of Frederic and Darien] were not for having negroes, for assuredly if they had they should not be able to prevent their running to the Spaniards.

[6] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 56-57.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 58.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 60; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 170.

Thursday 7 [*June 1739*, Robert Hows in answer to questions].[9] That he had long refused to sign the representation for negroes, because he feared they would take the work from white men's hands and impoverish them, as in the case of Charleston, where the tradesmen are all beggars by that means, and besides, there would be danger from negroes rising and cutting their throats; but the promoters of that application said the negroes should not be allowed to work at anything but producing rice (a labour too hard for white men), and in felling timber. . . . That they [the Scots] prevailed on others to sign on assuring them there should not be above two or three negroes to one white man. He granted on my reasoning with him, that the proposal was indiscreet considering our nearness to the Spaniards to whom the negroes would fly. . . .

Wednesday 27 [*June 1739*].[10] . . . We ordered two hundred copies of the Trust[ee]s' reply to the late application from Savannah for the use of the negroes, to be printed, in order to disperse it in the province.

Wednesday 12 [*September 1739,* Letter received from Hugh Anderson late overseer of the Public Gardens, who soon after moved to Charleston].[11] He said that without negroes and liberty to mortgage their lands for obtaining them the colony must sink; that people had spent all their substance in improving and were beggared by the dearness of wages to white servants, and the small return of their labours. . . .

It appeared to us that it was only calculated to persuade us to agree to a change of tenure and admission of negroes. . . .

Monday 5 [*November 1739*, Talk with Mr. Thomas Stephens].[12] We then talked of negroes, concerning whom he said that the people of Darien and Frederica, and of Ebenezer too, who had remonstrated against negroes, were all in their hearts for having them, but that they had been practised upon to declare against them, and particularly, Mr. Cuthbert, who commands some rangers, had been threatened to be turned out if he did not certify against them; and after he had done it, he wished his hand had been off before he signed.

He said he had read the Trustees' answer to the memorial in favour of negroes, which others who had seen it said was not satisfactory. . . .

[9] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 65-66; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 178. Hows had beeen clerk of the Savannah church.

[10] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 74; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 198. "20 Oct. Genl. Oglethorpe wrote to the Trustees. 1. That our printed answer to the Representation from Savannah, and Order relating to Negroes was arrived there and published, and had a very good effect." *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 240, vol. XXII., pt. 2, p. 250.

[11] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 82; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 227.

[12] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 88; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 245-246. Egmont's first conversation with Thomas Stephens was on Oct. 13. *Egmont MSS.*, III. 85; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 235.

Mr. Verelts then coming in we talked no more of these matters. He told me Mr. Williams, the great projector of the remonstrance in favour of negroes, was come, and was to be with him this morning. . . . . .

Wednesday 14 [*November 1739*].[13] Dined . . . with Mr. Ausperger late Surveyor at Frederica . . . as for being allowed to have negroes and liberty to sell, we could not gratify him; but if ever negroes should be allowed, they should be allowed him one of the first. He seemed satisfied, but said that negroes would be an advantage to the colony and might be allowed cautiously, as no more than an equal number to the whites, and to no danger of their cutting the white men's throats. . . .

Monday 4 [*February 1740*].[14] . . . I asked him [Thos. Stephens] what remedies he had proposed; he replied, the allowance of a limited number of negroes, and a change of our officers.

I said that as to negroes he would not find our Trustee for allowing them, that we wanted them not for the works, labours or produces we intend to carry on, and our nearness to the Spaniards would endanger their cutting the throats of the white men. Besides his father on whose good sense and observation we greatly relied, had ever expressed his aversion to negroes, and certainly, if they had lately rose in Carolina and cut the throats of 34 white men, for which 50 of them were put to death, as the last accounts inform us, how dangerous must it appear to suffer negroes in Georgia, where there are so [few] white men, and at a time when Spain makes all free that fly to Augustine.

He replied, he knew that without negroes the colony must drop: that let our produces be what they will, they cannot turn to account but with their help, and as to his father's opinion, he was afraid to write all the truth, being in fear of Mr. Oglethorpe, who is so ambitious, positive and vindicative that it was dangerous to thwart him in his views. That if an equal number of negroes were allowed in Georgia to that of white men there would be no danger. That laying it down as fact that the colony cannot subsist without them, all arguments of danger should give way thereto.

I said, the people were not able to buy or borrow them if the colony be in truth in so bad a state as he would have one think, and that supposing a man had credit for one he must be answerable to the merchant who should furnish him with one, in case the negro should die or run away, and so be utterly undone.

He said, the chance was not so great, for in four years the work of a negro would pay the price of him, and then the negro would be

[13] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 90; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 250-251.

[14] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 109-110; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 302-304. Just before this conversation the Trustees had been considering a debate in Commons on Georgia affairs. *Egmont MSS.*, III. 107-109; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 299-302.

his own; but should the case happen that the negro ran away or died before, it was only the undoing of one man, while many others would thrive by theirs, . . .

Wednesday 20 [*February 1740.* Present] [15] Mr. Digby, Egmont, Mr. Lapotre, Mr. Sloper, Chr. Towers, Lord Tirconnel, Mr. Vernon, Mr. Smith, Lord Shaftesbury, Sir William Heathcote. . . . There was laid before the gentlemen a computation of the difference between a person employing ten white men and ten negroes, by which young Mr. Stephens who drew it up pretended in figures and by distinct articles to show that by the labour of ten white servants the owner must be a loser in four years time of 119 *l*, but he who employs negroes a gainer of 193 *l*. But several of our gentlemen took notice that the estimate was partially made in favour of negroes, and Captain Dempsey, who was present and is well acquainted with Georgia, assured that white men if industrious could support themselves by their labours without negroes, and that if they were suffered, there would not be 50 out of 500 who would be found remaining after two months, for they would fly to the Spaniards at Augustine, and that it will not be fit to allow of negroes till all Florida be in our hands, for then the negroes will have no place to retire to, the Havannah being so far distant. I observed it was not the inclination of any gentlemen present to favour the admission of negroes. . . .

Friday 9 [*May 1740*].[16] . . . Lieut. Horton dined with me this day, to whom I read the state of Georgia which Mr. Thomas Stephens had wrote so disparagingly to the Trustees, at which he took great offence and said it was full of falsities and slander. . . .

2. That the people of Frederica had prepared a petition against the introduction of negroes and delivered the same into his hands, but that he advised them to drop it as wholly unnecessary since there was a law against it which they might be sure would not be repealed by the Trustees.

3. That there were a few Scots at Darien who wished for negroes, but it was only to satisfy their countrymen in the northern division, for they were such as, if they had negroes, never designed to cultivate.

19. That negroes would absolutely be the destruction of the colony if introduced, and the people were now all sensible of it. . . .

Thursday 26 [*June 1740.* At Georgia Office].[17] . . . We had a debate about contenting the inhabitants of our Province by further

[15] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 116; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 315.

[16] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 139, 140; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 347, 348. On May 7 Horton reported to the Trustees, "That the people are easy as to not having negroes, and those at Frederica would have petitioned against them, but that Colonel Oglethorpe did not think it necessary". *Egmont MSS.*, III. 137.

[17] *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 378-379.

alteration of their tenure, and allowing of negroes in some shape or other.

Mr. Lapotre was against it, but Mr. Vernon seemed inclined to do both, alleging as to negroes, that our law concerning them does not forbid free negroes from settling among us, but only the using them as slaves. That the preamble of the Act shows the prohibition is only of slaves, and by the law of England a free negro is as much a subject as a white man, and may set up any trade.

Mr. La Roch said the same, but it ought to be well considered before we allowed of free negroes to come into the province, for under colour of that, slaves flying from Carolina passed through our colony to Augustine, could not be known for slaves and therefore could not be taken up.

I said I was as yet against allowing free negroes for the reason Mr. La Roche gave, and because they working cheaper would thereby discourage and drive away white servants, though possibly being free, they might refuse to hire themselves at a cheaper rate than white men, in which case no prejudice could come, and I thought there was no danger of their running away or making insurrections, since they could go nowhere to better themselves, but on the contrary would be made slaves of.

Tuesday, July 1 [*1740*]. We [Mr. Verelts and Egmont] then discoursed of the admission of free negroes, and it seemed to us on reading the Negro Act that the negro slaves are forbid yet free negroes are not; for though it is forbid to use negroes, yet it is said, contrary to the intent of the Act, and by the preamble it appears the Act was only made against the use of negro slaves. I desired him to get the Attorney General's opinion thereon, for if the use of free negroes were allowed in our Province, they might perhaps hire themselves to the inhabitants at lower wages than the white servants, and it might content the inhabitants without their being slaves, and enable them to cultivate their lands, the dearness of labour being the great complaint.

398. Andrew Grant and others to the Trustees of Georgia, 1740.[1]

10 August 1740.

Honourable Gentlemen. . . . Because our Neighbouring Province (of which you are pleas'd to Take notice) has by an Introduction of Too great Numbers abus'd the use of Negroes: or Because an Un-

[398] [1] *Ga. Col. Recs.*, vol. XXII., pt. 2, pp. 411-412. "19 [Dec. 1740] . . . This day arrived a saucy letter to the Trustees from Savannah, dated 10 August, 1740, and signed by Bailey, Stirling, Grant, and Douglas, vilifying Col. Oglethorpe and divers of the Trust[ees] for refusing them the use of negroes." *Egmont MSS.*, III. 169-170.

doubted property in our Land possessions might prove Detrimental or hurtfull to Idle, profligate and abandon'd people; It does not at all follow, that we should be debarred the use of Negroes for the Feild or the more Laborious parts of Culture, under prudent Limitations.

. . . . . .

We are Surprized that your Honours mention The Representations of the people of the Darien, as a Confirmation of the Unreasonableness of our Demands: For Did your Honours know the motives by which these people were Induc'd to present you with one or more petitions, Contradictory to our Representation, the welfare of the Colony And their own Consciences, we are perswaded you Never would have Offer'd them as Reasons for Rejecting the Representation from Savannah! they were Bought with a Number of Cattle and Extensive promises of Future Rewards. . . . Whereas, the people of this place Duely Sensible of the miserys And Calamities they have Suffered and Do still Labour under, freely and Voluntarily put their hands To the Representation of this part of the province No Artful means were used, to Induce them to it; No Artfull man or men, Negroes Merchants or Others perswaded them to it; Dismal Poverty and the most Absolute Oppression were the True Fountains from whence our Complaints proceeded. . . .

399. Diary of the Earl of Egmont, 1741.

Tuesday 6 [January, 1740/1].[1] . . .

3. He [Thos. Stephens] said, the Scots were gone away undone by not being allow'd negroes. . . .

6. He then said the colony would come to nothing without negroes, and it was impossible for the people to maintain themselves without them. I answer'd his father thought otherwise, and we had many letters from private persons (not to us but to their relations and parents), declaring they could live by their labour: he said, they were hired to write so to their friends, and their friends hired to shew us those letters. . . .

7. He said he had a scheme for improving the silk that would bring tons yearly to England. I told him, I supposed negroes were at the end of it: he reply'd, yes. Then said I, I shall not hearken to it: for I am so sensible that they would cut the inhabitants' throats, I would not for the world be accessory thereto. He said, he would be but for 2 negroes to one white. I said, that was too many; but what must the poor widows and orphans do, how would they be safe? . . .

[399] [1] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 174-175; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 423-427. The *Records* give the date as Jan. 5.

Friday 6 [February 1740/1].[2] Richd. Lawley . . . gave me a very bad account of the colony.

1. That every one of the Jews were gone, and that Industrious Man Abraham De Lyon, on whom were all our expectations for cultivating vines and making wine. He said the reason was, the want of negroes, which cost but 6 pence a week to keep, whereas his white servants cost him more than he was able to afford: besides the money the Trustees ordered to be lent him, was paid him by driblets of 5 *l.* or 10 *l.* at a time which did him no service.

4. That the people gone away were really industrious, the Scotch excepted in the Northern division but they found without negroes they were not able to subsist. . . .

7. That every one is sensible of the want of negroes, and Frederica, tho' at first they were by the importunity of Lieut. Horton against having them, yet they afterwards gave him a petition to have negroes, which he would not take. N. B. This is the reverse of what the Lieutenant told the Trustees. . . .

16. . . . the want of negroes to fell trees makes lumber so dear that the Islands will not take it off the inhabitants' hands, so that having nothing to truck with, all trade is lost, and the people reduced to beggary, and discouraged from labour.

18. That if negroes were allowed, the colony would people apace, for 'tis very healthy and pays no taxes, so that Planters would bring their negroes from all quarters, and take up land and cultivate.

19. I said, the 50 acre lott would be destroyed for no merchant would lend them a negro on only 50 acres for security: he answered, the owners might become overseers of the other plantations, and besides, a number of rich planters would find employment for the lesser white men. I said, the negroes would be always running to the Spaniards, since they were assured of being made free and protected: he said, the regiment might guard the rivers and prevent it. . . .

Thursday 19 [March 1741].[3] . . . After dinner, Mr. Crockat, a merchant of Charleston (one of the 4 evidences summoned to appear tomorrow to witness against the Trustees) came to us, whom we questioned what he was summoned for. He replied he knew not, but Mr. Stephens had been with him. We asked him his opinion of

1. Negroes in Georgia. He said, the inhabitants should have negroes, and that at a moderate allowance, as 4 negroes to a family of 4 whites: but not as in Carolina, where there are too many, in so much that they had passed a law against introducing more into Charleston.

[2] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 188-189; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 451-453.
[3] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 201-202; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 475-478.

2. We asked him, what number of negroes and white men in Carolina? He said in 1737 there were 22,000 negroes, and about 5000 whites fighting men.

3. We asked him whether he thought Georgia having no negroes, did not prevent the negroes of Carolina from running to the Spaniards? He replied, he knew of none we had stopt.

4. I said, Captain Gascoign stopt 3, and Mr. Christie two.

5. I asked him the price of a negro. He said, one with another, 20 *l.* I told him a person who settled in Georgia had sold his 2 negroes for 42 *l.* each.[4] He replied, here and there a particular negro might be worth that, and he has one he would not sell for 70 *l.*

6. I asked him if he thought a freeholder in Georgia of 50 acres only could be credited with a negro. He said no. Why then (replied I) what must become of them if landholders of 500 acres should use them, and they have none? He replied they might be overseers to the negroes of the richer men. I said, a few might find that employment, but what must the rest do? He replied, all the white men in Georgia might find that employment in Carolina. I said that would depopulate Georgia. He replied no: for if we allowed negroes, there would a thousand come to settle there, and people who had negroes would help white men to live. That the colony would be stronger with 1000 negroes to 1000 white men, than with 500 white men without negroes.

7. We said, negroes might cut the throats of our people, and run to the Spaniards. He said, if negroes are well used, they never run. We said, negroes who were thought so faithful by their Carolina masters, as to be trusted to be masters of petiaguas, and overseers of others have run: to which he replied nothing. . . .

10. That a man may keep 6 negroes for one white Servant.

11. He owned that where there are negroes, a white man despises to work, saying, what, will you have me a slave and work like a negroe? But he said, if such white man had negroes of his own he would work in the field with them.

12. I told him I knew of 3 white men who left Charleston or some other part of Carolina last year, and came to Georgia to take land, complaining they could not live in Carolina by reason the negroes underwrought them. He said he believed they went for some other reason. . . .

14. He owned that Carolina had too many negroes and the laws against their number were not, neither could be kept to. I said, that would be the case in Georgia, if negroes were allowed there under limitations. . . .

[4] The *Records* (p. 475) gives this as "2 Negroes for 80 £".

16. He said that 40 years ago much silk was made in Carolina, but they had left it because rice was more profitable. I said if negroes were allowed in Georgia the people would also follow rice and not go on the silk. . . .

Saturday 14 [*November 1741*].[5] . . . Mr. Bofine is very lately returned from his plantation at Purysburg . . . told me. . . .

5. That without negroes they could not cultivate rice.

6. That having no rice, the only thing left for export is lumber, but the West Indies will not take their lumber, because Georgia is not allowed to import rum in exchange, which yet is drunk in as great quantity as if it had free access, on which account the people are very uneasy. . . .

400. Journal of Colonel William Stephens, 1741.[1]

Saturday [*Oct. 24, 1741*]. Some of the People of Augusta having Plantations on the Carolina Side of the River, as well as in Georgia, where they find it more advantageous to settle, and carry on the Trade with the Indians, together with making great Improvement on their lands; by such Means they have an Opportunity of sliding two or three Negroes now and then at a Pinch into their Plantations, where during their skulking a while (which is not hard to conceive, considering the great extent of the Township of Augusta, by reason of large Tracts of Land) they are not presently to be discovered.

401. Colonel William Stephens to the Trustees of Georgia, 1741.[1]

Savannah Decr. 31st 1741.

. . . What they so positively affirm, that they are at least 100 Negroes made use of by the Inhabitants of Augusta, without which, not one Settler would live on that Side of the River; is another Instance of their Labour to magnify Molehills into Mountains; for notwithstanding their quick Sightedness beyond all others, I could never make such a Discovery: 'tis confess'd, I have had Hints given me of some secret Contrivances that way: and Notice has been taken by what Arts it has been conceal'd: one Remark more particularly was lately made by me, how such Practices crept in by Stealth (*vide* 24th Octr.) but I hope these bold Assertors will not offer to maintain, that any the least Connivance (much less Approbation) has been shewn towards such clandestine Doings; nor deny that they have not only been countenanc'd, but also strictly forbidden, by those in Authority here: and Caution given to prevent it: and is it probable then, that such a Num-

[5] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 229-230.

[400] [1] "Journal of Colonel William Stephens", in *Ga. Col. Recs.*, IV., *Suppl.*, p. 272.

[401] [1] *Ga. Col. Recs.*, XXIII. 185-186.

ber can lay conceal'd like Bays's Army at Knights Bridge in Disguise?
. . . . . .

402. Diary of the Earl of Egmont, 1742.

Saturday 16 [*January 1742*].[1] . . . I found him [Mr. Bofine] now of opinion that it would endanger the Colony to have negroes.

At parting, he desired me to write favourably of him to General Oglethorpe, with whom he desired to live in friendship. I told him I would, and if he would be against negroes in Georgia, the General would soon be his friend. . . .

11 March 1742.[2] Mr. Keneth Baillie . . . inform'd me. . . .

8. That 'twere not safe to allow of Negroes whilst Augustine remains in the Spaniards hands, but if taken it is necessary they should be allow'd, for the white Men are not able to work some hours in the Sumer, and by frequent sickness are so great an expence to the Inhabitants, that their labour will not quit cost. . . .

14. That Benjamin Mackintosh who had left Darien had taken a plantation at Purysburg, and for encouragement had 4 Negroes imediately advanced him. . . .

16. That numbers who had left the Colony would return if Negroes were allow'd, and many from Carolina would do so too.

17. That if allow'd, it would not be so easie for them to run away as we imagine, because generally confind to their Masters Plantation, and unacquainted with the woods: and that they never go but when led by other Negroes who know the roads and passes.

18. That our white Inhabitants are mortified to think that they really fare harder than the Negroes, who being allow'd land and Sunday to work for themselves are no charge to speak of to their Masters, and sell the little produces they raise for money.

403. Colonel William Stephens to Benjamin Martyn, 1742.[1]

Savannah 1 Decr. 1742.

S'r, . . . I do not conceive that from what you are pleased to write in your last, concerning Negros, it is expected I should enter into the Argument of their utility comparatively with white men, and take upon me to give reasons why the honble. Trust[ees] have not thought it hitherto expedient to allow the use of 'em in this Colony; since I find That already done so judiciously, and with such clear Strength of Reason publish'd to the World in the Year 1741; That I think it unanswerable: but for as much as I observe from what you

[402] [1] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 242.
[2] *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 605-606.
[403] [1] *Ga. Col. Recs.*, XXIII. 442-447. Benjamin Martyn was secretary to the Trustees.

write, that several Gentlemen of Eminence in Trade had given to the Trust[ees] their Opinion in favour of Negros, under proper Regulations and Restrictions; what they are pleased to expect from me now (I think) is, my opinion how Negros can be admitted here consistently with the safety of the Province: which therefore is the Point I am to stick to.

If tis meant without exception as to time, I apprehend the answer is so obvious, and past all controversy, that twill admit of no disquisition: for during the War we have with the Spaniards, and Augustine remaining in their hands, it is impracticable with Safety to make use of Negros in Georgia; which is a Frontier of such a nature, that I conceive it impossible, even for the General, to prevent their escape to the Enemy; tho' his whole Regiment were appointed to keep a Guard for that purpose; as his Excellence has at this time, divers Troops of Rangers appointed by him, to watch and examine persons of all kinds, passing to, and fro' wherever they are found: nevertheless Negros, seeking for liberty, were they now among us, would soon find means, by untrodden paths thro' a Wilderness of thick Woods, to flee to Augustine so near us as tis; more especially when they will not only obtain their promised freedome, but also have Arms put into their hands, and become a part of their Army to fight against us.

Presuming what I have so far said, to be undeniable; it is next to be considered with what safety they can be admitted in time of Peace. As I have always professed my own natural Aversion to keeping Slaves; and still (were it in my choice) would rather prefer keeping of white Servants, if they might be had for moderate Wages; perhaps I may be looked on as prejudiced in my opinion: but since it has fullyly appeared, that there is little or no likelyhood of supplying this Colony wth a competent number of those, to make such improvement in Cultivation of Land as is to be wishd, and at this very time most of our ablest young people, have rather chosen to go into the Publick Service, (either in Scout boats, or as Rangers etc.) than labour in clearing and improving of Land, which too many of 'em shew an aversion to. For these reasons, if the Use of Negros is admitted after the War; tis natural that I should (among others) be dealing for a few also: and in such case I am to offer such regulations and restrictions as occurr to me necessary to be observed, for the future preservation and advantage of the Colony: which I shall endeavour, with due deference to better Judgments, and with a perfect impartiality.

1. If Augustine remains in the Spaniards hands at the conclusion of this War (the contrary of which must be wishd for, by all good Englishmen, who have experienced already too much what a Thorn they are in our side in times of Peace) it ought not to be supposed but that due care would be taken in a Treaty of Peace, effectually to prevent

any runaway Negros from being received or entertaind by the Spaniards, either at Augustine, or in any other of their Settlements on Florida: wherein too much care can not be had to prevent their eluding such an Article again, as has been formerly practiced, and which they are very fond of. But in case of any future Rupture betwixt the two Nations, and Augustine still in the hands of the Spaniards; what the consequence then might be, of the negro's revolting to the Enemy, who by that time might probably be some thousands in Number; I must leave to the consideration of those, whose capacitys reach far beyond mine.

2. As to the proportion necessary for the safety of the Colony, how many Negros may be allowed towards carrying on Plantation Work; I conceive that any number not exceeding 4 at most will require one white man, of Growth and Strength sufficient for bearing Arms in defence of his King and Country, always to attend; and either work with 'em, or at least constantly inspect 'em: as well to see them properly employd in the Day time, as to secure them at nights: for which reason such white man must make his abode on the Plantation: and in that case, if the Owner himself shall at any time chuse to continue on his Plantation, to see his own Work carried on, he may be understood to be such a White man as here meant; otherwise he must employ one for that purpose: and whether he himself or a Servant under him be so employd; strickt care should be taken, that Arms of all kinds be kept out of the power of Negros coming at them.

3. Whereas the reason given for the use of Negros has been principally, if not wholly, an Impossibility of clearing land to any degree, and cultivating it without 'em: it tacitly implys, that they are not wanted on any other occasion: which indeed I think: and therefore they ought not to be allowd in Towns, or any where, but on Plantation work: under which term it is to be understood, that rowing in a Boat on his Masters Service, or going to and from one Town or place to another, on the same, is included; since it may conduce to the improvemt. of his Plantation: for a greater liberty would be a great discouragement to labouring white people coming to live among us; who by such means would find little Room to work; as many of our Deserters to Carolina have sadly experienced, contrary to their Expectations: where Negros take off all occasion of white men being hired: and if the case is so, with respect to Day labourers only; much more then ought there to be here a total prohibition of Negro's occupying or learning any trade; which must inevitably contribute to the unpeopling of this Colony. Nor should the Master of such Negros be permitted to let them out to hire for wages which would confirm the practice of converting them to no other use, that putting so much money in his pocket, wherewith to live idle, and voluptuously; as tis

most notorious was the case of too many among us formerly who were the first, that upon their Servts. times expiring, and that Fond failing began to be clamorous, and to perswade the World to believe, they were driven hence thro' fear of starving.

These thoughts of mine (such as they are) I have ventured to offer, in Obedience to their Honours commands: humbly submitting it to their Judgments, whether they are of any Validity or not: as also what other determination they'll please to come to, in divers circumstances which will naturally occurr to their considerations; such as what age Negro Children must be of, before they are deemd sufficient to be accounted able Slaves etc.

404. The Reverend John Martin Bolzius to the Reverend George Whitefield, 1745.[1]

Ebenezer Dec. 24th 1745.

Revd. and Dear Sir, Besides the Blessings, the Lord was pleased to impart to my Soul in your and Mrs. Whitefield's Conversation, I felt many Griefs and troubles in my heart Since my Return from Bethesda and Savannah, arising from the unhappy News, I heard at Savannah and from your Self, that you are induced to petition the Honble. Trustees for giving their Consent to the Introduction of Negroes into this our Colony, for which you think to be Under Necessity with Respect to the Maintainance of the Orphan House. Dont be amazed, Sir at my Boldness to write to you in this Secular Affair, in which I would not meddle at all, if not the Love to your Worthy person, to my Congregation and to this Colony Oblidged me to it. For the Introduction of Negroes inconsistent with the prayseworthy Scheme of the Honble. Trustees our Lawful and Bountiful Superiours, will be very Mischievous to the happy Settling of this Colony, and Especially to the poor white Labouring people in many Respects, and the Sighs of them would be unprofitable for you or any other, who joins with the principles and aims of the Wishers for Negroe Overseer. A Common white Labourer white Man of the meaner Sort can get his and his Family's Livelyhood honestly in Carolina, except he embraces the Sorry Imploy of a Negroe Overseers. A Common white Labourer in Charles-Town (I am told) has no more Wages, than a Negroe for his work *Viz.* 7 *s.* Cur. or 12 *d.* Sterl. a Day, for which it is in my Opinion impossible to find Victuals, Lodging and washing, much less Cloaths. In case he would Settle and Cultivate a plantation, is not all good and Convenient Ground at the Sea Coasts and Banks of the Rivers taken up in Large Quantities by the Merchants and Other Gentlemen? Con-

[404] [1] *Ga. Col. Recs.*, XXIV. 434-444. Two years later the Reverend John Bolzius wrote to Benjamin Martyn, "They call me the fountain of all evils, which they fancy to fall upon them on account of the prohibition of Negroes". *Ibid.*, XXV. 200.

sequently the poor white Inhabitants are forced to possess Lands, remote from the Conveniencys of Rivers and from Town to their great Disappointment to Sell their produce. Being not inclined to give their Produce of their Plantations or Other Sort of Work for Such a Low price, as Negroes can afford, they find no market, then they are discouraged and Obliged to Seek their Livelihood in the Garrisons, Forts, Scout-Boats, Trading Boats or to be imploy'd amongst the Negroes upon a Gentleman's Plantation, or they are forced to take Negroes upon Credit, of which they will find in Process of time the Sad Consequences on Account of their Debts. I hear the Negroes in Carolina learn all Sorts of trade, which takes away the bread of a poor white trades' man Like wise.

I have Considered the Strength of your Arguments by which you seem to be induced to promote the Introduction of Negroes, as far as it lyes in your power.

First you think the Providence of God has Appointed this Colony rather for the work of black Slaves than for Europians, because of the hot Climate, to which the Negroes are better used than white people.

But, Dear Sir, give me Leave to say, that every honest Labourer amongst us will testify the Contrary and that in some parts of Germany in the Middle of the Summer being the Only Season there to make Hay, and to bring in their Crop, is as hot as here. And if it be so, that in the 3 Months of the Summer it is too hot for white people to work with the hoe in the field, is it so with the plow Can they not Chuse the Morning and Afternoon Hours for Labouring in the Field? Have they not 9 Months in the Year time Enough to prepare the Ground for Europian and Countrey Grain? Which preference they enjoy not in the Northern Parts, by Reason of the Deep Snow and the Exceeding Cold Weather.[2] . . .

II. Your Second Argument for the Introduction of Negroes was, that the Trustees have laid out about 250,000 Pounds Sterl. for Establishing this Colony, and almost to no purpose.[3] . . . There are so many Thousands of Protestants in Germany, who would embrace eagerly an Invitation to this Colony, if they could meet with Encouragement, as they will in time, and it is a Thousand pity, that you will help to make this Retirement and Refuge for poor persecuted or Necessitous Protestants, a Harbour of Black Slaves, and deprive them of the benefit to be Settled here. . . .

III. Your third Argument was, that you have laid out great Sums of Money for Building and Maintaining the Orphan House, which you

[2] The writer argues that the inhabitants are really better off than those of the northern colonies, where haying must be done in the heat of summer.

[3] Bolzius's answer here is that the colony has been settled with the wrong kind of inhabitants.

could not continue without Negroes, and this be the Case of Other Gentlemen in the Colony.

But let me intreat you, Sir, not to have regard for a Single Orphan House, and to Contribute Some thing Mischievous to the Overthrow of the prayseworthy Scheme of the Trustees with Respect to the whole Colony.[4]

IV. Your Last Argument for Negroes was, as I remember, that you intended to bring them to the Knowledge of Christ.

But, Sir, my Heart wishes, that first the White people in the Colony and Neighbourhood may be brought to the Saving and Experimental Knowledge of Christ. As long as they are for this World, and take Advantage of the poor black Slaves, they will increase the Sins of the Land to a great Heighth. If a Minister had a Call to imploy his Strength and time to Convert Negroes, he has in Carolina a Large Field. Dont believe, Sir, the Language of those persons, who wish the Introduction of Negroes under pretence of promoting their Spiritual Happiness, as well as in a Limited Number and under some Restrictions. I am sure, that if the Trustees allow'd to one thousand White Settlers so many Negroes, in a few Years you would meet in the Streets, So as in Carolina, with many Malattoes, and many Negroe Children, which in process of time will fill the Colony. The Assembly in Carolina have made good Laws and Restrictions in favour of the White people, but how many are, who pay regard and Obedience to them? not better would fare the Restrictions and Good Laws of the Trustees. I will not mention the great Danger, to which we are exposed by the Introduction of Negroes with Respect to the Spaniards, and it is a Groundless thing, to say, that one of the Articles of Peace with Spain must be not to give Shelter to the Negroes at Augustine, who would run away.[5] . . .

405. Repeal of the Act excluding Negroes, 1750.[1]

May it please Your Majesty,

The Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America in pursuance of the Powers and in Obedience to the Directions to them

[4] The burden of the writer's answer is that it would be better to sacrifice an orphan's home than to drive from the colony all the poor laboring people.

[5] The danger from the Spanish and the Providence which had thus far preserved the colony occupy the remainder of the letter. Determination to have negroes was waxing in the colony. On June 11, 1746, John Dobell wrote to the Trustees: "My Lord they are stark Mad after Negroes, and this is the Cause that they endeavour to Poison and spoil all the Trustees good Designs. This is the Cause why Coll. Stephens stirred up his son to act openly against the Trustees, and this is the Cause why he continues the same opposition against the Trustees to this Day secretly." *Ga. Col. Recs.*, XXV. 72.

[405] [1] *Ga. Col. Recs.*, I. 56. In May, 1748, the president and assistants of Georgia wrote to Secretary Martyn that some people of South Carolina had petitioned for Georgia lands, intending to introduce negroes, and that already several families had moved into Georgia with their negroes. The order had been given to seize the negroes, but

given by Your Majesty's most Gracious Charter humbly lay before Your Majesty the following Law Statute and Ordinance which they being for that purpose assembled have prepared as fit and necessary for the Government of the said Colony and which They most humbly present under their Common Seal to Your most Sacred Majesty in Council for your Majesty's most Gracious Approbation and Allowance.

> An Act for repealing an Act Intituled (An Act for rendering the Colony of Georgia more defensible by prohibiting the Importation and Use of Black Slaves or Negroes into the same) and for permitting the Importation and Use of them in the Colony under proper Restrictions and Regulations, and for other Purposes therein mentioned.

Whereas an Act was passed by his Majesty in Council in the Eighth Year of his Reign Intituled (an Act for rendering the Colony of Georgia more defensible by prohibiting the Importation and Use of Black Slaves or Negroes into the same) by which Act the Importation and Use of Black Slaves or Negroes in the said Colony was absolutely prohibited and forbid under the Penalty therein mentioned and whereas at the time of passing the said Act the said Colony of Georgia being in its Infancy the Introduction of Black Slaves or Negroes would have been of dangerous Consequence but at present it may be a Benefit to the said Colony and a Convenience and Encouragement to the Inhabitants thereof to permit the Importation and Use of them into the said Colony under proper Restrictions and Regulations without Danger to the said Colony as the late War hath been happily concluded and a General Peace established. Therefore we the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America humbly beseech Your Majesty that it may be Enacted And be it enacted That the said Act and every Clause and Article therein contained be from henceforth repealed and made void and of none Effect and be it Further Enacted that from and after the first day of January in the Year of Our Lord One thousand seven hundred and fifty it shall and may be lawful to import or bring Black Slaves or Negroes into the Province of Georgia in America and to keep and use the same therein under the Restrictions and Regulations hereinafter mentioned and directed to be observed concerning the same And for that purpose be it Further Enacted that from and after the said first day of January in the Year

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if this were done it would drive Georgia inhabitants into Carolina. They advised the Trustees to give up the attempt to exclude negroes (*ibid.*, XXV. 290-294). Of the attitude of the magistrates toward the incursion of negroes Alexander Heron wrote, "Its well known to every one in the Colony that Negroes have been in and about Savannah for these several Years that the Magistrates knew and wink'd at it and that their constant Toast is the one thing needful by which is meant Negroes" (*ibid.*, p. 295). For deliberations preliminary to this repeal see *ibid.*, pp. 347-348.

of Our Lord One thousand seven hundred and fifty it shall and may be lawful for every Person inhabiting and holding and cultivating Lands within the said Province of Georgia and having and constantly keeping one white Man Servant on his own Lands capable of bearing Arms and aged between sixteen and sixty five Years to have and keep four Male Negroes or Blacks upon his Plantation there and so in Proportion to the Number of such white Men Servants capable of bearing Arms and of such Age as aforesaid as shall be kept by every Person within the said Province And Be It Further Enacted that every Person who shall from and after the said first day of January in the Year of Our Lord One thousand seven hundred and fifty have and keep more than four Male Negroes or Blacks to every such Male Servant as aforesaid contrary to the Intent and true Meaning of this Act shall forfeit the Sum of Ten pounds Sterling Money of Great Britain for every such Male Negroe or Black which he shall have and keep above the said Number and shall also forfeit the further Sum of Five pounds of like Money for each Month after during which he shall retain and keep such Male Negroe or Black the said several Sums of Ten pounds and Five pounds to be recovered and applyed in such manner as is hereinafter mentioned and be it Further Enacted that no Artificer within the said Province of Georgia (Coopers only excepted) shall take any Negroe or Black as an Apprentice nor shall any Planter or Planters within the said Providence lend or let out to any other Planter or Planters within the same any Negroe or Negroes Black or Blacks to be employed otherwise than in manuring and cultivating their Plantations in the Country. . . . And be it Further Enacted that all and every Negroe and Negroes Black and Blacks which shall be imported into or born within the said Province of Georgia shall be registered in a proper Office or Offices to be kept for that Purpose within the said Province and that no Sale of any such Negroe or Negroes Black or Blacks shall be good or valid unless the same be duly registered as aforesaid. And that Inquisitions shall be made and taken once in every Year (or oftner if need shall be) into the several Registers thereof by Juries to be impannelled for that purpose within the several Districts of the said Province who shall immediately after such Inquisition make their several Reports and Returns to the President and Magistrates of the said Province and whereas the permitting Ships with Negroes or Blacks to send them on Shore when ill of contagious Distempers (particularly the Yellow Fever) must be of the most dangerous Consequence Therefore for the Prevention of so great a Calamity be it further enacted that no Ship which shall bring any Negroes or Blacks to the said Province shall land any Negroe or Negroes Black or Blacks within the said Province until such Ship shall have been visited by the proper Officer or Officers of the said Province

for that purpose and shall have obtained a Certificate of Health And that no Ship which shall come to the said Province with Negroes or Blacks shall come nearer to the said Province than Cockspur at the Mouth of the River Savannah but that every such Ship shall first anchor and remain there until such Ship shall have been visited by the proper Officer or Officers And if upon Inspection any such Ship shall be found to be infected such Ship shall perform such Quarantine in Tybee Creek in the River Savannah as by the President and Assistants of the said Province shall be from time to time ordered and directed. And to the End that due Care may be taken of the Crews of such infected Ships and of the Negroes brought therein be it further enacted that a Lazaretto be forthwith built within the said Province under the Direction and Inspection of the President and Magistrates thereof on the West Side of Tybee Island in the said River Savannah for the Use and Convenience of the said Colony where the whole Crews of such infected Ships and the Negroes brought therein may be conveniently lodged and assisted with Medecines and accommodated with Refreshments to be provided at the Expence of the Captain of the Ship And in Case any Master of a Ship shall attempt to land any Negroes in any other Part of the Colony except as aforesaid he shall for the said Offence forfeit the Sum of Five hundred pounds Sterling Money of Great Britain And in Case he shall land any Negroes before his Ship is visited and the proper Certificate of Health obtained or not perform the full Quarantine directed he shall for the said Offence not only forfeit the like Sum of Five Hundred pounds but also the Negroes on board the said Ship The said Forfeitures to be recovered and applied in such manner as is herein after mentioned and be it further enacted that if any Person or Persons shall not permit or even oblige his or their Negroe or Negroes Black or Blacks to attend at some time on the Lords Day for Instruction in the Christian Religion in such Place and Places as the Protestant Ministers of the Gospel within the said Province shall be able to attend them contiguous to the Residence of such Negroe or Negroes Black or Blacks such Person or Persons shall for every such Offence forfeit the Sum of Ten pounds Sterling Money of Great Britain to be recovered and applied in such manner as is hereinafter mentioned. . . . To which the Common Seal was affixed the Eighth day of August 1750.

406. Negroes imported into Georgia, 1755-1767.[1]

Ships that have entered Savannah, Georgia, Mar. 25–Dec. 25, 1755

Date	Name	Master	Where and When Built	Where and When Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
May 3	Brig. *Cumberland*	Gidn. Manchester	Warwick 1746	Rhode Island, Feb. 28, 1753	Gidn. Manchester, John Mawney, John Green	8	Jamaica
" "	Coast Schooner *Dove*	Davd. Drummond	S. Carolina 1754	Chas. Town,Feb. 25, 1754	Jacob Bond, Willm. Glen, John Cooper	8	South Carolina
Aug. 4	Coast Schooner *Endeavour*	Davd. Cunningham	Georgia 1747	Georgia, Aug. 21, 1747	Fras. Harris, James Habersham	6	" "
Oct. 6	Coast Schooner *Nancy*	Bryan Foskey	South Carolina 1742	Charles Town, Oct. 24, 1753	Bryan Foskey, James Marsh	9	" "
Nov. 3	Sloop *Margaret*	Telamorr Phenix	New York 1752	New York, Apr. 8, 1752	John West, Eglt. Scoomaker, Philip Borroway	2	New York
Dec. 8	Brigg *Pompey*	Peter Dordin[2]	New England 1753	Rhode Island, Dec. 10, 1753	Robt. Crooke, William Vernon, Peter Dordin	18	Rhode Island

Dec. 25, 1755–Dec. 26, 1756.

Jan. 27	Schooner *Franklin*	Thomas Bruce	New England 1750	Tortolas, Feb. 13, 1755	John Warner, James Park	20	Saint Christopher's
May 18	Sloop *Isabella*	Isaac Martin	" " 1748	Georgia, Dec. 30, 1755	Patr. Mackay	4	Jamaica
" 19	Schoonr. *Pelican*	Daniel Harriott	" " 1742	Saint Christopher, Apr. 12, 1756	Lumley Woodyears, John Warner, Thomas Brucen	38	Saint Christophers
Aug. 25	Sloop *Prince William*	Remington Arnold	" " 1746	Rhode Island, May 4, 1756	Jona. Nichols, Willm. Mumford, Edward Cole	5	Jamaica

[406] [1] C. O. 5: 709. Signed by William Russell, naval officer. The quarterly lists have been combined and the dates adjusted. The *S. C. Gazette*, Mar. 20, 1755, reported that a brigantine carrying negroes infected with smallpox had, a few days before, anchored off the bar, but had since sailed for Georgia.

[2] See this work, vol. III., index.

Dec. 26, 1756–Nov. 19, 1757[3]

Mar. 28	Snow *Bassaterre*	Eliezar Oswald	Taken from his Majesty's Subjects and retaken by the Privateer Brigg *Sally*, Capt. Cook	Saint Christopher, Jan. 25, 1757	Wm. Wells Junr., Thos. Lambert	2	Saint Christopher's
Aug. 17	Schooner *Fair Susannah*	Thomas Bruce	New England 1754	Georgia, Mar. 31, 1757	Thos. Bruce, John Warner, Lum. Woodyears	6	Saint Christopher's

Nov. 4, 1760–Jan. 5, 1761[4]

Nov. 6	Brigg *Milford*	John Blan	Erwin Scotland 1751	Jamaica, Aug. 27, 1760	Jeremiah Meyler, Charles Hall, Alexander Terry	19	Jamaica
" 14	Sloop *Arbuthnot*	John Knox	French Prize	Savannah, July 22, 1760	Francis Gosse	15	Santa-Croix
Dec. 13	Ship *Nancy*	Walter McAulay	" "	Kingston, Jamaica, July 13, 1759	Jeremiah Meyler, Charles Hall, Alexander Terry	17	Jamaica
" 16	Brigg *Elizabeth*	David Gray	" "	Kingston, Jamaica, Nov. 8, 1760 (Licience)	William Ramadge	10	"
" 29	Sloop *Catherine*	Josiah Batchelder	" "	Boston, July 4, 1759	John Tasker, James Freeman	6	St. Christophers

Jan. 5–Apr. 5, 1761

Feb. 19	Schooner *Popes Head*	Willm. Adams	New England 1753	Antigua, Dec. 24, 1760	William Jarvis	2	Antigua

[3] The *Boston News Letter*, July 28, 1757, mentioned a "Mr. Jagger's Vessel who came to settle in Georgia with 60 Negroes". In 1759 Peleg Thurston was informed by a Savannah correspondent that likely young slaves would bring from £37 to £40 per head. N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

[4] The reports which follow are signed by John Talley, naval officer.

[*Negroes imported into Georgia*—continued:]

Jan. 5–Apr. 5, 1762

Date	Name	Master	Where and When Built	Where and When Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Mar. 23	Schooner *Rachel and Sally*	Joseph Holmes	New England 1755	New York, Oct. 30, 1761	David Fenton, Joseph Holmes	5	Curacoa
" 31	Brigantine *Betsey*	James Walden	Philadelphia 1754	St. Christophers, Feb. 3, 1762	Edward Tannatt	18	St. Christophers
" "	Sloop *Amherst*	James Dunbar	Rhode Island 1757	St. Christophers, Oct. 14, 1761	James Freeman, James Dunbar	8	St. Martins

Jan. 5, 1763–Jan. 5, 1764

Feb. 7	Sloop *Fanny*	Thos. Stevenson	Prize	St. Christophers, Jan. 6, 1762	Isaac Lyon, Thoms. Stevenson, William Neale	8	St. Christophers
" 21	Sloop *Polly and Betsey*	John Hamer Junr.	Massachusetts Bay 1761	Montseratt, Jan. 13, 1763	John Hamer, Kenedy Mulker	5	Montseratt
Mar. 25	Brig *Darby*	Israel Boardman	Connecticut 1761	New Haven, Conn., Dec. 22, 1761	William Clark, Ebenezar Keany, Phils. Mills	6	St. Christophers
Apr. 6	Brigantine *Betsey*	Daniel Campbell	British Built	Savannah, Oct. 11, 1762	Robert Stewart, Andrew Irvin		St. Croix
" 11	Schooner *Friendship*	John Morey	" purchased the Island of Curracoa	New York, Oct. 20, 1762	James Spencer, John Ellis	10	Curacoa
July 12	Schooner *Friendship*	John Morey	Plantation Built	New York, Oct. 20, 1762	James Spencer, John Ellis	10	"
Aug. 20	Brigantine *Lileah and Susannah*	Jacob Anderson	N. England 1762	Savannah, Apr. 12, 1763	Lewis Johnson, Alexander Wylly	60	St. Kitts
" 30	Schooner *Nancy*	Thomas Banks	" " "	Piscataqua, Dec. 17, 1762	Thomas Parsons, Enoch Poor, Theodore Carleton	2	St. Christophers and St. Martins
Sept. 16	Sloop *Georgia* Packet	Isaac Martin	A Prize	Antigua, Aug. 19, 1762	John Barrow Junr, Edwd. Somerville, Isaac Martin	6	Antigua
Oct. 14	Brigantine *Oxford*	George Anderson	A Prize	the Havannah, Jan. 12, 1763	George Anderson	18	Jamaica
Dec. 26	Schooner *Pope's Head*	William Adams	N. England 1753	Antigua, Dec. 24, 1760	William Jarvis	10	Antigua [5]

[5] The *Georgia Gazette*, Jan. 19, 1764, reported the incoming negroes between Oct. 10, 1763, and Jan. 15, 1764, as 32. The only arrival reported in the Naval Lists between Jan. 5 and Jan. 15 was that of the *Providence*, with ten negroes. The next reports (*Gazette*, Apr. 12,

Jan. 14	Brig *Providence*	John Higgin	A Prize	Liverpoole, Apr. 13, 1763	James Clemens, Thomas Wyclift, Richard Trafford	10	Montserrat
Feb. 6	Ship *Brotherly Love*	Elisha Bell	River Thames 1750	London, Nov. 17, 1762	George and Elisha Bell	15	Jamaica
" 28	Sloop *Elizabeth*	Obadiah Morgan	Bermuda 1763	Bermuda, May 26, 1763	Obadiah Morgan, Daniel Bascome, Samuel Bascome, Robert Davenport	23	Curracoa
Apr. 16	Sloop *Coecilia*	Andrew Wilson	A Prize	Dec. 23, 1761	Charles Hall, Jeremiah Meyler	6	Jamaica
May 1	Schooner *Robert*	Thomas Banks	Piscataqua 1762	Mar. 20, 1764	Robert Turner, Thomas Sheppard	6	Granada
June 26[7]	Schooner *Friendship*	John Morey	Plantation built	Oct. 20, 1762	James Spencer, John Ellis	7	Curracoa

Ships that have entered Sunbury, Georgia, July 5–Oct. 5, 1764[8]

Aug. 18	Sloop *Recovery*	John Dunseom	Virginia 1760	Tortola, 1764	Ed. Bishop	16	St. Kitts
Sept. 19	Snow "	Joseph Wake	" 1747	Savannah, 1764	Dunbar Young, Simpson, Jo. Wake	4	Jamaica

Ships that have entered Savannah, Georgia, July 5, 1764–Jan. 5, 1765

Aug. 30	Sloop *Betsey*	John Benson	A Prize	Jamaica, May 12, 1764	John Buchanan, David Montaigut	11	Jamaica
Sept. 10	Schooner *Pitt*	Hy. Richardson	Philadelphia 1761	Philadelphia, Dec. 2, 1761	Henry Richardson	1	So. Carolina
" 13	Sloop *Polly*	Wm. Phillips	Bermuda 1760	Montserrat, Nov. 15, 1763	Kennedy Mulkere, Robert King, John Clay	4	Montserrat
" 19	" *Charming Kitty*	John Earle	A Prize	Savannah, June 19, 1764	William Wylly, James Stone, John Earle	28	Tortola
" 24	Ship *Albemarle*	Wm. Tatem	" "	Jamaica, July 14, 1764	Charles Hall, Jeremiah Meyler	5	Jamaica

[6] C. O. 5: 710. The *Gazettes* for 1764 contain many advertisements of "new negroes" for sale but the name of the incoming vessel is seldom given. The advertisers are most frequently Johnson and Wylly, the latter perhaps the Alexander Wylly who was speaker of the Georgia assembly in 1764. The names of George Cuthbert, Andrew Darling, John Graham, Gordon and Netherclift, Cowper and Telfairs are also affixed to notices of sales.

[7] "To be sold at publick vendue, for ready money, on Thursday the 9th inst. at the plantation late John Spencer's five miles from Savannah on the Augusta road, Nine New Negroe Men, as likely as any ever brought into this province, lately imported from the Gold Coast. Any person inclinable to purchase all or any of the said negroes before the day of sale, may apply to the subscribers. The negroes are now, and will continue till the day of sale, at Mr. Wylly's plantation on Savannah river. JOHNSON and WYLLY." *Ga. Gazette*, Aug. 2, 1764.

[8] This report is signed "Fra. Lee, Dep'y N'l Off." Those which follow are signed by Talley.

[*Negroes imported into Georgia*—continued:]

Date	Name	Master	Where and When Built	Where and When Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Oct. 14	Schooner *Isabella*	Isaac Martin	Condemned for illicit trade	Savannah, June 18, 1764	David Montaigut	6	St. Kitts
" 22	Sloop *Sally*	Benjamin Chapman	Massachusetts Bay 1762	Salem, Nov. 23, 1762	Benjamin Chapman, Spencer Bennett	12	Montserrat [9]
Nov. 20	Schooner *Industry*	Jas. Walden	Virginia 1759	St. Kitts, Nov. 22, 1762	William Hyndman, Neil Jameison	36	St. Kitts [10]
Dec. 15	Schooner *Cicero*	Israel Lovitt	Massachusetts Bay 1763	Salem, Aug. 3, 1764	Timothy Orme, Jonathan Gardner, George Dodge	25	" " [11]
" 18	Sloop *Providence*	Edw. Williams	Bermuda 1756	Bermuda, Sep. 3, 1762	George Geary	17	Curracoa
" 26	Ship *Polly and Deborah*	George Anderson	A Prize	Savannah, Dec. 5, 1763	John Collard, Alexander Fyffe, George Anderson	6	Jamaica
" 28	Snow *Fanny*	Ralph Sampson	Bristol 1756	St. Christophers, Nov. 12, 1764	Archibald Henry	13	St. Kitts
Jan. 4	Sloop *Two Brothers*	John Dunwell	Massachusetts Bay 1764	Rhode Island, Sep. 6, 1764	John Dunwell, James Brown	4	Jamaica

Jan. 5–Apr. 5, 1765

Jan. 26	Ship *Adventure*	Patrick Fortune	Philadelphia 1758	Jamaica, Dec. 3, 1764	McDonell, Dromgoole	13	Jamaica
Feb. 19	Sloop *Sally*	George Chalmers [Chambers?]	North Carolina 1757	N. Carolina, June 28, 1763	William Purviane	3	"

[9] "To Be Sold on Thursday next, at publick vendue, Ten Likely Gold Coast New Negroes, Just imported from the West Indies, consisting of eight stout men and two women. To prevent their receiving the infection of the smallpox, they have been kept constantly on board the vessel since they arrived, where they will be sold. Any person inclining to purchase them at private sale may apply to Messrs. JOHNSON and WYLLY." *Ga. Gazette*, Oct. 25, 1764.

[10] "Just Imported, In the Schooner *Industry*, James Walden master from St. Kitts, And to be sold on Monday the 26th instant, at Mr. M'Gillivray's plantation, Vale Royal, A Cargo of about Forty Prime New Negroes, by GEORGE BAILLIE and Co. N. B. The Sale to begin at 10 o'clock in the forenoon." *Ibid.*, Nov. 22, 1764.

[11] "On Friday the 28th inst. Will be Sold at Vendue, at the plantation formerly belonging to the late John Spencer deceased, near Pipemaker's Bridge, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, A Parcel of Choice New Negroes, Lately imported and now on board the schooner *Cicero*, where they will remain until the day of sale, on account of the smallpox, as they have never been ashore since their arrival. As the owner of negroes is obliged to depart this province very soon, the condition of the sale is cash. WILLIAM EWEN V. M." *Ibid.*, Dec. 20, 1764.

Ships that have entered Sunbury, Georgia, Oct. 5, 1764–July 5, 1765[12]

Oct. 20	Sloop *Sally*	George Chambers	Newberry 1757	N. Carolina, 1763	William Purvian	5	Jamaica
June 9[13]	Brig *Experiment*	John Mules	Prize Sept. 21, 1761	Rhode Island, June 18, 1763	John Willet, Willm. Neale	2	St. Croix

Ships that have entered Savannah, Georgia, Jan. 5, 1765–Jan. 5, 1766

Feb. 5	Snow *Leghorn* Galley	John Reid	a Prize	St. Christophers, Sep. 29, 1764	James Lochart, John Reid, London	12	St. Christophers[14]
" 11	Schooner *Nancy*	Joseph Stone	a Retaken Vessel	St. Christophers, Apr. 15, 1762	Thos. Lambert, Daniel Delaney, St. Christophers	7	St. Christophers and Anguilla
" "	Sloop *Prudence*	Thos. Farmer	Connecticut 1760	Montserrat, July 12, 1764	Robt. King, Montserrat	70	Montserrat
" 15	Brigantine *Margaret*	Andrew Elton Wells	a Prize	St. Christophers, July 28, 1763	Pat. Carrick, St. Christopher	6	St. Christopher
" 28	Sloop *Industry*	Richd. Robinson	Bermuda 1759	Savannah, Nov. 29, 1764	Richd. Robinson, Solo. Joell, Geo. " Bermuda	2	St. Christopher
Apr. 27[15]	Sloop *Kitty*	John Austin	A Prize	Barbadoes, Mar. 1, 1763	Hamlet Fairchild, John Austin, Barbadoes	2	Granada
May 27	Schooner *Isabella*	Isaac Martin	" "	Savannah, June 18, 1764	Dav. Montaigut, Savannah	3	"
June 17	Schooner *Friendship*	John Morey	Plantation built	New York, Oct. 20, 1762	Jams. Spencer, John Ellis, New York	10	Curacoa
" 29	Sloop *Henry*	John Todd	Bermuda 1764	Charles Town, Feb. 28, 1765	Hen. Laurens, Henry Todd Junr., Charles Town	50	Kingston Jamaica

[12] The next three lists are signed by Francis Lee, those which follow by David Montaigut, naval officer. For 1765 the *Gazette* reports, Jan. 5 to Apr. 5, 97; Apr. 5 to July 5, 65; July 5 to Oct. 5, 168. *Ga. Gazette*, Apr. 11, July 11, Oct. 17, 1765.

[13] "For sale at Sunbury, on Tuesday the 28th of May, A Parcel of about Fifty Likely Slaves, all in perfect health, and picked out of several large cargoes from Gambia. Sunbury, May 20, 1765. ANDREW DARLING and Co." (*Ga. Gazette*, May 23, 1765). The *Experiment's* entry may have been in 1763, not 1765.

[14] "George Baillie and Co. have just imported in the snow *Leghorn* Galley, from the West-Indies, a Parcel of Prime Grain Coast Slaves. Barreled pork or rice will be taken in payment." *Ibid.*, Feb. 14, 1765.

[15] One vessel which brought negroes to Savannah in April does not appear in this list: "A schooner from Jamaica, Alexander Mills master, is put into this port, having negroes on board with the smallpox. His Excellency the Governor has ordered the negroes to be put on shore at a convenient place in Tybee creek, and the vessel to perform quarantine of ten days, in the mean time using all proper means to cleanse it from the infection." *Ibid.*, Apr. 25, 1765.

[*Negroes imported into Georgia*—continued:]

Date	Name	Master	Where and When Built	Where and When Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Aug. 1	Snow *Leghorn* Galley	John Reid	A Prize	St. Christophers, Sep. 29, 1764	Jams. Lochart, John Reid, London	27	St. Christophers
" 5	Ship *Hawke*	Archd. Duthie	" "	London, Mar. 29, 1764	Willm. Robertson, London	9	Jamaica
" 12	Schooner *Elizabeth*	George Cox	So. Carolina 1750	Charles Town, June 28, 1763	John Edwards, Charles Town	60[16]	So. Carolina
" 27	Brig *Charlotte*	Preserved Alger	A Prize	Savannah, May 7, 1765	Jas. Read, Jas. Mossman, Savannah[17]	30	Jamaica
" 31	Schooner *Nancy*	Joseph Stone	Plantation built	St. Christopher, May 1, 1762	Thos. Lambert, Daniel Delany, St. Christopher	4	St. Christopher
Sept. 14	Schooner *Jonathan*	Jarvis Williams	So. Carolina 1746	Charles Town, Feb. 5, 1763	Thos. Loughton Smith, Miles Brewton, Charles Town	16	So. Carolina
" 16	Sloop *Sally*	Lawrence Clark	Massachusetts Bay 1762	Salem, Nov. 23, 1762	Spencer Bennett, Benjamin Chapman, Salem.	17	Jamaica
" 28	Schooner *Ann*	Benja. Peinston	Bermuda 1765	Bermuda, Feb. 28, 1765	Nath. Tynes, Francis Jones Senr., Bermuda	5	St. Croix
Oct. 12	Schooner *Ogeeche*	Davd. Drummond	Georgia 1762	Savannah, July 22, 1762	James Read, Eliz. Butler, Georgia	5	St. Christophers
" 14	Sloop *Providence*	Marit Gilbert	Bermuda 1756	" Jan. 24, 1765	Benj. and Joseph Lloyd, Savannah	9	Curacoa
" 15	Snow *Pretty Polly*	John Bean	Plant. built	Sav. la Mar, Jama., May 22, 1765	James Lockart, John Barrel, London	4	St. Christophers[18]
" 21	Schooner *Juliana*	John Sullivan	Jamaica 1765	St. Christophers, Sep. 6, 1764	William Downe, Jamaica	1	Jamaica
" 31	" *Industry*	Jonathan Harvey	Virginia 1762	Bristol, Oct. 12, 1763	Jonathan Harvey, Boston	2	Guadaloupe
Dec. 7	Brig *Nelly*	Douglas Campbell	Yarmouth 1761	New York, May 23, 1764	Peter Warren, Robt. Gastside, Dublin; Douglas Campbell, Jams. Bonbonous, Bristol	10	Jamaica

[16] This must have been the cargo advertised in the *Gazette* on Aug. 15: "Just imported, By GEORGE BAILLIE and Co. And to be sold, on Tuesday the 20th instant, A Parcel of about Seventy Prime Healthy Gold Coast Slaves."

[17] "To be sold by the Subscribers, on their wharf, on Tuesday the 9th instant, Between Fifty and Sixty very likely healthy New Negroes, Just arrived from the Gold Coast. READ and MOSSMANN." *Ibid.*, July 4, 1765.

[18] Entered as, "lost Certif. from the Custom house Londo. for the present voyage".

" 24	Ship *Friendship*	James Ogilvie	New York 1764	London, Feb. 4, 1764	James Ogilvie, New York	7	St. Croix
Jan. 2	" *Bance Island*	James Hay	New England 1762		Miles Brewton, Thos. Smith, So. Carolina; Jno. Nutt, Wm. White, London [19]	13	Grenada

Jan. 5–Oct. 10, 1766

Jan. 14	Schooner *Polly*	John Anderson	Virginia 1762	St. Christopher, June 20, 1764	Willm. Henderson, Samuel Phillips, St. Christopher	24	St. Christopher
" 16	" *Mary*	Thomas Dale	Piscataqua 1762	Montserrat, June 27, 1765	John Wood Irwin	10	Montserrat
" 21	Brig. *Jenny*	Robt. Caldwell	Aberdeen 1764	Irwin, July 23, 1764	Robt. Caldwell, Robt. Arthur Irwin	4	St. Christophers
" 25	" *Argyle*	Ch's Cunningham	Maryland 1759	Grenocke, Feb. 27, 1764	Alex. Campbell, Cland Alexander, Arthur Connell, Alex. Campbell, Junr., Glasgow	7	Jamaica
" 27	Snow *Betty*	John Higgin	British built 1760	Liverpoole, Oct. 23, 1764	William Glover, Liverpoole	10	Montserrat
Feb. 4	Sloop *Mary Ann*	Robt. Simpson	Bermuda 1759	St. Christophers, Dec. 31, 1765	Alex. Baillie, Jams Baillie, Jams Smith, St. Christophers	46	St. Christophers
" 10	Ship *Betsey*	John Caton	Prize	Liverpoole, Aug. 3, 1763	Seth Haughton, Alexander Nottingham, Geo. Warren Watts, Wm. Poole, Richd. Estwistle, Edwd. Cropper, Thos. Cropper, Thomas Carter, Liverpoole	16	Montserrat
" "	Sloop *Industry*	Philip Hughes	Massachusetts Bay 1762	Savannah, July 17, 1764	Lewis Johnson, Alex. Wylly, Philip Hughes, Savannah	31	Grenadoes
" 11	" "	Nichs Hinson	Bermuda 1764	Bermuda, Dec. 4, 1764	Jos. Hinson, Gilbert Livingston, Nichs Hinson, Bermuda	21	Jamaica
Mar. 13	Snow *Catherine*	David Lamb	Plant. built	St. Christopher, Feb. 4, 1766	Robt. Adams, London; Wm. Priddie, St. Christophers	15	St. Christophers
" 25	Sloop *Hibernia*	Willm. Grime	Massachusetts Bay 1762	Savannah, Nov. 5, 1765	Thoms. Somerville, Ireland; Jno. Somerville, Georgia	6	Jamaica

[19] The prohibitive act in force in South Carolina after Jan. 1, 1766, accounts for the disposal of these negroes in Savannah. The effect of the Carolina duty on the Georgia market is noticeable in returns here given. There was also direct trade from Savannah to Africa in 1766. The snow *Bance Island*, James Hay, sailed from Savannah for Africa June 30, 1766. *Ibid.*, July 2, 1766.

[*Negroes imported into Georgia*—continued:]

Date	Name	Master	Where and When Built	Where and When Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Mar. 25	Schooner *Pedie*	Thomas Cox	So. Carolina 1750	Charles Town, Aug. 1, 1757	Joseph Cox, So. Carolina	4	So. Carolina
Apr. 9	Sloop *Maryborow*	David Morton	Corke 1760	Liverpoole, Nov. 13, 1764	John Matthew Strong,[20] Liverpoole	78	Senegal, Africa
May 5	" *Mercury*	Joseph Fuller	Prize	St. Christopher, Mar. 15, 1766	Willm. Lyon, Archibald Shanks, St. Christopher	30	St. Christophers
" 9	Brig *Birkbeck*	Robt. Hutchins	Massachusetts Bay 1762	Savannah La Mar, Apr. 19, 1766	Henry Smith, Chas. Hall, Robt. Hutchens, Jamaica	12	Jamaica
" 17	" *Charlotte*	Preserved Alger	Prize	Savannah, May 7, 1765	James Read, James Mossman, Savannah	4	St. Christophers
" 31	Ship *Samuel and Betsey*	Saml. Pierson	Philadelphia 1757	New Castle, Apr. 28, 1763	Samuel Pierson, Bryan Birkbe, London	14	St. Christophers
June 18	Schooner *Esther*	Willm. Williams	Jamaica 1765	Savannah, Oct. 8, 1765	Solomon Levy, Jamaica; James Wright, Georgia	18	Jamaica
" 27	Sloop *Dove*	Thomas Eaton	British built 1764	Lancaster, Mar. 21, 1764	Miles Barber, Lancaster	90[21]	Sierra Leon in Africa
July 31	Brigt *Antelope*	Thomas Paley	" "	Lancaster, Oct. 28, 1763	Rich. and Jno. Watson, Thos. and Richd. Millerson, Robt. Dodson, Henry Lawrence, Thos. Hinde, Lancaster	97	Africa[22]
Aug. 8	Sloop *Nancy*	Thomas Farmer	Massachusetts Bay 1762	Montserat, Feb. 6, 1766	Robert King, Montserrat	5	Guadalupe
" 9	" *Friendship*	John Sutton	New York	Barbadoes, July 13, 1764	John Bayley, Barbadoes	20	Barbadoes
Sept. 5	" *Hope*	Nich. Neilson	Maryland 1751	Savannah, Oct. 4, 1764	Nicholas Neilson, Georgia	1	St. Thomas

[20] See this work, II. 494-495.

[21] "A Cargo of One Hundred Young and Healthy New Negroes, of the Mondingo country, just arrived in a short passage directly from Sierra-Leon, on the Coast of Africa, To Be Sold at Yammacraw, on Tuesday next, by JOHN GRAHAM and Co." (*Ga. Gazette*, July 2, 1766). The customs entries, Apr. 5 to July 5, are 246. *Ibid.*, July 30, 1766.

[22] An item in the *Ga. Gazette*, July 23, 1766, stated that a "brigt. from Africa with slaves", had put into Charleston. This probably referred to the *Antelope*, the cargo of which was announced for sale by Inglis and Hall in the *Gazette* of July 30, 1766.

" 11	" *Mercury*	John Lesslie	Prize	St. Christophers, Mar. 15, 1766	Wm. Lyon, Archibald Shanks, St. Christopher	37	St. Christophers
" 30	" *Mary*	Bernard Romans	Rhode Island 1752	Savannah, Sep. 30, 1766	Bernard Romans, Mariner	3	Isle of Pines Cuba

Ships that have entered Sunbury, Georgia, July 5, 1766–Jan. 5, 1767 [23]

July 15	Sloop *Alexander*	Thos. Roberts	1758 Prize, Maryland	Savannah, Feb. 12, 1763	John Maxwell	24	St. Croix
Nov. 20	Brig *Alexander*	John Morris	Rhd. Island 1763	Rh'd. Island, Aug. 4, 1763	Hugh and John Morris	14	" "
" 27	" *James*	Magnus Miller	Plant.	Philadelphia, July 20, 1765	Magnus Miller	4	Jamaica

Ships that have entered Savannah, Georgia, Oct. 10, 1766-Jan. 5, 1767

Oct. 11	Schooner *Fanny*	John McCoy	New England 1760	Charles Town, Mar. 23, 1766	Jno. Graham, Geo. Baillie, Georgia; And. Robertson, John Jamieson, Jams. Graham, Charles Town	2	So. Carolina
" "	Snow *Hannah*	Jams. Cranford	" " 1758	Grenocke, Oct. 20, 1763	Hugh Wyllie, George Anderson, Stephen Bowand, Glasgow	5	Jamaica
" 20	Ship *Woodmanstone*	Benja. Mason	Maryland 1762	London, Apr. 7, 1763	Benjamin Stead, London	110	Gambia [24]
" "	Snow *Granada*	Wm. Robinson	Virginia 1764	Hampton, Oct. 30, 1764	Saml. Allyne, Norfolk, Va.	140	"
" "	Ship *Active*	James Rogers	Plant. Built	London, June 18, 1765	Malcolm Hamilton, Alexander Simpson, Jams. Rogers, London	14	St. Christophers
Nov. 8	Snow *Hopkirk*	John Sprut	Boston 1763	Grenocke, Apr. 26, 1766	Neil and Jno. Campbell, Colin Campbell, Grenade	12	Jamaica
" 19	" *Ann*	Danl. Thomason	British built	Liverpoole, Oct. 23, 1763	Richd. Hetherington, Liverpoole	3	Tortola
Dec. 5	Sloop *Speedwell*	John Buntin	Virginia 1762	Grenadoes, Mar. 14, 1766	Pierre Bernard, Oliver Peter, Lamolie Jean Baptiste La Marque, Grenadoes	20	Grenadoes

[23] The Sunbury lists are signed by Francis Lee.

[24] "To be sold, on Tuesday the 28th October, A Cargo consisting of about One Hundred and Twenty Young and Healthy New Negroes, Just arrived, in the Ship *Woodmanston*, Capt. Benjamin Mason, in a short Passage of seven Weeks, from the River Gambia, By CLAY and HABERSHAM. Savannah, Oct. 20, 1766" (*Ga. Gazette*, Oct. 22, 1766). In the same issue of the *Gazette* John Graham and Co. advertise 140 negroes from the *Granada*.

[*Negroes imported into Georgia*—continued:]

Date	Name	Master	Where and When Built	Where and When Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Dec. 6	Schooner *Vulcan*	Henry Rogers	So. Carolina 1765	Charles Town, Sep. 7, 1765	Tunis Tebout, Charles Town	8	So. Carolina
" 24	Brigantine *Lively*	Geo. Davidson	Pennsylvania 1764	Savannah la Mar Jama. Nov. 25, 1766	Henry Smith, Jeremiah Meyler, Charles Hall, Jamaica	6	Jamaica
Ships that have entered Sunbury, Georgia, Jan. 5-July 5, 1767 [25]							
Feb. 16	Sloop *Sally*	George Chalmers	No. Carolina 1767	Jamaica, Dec. 20, 1766	Alex. and Geo. Chalmers	3	Jamaica
Mar. 11	Brig. *Petro Nilla*	John Napier	New England 1757	St. Kitts, Dec. 22, 1763	Ja. Dunbar, Ja. Baillie	9	St. Croix
June 24	Schoo. *Nancy*	Joseph Howell	Plantation 1765	Jamaica, Apr. 7, 1766	Nathaniel Grant	2	Providence
Ships that have entered Savannah, Georgia, Apr. 5-Oct. 10, 1767							
May 2	Ship *Pitt*	John Ross	Virginia 1757	London, Oct. 4, 1764	John Ross, London	15	St. Vincent
" 15	Sloop *Two Friends*	James Aitken	Plant. built	Antigua, Oct. 31, 1766	Baptist Looby, Jos. Farley Junr., Antigua	4	Antigua
" 16	Brigantine *Sally*	Francis King	No. Carolina 1753	Kingston, Jamaica, Sep. 6, 1766	Robert Kendall, Jamaica	1	Jamaica
June 10	Schooner *Friendship*	Samuel Axson	Plant. built	New York, Oct. 10, 1762	Jams. Spencer, John Ellis, New York	1	Curacoa
" 30	Snow *Harriot*	Willm. Boyd	Thames built	Antigua, May 9, 1766	Basil Cowper, Wm. and Edward Telfair, Georgia; William Breckenridge, Antigua	23	Antigua
July 4 [26]	Brigantine *Nassau*	Chrisr. Prince	Massachusetts Bay 1766	Boston, Oct. 9, 1766	Thos. Russell, Charles Town, Massachusetts Bay	73	St. Christophers

[25] At the Savannah customhouse 22 negroes were entered between Oct. 10 and Jan. 5, and 28 between Jan. 5 and Apr. 5, 1767 (*Ga. Gazette*, Jan. 14, Apr. 15, 1767). No vessel in this list explains the following: "On Tuesday the 17th inst. will be sold at Savannah, About 40 Likely New Negroes, Consisting mostly of Men and Women, Lately from Gambia and Sierreleon. The conditions of sale will be, payment of one third the value on delivery of the slaves; for the remaining two thirds credit will be given to the first of January, paying interest and giving approved security. ALEX. WYLLY. N. B. Rice will be received in payment at market price, if delivered in 15 days from the days of sale (*ibid.*, Mar. 11, 1767). From another list three may be added to the Savannah entries: Dec. 29, 1766, *Two Friends*, John Bound, owners, Baptist Looby, Jos. Farley, jr., 37 from Antigua; Jan. 2, 1767, *Mary Ann*, Samuel Smith, owners, Jeremiah Pinniston, Samuel Smith, 10 from St. Eustatius; Jan. 3, 1767, *Betty*, John Higgin, owner, William Glover, 10 from Montserrat.

[26] "To be sold, On Monday the 6th day of July instant, Forty New Negroes, chiefly men. They are the likeliest Parcel ever imported into this Province and remarkably healthy. GORDON and NETHERCLIFT." *Ga. Gazette*, July 1, 1767.

July 23	Schooner *Speedwell*	John Weyman	So. Carolina 1756	Charles Town, Oct. 1, 1766	Mary Ellis, Widow, Chs. Town	40	So. Carolina
" 29	Brigantine *Anne Penny*	John Dean	Massachusetts Bay 1767	Boston, Apr. 14, 1767	John Dean, Boston; Timothy Penny, Jamaica	35	Jamaica
Aug. 4	Schooner *Rachel and Mary*	John Waldron	So. Carolina 1760	Charles Town, June 23, 1760	Jacob Waldron Junr., Isaac Waldron, Brunswick	20	So. Carolina
Sept. 14	Brigantine *Prince George*	John Addison	Virginia 1765	Liverpoole, Aug. 11, 1766	Richd. Millerson, Wm. and Jno. Watson, Robt. Dodson, Thos. Millerson, John Addison	154[27]	Gambia and Sierra Leon
Oct. 1	Sloop *Ranger*	John Phillips	Bermuda 1764	St. Christopher, Apr. 20, 1767	Willm. Moore Junr., Richard Moore, Barbadoes	14	St. Eustatius
" "	" *Dove*	Harrison Hudson	Lancaster 1764	Lancaster, Mar. 21, 1764	Miles Barber, Lancaster	51	Africa
" 8[28]	Brigantine *Lively*	Willm. Willburn	Connecticut 1765	Liverpoole, Oct. 29, 1766	Thos. Birch, Thomas Brown, Liverpoole	22	Barbadoes

[27] No vessel here named exactly meets the conditions described in an item which appeared in the *Newport Mercury*, Oct. 5, 1767, and in the *Mass. Gazette and News Letter*, Oct. 8, but the *Prince George* is probably the Guineaman referred to: "From Georgia we learn that a Guineaman is arrived there with two hundred healthy slaves, and had not lost one during the whole voyage from the coast." The cargo of the *Prince George* was sold by Inglis and Hall, who announced it as 160 on its arrival. *Ga. Gazette*, Sept. 9, 1767.

[28] The customs entries in the *Gazette* record the *Jenny*, Cowey, from Africa with slaves, also, "The Schooner *Susannah*, John Huxtable master, arrived at Tybee last night from Charlestown, with upwards of 90 new negroes on board" (*ibid.*, Nov. 25, Dec. 30, 1767). One more vessel we know visited Georgia in 1767: "Capt. Patrick Redmond . . . relates that he sailed from Jamaica master of the Schooner *Beggars Bennison*, with Negroes for Georgia, where he could not sell them, when he left that place for Newbern, but in a storm of the 16th and 17th of October he sprung a leak, which gained on them till she was half full of water, when on the first of November for the preservation of their lives, they run the schooner ashore on Core Bank, about ten miles N. E. of Cape-Lookout, where the vessel is lost, but the people, Negroes and rigging, were saved except three Negroes, who died on the Beach" (*ibid.*, Jan. 20, 1768). On Dec. 16, 1767, were advertised "About Thirty Likely New Negroes to be sold on Wednesday next by COWPER and TELFAIRS". With the new negroes brought in by ones and twos from the West Indies there is no way of determining their African source. A casual examination of the notices for runaways appearing in the *Gazette* between 1765 and 1769 does not yield much information as to origin: five are designated as of the Angola country, one, of the Gambia country; two are Bamba or Bumba born; one, of the Suroga country; four are Ebo negroes; four Cormantines; one, of the Kishee country; seven from the Congo country (of three of these the advertisement reads, "not Angola's frequently called Congo's"); one, from the Fellah country; sixteen, Guinea born. These are from a total of forty-eight advertisements.

407. Negroes imported into Georgia, 1768.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Mar. 23	Apr. 5	*Britannia*	Stephen Deane	Gambia	170	Clay and Habersham
June 1	June 9	*Constantine*	Thos. Gullan	Angola	250	Inglis and Hall
" 29		*Venus*	Thos. Foster	West Indies[2]		
July 6		*Nancy*	John Lowrie	Antigua (Windward Coast)	90	Cowper and Telfairs[3]
Aug. 10		*Fortune*	Beard[4]	Barbados (Gambia)		John Graham and Co.
Sept. 14		*Harlequin*	Thos. Eatton	Africa		
" 28		*Elizabeth*	Jacob Matthews	Antigua		
Oct. 12[5]		*Gambia*	John Keast	Senegambia		

[407] [1] This list and those similar to it which follow have been compiled from the advertisements in the *Georgia Gazette*. A "List of ships cleared in Senegambia, 1767-1778" gives five Georgia vessels, but there is no hint as to whether they were slave vessels (C. O. 5: 150, pp. 681-691). In September, 1768, the *Mercury* of Georgia sailed for Africa. *S. C. Gazette*, Sept. 19, 1768.

[2] The customs entries note the arrival of the *Venus*, the *Harlequin*, and the *Elizabeth* but no advertisements of their cargoes have been discovered. *Ga. Gazette*, July 27, Sept. 14, 28, 1768. The *Venus* itself, was advertised for sale on Aug. 24.

[3] Cowper and Telfairs advertised thirty new negroes for sale on Sept. 30. *Ga. Gazette*, Sept. 21, 1768.

[4] The master was given as William Marr in the customs entries.

[5] The *Georgia Gazette* of Oct. 26 mentioned the arrival of two unnamed schooners and a sloop with slaves, while in the issues of Nov. 2 and 9 Inglis and Hall and John Graham and Co. announce parcels for sale (those of Graham being from Guinea and the Gold Coast), but make no reference to the vessels which brought the negroes. Near the end of the year Georgia placed a duty on incoming negroes that had been more than six months in any of the West India or Continental colonies. The money was to be used to rebuild the lighthouse on Tybee Island. *Ga. Col. Recs.*, XIX. 83; *Ga. Gazette*, Dec. 28, 1768.

[408] For convenience in paging no. 408 appears on p. 626.

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
1769						
Apr. 5	Apr. 11	*Britannia*	Stephen Dean	Gambia	150[1]	Clay and Habersham
" 19	" 26	*Fly*	Alex. Taylor[2]	Grain Coast	130	Inglis and Hall
May 24	May 29	*Friendship*	Benj. Cooper	Grenada		" " "
June 7	June 15	*Gambia*	Nicholas Doyle	Gambia	140	" " "[3]
July 19		*Dembia*	Francis Bare	Sierra Leone	97	" " "[4]
Aug. 2		*Mercury*	Robt. Ainslie	St. Kitts (Gambia)		
Oct. 11				"Just Imported"	"A Few"	Joseph Farley
Dec. 27		*Friendship*	John Wooster	Barbados	15	Reid, Storr, and Reid
1770						
Mar. 21	Mar. 29	*Britannia*	Stephen Dean[5]	Gambia	170	Joseph Clay
May 9	May 15	*Cavendish*	James Penny[6]	Sierraleon	200	John Graham
" 23[7]	" 31	*Sally*	George Evans	Rice Coast	340	{ John Graham { Inglis and Hall
1771[8]						
May 9		*Britannia*	Jones	Gambia	120	
July 18		*Bance Island*	Geo. Smith	Sierra-Leone		

[409] [1] "One hundred and twenty of whom had the small pox on board said vessel before they arrived here, and are now, by order of his Excellency the Governor and Council, performing a quarantain at Tybee." *Ga. Gazette*, Apr. 5, 1769.

[2] "Monday last came on before the Honourable Board of Commissioners for trying offences committed on the high seas, the trial of Capt. Alexander Taylor, of the snow *Fly* belonging to London, for the alledged murder of one John Stephens, late a mariner under his command, on the coast of Africa, and yesterday, after a full, deliberate, and candid hearing of the witnesses on behalf of the crown, and those in favour of Capt. Taylor, he was by the unanimous voice of the Court found not guilty and honourably acquitted." *Ibid.*, May 31, 1769.

[3] "Whereas a report has prevailed that the above Cargo of Negroes is already disposed of, we assure our friends, and the publick, that not a slave is yet sold or agreed for, and that the sale will commence in our yard as usual precisely at 11 o'clock to-morrow. INGLIS and HALL." *Ga. Gazette,* June 14, 1769.

[4] There are notices of the arrival of the *Dembia* and the *Mercury*, but no advertisements of sales.

[5] An affidavit of Stephen Dean (Deaux) of the *Britannia,* that Finda Lawrence, a free black woman who is a trader on the Gambia, has come to Georgia for a sojourn, is in the archives of Georgia, Bills of Sale, 1772-1775. Am. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1903, I. 445.

[6] Capt. James Penny was among the witnesses from Liverpool who gave evidence opposed to the prohibition of the slave trade before the committee of the Privy Council in 1789. See this work, II. 597-598.

[7] By the terms of the non-importation agreement, which Georgia adopted, no negroes were to be imported from the West Indies after Jan. 1, 1770, nor from Africa after June 1 of that year. *Ga. Gazette*, Sept. 20, 1769.

[8] *S. C. Gazette,* May 9, July 18, 1771.

408. James Lucena to Aaron Lopez, 1768.[1]

Savannah, in Georgia, 28 June, 1768.

Dear Sir, This will be delivered to you by Captain Nathaniel Waldron. He is to proceed from this port to the Windward Islands there to procure a Cargo of Molasses, and other produce, and then he is to proceed to Rhode Island, and deliver to you what Cargo and money he may have belonging to me, to be invested in Rum, and what you think proper for the intended Voiage to the Coast of Affrica. If Captain Waldron proceeds the Voiage round, he is to have the time he first takes in any part of the Cargo, the customary wages and privelege given in general from Rhode Island to a Master of a Vessell of the burthen of myne. The mate John Brown is also to have the customary wages and privelege of Rhode Island, to begein from the time the Molasses Cargo is delivered.

And neither of them are to receive of you any wages for the west India and Affrica Voiage being agreed the whole to be paid here. I desire you to let me know the time when the alteration of their Wages takes place, as the wages they now go for are very high.

As this Letter will not come to hand this long while, I will take other opportunity to write more at large and Remain, Sir,

P. S. As we are not acquainted what are the customary wages and privelege to the Coast of Affrica is left to you to determine it.

410. Minutes of Meetings of the Council, 1773.[1]

At a Council held at his Honor the Presidents house on Friday the 12th March 1773.

Present: His Excelly. Sir James Wright Baronet

The Honble. { James Habersham, Noble Jones, Jams. Ed. Powell, Grey Elliott, Anthy. Stokes } Esqrs.

His Excelly acquainted the Board, He had received Information, that the Brig *Ann* Zachariah Witherdon Master who Arrived at Tybee on the 10th Inst. with Negroes from the Island of Antigua, has the small Pox on board; And therefore he desired the opinion of the Board thereon, in pursuance of and agreeable to the several Acts of the General Assembly now in force, and such cases provided. His

[408] [1] *Commerce of Rhode Island,* I. 242.
[410] [1] *Ga. Col. Recs.*, XII. 356-359.

Excelly further Acquainted the Board, that Messrs. Joseph Clay and Co. to whom the above Vessell and Negroes are consigned, had applied to him for Permission to have such of the Negroes on board the said Vessell as have not yet had the Disorder Inoculated. In order that the Difficulties and Inconveniency's of a long Quarantine and the danger of Spreading the disorder maybe the more easily Avoided; And also that the said Vessell after landing the Slaves and being well and sufficiently cleansed and fumigated so as to prevent as much as may be the retention or spreading the Infection (And which they Undertake shall be done) might be permitted to come up to Town after such a time as may be thought proper.

The Board taking the several Matters aforsd into Consideration, Were Unanimously of Opinion that, this his Excelly. should permit such Inoculation, and that the Vessell upon proof of her being Cleansed and fumigated, might be allowed to Come up to Town, fourteen days after landing the Negroes, And also Unanimously Advised his Excelly. to Issue the following orders

That the Brign. *Ann* be carried into and Moored in Tybee Creek there to be Cleansed and fumigated and remain during the space of fourteen days, and that the Slaves therein be put on shore at the Lazaretto there to be Inoculated, and there to remain at least 40 days after the last person Infected shall have recovered, and that the Slaves so put on shore be prohibited and restrained from going beyond the Marsh on Tybee Island which divides the publick land from the other part of the Island; and that it be strictly enjoyn'd that such Slaves as may die during the Quarantine be buried in some Convenient place on the publick land, at least five feet beneath the Surface, and that no person or persons whatever be permitted to go on board the said Vessell or to land within the space or limits above described under the pain of being obliged to remain and perform the same Quarantine as the said Vessell, or the Slaves on shore shall perform, and also of the penalty's by Law in such Cases Inflicted. That all provisions and Necessaries that may be wanted by the Crew on board the said Vessell, or the Slaves on Shore be landed at the Oyster bank below the Lazaretto and that when any boat shall be sent down therewith the Commander of the Scout boat be directed to put a proper person on board such boat so sent down, with orders to prevent any person therein from Landing or having any Intercourse with the persons on board the said Vessell, or with those on shore, and that the Commander of the Scout boat and the Keeper of the Lazaretto be appointed to Inforce these orders pursuant to the Quarantine Act. And that the Person or persons who shall Inoculate the Slaves to be landed as aforsd shall

perform a Quarantine of ten days after the last of the said Slaves who may have the small pox is thoroughly recovered.

N B.—Charge copy for Atty. General. . . .

At a Council held at his honor the presidents house on Monday the 15th March 1773.[2]

His Excelly. Acquainted the Board that Messrs. Joseph Clay and Co. to whom the Slaves in the Brig *Ann* Capt. Witherdon, (among whom the Small pox has appeared) are consigned, had made Application to him, that such part of the orders Resolved upon the 12th Instant with respect to the Quarantine of the said Slaves and Vessell as regarded the Person or Persons Inoculating the said Slaves should be Altered, And that the Person or Persons so Inoculating might after the Inoculating be permitted to return up to Town. The Board taking the same Consideration, Advised his Excelly. that the orders should be, that the person or Persons who shall Inoculate the said Slaves be Required and directed, after he or they have Inoculated such of the Slaves as may be thought Necessary, to remain for ten days at Cockspur or Elsewhere, on the sea shore after he or they have Changed his or their Cloaths, before he or they return to Savannah. . . .

411. James Habersham to William Knox, 1773.[1]

August 12, 1773.

Mr. Graham has bought for you 32 Negroes, 17 of them about 6 weeks agoe, which were paid for by bills on you, and of which you have been particularly advised, and now 15 more for which I have with Mr. Graham signed Bils this day for £772. 17. 0.

one sett payable at 3 months sight
for £386. 8. 6 Another sett payable at 6 months for
386. 8. 6

£772. 17. 0 of which Mr. Graham will particularly advise you and of his reasons for so doing.

412. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1774.[1]

Charles Town, June 13 [1774].

The Brigt. *Charlotte*, with about 140 Slaves from Sierra Leon, bound for Georgia, put into this Port last Thursday, in Distress.

July 18 [1774].

On Tuesday last the Snow *Friends*, William Ross, Master, from Africa, bound for Georgia, with a Cargo of Slaves, put into this Port in Distress.

[2] Present, the same members as on the 12th.

[411] [1] Ga. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, VI. 232.

[412] [1] *S. C. Gazette* for the dates given.

413. Sir James Wright to Lord Dartmouth, 1775.[1]

Savannah in Georgia the 16th of Septr. 1775.

My Lord, . . . The Council of Safety Seems to be the Executive Branch in each Colony, Subject to the Provincial Congress, and the General and Parochial Committees Dispense Law, and Exercise the Powers of the Several Courts, just as it seems Right in their own Eyes, for how far they have any Regard to the true Principles of Either Law or Equity; your Lordship will Judge from the following case, which was determined two or three days ago only, *Viz.*, a Ship arrived here from Senegal with a Cargoe of 204 Slaves, the Captain was immediately ordered not to proceed to Town, or to Attempt to land any of the Negroes without leave of the Committee, and he was then Directed to Petition the Parochial Committee which he did, and Although he had not only Law, but many Equitable and Substantial reasons on his side, yet he was Ordered to depart the Port immediately on which he by Petition appealed to the General Committee, and they Affirmed the Orders of the Parochial Committee, and the Captain is Compelled to proceed to Sea just at the Equinox, which may be the loss of the lives of numbers of them as we often have very Tempestuous weather at this Season, and indeed the Vessell and Cargoe may Probably be lost, and all Perish, and if not the Poor Creatures are so dispirited at the thoughts of being carried to sea again that they are growing sickly and many of them will certainly dye before they can get into another Port. The Captain intends for St. Augustine if the weather permits and at best supposes the Loss to the owners will be near if not quite 3000 Sterling. . . .

Savannah in Georgia the 14th of Octr. 1775.

My Lord, . . . On the 25th instant my Lord an Inquiry was made whether the Vessell with the Negroes (mentioned in my letter No. 58) was Sailed, and she having been Prevented from Sailing by contrary winds and bad weather it was hinted by 2 of the General Committee that if another Application was made, Possibly they might be Suffered to land and an application was accordingly made and the next day the 26th a Permit was sent down by the General Committee, to their Officer to let the Negroes be brought up, and on the 28th they were landed. Several had Dyed in the mean time, and many Were then unable to Stir, and the Cargo in General I Suppose one third less in value than when the Vessell arrived and thus Your Lordship sees, how the Kings Port and mens Property are in the Absolute power of these People, Whether this proceeded from a Motive of Humanity or whether from an Apprehension of the Consequences of being

[413] [1] Ga. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, III. 209, 215-216.

hereafter Called to an Account, or what other Reason, I cannot Say. . . . . .

414. Joseph Clay to Scott, Dover, Taylor, and Bell, 1783.[1]

Savannah, April 15, 1783.

. . . The produce of your Island will always bring reasonable prices but Negro's in my opinion will yield a great profit I shoud have no doubt of getting 60 *a* 70 for good Windward Coast Negro Men and for Women or leeward Coast Negro in proportion. . . .

415. Joseph Clay to Joachim Noel Fanning, 1783.[1]

Savannah, April 23, 1783.

. . . Trade will expand here beyond conception Negro's will be in great demand and will bring high prices the best way for you to place your money here will be by Commerce as you may thereby do it with some profit if you choose this mode I will be concern'd with you in any way you please either to dispose of anything you may choose to consign to me on your own Account on Commission, or to take a part with you in the concern as you may think proper. Dry Goods will answer very well Negro's from Africa will do far better, and something may be done from the W. Indies particularly the french Islands. . . .

416. Joseph Clay to James Jackson, 1784.[1]

Savannah, February 16, 1784.

. . . the Negro business is a great object with us, both with a View to our Interest individually, and the general prosperity of this State and its commerce, it is to the Trade of this Country, as the Soul to the Body, and without it no House can gain a proper Stability, the Planter will as far as in his power sacrifice every thing to attain Negroes, and those who have the disposal of them, will always command their Crops, which is every thing to a Merchant; the prices with us are tempting to the adventurer, until importation takes place immediately from the Coast, many will be sent in from the W I. Islands, we have a small Cargo on hand from there at this time, but this is not the Channell we woud wish to attain them

[414] [1] *Letters of Joseph Clay, Merchant of Savannah, 1776-1798* (Ga. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, VIII.), p. 187. On Apr. 22 Clay wrote to George Meade, "the West India Trade must be a great branch, Negro's will also be in great demand here". *Ibid.*, p. 188.

[415] [1] *Letters of Clay* (Ga. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, VIII.), p. 191.

[416] [1] *Letters of Clay* (Ga. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, VIII.), pp. 194-195. Jackson was addressed at "N 5 Igleton Street-London".

through—tis from the Coast only we wish to receive them, and we must request your exertions to gain us a share of that business it will tend to promote your interest as well as ours.[2] . . .

417. J. and T. H. Perkins to W. Stevenson, 1792.[1]

[Boston,] Dec. 1, 1792.

We have agreed with the owners of the Snow *Clarissa* to perform a voyage from one of the Windward Islands to Havanna. Capt. Wm. McNiel (nephew of Daniel) carries a cargo from Georgia and with the proceeds he is to purchase 15 Slaves, in Order to gain admittance into the Havanna. . . . They must be all new Negroes.[2] . . .

[2] In 1789 the *Speed*(*well*) from St. Croix brought in two new negroes; the *Fanny*, three negro men from Montserrat; in 1790, the *Sally*, three negroes from St. Martins, the *Anne*, twelve from Jamaica. Library of Congress, Savannah Customs Records.

[417] [1] L. V. Briggs, *History and Genealogy of the Cabot Family*, I. 391. Stevenson was a correspondent of the Boston house of Perkins, located in St. Eustatius.

[2] Despite Northern disapproval slaves continued to be imported into Georgia. The *New York Journal* of Sept. 8, 1792, stated that one Georgia paper advertised in a single issue two cargoes, which amounted to 560 negroes. The following is probably one of these: "Savannah August 2. The Ship *America*, Capt. Connolly is arrived here from Sierra Leona, with upwards of 200 slaves, who will soon be exposed for sale. Capt. Connolly informs of a ship having been picked up at sea, between Cape Mount and the river Sierra Leona, with 3 or 4 white men, and 80 or 90 slaves on board, supposed to belong to Rhode Island" (*ibid.*, Sept. 1, 1792). "Savannah, (Georgia) May 31. The master, supercargo, mate, and four seamen, of the schooner *Dolphin* of Boston, have been committed to the jail of this city, for kidnapping Negroes at Martinico, and selling them at this port" (*Salem Gazette*, July 10, 1792). The *Favorite*, J. McIver, owned by G. Howell of London, may have delivered slaves in Georgia during 1792 (Catterall, *Judicial Cases*, II. 276). Meanwhile, South Carolina had renewed its determination not to allow the entry of negroes (*N. Y. Journal*, Sept. 5, 1792). The next year Georgia passed a restrictive act, which did not accomplish complete prohibition. DuBois, p. 236.

418. Manifest of the *Dolphin*, 1794.[1]

Report and Manifest of the Lading of the Schooner "Dolphin" burthen Forty Eight and Thirteen 95th Tons, American built, from Place Goree Africa being the Port from whence she last sailed, Gilbert Fuller Master during the Voyage and Still Remains the present Master, and is owned by Cyprian Sterry and Edward Mitchell of Providence State of Rhode Island.

Marks	Numbers	Contents of each Package, etc or Quantity, if stowed loose	By whom Shipped	Where Destined	To whom Consigned	Port or Place Where Laden
S. D.	1 to 44	Slaves forty four Male and feemale	Gilbert Fuller	Savannah Gerge	Robert Watts	Isle Goree
RSP.	1 to 2	Two Slaves one Man other Girl	" "	" "	Gilbert Fuller	" "
J B	1 to 3	Three Slaves two Woman and one Girl	James Brown	" "	James Brown	" "
B M	No. 1.	One Man Slave	Benjamin Manchester	" "	Benjm. Manchester	" "
B M	No. 1.	One Girl Slave	Benost Munro	" "	Benost Munro	" "
J P.	No. 1.	One Boy Slave	James Pool	" "	James Pool	" "

N. B. Three of the above Slaves Died on the Passage.

Ship Stores 2 Barrels of Beef one of Pork about five Gallons of Rum and one Barrel of Ship Bread.

1794. Gilbert Fuller
August 21.
[Corrected?] by Me A. Tower
Sworn to before
James Habersham Junr.
D'y Collector

[418] [1] L. C., Savannah Customs Records. Endorsed: "Manifest Inward Schooner *Dolphyn* Gilbert Fuller Master from Goree Africa. 24 August 1795. No. 13. *N.O.* 48 13/95 Tons at 6 Cents is 2.88 Two dollars Eighty Eight Cents . . ."

419. Savannah Customs Records, 1796-1798.[1]

Date	Vessel	Master	Source	Number	Owners	Consignees
1796						
May 4	*Friend's Adventure*	James Hewit	Goree	61	Wm. Macleod, Charleston	
" 8	*Genl. Greene*	John Stanton	Delos Isle	88	Cyprian Sterry, Providence, R. I.	Robert Watts
Aug. 8	*Charleston*	John Connolly	Africa	330	Thos. Martin and John Price, Charleston	John Craig and Co.
" 12	*James*	Edward Boss	"	98	Cyprian Sterry	Edward Boss
" 23	*Nancy*	Vincent Hyer	Gambia	64	Wm. Macleod	Anthony Macleod
Sept. 14	*Polly*	Joshua Smith	Goree	40	Cyprian Sterry	Robert Watts[2]
Dec. 29	*Hazard*	Thomas Johnston	Montego Bay, Jamaica	36	Thos. Johnston[3]	Gairdner and Mitchie
1797						
Apr. 4	*Liberty*	Thos. Prentice	Bance Island	95	Amasa Smith and Abijah Potter	Robert Watts Robert Misset [Miffet?]
May 9	*Louisa*	Elijah Briggs	Delos Isle	92	Cyprian Sterry	Robert Watts
" 28	*Polly*	Isaac Carr	" "	37	Young ——, Ebenezer Jenckes	" "
June 17	*Sally*	Isaac Manchester	Anamabo	149	Wm. and John De Wolfe, Bristol	" "
" 21	*Eagle*	John Holland	Bananas[4]	237	John Price, James Hins? John Wordrop	Craig, Macleod, and Co.
1798						
June 11[5]	*Roebuck*	Dennis Dismount	Martinique	133	Wm. G. Hall, Martinique	
Aug. 25	*Edward and Mary*	Wm. Godfrey	"	19		Wm. Godfrey

[419] [1] L. C., Savannah Customs Records, 1795. In 1794 the schooner *Nancy*, Vincent Hyer, owned by William Macleod of Charleston, brought from the Banana Islands 62 negroes. The name of the consignee in this record has completely disintegrated.

[2] The slaves, "laden in River of Gambia", were "shipped by Isaac Gorham for Robert Watts, Savannah".

[3] This schooner, 102 tons, Massachusetts built, belonged to Thomas Johnston, John McCown, and William Sprowl of Bristol (R. I.?).

[4] One assumes that the slaves were loaded at the Bananas, though the maker of the manifest writes it, "Port of Beanunas". The negroes were: 88 men, 48 women, 76 boys, 25 girls. The *Fortunas* of Savanna, Edward Johnston, from Port au Prince, brought in seven slaves for Charleston.

[5] L. C., Savannah Customs Records. In both cases these are recorded as "new negroes".

420. Manifest of the Ship *Liberty*, 1796.[1]

Manifest of the Cargo on Board the Ship "Liberty" Providence R Island registered One hundred 38 75/95 Tons Burthen, Thomas Prentis during the Voyage and at present Master, from Bance Island Africa bound to Savannah. Owners Names, Amasa Smith and Abijah Potter.

By whom Shipped	Marks and Numbers		To whom and where consigned	Ship Stores
Amasa Smith Abijah Potter		Ninety five New Negroes Nine Ditto	Robert Watts Robert Misset	One Ton Rice Forty-eight Puncheons with Water
Robert Misset Amasa Smith Abijah Potter	SI One to twenty-two	Twenty two Pieces Blue Baftas[2]	Robert Watts	One Barrel Pork
	One to twenty eight	Coarse Callico	Ditto	Two Barrels Ship bread
	One to forty six	Forty six Pieces Romals	Ditto	
	One to two	Two Tons Camwood	Ditto	Half Barrel Loose Tobacco
	One to three	Three teeth Ivory	Ditto	Twenty pound Candles
	One to Ninety-five			

I Thomas Prentis Master of the Ship *Liberty* do solemnly declare and swear, that the foregoing is, to the best of my Knowledge and Belief, a just and true Manifest of the Cargo of the said Ship and that no part of her Lading, since her Departure from Africa has been Landed, or unladed, or otherwise removed, from on Board of her; and that if I shall hereafter discover, or know of any Goods, Wares, or Merchandise, other than those above mentioned, and the Sea Stores before specified, which are not brought or intended as Merchandise, or for Sale, I will forthwith make Report thereof at this Customhouse.

Customhouse, Savannah, April 4th 1796.
Thomas Prentice.

Sworn to before
James Habersham Junr.
Dy. Collector.

[420] [1] L. C., Savannah Customs Records. Endorsed: "Manifest Inward Ship *Liberty* of Rhode Island Thomas Prentice from Bascque Island Africa April 4th 1796. No. 94. *N. O.* 138 75/95 Tons at 6 Cents, 8 Doll., 33 Cts. Eight dollars and Thirty Three Cents. . . . Amount duty, 3 Doll's, 24 Cents." This was accompanied by a receipt from Ben. Wall, for Robert Watts, for camwood and ivory, valued at $32.45, duty $3.24.

[2] The receipt for "baftas, calico, and romals", which accompanies the manifest, describes them as "Manufacture of the United States", "Carried from Providence Rhode Island, and brought back for want of a Market".

421. News Item relating to Slave Trade, 1797.[1]

Savannah, September 14 [1797.].

On the 12th inst. arrived at Cockspur, the schooner *Exuma,* Capt. Daniel Callaghan from New Providence. The 9th inst. in lat. 29 39. long. 79 42, picked up the long boat of the armed ship *General Nichols,* Captain Michael Morrison belonging to Grenada. The *General Nichols* left New-Providence on the 2d inst. with Negroes, supposed for this port, and in a heavy gale of wind on the 18th foundered. The long boat and yawl had hardly time to get from her, when she went down with 122 of the cargo. In the long boat, were saved 5 whites and 35 negroes, and when they got along side the *Exuma,* had nothing to eat or drink. The yawl (having sails) with the Captain, Mr. Peter Morris, Supercargo, five other whites, and three negroes, parted company with the other boat immediately after leaving the ship, and has not yet been heard of. It is hoped, from the favourable weather a few days past, that they may have made some port to the southward.[2]

LOUISIANA

422. Memoir on the Company of the West, 1717 (?).[1]

. . . La traitte des Negres de Guinée avoit toujours esté en compagnie jusqu'au mois de janvier 1716. que sur les instances des négotians la liberté de ce commerce leur fut accordée, mais indépendamment des raisons generalles qui obligent de joindre plusieurs affaires ensemble pour former une compagnie dont les puissances estrangeres ne prissent point d'ombrage, il a esté reconnu que la liberté de ce commerce n'est pas avantageuse aux Colonnies en ce qu'il faut qu'elles soient fournies annuellement d'un nombre de negres suffisant et a peu pres egal ce que l'on estime a six ou sept mil negres par an, la Compagnie du Senegal en fournit 1500. et il convient d'assurer le surplus par un envoy egal en telle sorte qu'il n'en arrive pas trop dans une année et trop peu dans une autre, enfin il faut remarquer que ces trois partyes de commerce qu'on réunit en une mesme compagnie n'ont jamais esté libres, que par une infinité de raisons qui seroient trop longues à expliquer il ne convient pas quelles le soient et que bien loin que cette compagnie gesne le commerce comme elle sera tres considerable et ouverte a tous ceux qui vouderont y entrer personne ne peut avoir sujet de s'en plaindre. . . .

[421] [1] *Newport Mercury,* Oct. 24, 1797.
[2] Importation into Georgia was forbidden in 1798. DuBois, p. 238.

[422] [1] Paris, Affaires Étrangères, Mémoires et Documents, Amérique, 1:302-303. For a brief history of this company and of those French companies which preceded it see this work, I. 95-103, II. xxiii.

423. Instructions to Captain Herpin, 1718.[1]

4 juillet, 1718.

Instruction pour le sr. Herpin Commandant du Vaisseau "L'aurore" destiné pour la Traitte des Negres à la Coste de Guynée.

Le Sr. Herpin Capitaine de la fregatte *L'aurore* mettra à la voille de St. Malo du premier Vent favorable pour aller à la Coste de Guynée y faire la Traitte des Negres;

Ledit sr. herpin fera son premier atterage Entre le Cap de Monte et le Cap Mezurade, il fera son Eau à Mezurade et prendra dans le mesme Lieu du Bois et de l'eau en quantité suffisante pour aller à l'amérique.

Il Evitera d'aller a Festre à cause des dangers auxquels sont Exposés les Chaloupes pour y faire de l'eau.

Aprés avoir fait son Eau et son bois au Cap Mezurade, il continuera sa Route pour Juda,[2] il poura toucher en passant à Cabolahou, Jacques Lahou et Jacques Jacques au Cap Ste. appolonie et y Traitter quelques Negres en observant de ne demeurer que deux a trois jours en chaque endroit, il peut mesme Traitter du Ris dans les Endroits cy dessus nommez.

En partant du cap Ste. appolonie il prendra le large, et ne regagnera la Coste que Vers lampy,[3] auquel lieu il poura demeurer dix à douze jours, et il y Traittera le plus de Negres quil luy sera possible.

dans les differents Endroits ou ledit Sr. herpin fera la Traitte des Negres il fera en sorte d'en Traitter quelques Uns qui sachent cultiver le Ris, il traittera aussy Trois ou quatre Barriques de Ris propre à semer qu'il remettra à son arrivée à la Colonie aux directeurs de la Compagnie.

Led. sr. herpin se rendra Ensuite a Juda et Se concertera avec le sr. Bouchel Tant pour faire les présents ordinaire au Roy que pour achever sa Traitte qu'il fera avec le plus de diligence quil sera possible, observant de ne Traitter aucun Negre ny Negresse qui ayt au dessus de 30 ans, autant qu'il sera possible ni au dessous de huit. Nous estimons qu'elle peut estre de 400 Negres, son Vaisseau estant assez grand pour les Contenir et ayant de marchandises pour les Traitter.

Le Sr. herpin observera de faire toute la diligence possible dans Sa Traitte en quelques lieux quil la fasse, puisqu'il scayt que la santé

[423] [1] Paris, Arch. Nat., Col., B 42bis: 201-204. For an English translation of this document with an excellent introduction see H. P. Dart, "The First Cargo of African Slaves for Louisiana, 1718", *La. Hist. Quar.*, XIV. 163-177. In order to economize space repetitions, headings, and endorsements have been omitted in the French documents.

[2] Whydah. The ports at which the *Aurore* was to touch on the Ivory Coast are familiar ports to the slave trader and are frequently mentioned in the earlier volumes of this work.

[3] Allampo.

des Nègres et la bonté du Voyage dépendent du peu de tems que les Negres sont a Bord.

Il observera Encore pendant le Tems qu'il sera dans le Rade de Juda de faire faire de l'eau pour remplacer celle qui aura été consommée depuis son départ du Cap mezurade, et pour la Consommation qu'il en fera dans ladite Rade.

On Sçay que l 'eau est assez difficile à faire à Juda, mais au moyen d'un Vat et Vient qu'on Etablit à Terre et à la chaloupe que est mouillée en dehors de la Barre on en peut facilement faire deux chaloupées par jour.

Ledit Sr. herpin pendant son sejour à Juda Traittera le mahy [4] dont il croira avoir besoin pour la Nourriture de ses negres.

Quand ledit Sr. herpin aura finy sa Traitte il fera voille pour la Colonie, et nous luy deffendons sous quelque prétexte que ce puisse estre de Toucher aux isles de fernande et de Poo, de Corisque, du Prince, de St. Thome et danabou [5] non plus qu'au Cap de Lopo, les Relaches dans les lieux cy dessus ne sont que pour faire de l'eau et du Bois, nayant besoin ny de l'Un ny de l'autre à son départ de Juda, il allongeroit son voyage et il Exposeroit son Equipage et ses negres aux maladies qui sont ordinaires dans ces lieux la.

Nous ordonnons au s. herpin, a Tous ses officiers et au chirurgien de prendre grand soin de la santé des nègres d'Empescher la débauche des Negresses avec les Negres et l'Equipage, de les faire tous Entretenir proprement de faire nettoyer et grater Tous les jours l'Entrepont afin qu'il ne s'y Engendre point de Corruption.

Comme il est moralement Impossible que le Sr. herpin n'ayt pas besoin de raffraichissement dans la Route de Juda à la Colonie Tant pour son Equipage que pour les Negres, il relachera a la grenade et il prendra les raffraichissements dont il aura besoin et il en tirera des lettres de change sur le Sr. Deshayes Caissier de la Compagnie à Paris.

Led. Sr. herpin Evitera absolument de relacher à la Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Domingue, ny à aucune colonie francoise ou Etrangere.

Il fera le moins de séjour qu'il poura à la Grenade, et il prendra toutes les precautions possibles pour Eviter les forbans.

Comme nous ne doutons pas que le Sr. herpin ne trouve à la Coste de Guynée des Vaisseaux Portugais, il Tachera de traitter avec Eux du Tabac de Bresil jusques à la concurrence de deux à trois cent livres pesant, il en distribuera aux negres avec Economie et il remettra le Reste Entre les mains des directeurs à la Colonie.

Le Sr. herpin arrivé a la Colonie mouillera à l'Isle dauphine, ou à la Vuë de lad'e isle, il Envoyera dabord sa chaloupe à terre avertir

[4] Maize.
[5] Annobon.

les directeurs de son arrivée, Ensuite il leur delivrera ses negres et suivra en tous les ordres quils luy donneront.

Ledit s. herpin fera le moins de sejour qu'il poura à la Colonie Il Embarquera les marchandises qui seront prestes dans les magazins de la Compagnie, et il reviendra directement à la Rochelle, et pour qu'il ne soit point obligé de relacher en revenant il prendra des Vivres pour deux mois et demy.

Il Evitera pendant sa Route soit en allant soit en revenant de reconnaistre aucun Vaisseau et il prendra grand soin de les Eviter tous.

Si pendant le Cours du voyage le Seigneur disposoit du Sr. herpin, nous Etablissons le Sr. Gascherie pour Commander en sa place et au deffaut de Tous les deux ce sera le Troisième qui aura la Commandement du Vaisseau, Nous Enjoignons aux Uns et aux autres d'observer les ordres cy dessus, et aux Equipages de leur obéir.

Nous ordonnons au s. herpin et a Tous autres officers de Régir et Gouverner leur Equipage suivant les ordres du Roy les uz [usages] et coutumes de la mer.

Au surplus, nous recommandons au Sr. herpin et a Tous ses officiers de menager en Tout les mtz [marchandises] de la Compagnie, d'autant qu'ils peuvent compter qu'elle recompensera ceux qui le meriteront, et qu'il le fera punir ceux qui ne se comporteront pas bien.

Dans les Cas non preveus dans les presents ordres la Compagnie s'en Rapporte à la prudence dudit s. herpin.

En cas qu'il reste à M. herpin des marchandises de Traitte après avoir fait sa Carguaison de negres il délivrera lesd. marchandises au directeur du Comptoir de Juda dont il prendra un Receu par duplicata au bas de l'Etat des marchandises qu'il luy aura laissé, Il Emportera Un de ces receus avec luy dans la Colonie, et envoyera l'autre par le premier Vaisseau qui partira de Juda pour france et pour les isles et luy remettra la lettre qu'il trouvera cy joint.[6]

424. Regulations of the Company of the West, 1718.[1]

1718, Mai 27, Paris.

Ordre que la Compagnie d'occident Veut estre observé pour la Vente des Negres qu'elle Envoyera à la Colonie de la Louisianna.

Le Negre de dix sept ans et au dessus Sans deffauts Corporels est réputé pièce d'Inde.

La Négresse de quinze ans et au dessus Jusqu'à 30 sera réputée pièce d'Inde

[6] Similar instructions were given to Sieur de Laudoüine, commander of the *Grand Duc du Maine*. For those to Sieur Du Coulombier of the *St. Louis*, who was to purchase between 450 and 500 negroes in Angola, see *La. Hist. Quar.*, XIV. 175-177.

[424] [1] L. C. Trans., Arch. Nat., Col., B 42bis: 255-256.

Trois Negrillons ou Negrittes de huit à dix ans feront deux pièces d'inde

deux Negrillons au dessous de dix ans pour Une piece d'Inde

Les Negres et Negresses seront lottis avant d'estre Exposés en Vente le plus Egalement qu'il sera possible, mesme ceux que les directeurs generaux Jugeront à propos de garder pour le service de la Compagnie, laquelle Veut bien ne se Réserver aucune préférence sur les habitants.

La Compagnie Veut bien faire aux habitants Un Credit suffisant pour le payement des Nègres qu'elle leur fera fournir, mais Comme Il est Important que la Culture des Terres s'Etablisse dans la Colonie Elle a Reglé le payement desd. Negres de la manière suivante.

Les anciens habitans payeront les Negres moitié Comptant, moitijé à Un an de ferme [terme?]

Il Leur sera libre de payer la première moitié en argent, la piastre à 3 *ll* 12 *s* la pistolle de poids pour quatre piastres,[2] les matières d'or et dargent à proportion ou en marchandises de Traitte du pays, aux prix des Tarifs réglés par les directeurs generaux mesme en Tabac en Manoques bien conditionné sera Receû au prix de 20 *ll.* le quintal Net poids de Marc, quatre pour Cent de bon poids,

Pour la seconde moitié, lesd. anciens habitants feront leurs Billets à l'ordre du Directeur qui aura fait la Livraison des Negres payables un an après en argent ou en Tabac, Bled, froment, Ris ou Soye.

La Compagnie Voulant favoriser les nouveaux habitants qu'elle a desja fait passer et qui passeront à l'avenir, ils payeront les Nègres moitié à un an et moitié à deux ans de Terme dont ils feront pareillement leurs Billets payables à l'ordre du directeur qui leur aura deslivré lesd. Negres,

Les Billets a un an seront payables soit en argent, soit en marchandises de la Traitte du pays, soit en Tabac, Bled froment, Ris ou Soye.

Les Billets à deux ans seront payables en argent, Tabac, froment, Ris ou Soye, sans que les marchandises de la traite du pays puissent estre receues,

Les Nouveaux habitants Seront Censés anciens après deux ans de sejour dans la Colonie et payeront alors les Negres qui leur seront deslivrez, moitié comptant et moitié à un an

Sy aucuns des habitants soit anciens ou Nouveaux Vouloit payer Comptant en Entier les Negres quil acheptera de la Colonie, il luy sera accordé Un Escompte sur la partye dont il auroit pû prendre Credit a raison d'Un demy pour Cent par mois.

fait à PARIS en l'hostel de la Compagnie d'occident le 27 May 1718.

[2] On Jan. 12, 1723, the French government raised the value of the piastre to 7 livres, 10 sols, the same value it had in the West Indies. In 1724 it was reduced to 4 livres, 10 sols.

425. Minutes of the Council of Commerce of Louisiana, 1719.[1]

Deliberation du Conseil de Commerce assemble a l'Isle dauphine le Sisieme Sep'bre 1719.

Vous Soussignés Commandants et Directeurs generaux de la Compagnie D'occident, assemblés pour mettre a execution les ordres de la Compagnie au Sujet de la Vante des Negres, ayant pour cet effet convoqué tous les habitants tant anciens que nouveaux, et Sur la proposition qui leur a été faitte de les payer moitié comptant et l'autre moitié dans un an, comme aussy des lots des Negres tous se sont retirés et l'espace de deux mois et demy s'estant Ecoulés sans qu'aucun des dits Colons soit venu faire des offres, nous avons resolu pour obvier au prejudice que le retardement de la Vente Cause a la Compagnie qui est obligé de les nourrir sans avoir de quoy les occuper sur l'isle Dauphine de faire le present reglement.

Scavoir que pour la Satisfaction de l'habitant qui aimera mieux payer un negrillon qu'il affectionnera qu'un negre p'ce d'Inde, led. negrillon sera vendû sur le pied de p'ce d'Inde affin que la Compagnie puisse d'un autre cotté se dedommager de la perte qu'elle fera sur les macarons.

que pour le payement des dits negres on recevra les billets de la nouvelle Compagnie et ceux du temps de M. Crozat aux conditions suivantes.

Scavoir les billets de la Nouvelle Compagnie payables en argent Seront receus comme argent comptant, et les billets payables en marchandises avec le benefice que la Compagnie doit gagner sur les march's

Que pour ce qui regarde les billets du tems de M. Crozat Ils ne seront receus qu'aux Conditions Suivantes Sçavoir qu'il Sera Stipulé qu'en Cas que la Compagnie dans la Suitte desaprouvat qu'on ayt recu en payement les debtes de M'r Crozat led. habitant Lobligera par son billet de payer ses negres en argent, fruits, ou marchandises du pays ou a restituer ces Negres qui pendant qu'il sera en la puissance dud't habitant Sera pour son compte et risque. Signés Serigny, Bienville De Villardeau et C. lagac [2]

[425] [1] L. C. Trans., Arch. Nat., Col., C 13a, 5: 333-334, no. 3. Endorsed: "1719 Septembre 6, île Dauphine Déliberation du Conseil de Commerce de la Louisiane au sujet de la vente des négres. C. C." In the margin, "Cie. des Indes, C-31-1". The Company of the West had by this time been incorporated into the Company of the Indies, which had also absorbed the Senegal Company.

[2] Bienville was governor of Louisiana; Serigny, his brother, was commander of the Dauphine Island.

426. Ordinance regarding the Sale of Negroes, 1722.[1]

1722 Mars 12 fort Louis

Ordonnance des directeurs de la Compagnie a la louisianne du 12 mars 1722, sur la vente des nègres.

Nous Commandant et Directeurs generaux de la province pour Eviter les abus quil pouroit y avoir de la part de ceux a qui la Compagnie a vendu et vend journellement des negres pour la Culture des terres, faisons deffences a tous habitants de quelque Condition quils soient, de vendre aucun negre, Sous quelque pretexte que ce puisse être aux Espagnols, n'y autres pour les retirer de la Colonie, Sous peine de mil livres demande et confiscation du nègre la première fois pour le contrevenant, la moitié du tout aplicable au denonciateur, et l'autre moitié au proffit de la compagnie, Ordonnons aussi que les ventes qui se feront desd. negres entre habitants Soient faittes aux mêmes conditions auxquelles l'acquereur Se Soumettra en présence du Commandant et Commis principal, ou garde magasin du poste; et que la presente ordonnance Soit lue, publiée, et affichée, affin que personne n'en ignore, et quelle Soit Executtée Suivant Sa tenue, Donné ou Fort Louis ce 12 mars 1722. Signés Bienville, leblond de la tour, delorme et Dalcourt.

427. Decisions of the Council of the Indies, 1723.[1]

Du 30 Avril, 1723.

Decisions du Conseil des Indes concernant le Commerce d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique. C.C.

Ensuite de la lecture qui a eté faite de chaque article du projet Estimatif des armements a faire par led. Conseil a compter du mois d'avril de la presente année 1723 au mois d'avril 1724, dont l'enregistrement est porté sur le Registre des deliberations du Conseil, led. Conseil des Indes a ordonné. . . .

7° Quant au Commerce de Guinee led. Conseil a Juge a propos pour des Raisons d'Etat d'attendre a Se determiner deffinitivement, il a este Seulement decide par led. Conseil que les partis a prendre la dessus Se bornoient a deux, et qu'il s'agiroit de Statuer dans le temps marque par S. E. Mgr. le Cardinal Premier Ministre Si led. Commerce doit Se faire Exclusivement dans toute Son Extendue, ou S'il ne conviendroit pas mieux a la Situation presente des Choses que la Compagnie Se Restreignant pour quelque temps a la traite Exclusive des Negres dans les Royaumes de Juda et d'ardres, lui accordast pour d'autres contrées quelques permissions sur le pied de tant par teste de Negres ou par tonneau;

[426] [1] L. C. Trans., Arch. Nat., Col., A 23: 35-35v.

[427] [1] Paris, M. des Col., C 2, 15: 216-219; "259, 30 avril 1723. Comp'e des Indes orientales, M. Raudot".

Et en attendant que led. Conseil Eust Statue Sur l'un de ces deux partis. Il a este ordonne d'armer le nombre de vaisseaux Suffisants pour faire passer trois mil Negres lesquels avec Neuf Cens qui doivent estre transportez par les Vaisseaux *L'annibal* et *L'ameriquain,* et *la Neréide,* deux mille qui proviendront de la traite du Senegal, et huit cens a quoy peuvent monter les deux permissions accordees a Mgr le Duc feront le nombre de Six mil Sept cens Negres pour la fourniture aux Colonies de l'annee Courante, et led. nombre a paru d'autant plus Suffisant qu'il a este accorde depuis dix huit mois trente six permissions particulieres.

8 Le Conseil des Indes a ordonne l'execution des dispositions pour la Colonie de la Louisianne Renfermees dans led. projet estimatif mais il a decide a l'Egard des cinq cens Soixante dix Negres qui doivent y estre transportez que les Soixante dix estimez necessaires pour les travaux de la Compagnie et mis en Reserve a dessein d'y estre apliquez, le Conseil de la Louisianne auroit la liberte d'en distribuer une Centaine aux habitant de la Colonie les plus laborieux et les plus attachez a la culture des terres, et que le Surplus Seroit partage aux proprietaires des Concessions de la Louisianne demeurant a Paris, en faisant par lesd. proprietaires leurs Soumissions d'en payer l'achat en deux ans au plus, Soit a la Louisianne en marchandise Soit en franc en argent.[2] . . .

428. Council of Louisiana to the Council of the Indies, 1726.[1]

Du p'er avril 1726.

Le Conseil Envoye le Certifficat de deux cent huit Negres remis à la Loüisianne par le Navire la *Mutine* il y joint l'Etat de la distribution qui en a été faitte et de celle qu'il se propose de faire de la Cargaison du Navire l'*aurore* qu'il attend

Il Envoye aussy les protestations faittes au Greffe par M. De la Chaise contre ces distributions.[2] . . .

[2] Endorsed: "Collationné sur le Registre des Deliberations dudit Conseil. Brinon de Coligny."

[428] [1] Arch. Nat., Col., C 13a, 9: 251. A certificate was returned to France for each cargo of negroes received.

[2] The distribution of negroes continued to be a matter of concern to the company. In October a list of planters who desired negroes was made out, with the numbers they wished and notes as to their fitness to receive them (L. C. Trans., Col., G 1: 464). From time to time orders were sent over directing special consignments: Sept. 20, 1726, 20 negro pièce d'Inde to d'Ausseville; Mar. 19, 1728, two to Sinard de Bellisle; 150 for Le Blanc plantation, to be supplied from different slave ships arriving in 1728 and 1729 (Col., B 43: 653, 743bis; L. C. Trans., Col., B 43: 808); 40 for d'Artaignan, to be taken from the next two slave ships which arrived (L. C. Trans., Col., B 43: 836, 837); 20 to Lusser, *ibid.*, p. 839.

429. Directors of the Company of the Indies to the Comte de Maurepas, 1729.[1]

1729 Octobre 26, Paris.

Les Directeurs de la Compagnie des Indes au Comte de Maurepas, Ministre de la Marine, L. S. Gratification demandée par La Rigaudière pour les nègres transportés par lui à la Louisiane.

Monseigneur, Nous avons reçeu la lettre que vous nous avez fait l'honneur de nous Ecrire le 25 de ce mois par laquelle nous voyons que le Sr. de la Rigaudière de la Clisse cy devant capitaine de la *Mutine*, vous a porté ses plaintes de ce que la Compagnie ne luy a payé pour gratification que 5 *ll.* par teste de noir de ceux qu'il a remis à la Louisianne au lieu de 7 *ll.* qu'elle paye ordinairement, et cela sous pretexte qu'il êtoit destiné pour St. Domingue.

Cet officier, Monseigneur, partit de L'Orient au mois de may 1725: Il etoit porteur d'une deliberation de la Compagnie qui fixoit la gratiffication pour les Noirs que les Capitaine remettroient aux Colonies de l'Amerique à 5 *ll.* par tête, il a été payé sur ce pied la somme il en convient.

Il est vray que depuis pour porter les Capitaines à avoir plus d'attention à la conservation des noirs, et a engager même ceux des vaisseaux du Senegal a se rendre directement a la Loüisianne sans relacher, la Compagnie s'est determinée à accorder aux Capitaines qui vont du Senegal à la Loüisianne la même gratiffication de 7 ll. par tête de noir qu'elle accorde aux Capitaines qui vont de Juda aux Colonies d'Amerique, mais il ne s'en suit pas que cette Deliberation qui n'a été prise par la Compagnie que plus de 8 mois apres le depart du Sr. de la Clisse doive avoir un effet retroactif en sa faveur, La Comp'e à executé, les Conditions qu'elle avoit accordé au Sr. de la Clisse lors de son depart quoy qu'elle ait eu lieu de se plaindre de la conduite de cet officier comme nous avons eu l'honneur de vous le faire connoître par un memoire que la Compagnie vous remit par sa lettre du 17 Novembre de l'année derniere, nous vous Suplions de trouver bon, qu'elle rejette sa demande qui tres mal fondée.[2]

[429] [1] M. des Col., C 2, 22: 140-141.

[2] Signed by J. Morin, Fromaget, Deshayes. Endorsed: "Il ny a aucun lieu à sa pretention. Ecrit a M. de la Rigaudière le 10 9bre." One vessel sent out to Louisiana in 1729, *Ameriquain*, created much dissatisfaction by selling her cargo in Martinique. Sept. 19, 1729, M. des Col., C 8, 40, 41; Jan. 3, 1730, Col., B 54: 100.

430. Directors of the Company of the Indies to the Comte de Maurepas, 1730.[1]

1730, Janvier 14, Paris.

Les Directeurs de la Compagnie des Indes au Comte de Maurepas, Ministre de la Marine, L. S. Gratification demandée par La Rigaudière pour les nègres transportés par lui à la Louisiane.

M.R. M. Raudot

Les directeurs de la Compage. 1730

Monseigneur, Nous avons reçeu la lettre que vous nous avez fait l'honneur de nous ecrire le 11 de ce mois.

Les nouvelles plaintes du Sr. de la Clisse au Sujet de la gratification qu'il demande sur les Negres qu'il a introduits a la Loüisianne ne sont pas mieux fondées que toutes celles qu'il a cy devant faites: C'est un deffaut de Refflexion en luy de vouloir Etablir son droit sur la deliberation de la Compagnie du 28 Juin 1724 et de pretendre en consequence a 7 *ll* par teste de noir, tandis qu'il n'est fait mention que de 5 *ll.* dans cette même piece qu'il cite comme luy etant avantageuse.

Ce qui est plus certain que tout ce que le Sr. de la Clisse avance, c'est que la Compagnie n'a deliberé d'accorder 7 *ll.* pour les negres qui Seroient introduits du Senegal a la Loüisianne que le 19 du mois de decembre de l'année 1725, avant le Sr. de la Clisse, ainsy que de son tems, et jusques a la datte du 19 décembre 1725, aucun Capitaine n'a eu du Senegal a la Loüisianne plus de 5 *ll.* par teste de noir.

Le Sr. de la Clisse est party de Lorient Le 30 may de la même année 1725; par consequent dans le tems que la Gratiffication n'Etoit que de 5 *ll.* par negre.

Il est encore vray que son vaisseau avoit ordre d'aller a St. Dominigue, et que la Compagnie changea sa destination, parcequ' ayant apres que les habitans de cette isle avoient retenus deux navires negriers qui alloient a la Loüisianne, Elle jugea a propos de remplacer ces Cargaisons par celle du Sr. de la Clisse et du navire *l'aurore,* a qui elle deffendit de toucher a St. Domingue.

L'ordre de ce changement de destination est en datte du 30 may qui est le même jour du depart de Lorient, il fût envoyé au Sr. de la Clisse au Senegal, ou il le reçut au mois de Juillet Suivant, il en partit le 27 9bre de Sorte que touttes ces dattes sont anterieures au 19 Xbre qui est celle de la deliberation des 7 *ll.* par teste de noir, La Compagnie n'a jamais pretendu donner un Effet retroactif a cette disposition, et le Sr. de la Clisse est encore moins fondé que tout autre de se l'imaginer.

Quand bien même toutes ces raisons ne seroient pas invincibles, la Compagnie aura l'honneur, Monseigneur, de vous observer que les

[430] [1] M. des Col., C 2, 23: 38-41.

gratifications qu'Elle accorde pour les negres sont toujours sous la condition qu'Elle sera contente de la conduitte de ses officiers, et non autrement. Il s'en faut de beaucoup qu'Elle ne l'ait Eté de celle du Sr. de la Clisse; ainsy sans rapeller les pieces qu'Elle a eû l'honneur de vous remettre contre luy le 17 9bre 1728. Nous nous croyons obligés de rejetter Sa demande qui ne nous paroist fondée en aucun cas.[2]

431. Proposition made by the Company of the Indies, 1732.[1]

1732, Décembre 13.

Proposition de la Compagnie des Indes de s'acquitter envers le Roi en fournissant des nègres à la Louisiane N. S.

La Compagnie des Indes qui doit payer a la marine du Roy, Suivant l'Etat cy joint, et dans les termes y Enoncés a commencer du premier janvier 1733 Jusqu'au premier Juillet 1741 Inclusivement la Somme de huit cens quatre mil cinq cens dix livres dix huit Sols, propose d'en acquitter partie Successivement et par Compensation au moyen d'un transport equivalent de Noirs du Senegal a la Louisianne, et ce aux conditions suivantes:

1° Chaque cargaison de noirs sera assortie de deux tiers de males et d'un tiers de femelles.

2° Il y en aura aumoins quatre cinquiesmes des ages depuis quinze jusqu'a trente ans, Et il ne pourra y avoir qu'un cinquieme depuis dix ans jusqu'a quinze, que si neamoins dans la totalité d'une Cargaison, Il se trouvoit quelques masles d'un age au dessus de trente ans et de trente cinq ans au plus, Ils ne pourront estre rebutés, sinon dans le cas ou sur cent noirs, Il y en auroit plus de six de l'age au dessus de trente ans.

3° Une negresse enceinte ne Sera point de rebut a moins qu'elle ne fut agée de plus de trente ans.

4° Il en sera de même d'une negresse nourrice, mais la mère et l'enfant a la mamelle ne seront reputés que pour une seule et meme teste.

5° S'il arrivoit qu'il y en eut quelques uns de mis au rebut Ils pourront estre librement rembarqués dans le navire de la Compagnie sans que celuy qui sera preposé a la reception des cargaisons de noirs du Senegal a la Louisianne, ou tels autres quels qu'ils soient, puissent les retenir d'autorité aux prix qu'il leur plairra de les Arbitrer.

[2] Signed by Despremenil, P. Saintard, and Godeheir, directors of the company. Endorsed: "Les directeurs de la Comp'e des Indes, Paris 14 Jan. 1730. Ecrit a N. de la Rigaudiere de la Clisse le 31. dud. Mgr. le Comte de Maurepas."

[431] [1] M. des Col., C 2, 25: 95-96. On Jan. 23, 1731, the company took the first steps toward surrendering its charter, leaving Louisiana with 2500 negroes in a white population of 5000. To find means of supplying the need for negroes was one of the first problems calling for the attention of the new government. L. C. Trans., M. des Col., C 13, 14: 36; Col., C 13b, 1.

6° Chaque noir, negresse, negrillon et negrite sera Exempt de defauts Notables et Essentiels.

7° La livraison s'en fera par teste, sans entrer dans aucune regulation, Et sans autre Egard qu'aux Stipulations cy dessus.

8° Le preposé a la reception sera tenu d'en prendre livraison a l'Isle nominée la Balise, et non ailleurs dans les dix jours a compter du jour de l'arrivée du navire de la Comp'e aud. lieu.

9° Faute par le preposé a la Reception d'en prendre livraison dans led. terme des d. jours, tous noirs, negresses, negrillons et negrites, qui viendront a mourir passé ce tems là, Seront et demeureront pour le Compte de la Marine du Roy; a l'Effet de quoy il en sera dressé proces verbal en bonne et deüe forme par les officiers de l'Etat Major du Navire de la Comp'e.

10° Le navire de la Compagnie des Indes ne pourra estre astraint et obligé qu'a un mois de planche a la Balise, tant pour la livraison de Sa Cargaison que pour son Expedition, ni estre retenu aud. lieu en quelque cas ou pour quelque raison que ce puisse estre.

11° Sera tenu le preposé a la Reception aussitôt aprés la livraison, d'en donner aud. lieu dela Balise, et non ailleurs, son reçû par duplicata et triplicata au Capitaine du Navire de la Compagnie, ou a son defaut, a celuy qui aura fait lad. livraison.

12° Lesdits Noirs, Negresses, Negrillons et Negrites Indistinctement seront payés a la Comp'ie des Indes a raison de Six Cens livres chaque teste.

13° A la seule presentation du reçû du susd. preposé a la reception, le tresorier general de la Marine du Roy en exercice, auquel led. reçû sera remis, sera tenu de delivrer sans delay, pour le montant de lad. livraison Suivant le prix cy dessus, au Caissier general de la Compagnie des Indes quittance en forme de pareille Somme sur celles qui resteront veües, et qui Seront a payer par lad. Compagnie a la Marine de Sa Majesté pour raison de la retrocession de la Louisianne aux termes tant des dites deliberations de lad. Compagnie et de la Soumission de Ses Sindics et directeurs des 24 janvier 25 avril 1731, et 20 aoust 1732, que des arets du Conseil d'Etat des 27 mars 1731, et 2e 7bre 1732, Sur ce Intervenus.

432. Reply to the Proposition of the Company of the Indies, 1732.[1]

1732 Décembre 30.

Réponse du Ministère de la Marine à la proposition de la Compagnie des Indes de s'acquitter envers le Roi en fournissant des nègres à la Louisiane N. S.

[432] [1] M. des Col., C 2, 25: 98-99.

La proposition d'acquitter partie de la somme de 804,510 *ll.* 18 *s.* que la Compagnie des Indes doit payer a la Marine a commencer du p'er Janv 1733 jusqu'au premier Juillet 1741 Inclusivement, paroit pouvoir Egalement Convenir a la Comp'e et a la Colonie; il n'est question que d'en regler les Conditions, et de fixer le tems de cette fourniture, et Sur quels termes de payement elle sera compensée. Les trois premieres parties qui Echoient les pre. Janv. et 1'er Juillet 1733 et le 1'er Janvier 1734 montant a 225,000 *ll.* ne peuvent Entrer dans cette compensation, parcequ'outre qu'il n'y aura point de fourniture avant ce tems, la marine a besoin de ce fonds pour des depenses qui interessent la Sûreté de la Colonie.

Il seroit a Souhaitter que toute la fourniture ne fut pas en negres Senegalais, les habitans ont besoin de negres pour travailler a la terre, on Scait que Ceux du Senegal n'y sont pas propres, Ils sont fort bons domestiques.

L'assortiment proposé de 2/3 de mâles et du tiers de femelles, paroit convenable.

La proposition de 4/5 aumoins depuis 15 Jusqua 30 ans, et le cinquieme de 10 ans Jusqua 15, paroit aussi convenable, pourvu que cela soit assorti.

Les 3 et 4 Art. ne souffrent aucune difficulté.

Les 5 et 6 sont dans le même cas.

Le 7 qui Contient que la livraison l'En fera par terre, Sans entrer dans aucune regulation, ne paroit pas convenir, Il seroit même prejudiciable a la Comp'e, parceque la reception pouvant dependre des officiers preposés par le Roy, Il pourroit arriver que par un motif de zele ou autrement, Ils refuseroint d'en recevoir la plus grande partie, ce qui prejudicieroit a la Compagnie tant par la prolongation de la Negotiation, que par la mortalité des negres qu'il faudroit transporter aux Isles.

Il est d'ailleurs plus regulier de traiter a la Charge de la Regulation, et Cela est plus dans l'ordre, et pour le Roy, Et pour la Comp'e. Cela leve aussi toutes les difficultés.

On ne peut acquiescer a la proposition de recevoir les negres a la Balise, les officiers du Roy qui seront preposés pour la reception, resident a la Nouvelle Orléans, les magasins y sont ainsi que les Secours pour la Nourriture, et c'est la ou se fait le commerce, Il seroit difficile que ces officiers se transportent a la Balise, parcequ'en tous tems leur presence Est Indispensablement necessaire a la Nouvelle Orleans, ou la livraison des negres doit se faire, et non ailleurs; on ne comprend point quels peuvent Estre les motifs de la Comp'e dans cette proposition, elle est contre la bonne regle et elle peut estre prejudiciable a la Comp'e qui ayant encore des effets a recouvrer dans la

Colonie, les prendra d'autant mieux a la nouvelle Orléans, quelle n'y a plus de batimens pour les transporter a la Balise.

Le mois de relache paroit suffisant, pourveu que ce soit a la Nouvelle orleans, et quant a la retenüe des navires, Il n'y a point d'aparence que cela arrive; mais En tout cas Si le service du Roy, et la Seureté de la Colonie Exigeoint qu'on Eut besoin de Vaisseaux de la Comp'e, Il Seroit juste de la dedomager de la depense du retardement.

Le prix de 600 *ll.* demandé par la Comp'e paroit bon pourveu que ce soit par teste de Negre pris d'Inde et non autrement; en le reglant sur ce pied la, la Compagnie y trouvera plus d'avantage que Si elle les vendoit 1000 *ll.* même 1200 aux Isles, parcequ'outre que se payant en france par ses mains, elle ne Courra point les risque des retours, les voyages des vaisseaux seront plus courts, et elle evitera la perte aumoins de 35 ou 40 pour Cent Sur la Vente des Sucres et autres Effets qui Seroint donnés aux Isles En payement des Negres qui ne Seroint d'ailleurs vendus qua terme; ainsi le prix de 600 *ll.* piece d'Inde paroit raisonnable et avantageux a la Comp'e.

Si le Roy se determinoit a Consentir qu'ils fussent Receus Indistinctement par teste, ce qui ne convient pas pour les Raisons expliquées, on Estime que le payement ne pourroit Exceder 400 *ll.* a 450 *ll.*

La proposition qu'il Soit donné quittance a la Comp'e par le tresorier general de la Marine, en justiffiant de la remise des Negres aux officiers preposés pour la perception est juste.

Il sera necessaire Si la Convention a lieu, que la Comp'e prene une deliberation conformement a ce qui sera reglé, Et qu'elle Soit [pr]omologuée par un arret.

433. Memoir of the Company of the Indies, 1733.[1]

1733, Janvier 13.

Mémoire de la Compagnie des Indes au sujet de sa proposition de s'acquitter envers le Roi en fournissant des nègres à la Louisiane. N. S.

Memoire

La proposition, que la Comp'e des Indes a faite a la marine du Roy au sujet d'un transport de Noirs du Senegal a la Louisianne, est fondé sur les plus mûres reflections, l'affaire a été bien pesée et bien examinée; et la campagnie ne S'est fixée en presence de Monseigneur, aux treize articles que la proposition contient, quapres avoir moins consulté sur chaque article son Interest propre, que le desir

[433] [1] M. des Col., C 2, 25: 225. Endorsed: "Envoyé a M. de Maurepas le memoire cy joint reponse au Sien. Sur la proposition de la Compe. de transporter des Negres a la Louisiane, pour s'aquiter envers le Roy."

d'Estre de quelque secours et de quelque utilité a la Colonie de la Louisianne. la Compagnie a fait en cela d'ellemême tout ce qu'elle pouvoit faire; Et il ne semble pas que la proposition conviene a la marine du Roy a en juger par sa reponse que Monseigneur a donné En Communication a la Comp'e. Monseigneur est donc Suplié de permettre a la Comp'e de se desister de toute veüe d'Entrer la dessus en traité avec la Marine de Sa Majesté, ou de Sen tenir Invariablement aux articles proposés, auxquels il ne Sçauroit estre apporté de changement qui ne soit d'un tres grand prejudice pour Elle.

434. Comte de Maurepas to Vaudreuil and Salmon, 1752.[1]

1742, Octobre 22, Versailles.

Le Comte de Maurepas, Ministre de la Marine, à de Vaudreuil, gouverneur, et Salmon, ordonnateur à la Louisiane

M. M., Je reponds a la lettre de M'rs de Bienville et Salmon du 24 mars d'er, concernant le projet des S'rs Du Breüil et Dalcourt pour l'introd'on d'une cargaison de Negres a La Louisianne.

Ce projet n'a pas pu s'executer avec les S'rs Pascaud de la Rochelle, ces Neg's s'estant arrestés a des difficultés qui estoient insurmontables. Le Sr. Dalcourt s'est determiné a f're un armem't pr. son compte et celuy du S'r Du Breüil; mais il s'est trouvé obligé d'en reduire l'objet a une Cargaison de 200 Negres. Il a pour cet effet achepté un Bastiment qu'il doit f're armer a la Rochelle; Et pour luy faciliter la traite des Noirs, j'ay engagé la Comp'ie des Indes a les luy f're livrer dans son comptoir du Senegal, au prix dont il est convenu avec elle, et payable en francs, moytié comptant, et l'autre moytié au mois de Juillet prochain. Il doit se rendre Incessam. a la Rochelle pr. presser son armem't; et je ne sais encore s'il ne prendra pas le party d'aller luy mesme au Senegal. Quoy qu'il en soit, j'ay deux choses a vous prescrire au sujet de cette entreprise.

La p'r est de la favoriser en tout ce qui pourra dependre de vous. Les S'rs Dalcourt et Du Breüil S'y sont sans doute portés dans l'esperance d'y trouver de benefice; mais outre qu'il est juste qu'ils puissent en effet en retirer, c'est que cela est d'ailleurs a desirer pour l'avantage mesme de la Colonie, puisque s'ils venoient malheureusem't a y echouer, il n'en faudroit pas davantage pr. degouter entiérem't les armateurs de france non seulem't de la traite des noirs a La Loüis'e, mais peut estre mesme de tout commerce avec cette Colonie; car enfin il n'est gueres possible que ce comm'ce puisse se soutenir si les retours de la Colonie n'augmentent pas, Et ces retours, loin d' augmenter, ne pourront au contraire que diminuer, si elle ne reçoit pas des Secours de Negres.

[434] [1] Arch. Nat., Col., B 7, 4: 630-630 v., 631-631 v. Dalcour's project for carrying negroes to Louisiana had been under consideration for some time, Sept. 25, Oct. 2, 1741. Col., B 73: 63, 134.

Les avantages que j'ay procurés aux S'rs Dalcourt et Du Breüil doivent vous f're sentir de plus en plus combien cet objet me tient a coeur; je suis persuadé que vous y concourrés de vostre mieux. Je dois ajouter a cet egard qu'en tenant la main a ce que ces deux particuliers n'abusent pas du besoin que les Blancs ont de Negres pour les leur vendre a un prix exorbitant, il convient aussy que vous fassiez entendre aux haans q'ls doivent s'ex'er de leur part non seulem't pr. cette cargaison mais encore pr. celles qu'on pourra leur porter dans la suite, les dep'es et les risques des armemements de cette espece estant d'un objet bien plus considerable pr. la Loüisiane que pour les Isles.

La 2'de chose que j'ay a vous recommander, c'est de veiller a ce que les S'rs Dalcourt et Du Breüil prennent de justes mesures pr f're passer en france les fonds necessaires pr le payem't q'ls doivent faire au mois de Juillet prochain de la 2'de moytié du prix des Negres que la Comp'ie des Indes doit leur faire livrer. Ce payement doit estre de 30m *ll*; Et s'ils n'y satisfaisoient pas, je serois oblige d'y f're suppléer des fonds de la Marine, la Comp'ie ne s'estant determinée a leur faire ce credit, qu'a cette condition. Vous aurés agreable de me rendre compte de ce qu'ils feront sur cela, et M'r Salmon aura Soin de me prevenir particulierement des effets qu'ils feront embarquer Sur le V'au du Roy.

Au Surplus, Soitque cette enterprise reüssisse ou qu'elle echoüe, je suivray les autres vües que j'ay pr. procurer des Negres a La Colonie. J'avois pensé a y en faire introduire une cargaison pr. le compte du Roy, afin de retirer les papiers de Caisse qui ont esté repandus dans le public; Et j'avois demandé a M'rs de Bienville et Salmon de me mettre en estat de prendre un party sur cela, en me faisant Savoir au juste le cours de ces papiers et a quel prix pourroient estre vendus les negres payables avec ces effets. Mais ils ne m'ont pas donné ces ecclaircissements et je sens qu'ils ne pourroient pas le faire par la confusion avec laquelle les papiers de Caisse ont esté repandus dans le public, ce qui est la source du desordre qui regne et dans les finances et dans le Commerce de la Colonie.

J'attens que M. Salmon ayt constaté l'estat des choses a cet esgard, et que vous puissiés satisf're a ce que j'avois demandé sur l'Idée d'un Envoy de Negres pr. le Compte du Roy.[2]

[2] "Dup'ta a Mr. Salmon a V'les le 22, 8bre 1742." Endorsed: "Je reponds, M. a vos lettres des 3 et 4 avril et du 18 Juin d'ers. . . . Vos apprendrés par une depesche commune a vous et a M. de Vaudreüil l'arrangement qui a esté fait par le S'r Dalcourt avec la Comp'ie des Indes p une cargaison de 200 negres. La lettre de change de 30,000 *ll.* luy a esté remise et Sera aquitteé a son echeance." Apparently 182 Guinea slaves were brought in during the next year (Sept. 26, 1743, Vaudreuil to Comte de Maurepas, Col. F 3, 128). Dalcour's negroes, obtained from the Company of the Indies, he had not yet paid for in April, 1745. Comte de Maurepas to the Directors of the Company of the Indies, Col., B 82: 34, 55.

435. Comte de Maurepas to M. de Fulvy, 1742.[1]

1742, Décembre 6, Versailles.

Le Comte de Maurepas, Ministre de la Marine, à de Fulvy.

Le S'r Dalcourt m'a representé, M. qu'au lieu de 200 negres qu'il avoit dabord demandés a la Compagnie des Indes, la fourniture a esté portée à 220; mais que par le traité qui a esté passe a cette occasion il a esté reglé qu'il donneroit des Suretés pour le payem't du prix de ces 20 Negres d'augmentation; Et il m'a demandé de pourvoir a cet objet qui est de 6000 *ll.* Par les mesmes motifs qui m'ont desja fait agir sur cette entreprise je ferai encore agréer au Roy que si le Sr. Dalcourt manquoit de satisfaire au payement du prix de ces 6000 *ll.* dans les termes qui ont esté stipulés par le traité passé avec lui, je pourrai y faire Suppléer par le Tresorier general de la Marine au mois de jan'er de l'année 1744 en mesme temps que je ferai faire le payement des 30,000 *ll.* Supposé que le Sr. Dalcourt n'y satisfit pas, Si cet arrangement convient a la Compagnie, je vous prie de vouloir bien me le marquer.

436. Memoir on the Commerce of Louisiana, 1754.[1]

La Louisiane 1754 [Sept. 15?] Détails sur le commerce á faire a la Louisiane

Memoire de Commérce sur la louisiane avec les opérations qui en Résultent

. . . Mais ce commerce Ne peut se faire avec avantage sans celuy de Negres, dont Je vay proposer les opérations, parce que le pays manqu'ant de Negres, tous les habitants mettent tout En Reserve pour En avoir, Et s'attendent que la Cour ou le commerce leur En Enverront, En sorte qu'on peut s'assurer qu'ils faciliteront une pareille Entréprise, Non Seulement par la preferance de L'achat de leurs Besoins, mais encore en portant leurs Revenus davance, pour Etre assurés d'avoir des negres; Et lon pourroit sassurer d'avoir par la, une Espéce d'Exclusion tacite pour ce commerce; Ils me l'ont fort promis, Et je crois qu'on peut y faire fonds avec assurance.

Peu de tems avant le depart du premier Navire En carguaison pour la Louisiane, Il faut expedier un Navire de 170 Th'x ou Environ de 330 Negres pour guinée a la botte [coste?] dor avec ordre quil prenne de la Junesse autant quil sera possible, sçavoir les deux tiers En malles et l'autre En femmes, quil ny aye pas plus de 15 a 20 Negrillons ou Negrittes, Et que le Reste soit de l'age depuis 15 Jusqua 25 années, Et fournir de bons Vivres pour que les Negres ne souffrent pas, Et qu'il passe au cap pour suivre les avis que le gereur de la louisiane, y aura Laissés pour sa Gouverne; Il prendra un julotte

[435] [1] Arch. Nat., Col., B 75: 169-169v.

[436] [1] Arch. Nat., Col., C 13a, 38: 236-242 fo. Endorsed: "par le sr. Colom," and, "La Louisiane. 1754 [Sept. 15?]. Détails sur le commerce á faire a la Louisiane."

pour la louisiane, pourra Meme faire descendre quelques Negres a terre pour Rassurer le Reste de la carguaison sur leur sort. Et la, leur distribuera a chaqu'un un Rechange, cest a dire une chemise Et une culotte aux malles, Et une chemise Et une Juppe aux femmes, ce petit contentement leur faira Entreprendre avec plus de plaisir la traversée pour la louisiane, ou on leur promettra des les Mieux habiller; Et cet habillement les garantira des Cousins Et de la Bigaille, qu'ils sentiront En montant le fleuve; il Raffraichira ses vivres s'il En est besoin, Et partira le plustot possible pour la louisiane, ou il trouvera a la Balize qui est l'entrée du fleuve, les avis Necessaires du gereur de la louisiane pour Monter promptement sa carguaison, Et d'ou il donnera un Etat Exact de sa carguaison pour que le gereur puisse les Vendre Et distribuer En arrivant.

Voicy donc le compte de L'armement du premier Navire de 330 Negres Pour la coste de Guinée destiné pour la Louisiane

Compte d'armement du Premier Negrier Pour la Louisiane

Mise hors En france

Achat du Navire	30,000	
Mise hors	15,000	
Carguaison pr 330 Negres	80,000	127,500 *ll.*
Commission d'armement	2500	
assurance d'aller Et Retour a 10 p%		127,500
Desermement au retour commission etc.		16,000 *ll.*
desarmement Et de Vente a p%	2560	18,560
		158,810
		272,650
Proffit sur cet armément		113,840

Vente des Retours En France

1500 de tabac a	30 *ll.*	
Le %	45,000 *ll.*	
22,500 indigo . . a 6	125,000	240,000 *ll.*
20,000 *ll.* pelléterie a 3 *ll.*	60,000	
Lettres de change sur france	10,150	
	250,150	
Valeur du Navire au Retour	22,500	
	£272,650	

Vente des Negres a la Louisiane

Pour la Vente de 330 Negres qu'on reduit a cause de la mortalité, Evalûé a Environ 10 p%, a 300 Negres Vendus lun dans lautre a 900 *ll.*	270,000 *ll.*

frais Et carguaisons Pr France

frais'a St. domingue En passant	2000
droit des Negres a la louisiane a 2 p%	5400
frais du Navire a la louisiane	7500
commission de Vente Recouvrement Et Envoy	
Na. quil a Eté Envoyté 20,000 *ll.* sur 270,000 *ll.* a 6 p% de moins ansy quil a Eté dit Cy devant et dont il sera parlé cy après	16..200
1500 de tabac a aa *ll.* 10 *s.* Le %	33,750
25,000 *ll.* indigo a 5 *ll.*	125,000
20,000 *ll.* pelleteries a 50	50,000
	208,750
En Lettres de Change sur france	10,150
	£250,000

Lon Voit par ce compte, qu'on a fait pour 20,000 *ll.* d'Envois de moins que Ne monte la Vente de la carguaison; cette somme servira non seulement a L'achat de partie de L'habitation proposée, mais aussy pour Tenir lieu des deptes Retardées, dont cependant on fait partie de la Remise par le Navire En carguaison pour la Louisiane ainsy quil a Eté Expliqué dans le compte de cet armément En Carguaison

Le compte de cet armément Est doublé sur le tableau En 1755 parce qu'il faut qu'un mois au plus tard apres L'armément du prémier Negrier pour la Louisiane, il en parte un pareil avec les memes opérations affin qu'il puisse arriver avant les froids a la Louisiane; Il en est tres Necessaire de prendre ces précautions dans les Commencement, affin de Mettre En usage tout ce que peut contribuer a la Reussitte de cette Entreprise, par la craintequ'on ne fut découragé s'il arrivoit dans les commencements des accidents qu'on N'auroit pas prevus, mais dans la suitte par les precautions que l'on prendra, et les Etablisséments quon faira sur l'habitation, les Negres pourront arriver En toutte saison.

On voit donc par le Tableau de commerce des Négres, l'armément de deux Negriers, dont le capital Monte a f 280,500 *ll.* sur lequel le proffit Réel est de 227,680 *ll.* les Negres pieces dinde valent jusqu'a 1400 *ll.* cependant Je ne les passe que sur le pied de 900 *ll.* L'un dans L'autre, Ils pourront Rentrer a d'avantage s'ils sont Bien choisis, et qu'on voulut faire quelque credit, ou qu'on ne se pressera pas de les Vendre, ayant, Comme Je L'ay dit, la Ressource d'une habitation pour les Mettre En attendant la Vente: les Retours sur Tout En indigo peuvent donner un proffit Bien plus Considerable, auquel on verra que sur la Vente Jay fait supporter un dechet de 10 p%.

Pour Prouver que les Mises des deux prémieres années suffiront Et au dela, à faire Roulller ce commerce pendant les huit années proposées suivant les Tableaux, on verra que le Net produit En france des Retour des 2 premiers Negriers la 1'ere année 1755 monte a la somme de		508,180 *ll.*
Celuy des 3 Negriers de la 2e année a		813,068 "
Le Net produit de la carguaison		1,321,248 "
de la 1'ere anneé 1755 monte a	211,080	419,620 "
Et celuy de La 2e année 1756 Monte a	208,540	
		1,740,868 *ll.*
La mise hors de L'armément des deux Negriers de la premiere anné 1755 Monte a La somme de	280,500	
Celle des 3. Negriers la 2e année a	402,930	
	£683,430	

Celle du Navire En carguaison la 1'ere année monte a	221,642 *ll.*		
Et celle de la 2e année 1756 monte a	191,499	413,141	1,096,571
Dont le proffit Est de la Somme de			£ 644,297

avec Le capital de ces Retours Montant a	1,740,868 *ll.*	
Il y aura aisément de quoi faire faire le 3e armément dont la mise hors des quatre Negriers la troisieme année 1757 Mont a la somme de		524,370 *ll.*
Et celle des 2 Navires En Carguaison En 1757 est de		384,419
		908,789 *ll.*

Ainsy l'on voit que le société aura Encore de Reste du net produit en france des Retours de la Louisiane des deux premieres années 1755 Et 1756 montant de l'autre part a La somme de 1,740,868 *ll.* deduction faitte des arméments cy dessus En 1757 montant a—908,789 *ll.* la somme de 832,079 *ll.*

Mais comme dans le commerce on doit prevoir tous les Evénements Et que la Reussitte Ne Repond pas Toujours a notre attente, il sera Nécessaire que les capitalistes prenent des sages precautions, pour En cas de quelque facheux Evénément, pouvoir continuer ce Commerce sur ce plan, Et sur lequel ils peuvent des a present faire un fonds solide, Quand a moy Je Reponds Bien d'apporter tous les soins possibles pour la Reussitte de l'Entreprise, Et Je puis me flatter de conaître asses le pays, et dy etre asses aymé pour pouvoir Espérer qu'on me fournira d'avance les Carguaisons pour Envoyer En france Et a St. domingue soubs les Engagements que je leur faisay de leur fournir des Negres.

Comme les piastres lourdes perdent En france, Il conviendra de N'en Envoyer que le moins qu'il se pourra, Et prendre a la place des Marchandises Sur lesquelles on peut gagner.

Je pense que pour le Bien de L'Entreprise Il convient quil soit choisy une Vintaine de Bons Negres, dont on faira peu a peu des Matelots qui Remplaceront les Matelots qui mourront ou qui desertéront. ces Negres serviront et seroient continuellément occupés a aller Et venir de St. domingue a la Louisiane seulement; ils Epargnéroient considérablement des Gages d'Equipage; Empecheroient le Retardément fautte de Monde; ayderoient a la charge et decharge des Battiments; augmenteroient considerablément de prix, Et seroient dans Touttes les occasions d'une Ressource infinie dont la valeur Retournerois au proffit de la société lors de la liquidation; ces memes Negres dans Loccasion pourront Tranquliser l'esprit des Negres Nouveaux sur leur sort, et leur faire suporter aisement le trajet de St. domingue a la louisiane.

Le Gereur de la Louisiane pourra a L'occasion achetter le Bois de Campetche ou autres danrées des espagnols pour faire des Retours En france soit par Trop de Marchandises Soit En argent.

On peut Regarder sur les tableaux l'article de la prime d'assurance comme un objet qui N'Entre point dans la mise, puisqu'en genéral elle ne se paye qu'au Retour, au Moyen de quoy ce seroit un objet pour les deux premières années sur les Navires En carguaison de la somme de 23,385 *ll.*

Et sur les Navîres Negriers les deux premieres années 62,130 "

qui fourneroient une mise hors de moins de la some de 85,515 *ll.*

[*Memoir on the Commerce of Louisiana*—continued:]

Tablau de comerce de Negres Pour la Louisiane, Et Arméments

Années	Encombrements et Port des Navires	Navires pour Guinée de 330 Negres	Achat des Navires Neufs pour la coste De Guinée	Navires qui ont deja fait des voyages	Prix des Navires qui ont deja fait des voyages	Mise hors des Navires Et avances aux Equipages	Carguaisons des Navires pour la coste de Guinée	Commissions D'armément En france a 2 p %	Assurances Pour Guinée la louisiane Et Retour En france a 10 p %	Total des Mises hors En france pour L'armément des Négriers Pour la Louisiane
1755	170 Thonaux-2		60,000		----------	30,000	160,000	5,000	25,500	280,500
1756	170 Th 1		30,000	2	45,000	45,000	240,000	6,300	36,630	402,930
1757	170 Th 1		30,000	3	58,500	60,000	320,000	8,200	47,670	524,370
1758	170 Th 2		60,000	4	70,500	90,000	480,000	12,600	71,310	784,410
1759	170 Th 4		120,000	6	104,250	150,000	800,000	21,400	119,565	1,311,215
1760	----------		----------	8	132,750	120,000	640,000	15,200	90,795	998,745
1761	----------		----------	7	94,595	105,000	560,000	13,500	77,309	850,404
		10	300,000		505,595	600,000	3,200,000	82,200	468,779	£5,156,574

437. Prize Negroes from the *Opal* and the *Fortune*, 1758.[1]

1758 Sept. 27-Octobre 23. N. O.

Proces-verbal de la vente des negres pris aux Anglais par les vaisseaux l'Opale et la Fortune D. S.

L'an mil sept cent cinquante huit Le Vingt Septieme Jour de Septembre neuf heures du matin En vertu de L'ordonnance de monsieur de Rochemore Conseiller Du Roy Commissaire general de la marine ordonnateur et premier juge au Conseil superieur de La province de La Louisiane Etant au Bas de La requeste a Lui présentée par le Sr. Pierre Brochard Ecrivain de La marine sur La flutte Du roy *L'Opale* en datte du vingt trois du présent mois a été procédé En présence de M'r Descloseaux Commre. De la marine de M'r Raguet conseiller au conseil y faisant fonction de procureur Du Roy dud. Sr. Brochard, Du Sr. D'Espalliere Ecrivain du Roy sur La flutte du Roy *La fortune* du Sr. Carlier Ecrivain de La marine faisant les fonctions de Controlleur a la vente et adjudication au plus offrant et d'Encherisseur des negres qui ont eté pris sur Les anglois par les d. Vaux. Laquelle vente a été publiée et affichée et rendue publique a son de tambour dans tous les Carrefours de cette ville De la nlle. Orleans et S'Etant Trouvé nombre D'Encherisseurs sous une tante mise exprès dans La cour des Cazernes a eté publié que l'on accorde quinze jours de termes aux acquereurs qui payeront au Bout du tems Le prix de leur adjudication En mains du greffier Ensuitte de quoy il a eté procédé ainsi qu'il en suit

Premierement a eté mis et exposé en vente un negre Lequel après plusieurs criées et Encheres a eté adjugé au Sr. chevalier de Makarti Comme plus offrant et d'er Encherisseur a La somme de Quinze cent livres cy 1500

Item un autre negre adjugé id au Sr. Renaudin a onze cent trente cinq livres cy 1135

Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. Garderat a treize cent quatre vingt livres cy 1380

Item un grand negre adjugé au Sr. Dreux Laisné a seize cent soixante dix livres cy 1670

Item Un moyen negre adjugé au Sr. Priou pere a onze cent trente livres cy 1130

Item Un negrillon adjugé au Sr. fusillier a treize cent quarante cinq livres cy 1345

Item un grand negre adjugeau S. Louis harang a dix sept cent livres cy 1700

Item un negre adjugé au Sr. Ornaud a quatorze cent Cinquante livres cy 1450

Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. Piat a douze cent trente livres cy 1230

Et attendu qu'il est environ mydy La continuation de La presente vente a ete renvoyée a ce jourd'huy de relevée et ont signé ainsi signé En la minutte des presentes Le Chr De Plas Large Brochard Despallieres Carlier Raguet Bobé Descloseaux et nous greffier sous-signé

Chantalon Greff

Et les sus d.jours mois et an Deux heures de relevée en continuant La susd. vente a la requeste et en presence des cy devant nommés et sy etant trouvé nombre D'Encherisseur a ete procédé ainsi qu'il ensuit

Premierement a ete mis et exposé En vente un negre Lequel après plusieurs criées et encheres a eté adjugé au Sr. Caminade a La somme de seize cent vingt cinq livres cy 1625

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[437] [1] L. C. Trans., Arch. Nat., Col., C 13a, 40: 189-198. This account was attached to a letter to M. de Rochemore. The English vessel bound with these negroes for Virginia was taken, July 18, 1758. Min. des M., B 4, 81: 65.

Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. Vienne a douze cent soixante et dix livres cy 1270
Item une negresse adjugée au Sr. Portneuf a seize cent soixante livres cy 1660
Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. Belnost a quinze cent dix livres cy 1510
Item une negresse adjugée au S. Bienvenu a seize cent livres cy 1600
Item un negrillon adjugé au nommé Joseph La flutte a onze cent quatre vingt livres cy 1180
Item une negresse adjugée au Sr. Ducret dt. Belle humeur a quinze cent trente cinq livres cy 1535
Item un negre adjugé au Sr. Pontalba a seize cent Cinquante livres cy 1650
Item une negritte adjugée au Sr. Chevalier de macarti a douze cent livres cy 1200
Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. Bouée Laisné a onze cent quatre vingt dix livres cy 1190
Item une negresse adjugée au Sr. fromantin a dix sept cent livres cy 1700
Item un negre adjugé au Sr. Dreux le cadet a dix sept cent dix livres cy 1710
Item un negre adjugé au Sr. Germain a seize cent dix livres cy 1610
Item une negresse adjugée au Sr. Bienvenu a seize cent quatre vingt quinze livres cy 1695
Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. De Lomer a neuf cent vingt cinq livres cy 925
Item un negre adjugé au Sr. Bienvenu a dix huit cent soixante et dix livres cy 1870
Item une negritte adjugée a M'r DePlas a Mille livres cy 1000
Item un negre et une negresse adjugés au Sr. Boue Le cadet a la somme de trois mille soixante cinq livres cy 3065
Item un negre adjugé au Sr. Ornaud a quatorze cent livres cy 1400
Et attendu qu'il est six heures du soir Lad. vente a ete renvoyée a demain du matin et ont signé ainsi signé Le ch'r De Plas, Large, Brochard Despalieres; carlier Raguet, Bobé, Descloseaux et nous greffier soussigné

CHANTALON Greff

Et le vingt huitieme dud. mois et an neuf heures du matin En presence de mesd. Srs. cy devant Nommé a été procedé a la continuation de La presente vente ainsi qu'il suit

Premierement a été mis et exposé en vente un negre Lequel après plusieurs criées et encheres a été adjugé au nommé Moro habitant a La somme de onze cent cinq livres cy 1105
Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. Vienne a douze cent livres cy 1200
Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. Vienne a onze cent dix livres cy 1110
Item un negre adjugé au Sr. Large a La somme de Treize cent livres cy 1300
Item un negrillon adjugé au nommé maroteau a Mille quarante livres cy 1040
Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. Vienne a onze cent quatre vingt dix neuf livres cy 1199
Item un negre adjugé au Sr. Vienne a seize cent quatre vingt quatre livres cy 1684
Item un negrillon paroissant malade adjugé au Sr. hardy a neuf cent cinq livres cy 905
. . . . [2]
Et attendu qu'il est environ midy La continuation de Lad. vente a ete renvoyée a ce jourdhuy de relevée et ont signé ainsi signé Le ch'er De Plas Large, Brochard Despallieres, carlier, Raguet, Bobé descloseaux et nous greffier soussugné

CHANTALON Greff

Et les susd. Jours mois et an Deux heures de relevée En continuant La susd. vente en presence des personnes Cy devt. nommées et soussignés S'Etant trouvé nombre D'Encherisseurs a ete procédé ainsi qu'il en suit

Premierement a ete mis et exposé en vente un negre Lequel après plusieurs criées et encheres a eté adjugé au Sr. Large a dix sept cent vingt livres cy 1720
Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. chevalier de Macarty a mille quinze livres cy 1015
Item un negre adjugé au Sr. Viennea mille soixante livres cy 1060
Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. Bellami a quatorze cent livres cy 1400
Item un negresse et son enfant a La mammelle adjugée au sr. fontenette a dix huit cent cinq livres cy 1805
. . . . [3]
Item une negritte adjugée au Sr. Bellami a douze cent soixante livres cy 1260
Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. Triere a douze cent quatre vingt dix livres 1290

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[2] The four here omitted are sold for 1335, 1200, 1010, and 600 livres, respectively.

[3] Ten sales, the prices for which were 1504, 1490, 1710, 1600, 1025, 1150, 1230, 3500, 1115, and 1105 livres, respectively, are here omitted.

Item une negritte adjugée au Sr. Bellami a treize cent dix livres cy 1310
Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. Broutin a mille quatre vingt dix livres cy 1090
Item une negritte adjugée au Sr. Bellami a treize cent vingt cinq livres cy 1325
Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. Thomassin a mille dix livres cy 1010
Item une negritte adjugée au Sr. Estienne Reine a douze cent livres cy 1200

Et attendu qu'il est six heures du soir La continuation de La presente vente a été renvoyée a demain du matin et ont signé ainsi signé en La minutte, Le ch'r De Plas, Large, Brochard, Depallieres, Carlier, Raguet, Bobé, descloseaux et nous greffier soussigné

CHANTALON Greff

Et le vingt neufieme dud. mois et au neuf heures du matin En continuant La susd. vente a La requeste, Et en presence des personnes Cy devt. nommés sy etant trouvé nombre d'Encherisseurs Lad. vente affichée et publiée a son de tambour dans tous les carrefours de cette ville a eté procedé ainsi qu'il en suit

Premierement a ete mis et exposé en vente un negre et une negresse Lesquels après plusieurs criées et encheres ont eté adjugés au Sr. Dreux Le cadet a La somme de trois mille six cent vingt livres cy. . . .[4] 3620
Item un negre adjugé au sr. Solet a seize cent soixante quinze livres cy 1675
Item une negresse adjugée au Sr. Bracquier a dix sept cent soixante livres cy 1760
Item un negrillon adjugé au sr. De Mandeville a douze cent livres cy 1200

Et attendu qu'il est environ midy La continuation de La presente vente a eté renvoyèe a ce jourdhuy deux heures de relevée et ont signé ainsi signé le ch'er De Plas Large Brochard Despallieres Carlier Raguet Bobé descloseaux Et nous greffier Soussignés

CHANTALON Greff

Item une negritte adjugée au Sr. Derneville a quatorze cent livres cy 1400
Item un negrillon adjugé au sr. Tiresand a mille quarante cinq livres cy 1045
Item un negre adjugé au sr. Vienne a dix huit cent livres cy 1800
Item un negrillon adjugé au sr. Broutin a Mille livre cy 1000
Item une negritte adjugée au sr. Avignon a treize cent livres cy 1300
Item un negre adjugé au sr. La Loire fils a dix huit cent quinze livres 1815
. . . .[5]

Et attendu qu'il est six heures Du soir La continuation de la presente vente a été renvoyéé a demain du matin et ont signé ainsi signé le ch'er de Plas, Large, Brochard, Despallieres carlier Raguet, Bobé Descloseaux Et nous greffier soussigné

CHANTALON Greff

Et le trentieme dudmois et au neuf heures du matin a La requeste et en presence des personnes cy devant nommées et soussignés a été procedé ainsy qu'il en suit

Premierement a été mis et exposé en vente un negre Lequel après plusieurs criées et encheres a eté adjugé au sr. Vienne a quatorze cent cinquante cinq Livres cy 1455
Item un autre negre adjugé au sr. Rançon a quinze cent soixante Livres cy 1560
Item un autre negre adjugé au sr. Large a quatorze cent cinquante livres cy 1450
Item une negresse adjugée au sr. Mandeville a quatorze cent vingt cinq livres cy 1425
Item un negre adjugé au sr. Large a quatorze cent cinqante livres cy 1450

Et attendu qu'il est environ midy nous avons renvoyé La continuation de La presente vente a ce Jourdhuy de relevee et ont signé ainsi signé Le ch'er De Plas, Large, Brochard, Despallieres Carlier Raguet Bobé Descloseaux et nous greffier soussigné

CHANTALON Greff

Et les susd. Jour mois et au Deux heures de relevée a été procede a La continuation de La susd. vente ainsi qu'il en suit

Premierement a été mis et exposé en vente un negre Lequel après plusieurs criées et encheres a eté adjugé au sr Large a quatorze cent soixante dix livres cy 1470
Item une negritte adjugée au sr. De Pontalba a Treize cent vingt livres cy[6] 1320
Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. Thomassin a quinze cent soixante livres cy 1560

Et attendu qu'il est six heures du Soir La Continuation de la d. vente a été renvoyée a Lundy matin et ont signé ainsi signé le Ch'er DePlas, Large, Brochard, despallieres, Carlier Raguet, Bobé descloseaux Et nous greffier soussigné

CHANTALON Greff

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[4] Ten items are here omitted, the prices of which were 1475, 1130, 1030, 1085, 660, 1735, 1800, 1500, 900, and 1620 livres. The small negro who went for 660 livres was ill.

[5] The ommited prices are 1325, 1345, 825, 1710, 1705, 1305, 1400, 1450 livres, respectively.

[6] The omitted sale prices are 1660, 1520, 1515, 1440, 1785, 1630, 1055, 1430, 1325, 1600, 4080 (3), 3370 (2).

Et le deuxieme jour D'octobre au d. an neuf heures du matin a eté procedé a La continuation de la d. vente en présence de mesd. Sr. cy devt. nommés ainsi qu'il en suit

Premierement a ete mis et exposé en vente un negre ayant mal aux yeux Lequel après plusieurs criées et encheres a eté adjugé au Sr. ferret chirurgien a La somme de mille quarante livres cy 1040

Qui est tout ce qu'on a présenté a vendre La présente vente montant sauf erreur ou obmission a La somme de cent soixante et dix mille neuf cent onze livres qui sera recouverte par Le greffier soussigné pour estre remise a qui il apartiendra. fait et arresté a la Nlle. Orleans Les susd. Jours, Mois et an et ont signé ainsi signé en la minutte des presentes Le ch'er DePlas, Large, Brochard, Despallieres carlier, Raguet, Bobé desclozeaux, et nous greffier soussigné

Quatrieme Expedition

CHANTALON Greff

Compte que rend Chantalon Greffier charge du recouvrement de la vente des negres pris sur les anglois par les vaisseaux du Roy *L'opale* et *la fortune*

Scavoir

La vente Judiciaire suivant Les procès verbaux est de La somme de cent soixante dix mille neuf cent onze livres cy 170,911 *ll.*

Item se charge Le comptable de la somme de huit mille huit cent livres pour dix negres negresses negrillons ou Negrittes suivant un etat estimatif cy annexé en datte Du deux du present et dont il a fait Le recouvrement cy 8800 "

Total dont le greffier est charge cent soixante dix neuf mille sept cent onze livres cy 179,711 *ll.*

De l' autre part 179,711

Sur laquelle somme alloué au greffier pour toutes ecritures expeditions de procès verbaux et recouvrement de Deniers La vente ayant été faite a terme et ayant fait bon desddeniers a raison de trois et demie pour cent cy 6289. 17. 8

Reste cent soixante trieze mille quatre cent vingt et une Livre deux sols quatre deniers cy 173,421 2. 4

A la NLLE. ORLEANS Le vingt deux Octobre mil sept cent Cinquante huit signé CHANTALON greffier est plus Bas ést ecrit

Vu par nous chevalier Conseiller Du Roy en ses Conseils commissaire général de La marine ordonnateur et Premier Juge au Conseil superieur de La province de La Louisiane Le procès verbal de vente Cy joint L'Etat estimatif y annexé et Le compte d'autre part par Lequel le Sr. chantalon est reliquataire de La somme de cent soixante treize mille quatre cent vingt et une livre deux sols quatre deniers, Nous sans avoir Egard a la forme du Susd. Etat estimatif et pour procurer seulement decharge aud. Sr. chantalon ordonnons qu' il Comptera et remettra a M'r Detrehan Tresorier De la marine en cette Colonie la susd. somme de cent soixante treize mille quatre cent vingt et une livre deux sols quatre deniers dont il se chargera en recette et au moyen du reçu qu' il en donnera le d. Sr. Chantalon en Demeurera Bien et valablement dechargé Donné en notre hotel a La Nlle. Orleans Le vingt deuxieme octobre mille sept cent Cinquante huit signe Rochemore et plus Bas est ecrit

Je soussigné Trésorier a La Louisiane Certifie que monsieur chantalon Denominé au procès verbal cy devt. m'a compté La somme de Cent soixante et treize mille quatre cent vingt et Une livre Deux sols quatre denier Dont J'ay fait recette et don Je le quitte a La NLLE. ORLEANS Le vingt trois octobre mil sept cent Cinquante huit signé D'ETREHAN

Pour Quartrieme Expedition

CHANTALON Greff

438. Gilbert Leonard to Governor William C. C. Claiborne, 1804.[1]

New Orleans, January 25, 1804.

Sir: In reply to your excellency's request for information, relative to the arrangement of the Spanish Government of this province, concerning the importation of slaves, I beg leave to represent:

That by an order of His Majesty, dated at Aranjuez, the 24th of January, 1793 [8?], the prohibition which restrained the importation of slaves was expressly removed, free of duties, to favor the commercial interest of His Majesty's subjects, and the said order was promulgated in due form by the Intendant of this province, Don Ramon de Loper[z] y Angulo, on the 29th of November, 1800.

Subsequent to the retrocession of the province to France, but pending the existence and the exercise of the Spanish authorities, three vessels have arrived, and been admitted into this port with slaves for sale, consigned to John Francis Merecu, *viz*: the French brig *African,* Peter Farmuel, master, charged with one hundred and forty-three Africans, the French Brig *La Confiance*, John Louis Sacray, master, charged with one hundred and seventy Africans, and the French brig *Sally*, Augustus Buibert, master, charged with one hundred and fifty Africans.

It is proper for me to observe to your excellency, that the Royal Edict required Spanish bottoms and Spanish masters for this commerce, but the Spanish authorities which existed but after the retrocession had been formally announced, considered it their duty to pursue the obvious spirit of this edict, which had for its object the particular interest and accomodation of His Majesty's marine and his subjects, and therefore they deemed it both reasonable and just, that these privileges and advantages which had been generously intended for Spanish Louisiana should not be withheld from French Louisiana during the existence of their temporary authority.

To this candid exposition of facts, I will beg leave, with great deference, to add the opinion that should a change of policy be found expedient by the Government of the United States, it should be promulgated a reasonable time anterior to the interdiction of such commercial expeditions as may have been projected under and permitted

[438] [1] *American State Papers*: *Miscellaneous*, I. 390. This letter and that of Governor Claiborne, of Jan. 31, 1804, which follows, were sent by Jefferson to Congress on Mar. 8, 1804. During the brief period that Louisiana remained in the hands of the French they were not unmindful of the market for slaves offered by the colony: "Extract of a letter dated London, 13th December, 1802, to a gentleman in this city [Charleston]. 'We have several Frenchmen here, soliciting our African Houses to send eight or ten thousand slaves to Louisiana, and assuring them that they shall be paid in dollars by the return of the vessels—such assurances will not do—the wise men to whom they apply cut the business very short, by saying, we will send you plenty of slaves, but we must have a guarantee in London for the payment of the dollars or pounds sterling.'" *Charleston Courier*, Mar. 17, 1803.

by the Government of France or Spain previous to the sale and transfer of the province by the French Government to the United States.

439. Governor William C. C. Claiborne to the Secretary of State, 1804.[1]

New Orleans, January 31, 1804.

A vessel arrived at this port a few days since, with fifty African negroes for sale. I immediately applied to a Mr. Leonard, the late Spanish *contadore* at this place, a man of great integrity of character for information, as to the laws and customs of Spain, relating to the African trade, and received from him a letter upon the subject, which is herewith enclosed. Finding, from Mr. Leonard's communication, that the bringing of African slaves to Louisiana had been permitted by the Spanish authority, and doubting whether I was vested with power to forbid their sale, the importer has been left to pursue his own wishes.

440. Governor William C. C. Claiborne to James Madison, 1804.[1]

New Orleans, May 8, 1804.

. . . The emigration from the West Indies to Louisiana continues great; few vessels arrive from that quarter, but are crowded with passengers, and among them, many slaves. I am inclined to think that, previous to the 1st of October thousands of African negroes will be imported into this province; for the Citizens seem impressed with an opinion that, a great, very great supply of slaves is essential to the prosperity of Louisiana. Hence, Sir, you may conclude that the prohibition as to the importation, subsequent to the 1st of October is a source of some discontent; [2] Nay Sir, it is at present a

[439] [1] *American State Papers: Misc.*, I. 390.

[440] [1] Robertson, *Louisiana*, II. 263. Claiborne here expressed a more optimistic view than that of his letter to Madison on Mar. 10, 1804, just after unofficial news of the prohibition of negro importation had reached New Orleans. "This intelligence has occasioned great agitation in this city and in the adjacent settlements. The African trade has hitherto been lucrative, and the farmers are desirous of increasing the number of their Slaves. The prohibiting the importation of Negroes therefore, is viewed here as a serious blow at the commercial and agricultural interest of the Province. The admission of Negroes into the State of South Carolina has served to increase the discontent here. The Citizens generally can not be made to understand the present power of the State Authorities with regard to the importation of persons; they suppose that Congress must connive at the importation into South Carolina, and many will be made to believe, that it is done with a view to make South Carolina the sole importer for Louisiana. An adventurer by the name of Tupper, a native of Boston (and if report be true of little respectability) who arrived in this city from France about three weeks ago . . . has proposed a meeting of the people on Monday next, in order to state their grievances to Congress. . . . " Claiborne wrote again Mar. 16, 1804, describing the meeting. *Ibid.*, II. 259, 260.

[2] The act erecting Louisiana into two territories, providing for the temporary government, and limiting the slave trade, was approved Mar. 26, 1804. *Annals of Congress*, 8 Cong., 1 sess., app., pp. 1293-1300.

cause of much clamor, but I am indulge a hope, that the Louisianians will very soon see the justice and policy of the measure.[3] . . .

441. Governor William C. C. Claiborne to James Madison, 1804.[1]

New Orleans, 12 July 1804.

Sir . . . At present I am well assured, there is nothing to fear either from the Mulatto or Negro population: but at some future period, this quarter of the Union must (I fear) experience in some degree the Misfortunes of St. Domingo, and that period will be hastened if the people should be indulged by congress with a continuance of the African Trade.

African Negroes are thought here not to be dangerous; but it ought to be recollected that those of St. Domingo were originally from Africa and that Slavery Where ever it exist is a galling yoke. I find however that an almost universal sentiment exist in Louisiana in favour of the African traffic. I am myself Solicitous for the arrival of the first of October: Slaves are daily introduced from Africa, many direct from this unhappy Country and others by way of the west India Islands. All vessels on board with slaves on bord are stopped at Plaquemine,[2] and are not permitted to pass without my consent. This is done to prevent the bringing in of Slaves that have been concerned in the insurrections of St. Domingo; but while any importations are admitted, many bad characters will be introduced. The citizens of Louisiana are greatly apprehensive of the West India Negroes but no effectual Stop can at present be put to their introduction.

442. Governor William C. C. Claiborne to James Madison, 1804.[1]

New Orleans, Oct. 28th, 1804.

Sir, On yesterday I was informed by a Mr. Dubourg, a respectable Merchant of this City, that a Capt. of his with 40 Negroes on board had entered the Mississippi, Since the 1st of October; that these

[3] On July 1, 1804, the citizens of New Orleans met and agreed upon a memorial to Congress, which, among other things, asked that they be allowed to decide for themselves whether to admit slaves or not, since not only did the climate of their territory require negro labor, but the need for an available supply to keep the banks of the Mississippi in repair was peculiar to them (*Memorial presented to Congress*, 1804, p. 18). This memorial was read in the Senate Jan. 4, 1805 (*Annals*, 8 Cong., 2 sess., p. 30). Claiborne's letters to Madison, of May 29, June 3, 22, reported no modification in the resentment of the inhabitants of Louisiana. Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Official Letter-Books of W. C. C. Claiborne, 1801-1816* (Mississippi, State Dept. of Archives and History, 1917), II. 175, 187, 217.

[441] [1] *Official Letter-Books*, II. 245-246.

[2] A district in the Mississippi delta, lying along the east bank of the river.

[442] [1] *Official Letter-Books*, II. 346-347.

Negroes belonged to his Father Yanothn Inhabitant of Louisiana; that owing to contrary winds and bad weather the vessel was prevented entering the Mississippi until Subsequent to the 1st October.

Mr. Dubourg prayed that the Negroes might be permitted to land, and pledged himself, that they should be forthcoming on the arrival of the Judges in the Territory and that he would await a Judicial decision.

I did not well know how to act on the occasion; It would seem as if it was more particularly the duty of the District attorney to notice and bring before the Court persons who had violated the law; But as neither of the Judges or the attorney General have arrived I esteemed it my province to take measures to enforce the observance of the Law; But on the present occasion, as the Importer was himself the informer, I permitted him to land the Negroes upon giving me an [on] oath their names, and number, and satisfactory assurances, that they should be forthcoming on the arrival of the Judges.

Mr. Dubourg showed a permission which he had procured from the Spanish Governor (Grand Pré) to introduce into the Settlement of Baton Rouge, Sixty Negroes, and intimated an intention to avail himself of said permission. If Negroe Vessels are permitted to pass up to Baton Rouge, the law prohibiting the African Trade in this Territory will in effect be a nullity, and I pray your Instructions whether or not I am to oppose their Passage.

I have understood that several African vessels were sent out in time to return previous to the 1st of October, but from some cause, they have not arrived yet, and their delay is a source of anxiety to the persons concerned! [2]

443. Governor William C. C. Claiborne to the Officer commanding at Plaquemines, 1805.[1]

New Orleans Novr. 11th, 1805.

Sir, I learn from Mr. Brown the Collector, that an English Vessell, with a cargo of African Slaves, is in the Mississippi. You will cause this Vessell to be brought to at the Fort, and not permit the landing of a Negro.

[2] On Nov. 25, 1804, Claiborne wrote: "The late admission of foreign negroes has also been a subject of complaint against me. The Searcher of all hearts knows how little I desire to see another of that wretched race set his foot on the shores of America, and how from my heart I detest the rapacity that would transport them to us. But, on this point, the people here were united as one man. There seemed to be but one sentiment throughout the province. They must import more slaves, or the country was ruined forever. The most respectable characters could not, even in my presence, suppress the agitation of their temper, when a check to that trade was suggested. Under such circumstances, it was not for me, without the authority of previous law, or the instructions of my government, to prohibit the importation."

[443] [1] *Official Letter-Books*, III. 230. On Oct. 14, 1806, Claiborne wrote to Venter and Harman, merchants of New Orleans, that no vessel from a foreign port with negroes on board would be allowed to pass the first military post on the Mississippi. *Ibid.*, IV. 30.

444. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1806-1807.[1]

Nassau (N. P.), March 18 [1806].

Schr. *Atalanta*, of Charleston, Captain Mitchell, owned by Charles Guiloden, of Orleans, sailed from Charleston on the 9th inst. for New-Orleans, in ballast and some slaves. On Thursday morning got ashore on Pensacola Reef N. E. end of Abaco, and was fallen in with the same day by two wreckers, who saved the people then in her, consisting of the captain and his son, the owner, four passengers, one seaman, and 15 slaves. On the vessel striking, two seamen (foreigners) and three slaves took to the boat, and have not since been heard of. Vessel entirely lost.

December 15, 1806.

The schooner *Hope*, 50 days from Africa, bound to New-Orleans with 71 slaves, was spoken on the 6th ult.

Mar. 23, 1807.

The Schooner *Sally*, Abbot, from this port [Charleston] for New Orleans, with slaves, went ashore on Abacco about 12 days since. The vessel will be lost, negroes saved. The supercargo had arrived at Nassau, and chartered a brig to take the Negroes to New-Orleans.

May 8, 1807.

Brig *Nancy,* Robinson, from New Providence, is arrived at New Orleans, with the slaves and cargo of the schooner *Sally*, captain Abbot, of this port, wrecked on Abaco.

Nov. 11, 1807.

The ship *Heroine*, Wilson, of Hartford, from Charleston bound to New-Orleans, with 85 negroes, was cast away on Wednesday night the 7th ult. in a heavy gale of wind from N. E. to E. on Whale Key, North part of Abaco. The captain, crew, and negroes were saved, with some provisions; they remained on the key 10 days when they were fallen in with by the sch. *Centipede,* Sawyers, and carried to Nassau.

[444] [1] *Charleston Courier*, Mar. 28, 1806; for similar items see *ante*, no. 378n. The remaining items carry the date of the paper in which they appeared. The illicit entry of negroes began immediately and was so flagrant that Claiborne himself was (without doubt unjustly) accused of conniving at it. He had no means of preventing a trade which the inhabitants were eager to encourage and which many traders were entirely willing to attempt. The smuggling of slaves into Louisiana continued on a considerable scale long after the law of 1807 forbade importation into any part of the United States. Indeed, the Louisiana trade of the years subsequent to this were of more significance to the history of the trade than that of any portion of the period preceding prohibition.

445. Act to prohibit the Importation of Slaves into the United States, 1807.[1]

An Act to prohibit the importation of Slaves into any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States, from and after the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eight.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, it shall not be lawful to import or bring into the United States or the territories thereof from any foreign kingdom, place, or country, any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, with intent to hold, sell, or dispose of such negro, mulatto, or person of colour, as a slave, or to be held to service or labour.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That no citizen or citizens of the United States, or any other person, shall, from and after the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eight, for himself, or themselves, or any other person whatsoever, either as master, factor, or owner, build, fit, equip, load or otherwise prepare any ship or vessel, in any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States, nor shall cause any ship or vessel to sail from any port or place within the same, for the purpose of procuring any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, from any foreign kingdom, place, or country, to be transported to any port or place whatsoever, within the jurisdiction of the United States, to be held, sold, or disposed of as slaves, or to be held to service or labour; and if any ship or vessel shall be so fitted out for the purpose aforesaid, or shall be caused to sail so as aforesaid, every such ship or vessel, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, shall be forfeited to the United States, and shall be liable to be seized, prosecuted, and condemned in any of the circuit courts or district courts, for the district where the said ship or vessel may be found or seized.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That all and every person so building, fitting out, equipping, loading, or otherwise preparing or

[445] [1] *U. S. Statutes*, II. 426-430, 9 Cong., 2 sess., ch. 22, 1807. No attempt has been made in these volumes to trace the steps which led to the passage of this act. The progress of federal legislation can be followed in the pages of DuBois and the sources for such a study are easily accessible. The most important preliminary restrictions were the acts of 1794, which forbade the exportation of slaves or the fitting of slavers from the United States, and of 1800, which forbade American citizens to take part in carrying slaves to foreign countries. See DuBois, *Slave Trade*, pp. 71-108, 237-245.

sending away, any ship or vessel, knowing or intending that the same shall be employed in such trade or business, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, or any ways aiding or abetting therein, shall severally forfeit and pay twenty thousand dollars, one moiety thereof to the use of the United States, and the other moiety to the use of any person or persons who shall sue for and prosecute the same to effect.

Sec. 4. *And be it further enacted*, If any citizen or citizens of the United States or any person resident within the jurisdiction of the same, shall, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, take on board, receive or transport from any of the coasts or kingdoms of Africa, or from any other foreign kingdom, place, or country, any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, in any ship or vessel, for the purpose of selling them in any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States as slaves, or to be held to service or labour or shall be in any ways aiding or abetting therein, such citizen or citizens, or person, shall severally forfeit and pay five thousand dollars, one moiety thereof to the use of any person or persons who shall sue for and prosecute the same to effect; and every such ship or vessel in which such negro, mulatto, or person of colour, shall have been taken on board, received, or transported as aforesaid, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and the goods and effects which shall be found on board the same, shall be forfeited to the United States, and shall be liable to be seized, prosecuted, and condemned in any of the circuit courts or district courts in the district where the said ship or vessel may be found or seized. And neither the importer, nor any person or persons claiming from or under him, shall hold any right or title whatsoever to any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, nor to the service or labour thereof, who may be imported or brought within the United States, or territories thereof, in violation of this law, but the same shall remain subject to any regulations not contravening the provisions of this act, which the legislatures of the several state or territories at any time hereafter may make, for disposing of any such negro, mulatto, or person of colour.

Sec. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That if any person or persons whatsoever, shall, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, purchase or sell any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, for a slave, or to be held to service or labour, who shall have been imported, or brought from any foreign kingdom, place, or country, or from the dominions of any foreign state, immediately adjoining to the United States, into any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States, after the last day of

December, one thousand eight hundred and seven, knowingly at the time of such purchase or sale, such negro, mulatto, or person of colour, was so brought within the jurisdiction of the United States, as aforesaid, such purchaser and seller shall severally forfeit and pay for every negro, mulatto, or person of colour, so purchased or sold as aforesaid, eight hundred dollars; one moiety thereof to the United States, and the other moiety to the use of any person or persons who shall sue for and prosecute the same to effect: *Provided,* that the aforesaid forfeiture shall not extend to the seller or purchaser of any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, who may be sold or disposed of in virtue of any regulation which may hereafter be made by any of the legislatures of the several states in that respect, in pursuance of this act, and the constitution of the United States.

. . . . . .

Sec. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That if any ship or vessel shall be found, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, in any river, port, bay, or harbor, or on the high seas, within the jurisdiction limits of the United States, or hovering on the coast thereof, having on board any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, for the purpose of selling them as slaves, or with intent to land the same, in any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States, contrary to the prohibition of this act, every such ship or vessel, together with her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and the goods and effects which shall be found on board the same, shall be forfeited to the use of the United States, and may be seized, prosecuted, and condemned, in any court of the United States, having jurisdiction thereof. And it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, and he is hereby authorized, should he deem it expedient, to cause any of the armed vessels of the United States, to seize, take, and bring into any port of the United States all such ships or vessels, and moreover to seize, take, and bring into any port of the United States, all ships or vessels of the United States, wheresoever found on the high seas, contravening the provisions of this act, to be proceeded against according to law, and the captain, master, or commander of every such ship or vessel, so found and seized as aforesaid, shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and shall be liable to be prosecuted before any court of the United States, having jurisdiction thereof; and being thereof convicted, shall be fined not exceeding ten thousand dollars, and be imprisoned not less than two years, and not exceeding four years. And the proceeds of all ships, or vessels, their tackle, apparel, and furniture, and the goods and effects on board of them, which shall be so seized, prosecuted and condemned, shall be divided equally between the United States and the officers and men who shall make such seizure, take, or bring into

port for condemnation, whether such seizure be made by an armed vessel of the United States, or revenue cutters thereof, and the same shall be distributed in like manner, as is provided by law, for the distribution of prizes taken from an enemy: *Provided*, that the officers and men, to be entitled to one half of the proceeds aforesaid, shall safe keep every negro, mulatto, or person of colour, found on board of any ship or vessel so by them seized, taken, or brought into port for condemnation, and shall deliver every such negro, mulatto, or person of colour, to such person or persons as shall be appointed by the respective states, to receive the same; and if no such person or persons shall be appointed by the respective states, they shall deliver every such negro, mulatto, or person of colour, to the overseers of the poor of the port or place where such ship or vessel may be brought or found, and shall immediately transmit to the governor or chief magistrate of the state, an account of their proceedings, together with the number of such negroes, mulattoes, or persons of colour, and a descriptive list of the same, that he may give directions respecting such negroes, mulattoes, or persons of colour.

Sec. 8. *And be is further enacted,* That no captain, master, or commander of any ship or vessel, of less burthen than forty tons, shall, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, take on board and transport any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, to any port or place whatsoever, for the purpose of selling or disposing of the same as a slave, or with intent that the same may be sold or disposed of to be held to service or labour, on penalty of forfeiting for every such negro, mulatto, or person of colour, so taken on board and transported, as aforesaid, the sum of eight hundred dollars; one moiety thereof to the use of the United States, and the other moiety to any person or persons who shall sue for, and prosecute the same to effect: *Provided however*, That nothing in this section shall extend to prohibit the taking on board or transporting on any river, or inland bay of the sea, within the jurisdiction of the United States, any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, (not imported contrary to the provisions of this act) in any vessel or species of craft whatever.

Sec. 9. *And be it further enacted*, That the captain, master, or commander of any ship or vessel of the burthen of forty tons or more, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, sailing coastwise, from any port in the United States, to any port or place within the jurisdiction of the same, having on board any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, for the purpose of transporting them to be sold or disposed of as slaves, or to be held to service or labour, shall, previous to the departure of such ship or vessel, make out and subscribe duplicate manifests of every such

negro, mulatto, or person of colour, on board any such ship or vessel, therein specifying the name and sex of each person, their age and stature, as near as may be, and the class to which they respectively belong, whether negro, mulatto, or person of colour, with the name and place of residence of every owner or shipper of the same, and shall deliver such manifests to the collector of the port, if there be one, otherwise to the surveyor, before whom the captain, master, or commander, together with the owner or shipper, shall severally swear or affirm to the best of their knowledge and belief, that the persons therein specified were not imported or brought into the United States, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, and that under the laws of the state, they are held to service or labour; whereupon the said collector or surveyor shall certify the same on the said manifests, one of which he shall return to the said captain, master, or commander, with a permit, specifying thereon the number, names, and general description of such persons, and authorizing him to proceed to the port of his destination. And if any ship or vessel, being laden and destined as aforesaid, shall depart from the port where she may then be, without the captain, master, or commander having first made out and subscribed duplicate manifests, of every negro, mulatto, and person of colour, on board such ship or vessel, as aforesaid, and without having previously delivered the same to the said collector or surveyor, and obtained a permit, in manner as herein required, or shall, previous to her arrival at the port of her destination, take on board any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, other than those specified in the manifests, as aforesaid, every such ship or vessel, together with her tackle, apparel and furniture, shall be forfeited to the use of the United States, and may be seized, prosecuted and condemned in any court of the United States, having jurisdiction thereof; and the captain, master, or commander of every such ship or vessel, shall moreover forfeit, for every such negro, mulatto, or person of colour, so transported or taken on board, contrary to the provisions of this act, the sum of one thousand dollars, one moiety thereof to the United States, and the other moiety to the use of any person or persons who shall sue for and prosecute the same to effect.

Sec. 10. *And be it further enacted*, That the captain, master, or commander, of every ship or vessel, of the burthen of forty tons or more, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, sailing coastwise, and having on board any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, to sell or dispose of as slaves, or to be held to service or labour, and arriving in any port within the jurisdiction of the United States, from any other port within the same, shall,

previous to the unlading or putting on shore any of the persons aforesaid, or suffering them to go on shore, deliver to the collector, if there be one, or if not, to the surveyor residing at the port of her arrival, the manifest certified by the collector or surveyor of the port from whence she sailed, as is herein before directed, to the truth of which, before such officer, he shall swear or affirm, and if the collector or surveyor shall be satisfied therewith, he shall thereupon grant a permit for unlading or suffering such negro, mulatto, or person of colour, to be put on shore, and if the captain, master, or commander of any such ship or vessel being laden as aforesaid, shall neglect or refuse to deliver the manifest at the time and in the manner herein directed, or shall land or put on shore any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, for the purpose aforesaid, before he shall have delivered his manifest as aforesaid, and obtained a permit for that purpose, every such captain, master, or commander, shall forfeit and pay ten thousand dollars, one moiety thereof to the United States, the other moiety to the use of any person or persons who shall sue for and prosecute the same to effect

Approved, March 2, 1807.

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